

ORISSA DISTRICT GAZETTEERS

KORAPUT

BY

R. C. S. Bell, I.C.S.



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ORISSA DISTRICT GAZETTEERS

KORAPUT



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PREFACE

THIS book is based substantially on the Gazetteer of the Vizagapatam district by W. Francis, I.C.S., which was published in 1907. Some information about the early history of the district has also been extracted from D. F. Carmichael's Manual of the Vizagapatam district, published in 1869, and in particular the extracts from reports and diaries given in the chapter on the Meriah Sacrifices have been taken from that work. Koraput was made a separate district in 1936 and now requires a Gazetteer of its own. Moreover more than thirty years have elapsed since the publication of Francis's Gazetteer, in the course of which many changes have come about, which require to be recorded. Much new information has had to be collected, and the material available in the old Gazetteer has also had to be extensively rearranged.

My obligations to the various gentlemen who have helped with the production of this book are acknowledged wherever possible in the body of the volume. I am specially indebted to Mr. R. Senior White, F.R.S.E. and to Mr. J. W. Nicholson, C.I.E., I.F.S., for their assistance with Chapters V and VI respectively, and to successive Collectors of Koraput district for valuable suggestions and help in collecting materials. My thanks are also due to Kumar Bidyadhar Singh Deo and Sri Godavarti Ramdas Pantulu for some interesting information about the ancient monuments and inscriptions of the district, of which use has been made in Chapters II and XV.

The Gazetteer was completed at the beginning of 1940, but publication was held over until the Census figures for 1941 should be available. However only a few of the usual Census tables were eventually compiled. The results of these have been embodied in the Gazetteer, but the 1931 figures have been retained in dealing with subjects regarding which the 1941 Census can provide no information. On the 1st March 1941, the Narayanapatnam Agency was transferred from the Rayaghada taluk to the Koraput taluk. The figures of area and population given in Chapter I apply to the taluks as reconstituted. Apart from this, administrative changes that have occurred since the end of 1939 have not been referred to in this book.

1941

R. C. S. BELL



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GAZETTEER OF THE KORAPUT DISTRICT

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL ASPECTS

The district of Koraput lies between $20^{\circ} 3'$ and $17^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude and between $81^{\circ} 27'$ and $84^{\circ} 1'$ east longitude. In area it is 9,875 square miles, being the largest district in the Province of Orissa. According to the census of 1941 it has a population of 1,127,862 souls. It is bounded on the north by the Kalahandi State and the district of Raipur, on the west by the Bastar State, on the south by the districts of East Godavari and Vizagapatam, and on the east by the districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam. The district is irregular in shape, roughly resembling the letter y. Its south-eastern boundary runs roughly parallel to the line of the sea-coast, from which it is, at the nearest point, 42 miles distant. In the north-east and the north-west are two narrow projections separated, as by a wedge, by the Kalahandi State, and stretching over a hundred miles from Koraput, the headquarters and very nearly the exact geographical centre of the district. A similar projection extends to the south-west, where the most distant portion of the Malkanagiri taluk is over a hundred miles from Koraput and but 23 miles from the Godavari river. Thus the remotest corners of the district are more than two hundred miles apart.

Koraput was first constituted a district on the 1st April 1936, when the Province of Orissa came into existence. Before that date it had been a part of the Vizagapatam district in the Madras Presidency. It comprises the greater part of the areas formerly known as the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam, which have on account of the backwardness of the inhabitants been administered by the Collector with certain special powers in his capacity of Agent to the Governor, under the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Act of 1889.

The district is not a compact geographical unit. Rather it can be said to consist of four widely dissimilar tracts of country, each of which is separated by considerable natural barriers from the other three. The first of the four natural geographical divisions comprises the three taluks of Bissamkatak, Rayaghada and Gunupur, which now form the Rayaghada administrative subdivision and are 2,408 square miles in extent. The area consists of the two broad, almost parallel valleys of the Vamsadhara and Nagavali rivers, with the ranges of high and rugged

GENERAL
DESCRIPTION

NATURAL
DIVISIONS
The
Rayaghada
subdivision

hills that hedge them in. The valley of the Vamsadhara declines from a mean level of about 1,200 feet in the north of the Bissamkatak taluk to about 300 feet at Gunupur, while that of the Nagavali falls from about 1,000 feet at Kalyana Singapur to 500 feet in the south of the Rayaghada taluk. In the north of Gunupur taluk and east of Bissamkatak there are large tracts of forest containing some of the most valuable timber in the district. To the south-west of the Rayaghada taluk is a wild country, a tangle of hills and valleys, called the Narayanapatnam Agency, which is drained by the river Janjhavati and its tributaries.

Being on the leeward side of the ghats which intercept the south-western monsoon currents from the Arabian sea, the Rayaghada subdivision receives an appreciably lower rainfall than the rest of the district. The conditions of rainfall and climate are generally similar to those of the neighbouring Vizagapatam district. The scenery however is quite characteristic, and frequently charming. The hills are green with forest, though the growth has as often as not been stunted by constant felling and burning, and the valleys are undulating, part woodland, part green fields. Among the latter, tamarind, *mohwa* and other trees stand up singly or in groups and give the country almost the appearance of a huge park, and through them shows up now and again the glint of some broad reach of one of the perennial rivers. The attraction of the country is however marred by the prevalence of malaria, including the black-water variety. Bissamkatak and its surroundings have an especially bad name in this respect. This area contains much rich land, especially in the north of Bissamkatak taluk, in the Nagavali valley near Singapur and in the Vamsadhara valley above Gunupur. The latter is indeed the most fertile tract in the whole district.

The Rayaghada subdivision has easy and natural lines of communication with the Vizagapatam district to its south and east, and the Kalahandi State to the west. But from the rest of the Koraput district, to which it is attached by a narrow neck at its south-western corner, it is cut off by steep ghats and forests. It is connected by two roads, that have been constructed at considerable expense through wild and hilly country, with Lakshmipur in the north-eastern corner of the 3,000-foot plateau the second of the four natural divisions of which mention has been made.

The 3,000-foot plateau

This plateau extends from the southernmost limits of the Kalahandi State to the East Godavari district in Madras, and is 110 miles long with an average width of 40 miles. The whole of this area was previously included in four taluks of the Vizagapatam district, but with the separation of Orissa an area of about 2,000 square miles was included in the Koraput district, while an approximately equal extent, in which Telugu was the predominant language, remained in Madras. The plateau is slightly tilted to the west and its eastern edge is boldly marked by a line of hills, which are the highest in the district.

Except for a narrow strip on its eastern side which falls away to the plains of Vizagapatam, the whole of this 3,000-foot plateau drains westward into the basin of the Godavari through the Indravati, Kolab and Machkund rivers. The portion of the plateau which lies in the Koraput district consists of an undulating tableland profusely scattered with hundreds of little hills of a remarkable similarity of appearance. Near Koraput the hills have long since been denuded of all their forest growth, and are intermittently cultivated to their very summits with dry crops. Elsewhere the process of denudation has not advanced so far and the hills are usually covered with low scrub, though disfigured with patches bared by shifting cultivation. The average annual rainfall on the plateau is 62 inches, and of this the greater part falls during the months of July and August. Thanks to its elevation the plateau never experiences the extreme heat of summer, and as soon as any portion of it can be properly protected against malaria it will be able to qualify as a regular hill station. There is much that is attractive in the scenery on this plateau, and on a clear day the bold line of purple hills in the east is particularly striking, when viewed from Koraput. During the monsoon the uncultivated lands are attractively coloured by the light blue flower of the weed *stachy tarpheta indica* (Aaron's rod). But the scrupulous eye is offended by the profuse growth of noxious vegetation and the negligently cultivated fields which frequently disfigure the foreground.

On its eastern edge the plateau descends, in some places sharply and in others through a succession of foothills, to the plains of Vizagapatam only a few hundred feet above sea level. In the north it falls down to the plain lands of the Kalahandi State, approximately on the same level as the Rayaghada subdivision, while in the west it descends sharply to another plateau lying roughly 2,000 feet above sea level, a portion of which is the third natural division of the district.

The 2,000-foot plateau contains the two taluks of Jeypore and Nowrangpur, which have a combined area of 3,259 square miles, but it also extends far to the west into the Bastar State and to the north into the district of Raipur. In the south it falls away by steep ghats into the Malkanagiri taluk, which has a mean level of only 500 feet. In the northern part of its eastern boundary it slopes down to the Kalahandi State lying 1,000 feet below it, and in the extreme north-east of Nowrangpur taluk there is a region known as the Pannabada muttah lying some 500 feet below the level of the rest of the plateau and separated from it by ghats and thick forest. The greater part of the plateau drains westward through the Kolab and Indravati and other smaller rivers, but at the northern corner it drops down into the valley of the Tel, a tributary of the Mahanadi. This tract differs from the 3,000-foot tableland in other respects than altitude. It receives a heavier rainfall, it is almost level, with few hills, instead of being a conglomeration of hills and valleys and practically throughout the plateau there is a fine growth of sal and other timber. In the west of Jeypore taluk and the north of Nowrangpur, where there has been extensive

reservation, there are hundreds of square miles of continuous thick forest, but everywhere sal springs up naturally in any land that is spared by the plough for a few successive years.

These two taluks form the principal granary of the district. The Jeypore taluk is more thickly populated than any other in the district, and especially in the north in the basin of the Indravati there are numerous villages with wide tracts of paddy cultivation. The valley of the Indravati yields in fertility only to that of the Vamsadhara near Gunupur. Besides paddy, wheat, sugarcane and vegetables are grown in fair quantities. In the north of the Nowrangpur taluk the country is equally rich, but sparsely populated, and cultivation could be greatly extended. Here paddy is grown in the occasional swampy glades that are hidden among the sal forests. The bulk of the rainfall, which averages 75 inches a year, falls in the months of July, August and September, and the north-east monsoon scarcely affects the plateau. Consequently in the Nowrangpur taluk the country becomes extremely dry in the hot weather, and men and beasts have to go for miles in search of water. The Jeypore taluk, which receives the drainage of the 3,000-foot plateau, does not suffer from this disability. The country is distinctly hot in the summer but during the winter nights, especially in the north of Nowrangpur taluk, the temperature is lower than on the 3,000-foot plateau.

**The
Malkanagiri
taluk**

The fourth natural division of the district is the Malkanagiri taluk (2,288 square miles). A strip along the eastern boundary takes in the ghats which uphold the 3,000-foot plateau and the valley of the Machkund, which flows through the midst of this wild and remote country. Here there are hundreds of square miles of forest, sparsely inhabited by rude tribes, such as the Bonda Porojas and the Didayis. The rest of the taluk is a comparatively flat plain, declining from an elevation of about 800 feet in the north, at the foot of the ghat leading up to the 2,000-foot plateau, to under 400 feet in the extreme south, which is only 28 miles from the junction of the Sabari with the Godavari. A number of rocky wooded hills, some of them rising to a considerable height, break the monotony of the plain. Almost the whole of the taluk is nothing but a vast jungle. There is little good timber in the forests lying on the lower levels, though some bamboos find a market at Rajahmundry, whither they are floated down the Sabari and Godavari. In the higher country to the east, however, the growth is very fine, especially on the banks of the Machkund. To the south, near Venkatapalem, are many square miles covered with coarse grass, ten feet high, among which are scattered saplings. The jungles are rich in game, the special feature being the herds of wild buffalo which haunt them.

The density of population in the taluk as a whole is but 80 persons to the square mile. In the north, round Govindapalle, Mattili and Salimi, and in the south, near Motu and Podia, the country has been opened up and settled cultivation is practised, chiefly by immigrants from the plains or other parts

PHYSICAL ASPECTS

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of the district. Excluding these two areas the density of population in the rest of the taluk can scarcely be more than a third of the figure given above. There is evidence, in the shape of old tanks and abandoned village sites, that the eastern parts of the taluk once supported a considerably larger population than they do now. Indeed the process of depopulation is still going on, and some villages such as Balimela and Kondakamberu have been deserted and gone back to jungle within the last twenty years, owing usually to the havoc wrought by wild animals on cattle and crops. The taluk receives an abundant rainfall from the south-west monsoon and paddy can be grown in clearings in the forest. But speaking generally the soil is of very poor quality and after the forest has been cut down and the natural humus has been subjected to the withering heat of two or three summers there is very little virtue left in it.

The taluk is unfortunate in its climate and its situation. During the rainy season parts of it become impassably swampy, and heavy floods cut off its only communications with civilization, which lie up the ghat to Jeypore and down the Godavari to the plains of Madras, for days and sometimes weeks at a time. In the summer, which sets in early, the whole plain is parched in the extreme and drinking water is often very difficult to obtain. Malaria is also more prevalent here than in any other taluk except Bissamkatak.

The district lies on a section of the great line of the **HILL SYSTEM** Eastern Ghats and, as has already been explained, consists of four natural divisions, having mean elevations of 3,000, 2,000, 1,000 and 500 feet above sea level. A number of mountain ranges and isolated hills rise out of these tablelands. The most conspicuous range in the Rayaghada subdivision is the Niamgiris, a rugged mass on the borders of the Rayaghada and Bissamkatak taluks, which rise steeply from 1,000 feet to a number of peaks, of which the highest is 4,968 feet and at least four others are more than 4,000 feet above sea level.

Apart from a number of isolated hills, there are three other mountainous regions in this subdivision, though, so broken is the country, these cannot be called ranges so much as chaotic tangles of hills and valleys. South-west of Rayaghada are the hilly regions of the Narayanapatnam Agency, which are, in part, continuous with the 3,000-foot plateau. Outstanding among the peaks is Atma Konda (4,608 feet), which stands five miles due south of Narayanapatnam. Some 15 miles north-east of this town is Subamadi Dongar, a long ridge running north and south, with its highest point 4,414 feet above sea level. East of Rayaghada, and between the valleys of the Nagavali and the Vamsadhara, are the Kailasakota hills. Here there are summits of 3,000 feet and more, the principal being Matti Konda (3,619 feet), Bajar Konda (3,304 feet) and Jora Konda (3,289 feet). On the left bank of the Vamsadhara, east and north-east of Gunupur, rise the Puttasinghi hills, the abode of Savaras. The highest point is Thaladi Dongar (3,217 feet).

The main feature of the 3,000-foot plateau is the line of high hills which boldly mark its eastern edge and stand out prominently, an impressive sight when viewed from the western side of the plateau. Between this escarpment and the low country proper, however, often intervene range behind range of lower foot hills, hidden among which are secluded valleys of all shapes and sizes, cut off from the outer world except for rough tracks across the passes. It is thus only at a distance of some 20 miles from the base of the hills that the higher peaks can be discerned in the plains of the Vizagapatam district, the intervening foot hills preventing a nearer view. Taking them in order from north to south the most notable heights are Panchabat Mali (4,385 feet), Karnapadi Konda (4,879 feet), Meyamali Parbat (4,921 feet), Turia Konda (5,244 feet), Deomali (5,486 feet), Polamakani Parbat (5,201 feet) and Sirimanda Parbat or Damuku (4,642 feet). The village of Pottangi lies at the foot of the last named. Deomali, also known as Dudhari, whose twin peaks can be clearly seen from Koraput on any fine day, is the highest point in the district and also in the Province of Orissa. It is not, however, the highest mountain on the plateau, as Arma Konda, a few miles on the Madras side of the boundary, ten miles south of Padwa, overtops it by about 30 feet.

The plateau itself is dotted with countless hills of varying size. North of the river Kolab few of these rise above 4,000 feet. Easily the most prominent hill in this region is Hathimali (4,563 feet), whose outline closely resembles the head and back of an elephant, 16 miles east-north-east of Koraput. But further south the hills are higher. East of Nandapur there are a number of peaks over 4,000, of which the principal are Deonani Parbat (4,264 feet) and Kondiamali Parbat (4,433 feet). Some 10 miles east of Padwa rises the mass of hills, in which the Kolab takes its source. Chief among these is Sinkaram Gutta (5,316 feet), just on the boundary between Orissa and Madras. South of Padwa the provincial boundary is marked by another range of high mountains which stretches southwards for many miles into Madras.

The 2,000-foot plateau of the Jeypore and Nowrangpur taluks is in the main flat country, except for the forests in the west of the Jeypore taluk, where there are low hills some of which rise to 2,800 feet. Elsewhere the plain is only broken by a few isolated hills, among which those near Podagoda (3,043 feet), Borigumma (2,990 feet) and Boipariguda (2,848 feet) may be mentioned.

The chief hills of the Malkanagiri taluk are those that hedge in the valley of the Machkund throughout its course. These usually stand about 1,000 feet above the bed of the river. The highest point in the taluk is Golikonda (3,615 feet) in the north-eastern corner, about 7 miles from the Duduma falls (see page 9).

RIVERS Vamsadhara

Besides a number of perennial streams the district can boast five large and important rivers. Two of these, the Vamsadhara and the Nagavali, flow due south into Vizagapatam district and

so into the Bay of Bengal. The former is 173 miles long, of which a course of 88 miles runs through this district. It rises in the extreme north of the Bissamkatak taluk, flows through that taluk and Gunupur, passing Gunupur town, and out of the district. It forms the boundary between the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts for some distance, and eventually passes into the Province of Madras, where its waters are extensively used for irrigation.

The Nagavali is 151 miles long, and of this distance 63 miles run through the Koraput district. It rises in the Kalahandi State and flows through the fertile Kalyana Singapur valley, past Rayaghada and so out of the district. At Rayaghada it rushes through a narrow passage over a most picturesque double fall, the upper portion of which is 20 feet high and the lower 30 feet. Just below the falls the river is joined by an important tributary, the Kumbhikota gedda, flowing from the east in a deep and narrow gorge, which is at Rayaghada spanned by a fine railway girder bridge standing 150 feet above its bed. After leaving this district it receives another tributary, the Janjhavati, which drains the Narayanapatnam Agency. Further south, the river plays an important part in the irrigation of the Vizagapatam district. Before it reaches the sea near Chicacole it undergoes a change of name and is known as the Langulya. Both its names are derived from words meaning 'plough', and legend says that the river was made by Balarama with that implement.

Practically the whole of the Koraput subdivision is drained by three rivers, the Indravati, the Kolab and the Machkund, with their tributaries. These flow inland westward and then southward into the basin of the Godavari. Between them these three great streams, draining as they do a country which receives a heavy rainfall and is for the most part covered with forest, contribute almost the whole of the water that is used for second crop cultivation in the Godavari delta.

The northernmost of the three is the Indravati, which rises in the jungles of the Kalahandi State, winds in a very zigzag course from east to west across the Nowrangpur taluk, passing a couple of miles south of Nowrangpur town, where it is spanned by a girder bridge, and thence flows on into the Bastar State. The river receives tribute from numerous perennial hill streams rising in the Koraput taluk, and just before it leaves the district it is joined by the Bhaskel, which drains part of the north of Nowrangpur. In the Nowrangpur taluk it flows in a deep, silent stream which, at the point where it is crossed by the main road northwards from Jeypore, is in flood time 456 feet wide and 24 feet deep. Before reaching the Godavari the river flows right through the Bastar State, passing just north of Jagdalpur, and twenty-five miles west of that place passes over the beautiful Chitrakota falls. The total length is 329 miles, of which 77 miles run through Koraput district, or along its boundary.

Kolab

The Kolab rises near Sinkaram hill on the 3,000-foot plateau, flows north-west in a winding bed, passing five miles to the south of Koraput, and falls down to the 2,000-foot plateau not far south of Jeypore. At Bagara, to which a branch road leads from the top of the Jeypore ghat, there are three small falls, whose potentialities as a source of hydro-electric power have recently been investigated. At the end of its descent to the Jeypore plateau the river is spanned by the fine bridge near Kotta. It flows right across the Jeypore taluk in a north-easterly direction for 20 or 30 miles and then suddenly doubles back and runs nearly south, forming the boundary between Jeypore and Bastar. It then turns south back into the Koraput district, forming for a few miles the boundary between the Jeypore and Malkanagiri taluks passing at this point through a gorge in the wild hills west of Ramagiri, which are called the Tulisi Dongara range. As it issues from this it falls about 40 feet into a large pool, 12 or 14 feet deep, into which, in days gone by, witches used to be thrown with a stone round their necks. Turning west again, and passing Salimi, the Kolab flows into Bastar, past Sukuma, and at last again divides this State from Jeypore, forming the western boundary of Malkanagiri taluk for many miles. In this last part of its course it is called the Sabari. At Motu at the extreme south-western corner of the taluk it meets the Sileru referred to below, and the two pass out of Orissa into Madras and fall eventually into the Godavari river. The river receives a number of affluents in the Malkanagiri taluk, of which the Poteru, which rises near Balimela, is the chief. These, though mighty and unfordable rivers during the rains, generally dry up during the hot weather.

The total length of the Kolab or Sabari is 280 miles, of which all but 55 miles flow through this district or as its boundary. In 1856 Mr. Tuke went 132 miles up the Sabari from its confluence with the Godavari and his detailed account of it will be found in Lieutenant Haig's 'Report on the navigability of the Godavari' (Madras, 1856). The river is actually only used for navigation on the stretch between Motu and the junction with the Godavari, and that too only during six months of the year. The Bastar State authorities have however made some experiments in timber floating, and have carried out blasting on the rocks which form the principal obstacle.

Machkund

The Machkund ('fish pool') rises in the Madgole hills of Vizagapatam on the 3,000-foot plateau, and near Wondragedda, not very many miles from its source, it becomes the boundary between Madras and Orissa. For some 30 miles or more the river runs nearly north along a very meandering course through the wide Padwa valley. When about 30 miles south of Jeypore it winds westward along the edge of the plateau as if looking for a way down through the low hills which fringe the plateau there, and then suddenly turns at a sharp angle to the south-west down a steep descent. The drop changes a somewhat sluggish river flowing between banks of red earth into a series of rapids foaming between enormous masses of boulders. Three miles from the bend and about the same distance south



DUDUMA WATERFALLS



GORGE AT DUDUMA AFTER THE FALLS



of Badigada the descent is barred by a huge barrier of rock shut in on either side by walls of rock two or three hundred feet high. Below this is a sheer abyss over which the river flings itself into a boiling pool half hidden by dense clouds of spray on which the sunlight throws the brightest of rainbows. In the dry season it is possible to scramble to the edge of the abyss and look straight down through the spray into the great pool beneath, while from beneath the scene is the most impressive in all the district. Below these falls the river flows south-westwards in a deep and gloomy gorge, hemmed in on both sides by rock walls seven or eight hundred feet high, into which it is impossible to descend, and which continues for three or four miles.

These falls are known by the name 'Duduma falls', presumably for want of an adjacent village to name them after, as the word 'Duduma' itself means 'waterfall'. Mr. D. W. Gollan, Executive Engineer, Koraput, after a most careful computation, found that the height of the drop of the main fall is 540.19 feet. Below the pool into which the river drops is a series of rapids about 100 yards long, followed by a small waterfall of 80 feet. Mr. Gollan also made a rough computation of the amount of discharge in the stream above the falls and arrived at the figure of 104 cubic feet per second. The observation was made on the 4th May 1919, which as the observer remarks was 'the driest day of perhaps one of the driest years known in the Madras Presidency'. There is no record of any observation of the discharge at the falls during the rainy months of the year, but it undoubtedly must be enormous.

From below the falls the river flows south-westwards down a narrow valley shut in by high hills till it reaches Kondakamberu, 42 miles march from Badigada. This valley of the Machkund is the most inaccessible and least populated region in the whole district. At rare intervals on the march one meets small villages of a primitive tribe named Didayis, who are not found anywhere but in this valley, while at one point the path runs through dense forest for fifteen miles without any sign of human habitation. The surrounding forests serve as admirable reservoirs, and even in the middle of summer there is a broad stream in the river some two feet deep. It would be possible to make the whole journey from the falls to Kondakamberu in a dug out canoe at any time of the year. At Kondakamberu (1,400 feet above sea level) the river is some 80 yards wide and unfordable at all seasons. Its water is a muddy yellow and its name has changed to 'Paleru'. It is now joined by a large tributary, the Gurrapurevu, which rises in the high hills of Vizagapatam and flows entirely through forest down a steep and rocky course. This stream mingles its waters of pellucid clearness with those of the Paleru, and thenceforward the combined river is known as the 'Sileru' or 'rocky stream'. A few miles beyond Kondakamberu the river once again becomes the boundary of the province, separating it this time from the East Godavari district of Madras. It flows on by a much steeper gradient than before, abounding in mahseer and

crocodiles, until at Motu it joins the Sabari. Nothing can excel the supreme beauty of this lonely river, with its bamboo-covered banks, its deep long reaches of water, its falls, its grass-covered islets and its rushing clear water. Its length is 184 miles; of which 38 flow through this district and 120 along its boundaries.

Tel The only other river worthy of mention is the Tel, which rises in the north of Nowrangpur taluk, forms for some distance the northern boundary of the district, and then flows into the Kalahandi State. Later in its course it receives the drainage of the northern extremity of the Bissamkatak taluk, and eventually unites with the Mahanadi near the town of Sonpur. The river dries up completely in the hot weather.

GEOLOGY The main features of the geology* of the Koraput district are well known, but the details have yet to be investigated. The district falls naturally into two parts, each characterised by a distinct suite of rocks, the 2,000-foot plateau of Jeypore with its much lower extension into the Malkanagiri taluk, and the high hilly region of the Eastern Ghats lying between the Jeypore plateau and the Vizagapatam coastal plains.

The plateau is but an easterly extension of the great plains of Bastar with which it is geologically connected. On its eastern and south-eastern sides it is bounded by the highlands of the Kalahandi State and the Eastern Ghats. Within the Koraput district the Jeypore plateau attains a width of nearly 40 miles at one place in an E-W direction, and it maintains, almost uninterruptedly, an average elevation of nearly 2,000 feet above the sea level for 100 miles in a N-S direction. The northern edge of the plateau ends against the highlands of Raipur district and its southern edge is reached near Ramagiri and Kollar. From here the main plateau descends into the low-lying tracts of Malkanagiri about 900 feet high at their northern end and gradually falling away in a south-westerly direction to 150 feet at Motu at the extreme south-western corner of the district.

The oldest rocks of the above region are a series of metamorphosed sediments, which have been intruded successively by granites, greenstones, chamoockites, and dolerites. As a result of different types of metamorphism the texture of these rocks is either schistose or gneissose. They all belong to the great Archaean system of the Indian Peninsula.

In most parts of Jeypore the metamorphosed sediments have not been separated from the igneous rocks intruded into them. The following types have, however, been noted and may be correlated with the Bengpals of Bastar:—

Grits with andalusite in the Lekhi and Tulsii hills

Andalusite schists in the Kolab valley near Salimi

* This account of the geology of the district has been contributed by Dr. H. Crookshank and Mr. A. M. N. Ghosh of the Geological Survey of India.

- Banded hematite-quartzites at Akkuru Parvatam
- Chlorite and biotite-schists in the Pettagunga reserved forest.
- Banded magnetite and grunerite quartzites at mile 2 of the Malkanagiri-Balimela road.
- Coarse crystalline quartzites in the hills filling the angle between the Sileru and the Sabari rivers.

By far the commonest rock on the Jeypore plateau and in the Malkanagiri taluk is granitic gneiss. In the low-lying area between Malkanagiri and Salimi this is coarse porphyritic rock, but it becomes finer as one approaches the margin of the Eastern Ghats. Here it is associated with numerous bands of hornblende-schist of uncertain origin.

Greenstone intrusions are common along the western boundary of Jeypore zamindari wherever the cuddapahs are absent. They assume enormous proportions for rocks of this type in the Tulsi and Lekki hills.

Hypersthene-gneisses varying in composition from basic to acid are found as intrusions in the older gneisses within a few miles of the main range of the Eastern Ghats. Here they are associated with some interesting soda-granites. They are believed to be members of the charnockite series.

Dolerites which are frequently almost unaltered occur as intrusions both in the older gneisses and in the charnockites along the western margin of the Jeypore plateau.

Many of the above types of rocks occupy large areas of the main plateau. At Hirapur hill, west of Umarkot, an exposure of banded hematite-quartzite carries iron-ore. Chlorite and mica-schists and quartzites occur on the ridges north and north-west of Maidapur. Biotite-gneisses carrying basic bands are present on the hilly regions north-east of Tentulikunti. All these rocks are extensively intruded by coarsely crystalline porphyritic granites.

Resting unconformably on the surface of the Archaeans along the Bastar-Jeypore border from Lat. $18^{\circ} 22'$ to Lat. $18^{\circ} 32'$ and again from Lat. $18^{\circ} 48'$ to Lat. $19^{\circ} 21'$ lie a series of ancient unfossiliferous sedimentaries doubtfully referred to the cuddapahs. These rocks are normally horizontally bedded, but marginally they are frequently folded and faulted. The main mass of this series is formed of purple shales and slates with intercalations of limestone. Underlying these there is a variable thickness of coarse white quartzite. Outliers of the same formation occur to the north of Nowrangpur along the border of Kalahandi State.

The second feature of the Koraput district is the hilly region of the Eastern Ghats. This is mainly built up of alternating bands of charnockite and khondalite, but there are also massive intrusions of coarsely porphyritic biotite-gneiss.

The khondalites are the oldest of these rocks. They are highly metamorphosed sediments consisting of quartz, garnet and sillimanite with lesser quantities of felspar, graphite and manganese and iron-ores. Associated with the typical khondalite in a few localities are calc-gneisses and crystalline limestones.

The charnockites are a series of igneous rocks varying in composition from ultra-basic to acid and characterised by the presence of hypersthene. They have been intruded into the khondalites, and, in certain localities, have given rise to very interesting contact phenomena. The most striking of these is the development of the rare mineral sapphirine. A band of rock containing this mineral was traced along the contact zone for about 30 miles from Guda to Sampangpati. As well as sapphirine this interesting rock contains green spinel and locally cordierite.

The biotite-gneiss is a slightly metamorphosed granite. It nearly always contains garnet. Associated with it near Koraput are some very interesting nepheline syenites. These are of two types, the first light in colour with streaks and patches of biotite and hornblende, the second composed of large porphyritic masses of nepheline in a mylonitic matrix.

Laterite is developed about the 3,500-foot contour over a wide area in the Eastern Ghats, where it occurs as remarkable rings about many of the higher peaks and occupies extensive plateaus at or about the same level. According to Mr. Middlemiss these rings and plateaus are the remnants of a much larger plateau which formerly existed at this level, but which has since been eroded to its present fragmentary condition. Smaller patches of laterite are also found to cap many of the hills of the Jeypore plateau, especially near the borders of the Kalahandi State and also in Kotapad and Ramagiri areas.

Economic Geology

At several places on the Koraput plateau, particularly near the district headquarters, large and small sized deposits of china-clay of an inferior quality are present. Kaolin also occurs in Nowrangpur taluk and in the Rayaghada subdivision. Owing to the refractory nature of these clays some of them can be used as fireclay as well as for the manufacture of coarse porcelain wares and stoneware drain pipes.

The river alluvium near Jeypore and Rayaghada carries vast quantities of pottery clay. At both the places the clay is used by the local tile factories for the manufacture of roofing and paving tiles, drain pipes, flower pots, vases, etc. Sometimes as at Jeypore tile factory, the clay is mixed with a highly plastic yellowish clay derived from the decomposition of basic rocks *in situ*.

Gold is washed in a small way in the Rongapani rala, and its various tributaries in the neighbourhood of Govindapalle and in the Kolab river below its junction with the former stream, east of Kyang. The gold that occurs is native gold in the form of very fine particles, disseminated in the river sands and gravels, which settle down with 'black sands' on panning.

Graphite in small quantities is widespread in the rocks of the khondalite series. Two small deposits have recently been discovered at Chuchkona and Majikelam.

Iron is still smelted in many villages of the district. The ores used by the village 'Lohars' are always low grade. Recently a fair sized deposit, consisting of hematite and limonite, has been discovered in the Hirapur hill, seven miles west of Umarnkot. The quantity of the ores estimated is roughly 50 million tons. Some of the ores, on analysis, were found to contain over 60% iron.

Limestone occurs extensively in the cuddapahs and is a useful source of lime. The chief occurrences are restricted to the western borders of the district between Siriveda on the Kolab and Nandivada on the Sabari rivers. At present, however, the deposits are too inaccessible to be of any great importance.

Manganese-ore has been located at several places in the district. The most important deposits are at Kutingi, where the ore occurs in a large and small band along low hillocks made of khondalite. Some of the ores at Kutingi contain over 50% Manganese. Smaller bands of manganese-ore have been noticed near Kuttilli and Muniguda.

Yellow and red ochre exist at several places in the district but no high grade deposit has yet been noticed. Red ochre occurs at several places in association with laterite both near Jeypore and in the Pottangi taluk on the Koraput plateau. The material is used locally for colour-wash.

Coarse potstones are quarried in many places along the margin of the Eastern Ghats west and south-west of Jeypore. They are easily carved and have been used in temples, manufacture of idols, as grindstones and for many other purposes where tough readily shaped rock is required. Nowhere in the district is the potstone of a very high quality.

Purple and grey slates good enough for roofing and flooring purposes occur in the exposure of Cuddapah rocks at the north-eastern extremity of the district near its boundary with the Kalahandi State.

The following are the most important publications dealing with the geology of the area :—

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|---------|---------------------|--|
| 1889 .. | D. F. Carmichael .. | A Manual of the district of Vizagapatam, Vol. 1, Section 4. |
| 1886 .. | W. King .. | Geological sketch of the Vizagapatam district. <i>Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.</i> XIX, pages 143—156. |
| 1900 .. | T. L. Walker .. | A Geological sketch of the central portion of Jeypore Zemandari, Vizagapatam district. General Report of the <i>Geol. Surv. Ind.</i> for 1899-1900, pages 166—176 and 39-40. |

- 1901 .. C. L. Greisbach .. General Report of the Geological Survey of India for 1900-01, pages 14-15.
- 1902 .. T. H. Holland .. General Report of the Geological Survey of India for 1900-01, pages 14-15.
- 1903 .. T. H. Holland .. General Report of the Geological Survey of India for 1902-03, page 23.
- 1905 .. T. H. Holland .. General Report of the Geological Survey of India for 1903-04, pages 156-157.
- 1904 .. C. S. Middlemiss .. Note on a sapphirine-bearing rock from the Vizagapatam district. *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, XXXI, pages 38-42.
- 1907 .. T. L. Walker and W. H. Collins. .. Petrological survey of some rocks from the Hill Tracts of the Vizagapatam district. *Rec. G.S.I.*, XXXVI, pages 1-13.
- 1907 .. T. L. Walker .. Nepheline-syenites from the Hill Tracts of the Vizagapatam district. *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, XXVI, pages 19-22.
- 1938 .. H. Crookshank .. The Western Margin of the Eastern Ghats in Southern Jeypore. *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. 73, Part 3, pages 398-434.

BOTANY

The flora of Koraput* is of considerable interest as, although typically northern in character, it also has affinities with the flora of Southern India. Unfortunately it has never been investigated by a botanist and only a general description is possible. For this purpose it is necessary to keep in mind the four natural divisions of the district which have already been described, namely (a) the central plateau of 3,000 feet and upwards on which Koraput itself is situated, (b) the Jeypore plateau of 2,000 feet, (c) the Malkanagiri plateau of 400 to 800 feet, and (d) the valleys and hill ranges in the Rayaghada subdivision, ranging from 500 to nearly 5,000 feet.

The vegetation of the central plateau is of a degraded type. Originally it must have been of a sub-tropical wet hill type with evergreen species predominating, but fires and *podu* cultivation (see page 104) have caused great changes. Above 4,000 feet, grass-land is usually found, tree growth being limited to scattered stunted specimens of *Terminalia chebula*. *Eugenia operculata* is also found. In the vicinity of Koraput *podu* cultivation has caused the complete disappearance of the original forest and practically no tree-growth exists save fruit trees such as *Mangifera indica*, *Tamarindus indica*, *Madhuca latifolia*, etc.

* Acknowledgment is due to Mr. J. W. Nicholson, L.F.S., for this account of the forest flora of Koraput.

Over the rest of the central plateau the evergreen type has been partly replaced by deciduous species such as *Pterocarpus marsupium*, *Bursera serrata*, *Garuga pinnata*, *Terminalia belerica*, *Dalbergia lanceolaria*, *Eugenia jambolana*, *Anogeissus latifolia*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Terminalia tomentosa*. Evergreen species, most of which have not been identified, include *Michelia champaca* and *Pongamia glabra*. The bamboo, *Dendrocalamus strictus*, is common locally. *Sal* is scarcely ever found above 2,500 feet.

The greater part of the Jeypore plateau was covered with *sal* forest of a moist peninsular type, and this forest still survives where it is under protection. The commonest trees are *sal* (*Shorea robusta*), *Terminalia tomentosa*, *Anogeissus latifolia*, *Pterocarpus marsupium*, *Madhuca latifolia*, *Dillenia pentagyna*, *Dillenia indica*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Gmelina arborea*, *Cleistanthus collinus*, *Adina cordifolia*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Buchanania latifolia*, *Kydia calycina*, *Ougeinia dalbergioides*, *Bridelia retusa* and *Bauhinia retusa*. The underwood comprises species such as *Indigofera pulchella*, *Phoenix acaulis*, *Grewia* species, *Flemingia* species, *Woodfordia fruticosa*, *Embelia robusta*, *Cipadessa fruticosa* and *Ixora parviflora*. Creepers include *Bauhinia vahlii*, *Butea superba*, *Combretum decandrum* and *Smilax macrophylla*. Grasses include *Imperata arundinacea*, and *Sabai* (*Pollinidium angustifolium*). Bamboos are very rare. Scattered patches of teak occur as far west as 82°30' longitude. *Kusum* is common in open cultivated tracts.

The Malkanagiri plateau is hotter and moister. Moist peninsular *sal* is found on the ghats above the Malkanagiri plateau and in the northern parts. It disappears about latitude 18° 30'. Teak is much commoner than further north. Many of the deciduous species mentioned above occur on this lower plateau. *Dalbergia latifolia*, *Xylia xylocarpa*, *Garuga pinnata*, *Stereospermum suaveolens*, *Terminalia belerica* are among other tree species commonly found. Creepers include *Spatholobus Roxburghii* and *Millettia auriculata*. In addition to *Dendrocalamus strictus*, *Bambusa arundinacea*, *Oxytenanthera nigrociliata* and an unidentified bamboo species occur. Unidentified grasses which produce good fodder are very common, and this plateau is well known for its cattle.

It is not possible to refer the valleys and hill ranges in the east of the district to any one forest type. In the north-east and towards the common boundary with the Ganjam Agency tracts moist peninsular *sal* forest is dominant. *Sal* ascends to the summit of some of the highest hills which are over 4,000 feet. All the species mentioned as occurring on the Jeypore plateau exist. Additional tree species include *Albizia procera*, *Dalbergia lanceolaria*, *Callicarpa indica*, *Acacia lenticularis*, *Artocarpus lakoocha*, *Oedrela toona*, *Trema orientalis*, *Bursera serrata*, *Premna* species, and amongst shrubs *Scutia indica*, *Ardisia* species, wild banana, *Cycas circinalis*, *Olerodendron infortunatum*, *Mallotus philippinensis*, *Clausena pentaphylla*, *Coffea bengalensis*, *Wrightia tomentosa*, *Wendlandia tinctoria*, etc. *Dendrocalamus strictus* (on basic rocks) and *Oxytenanthera*

nigrociliata occur. Amongst creepers *Uvaria Hamiltonii* occurs. Amongst grasses the broom grass (*Thysanolaena agrostis*) is found. In the lower stretches of the Nagavali and Vamsadhara valleys and on the hills bordering them the flora changes to a more coastal type. Sal disappears. New species of economic importance which are met with include *Strychnos Nux-Vomica* and *Sapindus emarginatus*, *Bambusa arundinacea* is common in valleys.

There are two or three interesting features of the Koraput flora. The distribution of teak in scattered patches suggests that this species was once found over a greater tract than is now the case, and that the present patches are survivals. The distribution cannot be explained by edaphic conditions. In the Malkanagiri plateau, and the adjoining forests of Baster State, sal reaches its southernmost limit in India. It disappears fairly abruptly. It seems likely that sal is still in the process of spreading southwards. The non-existence of sal on the central Koraput plateau is probably due to the fact that the original evergreen forest would have presented an effective barrier against the establishment of sal. Now that it has been replaced by a more deciduous type sal may invade the higher hill slopes. In the Vamsadhara and Nagavali valleys sal has not advanced nearly as far southwards as one would expect especially in the centre and west of this region at 84° longitude, the limit is 19° latitude; at 83° 25' it is 19° 30'. Its distribution cannot be explained on climatic or edaphic grounds. Here again it would appear that sal has been invading the district from the north-east. As the main valleys are under permanent cultivation there is little prospect of sal now spreading much further. Another interesting feature is that, in the central highlands, species such as *Pterocarpus marsupium*, *Anogeissus latifolia*, etc., are very nearly evergreen in habit, indicating that the climate is moister than that in which these species are usually found, and that the present type of forest is not a climax.

ZOOLOGY
Wild
animals

Although some of the jungles are surprisingly empty of wild life the district as a whole is still rich in game. Owing to the unhealthiness of the country, the difficulty of communication and the scarcity of skilled *shikaris* it has never become a hunting-ground for sportsmen, except for those officials whose work takes them into the jungles on tour. As no restrictions are placed upon the possession of muzzle-loading guns by *bona fide* residents of the Agency and as all hillmen are passionately fond of hunting there is a certain amount of indiscriminate slaughter of wild animals. This has resulted in a growing scarcity of all kinds of deer, though aboriginal sportsmen do little to reduce the number of tiger and other dangerous beasts. Tigers are met with throughout the whole district. In some areas, notably on the eastern border of Bissamkatak taluk, they are still a positive pest, and they yearly cause much loss of human life. In 1934, 1935 and 1936 the number of human beings killed by tigers in the district was 77, 87 and 94 respectively. Panthers and leopards are also common in all parts of the district and are even more destructive to live-stock than

tigers. Other representatives of the feline tribe are the leopard cat (*felis bengalensis*), the small civic cat (*viverra malaccensis*), the toddy cat (*paradoxurus musanga*) and the common jungle-cat (*telis chaus*).

The dhole or wild dog is found throughout the district and is a great destroyer of game. The hyena and the jackal are everywhere common, but the Indian fox (*vulpes Bengalsis*) is less frequently met with. The wolf (*canis lupus*) has only been found occasionally, in the neighbourhood of Ramagiri and Malkanagiri. The black sloth bear is common and here as elsewhere is responsible for many casualties among wayfarers who are unfortunate enough to come upon it unawares. Fifteen people were killed by bears in the three years ending with 1936, and many others injured.

Elephants are comparatively rare visitors to the district. They usually make their appearance in small herds in the vicinity of Chandrapur in the Bissamkatak taluk during the rains and cold weather, coming across from the Balliguda taluk of Ganjam where there are resident herds. They have been seen within ten miles of Gunupur, but are never met with in the Koraput subdivision.

The Indian buffalo (*bos bubulus*) is found in small numbers in the north of Nowrangpur taluk; and in larger herds in the Malkanagiri taluk, especially in the vicinity of Baimela and Kondakamberu. The bison (*bos gaurus*) is more widespread, and is found in the forests of Malkanagiri, Ramagiri and Umarnkot, and occasionally on the 3,000-foot plateau. Among deer, chital or spotted deer (*cervus axis*), sambhur (*cervus unicolor*) and barking deer (*cervus muntjac*) are well represented. As with most other game the vast forests round Kondakamberu are the best field for these animals. Nilgai are found rarely in the Malkanagiri and Nowrangpur taluks. The four-horned antelope (*tetraceros quadricornis*) and the swamp deer (*cervus duvauceli*) are to be found but are very rare. The chinkara has been seen in the past, but appears now to be extinct in the district. The mouse deer (*tragulus meminna*) has been seen in most parts of the district, but is scarce. The black buck (*antelope cervicapra*) is apparently confined to the area known as the Pannabeda mutta in the extreme north-east of the Nowrangpur taluk, and even there it is scarce. Wild boar are found in nearly all parts of the district.

Among primates, the common langur (*presbytes entellus*), the common bandar (*macacus rhesus*) and the bonnet monkey (*macacus radiatus*) are all found in good numbers.

The common Indian crocodile is found in the waters of the Kolab, Machkund and Indravati, but the garial does not occur.

Among smaller species which are well represented in the district are the common striped squirrel, the large Indian squirrel (*sciurus maximus*), the common Indian porcupine, the common Indian hare, the common grey mongoose and the long-tailed mongoose. The honey badger (*mellivora Indica*) and the otter (*lutra vulgaris*) occur but are rarer.

Game birds

Pea-fowl are common all over the district. Savaras sometimes catch them by chasing them from side to side of a steep narrow valley until they are exhausted. The red and the grey jungle fowl are both fairly common. Spur fowl are frequently met with, while grey partridge are rather more rare. Green pigeon and blue imperial pigeon are both common in most parts of the district.

Duck and teal are very scarce, as there are but few tanks in the district. But pin-tail, fan-tail and painted snipe are abundant. Good snipe-shooting may be had in many parts of the district, especially on the 3,000-foot plateau near Padwa and Nandapur, where the birds remain until April.

CLIMATE

Variations in altitude necessarily affect rainfall and temperature, and consequently a variety of climatic conditions is to be met with in the district. The summer heat in Malkanagiri taluk is terrific, but in general the hot weather elsewhere is milder than in other districts of Orissa. The temperature is no longer officially recorded anywhere in the district, but the following table, compiled from the records of an observatory which was maintained at Koraput by the Indian Meteorological Department from 1915 to 1921, gives a good idea of the climate at the district headquarters :—

Month	Air temperature (F°)					
	Mean daily		Mean monthly*		Extremes	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
January	78.4	51.8	83.5	42.5	85.2	36.8
February	82.7	55.5	89.4	47.0	96.7	40.8
March	90.1	62.6	94.7	55.4	98.2	53.3
April	94.1	68.5	98.0	63.4	101.2	60.1
May	94.2	71.2	99.7	63.7	104.2	59.8
June	83.0	70.1	94.9	64.8	104.2	62.8
July	77.9	67.7	84.6	62.9	87.2	54.8
August	77.7	68.0	83.3	64.8	85.2	60.8
September	79.6	67.4	84.1	63.7	86.2	59.1
October	81.0	62.8	84.7	55.9	86.2	51.0
November	78.0	58.8	82.5	43.7	84.5	40.3
December	76.9	48.1	81.0	41.5	83.5	36.8

*Mean of extremes in each month

These figures show that the 3,000-foot plateau of Koraput is the coolest part of Orissa at all seasons of the year. Humidity in Koraput ranges from 92 per cent of saturation in August and September, the wettest months, to 60 per cent in March, and 61 per cent in April and May.

Nearly 80 per cent of the annual rainfall is received in the ^{Rainfall} south-west monsoon during the months of June to September. Unlike the rest of the Province of Orissa, which is affected by the Bay of Bengal branch of the monsoon, Koraput receives the bulk of its rainfall from the Arabian Sea branch of the monsoon current which reaches the district after passing over the interior of the Indian peninsular. The prevailing winds during this season as also in the pre-monsoon months are from the west and south-west, and the distribution of rainfall over the district is influenced by the line of the Eastern Ghats which run roughly from north-east to south-west. Regions on the windward or western side of the Ghats get more rain than those lying on the Ghats themselves, and these latter receive more than those on the leeward side to their east, in the Rayaghada subdivision. The average rainfall during the monsoon season on the windward side is 60 inches, in the Ghat region 46 inches, and on the leeward side 36 inches. Jeypore receives the heaviest fall, namely 65 inches, Malkanagiri comes next with 58 inches, while Rayaghada, with 36 inches, has the least rain. During the other seasons there is no marked variation between the two sides of the Ghats, but the rainfall is heavier on the Ghats themselves, i.e., upon the 3,000-foot plateau.

The district is also affected by cyclonic storms in the Bay of Bengal which cross the coast of Orissa or of the northern circars, and cause heavy falls on the Ghats and in the western side of the district. During a period of 30 years Pottangi and Malkanagiri each experienced three falls of over 10 inches in 24 hours, and Koraput and Jeypore had two such falls. The heaviest rainfall in a single day was 21.5 inches recorded at Pottangi on the 14th October 1931, as a result of a storm in the Bay of Bengal.

The maximum falls in a year are 109.76 inches and 99.08 inches recorded in 1914 at Jeypore and Koraput respectively, while the minimum falls at these two stations are 46.44 inches and 39.91 inches in 1901 and 1899 respectively. There has never been a serious failure of the rains, and the district has been completely free from famine throughout its history.



KORAPUT

The following table shows the normal monthly rainfall at the recording stations in the district:—

Station	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Annual
	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches
Jeypore ..	0.14	0.29	0.64	1.83	2.48	10.37	19.81	21.72	13.21	3.86	1.10	0.25	75.70
Nowrangpur ..	0.22	0.45	0.57	1.54	2.39	8.88	17.88	19.06	10.23	3.20	0.74	0.30	65.46
Malakanagiri ..	0.09	0.10	0.33	1.41	1.90	9.48	18.53	18.18	13.22	3.73	0.82	0.11	66.90
Koraput ..	0.15	0.21	0.81	1.33	2.61	8.53	15.69	16.64	10.70	3.59	1.21	0.32	61.79
Pottangi ..	0.16	0.30	1.05	2.78	3.94	8.34	11.90	13.23	11.17	6.87	2.43	0.46	62.63
Padwa ..	0.08	0.20	1.01	3.03	4.12	7.89	12.06	12.47	10.05	4.56	1.71	0.35	57.53
Rayaghada ..	0.25	0.56	0.79	1.97	3.23	7.27	9.43	9.94	7.15	3.72	1.17	0.44	45.92
Bissankatak ..	0.24	0.73	0.98	2.19	3.71	7.80	11.12	11.67	7.76	3.44	1.23	0.37	51.23
Gunupur ..	0.14	0.77	0.97	2.32	3.15	7.22	9.49	10.74	7.55	3.86	1.33	0.39	47.93
District average ..	0.16	0.40	0.79	2.04	3.06	8.42	13.99	14.85	10.00	4.09	1.30	0.33	59.45

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

Very little is known of the ancient history of the hill ^{ANCIENT} country of Jeypore. Hidden in its forests there are temples and ^{HISTORY} monuments which bear the names of kings who reigned many centuries ago, but nothing is now known of these ancient dynasties except that they passed away leaving the land to the jungle and the jungle tribes. But these remains are so scanty and the silence of the chronicles of India regarding this country is so complete that it must be supposed that such civilization as the district ever knew in the remote past was of brief duration and small intensity. The history of the land is the history of the primitive tribes who have made it their home, and of this scarcely anything is known. No doubt the earliest inhabitants were the wild Kolarian tribes which still inhabit the hilliest parts of the district and are still most tenacious of their old customs. Later to arrive were the tribes of Dravidian origin, and particularly the Kondhs. There are signs that the Kondhs entered the district by a gradual infiltration from the north. With the coming of these strangers in increasing numbers it is probable that the disafforestation of the district, which must at one time have been a vast jungle, began to proceed with increased rapidity.

The earliest historical record in the district is an inscription at Podagoda near Umankot in the Nowrangpur taluk, in Sanskrit characters of the fourth century. It states that Bhavadatta of the Nala family regained the kingdom lost during the time of his father and that he established on the highway a *satram* for wayfarers and a temple for the worship of Hari-Hara. In a forest within a few miles of Podagoda is an inscription in Nagari characters of the tenth century, which speaks of the gift of a village called Pappalaundi (possibly Pappadahandi, near Nowrangpur). A Telugu inscription in the temple of Dantavada in Bastar State records that in the year A.D. 1061 a king of the Nagavamsi line purchased a piece of land from a cultivator at Borigumma and gave it to the god Bhairava. A large festival to Bhairava is still held every year at Borigumma. Western Jeypore thus probably formed part of the kingdom of the Naga family who ruled in Bastar in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

There is evidence that the wild forest country of Malkanagiri has known a former civilization. In Kondakamberu there are two inscriptions recording a gift to the god Nilakanthesvara by the queen of Pandu Singa in the year A.D. 1376. Kondakamberu is called Kambudiri. Singarazu, the husband of Ambika, is said to have been lord of Kondakamati (possibly another name for Kondakamberu) from A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1381.

Antiquities in the district are few, but certain old temples that are still standing in the neighbourhood of Nandapur and images which have been dug up near Jeypore bear unmistakable signs of Jain origin. But there is no record either inscriptional or traditional to tell us who were the Jain inhabitants of this country and when they flourished.

THE RAJAS
OF
NANDAPUR

The earliest tradition of history which is more or less continuous with modern times is connected with the now insignificant village of Nandapur in the Pottangi taluk. It is indeed but a tenuous stream. Inscriptions at Kurmam and Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district tell of a line of rulers, called the Silavamsi kings, who held sway in Nandapur in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first king there spoken of is Visvanadharazu, the son of Gangarazu, who was ruling in the year A.D. 1353. His wife was Akkamma devi. Bhairavarazu, their son, ruled in A.D. 1370. His son, Visvanadharazu, married Singama of the Mastya family, who at this time were the chiefs of Oddavadi near madgole in the Vizagapatam district. Visvanadharazu was ruling at Nandapur in the year A.D. 1396. He had a son, Pratapa Gangarazu, who succeeded him, and left inscriptions dated A.D. 1427 and A.D. 1435, one at Simhachalam and one at Kurmam. The Kurmam inscription says that he washed his sword in the sea and offered the village of Kakatapalle and some silver vessels to the god Kurmesvara.

From the fifteenth century until the British period a line of kings, from whom is descended the family of the zamindars of Jeypore of the present day, ruled first at Nandapur and later at Jeypore. The family chronicles ascribe a very ancient origin to the line of the Jeypore zamindars. Beginning with Kanakasena of the Solar race (Suryavamsa), a general and feudatory of the King of Kashmir, they trace the pedigree through thirty-two generations down to Vinayaka Deo, a younger son who left Kashmir, went to Benares, did penance to Kasi Visvesvaraswami there, and was told by the god in a dream to go to the kingdom of Nandapur, belonging to the Silavamsa line, of which he would become king. The legend continues that Vinayaka Deo proceeded to Nandapur, married the king's daughter and succeeded in A.D. 1443 to the throne of thirty-two steps there, and founded the family of Jeypore. A more sober account of the origin of the Jeypore house is given by Mr. Oram in the Circuit Committee's Report of 1784: 'Ramchandra Dea, Rajah of Nandapuram, is descended of a Rajah formerly a servant of and favourite to an ancient King of Jagannath and sovereign of these northern circars, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and bestowed this tributary principality upon them.' It was early in the fifteenth century that the plain lands of Orissa and the northern circars passed from the sway of the Ganga dynasty to that of the Gajapati kings of Cuttack, belonging to the Solar race. As the change of dynasty occurred simultaneously in Nandapur and as the new line of kings seems obviously to have been of Oriya descent, it is extremely likely that the kingdom was conferred by Kapilesvara Deva, the first of the Gajapatis, as a mark of favour



ANCIENT JAINA TEMPLE IN RUINS ON
SEMBILIGUDA NANGAPUR ROAD



**ANCIENT JAINA TEMPLE IN RUINS ON
SEMBLIGUDA-NANDAPUR ROAD**

on one of his following—Oram's theory is thus probably correct. A third theory is advanced by the author of a Sanskrit work called the *Gangavamsa Charitra*, which seems to have been written about the middle of the eighteenth century. This states that the eldest son of Bhanudeva IV, the last of the Ganga kings of Kalinga, after the usurpation of his kingdom by Kapilesvara Deva, went southwards and founded a kingdom at Gudari (near Gunupur) and that subsequently the Gudari kings became masters of Nandapur. This story lacks confirmatory evidence, and is in any case suspect as the aim of the historian was confessedly the glorification of the Ganga line of kings.

It appears that the Oriya kings of Nandapur maintained an authority virtually independent of the Solar dynasty of Orissa, by whom the kingdom was conferred. But it is probable that from their advent dates the beginning of Oriya influence and the spread of the Oriya language. Oriya castes, such as Gaudos, Ronas and Paikos, who are now settled as cultivators in considerable numbers, still enjoy a prescriptive right to certain services under the Rajas of Jeypore, and no doubt they originally entered the district as soldiers and servants of the earliest Rajas.

Until the earliest English records the only authorities for the history of the dynasty of Nandapur are the family chronicles of the rulers, various copper plates granted by early Rajas and a few passing references made by Ferishta, the Muhammadan historian of the Kutb Shahi sultans of Golkonda.

The family chronicles give the following dates for the founder of the line and his successors:—

Vinayaka Deo	...	...	1443-76
His son Vijaya Chandrakhya Deo	...	...	1476-1510
His son Bhairava Deo	...	...	1510-27
His son Visvanadha Deo	...	...	1527-71
His son Balaram Deo	...	...	1571-97
His son Yesvanta Deo	...	...	1597-1637
His son Vira Vikrama Deo	...	...	1637-69 ✓
His son Krishna Deo	...	...	1669-72
His son Visvambara Deo I	...	...	1672-76
His brother Mallakimardhana Krishna Deo			1676-81
His brother Hari Deo	...	...	1681-84
His brother Balaram Deo II	...	...	1684-86
His adopted son Raghunatha Krishna Deo			1686-1708
His son Ramachandra Deo I	...	...	1708-11
His brother Balaram Deo III	...	...	1711-13
His brother Visvambara Deo II	...	...	1713-52
His step-brother Lala Krishna Deo	...	...	1752-58
His brother Vikrama Deo I	...	...	1758-81 ✓
His son Ramachandra Deo II	...	...	1781-1825

From the time of Ramachandra Deo II there are contemporary official records of the history of the estate.

The family papers say that as Vinayaka Deo and his six successors had each only one son the sixth of them, Vira Vikrama Deo, resolved to remove his residence elsewhere. The astrologers and wise men reported that the present Jeypore was 'a place of the Kshatriya caste' and it was accordingly made the capital and given its present name. It is certain that Vira Vikrama's possessions at the time included not only the country now comprised in the Jeypore zamindari but also the strip of land which lies at the base of the ghats, and even, it is averred, places as far east of them as Potnur and Bhogapuram. He paid a tribute of Rs. 24,000 to the king of Golkonda.

In 1664 one of that king's family visited the Jeypore hills, and in the following year Vira Vikrama was given by the king Abdulla a sword, ensigns and standards, and likewise a copper grant (still preserved in the Jeypore palace) conferring upon him certain titles, among them that of Maharaja.

The evidence of copper plate grants shows that the family chronicles cannot be relied on as accurate records of the dates of the various kings and the order in which they ruled. For instance a copper plate of the year 1688 refers to Visvambara Deo (of whom contemporary records of the East India Company make frequent mention) as ruler of Nandapur. Again the copper plate grant for the village Kechala records that Mallakimardhana Krishna Deo was ruler of Nandapur in 1698. These dates differ from those given in the family chronicles, which are therefore probably incorrect. Without doubt a detailed study of the copper plates and other evidence is necessary before a full and accurate chronology of the kings of Nandapur and Jeypore can be compiled.

The family chronicles, corroborated in this particular by the records of the East India Company, show that at the end of the seventeenth century considerable portions of the low country of Vizagapatam were included in the estate. But during the course of the first half of the eighteenth century the influence of the Rajas of Vizianagram gradually grew greater, chiefly at the expense of Jeypore, which was weakened by internal dissensions and a succession of feeble rulers. Ramachandra Deo I (1708-11) quarrelled with his younger brother, the Balaram Deo III who eventually succeeded him, and the latter established an independent principality at Narayanapatnam, and continued to reside in that village when he came into the estate. Some of the outlying parts of his possessions passed to the Rajas of Vizianagram. His successor, Visvambara Deo II, who was also a weak ruler, likewise lived at Narayanapatnam and is said to have dug tanks and wells there, dammed the Janjhavati to supply them with water and made a big seraglio for his numerous wives and mistresses. In 1752 Lala Krishna Deo came into the estate, but the succession was soon afterwards claimed by his brother Vikrama Deo. Viziarama Razu, Raja of Vizianagram, sided with the latter, drove out Lala Krishna, who retired to Kalyana Singapur, but obtained as

the price of his assistance the fiefs of Madgole, Kasipuram, Andra, Salur, Pachipenta, Chemudu, Belgam, Sangamvalasa, Kurupam and Merangi, all of which were held by vassals of Jeypore. Thus the fortunes of the kingdom had reached a low ebb by the time the suzerainty of the northern circars was ceded by the Mughal to the British in 1765.

A brief summary of the history of the adjacent plains country of Vizagapatam during the three centuries preceding the cession of the circars to the British will assist in placing the position of the Solar dynasty of Jeypore in its proper perspective. Throughout the fifteenth century the power of the Gajapati kings of Cuttack was in the ascendant, and their dominions extended far south into the Andhra country. But early in the sixteenth century Pratapa Rudra, king of Orissa, suffered a reverse at the hands of the Vijayanagar king, Krishna Deva, greatest of his line, who invaded the present Vizagapatam district, but after forcing a dishonourable peace on his vanquished enemy forebore to hold the country permanently and retired to the south. In the latter half of the sixteenth century the Vizagapatam plains became a battlefield for the contending armies of the local Hindu chiefs and the invading Muhammadan armies of the Golkonda kings. The Gajapati kings continued to rule until the last of the line, Mukunda Harichandana, was overthrown in 1568 by Muhammadan invaders from Bengal. Three years before the king of Vijayanagar had been defeated by a confederacy of the sultans of the Deccan at the battle of Talikota. Thus Hindu sovereignty over Orissa and Andhra came to an end, to be succeeded by two centuries of Muhammadan rule. But it was not until the end of the century that Vizagapatam was finally subdued by the Muhammadans. In 1572 'Veij Nat Dew', or Vaidyanath Deo, described by Ferishta as the most formidable of the Rajas of that country, opposed the invaders at the head of 5,000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry and 500 elephants, but was defeated at the battle of Konda Devapalli, after having lost his fort at Potnur. Vaidyanath Deo, who may possibly have been the Raja of Nandapur (though no such name finds place in the traditional list of kings), concluded peace on condition of paying a tribute of 30,000 *hoons* annually to the Kutb Shahi sultan. From 1593 to 1598 there was further warfare when Mukund Raj of Kasimkota, aided by Vaidyanath Deo and other chiefs, opposed the Muhammadan arms. In the course of this campaign Ferishta records that the Muhammadans encamped at Narayanapatnam. Finally all the Hindu Rajas were defeated and the 'pfovince of Cossimkota' was partitioned into jagirs and was thenceforward held as a dependency of Golkonda.

The kings of Golkonda were nominally subject to the Mughal emperors at Delhi, but they paid them little real allegiance at any time and eventually became virtually independent. Few details of their rule survive. Their chief local officer was the Faujdar of Chicacole, who governed through Hindu chiefs or *zamindars* to whom he delegated the collection of revenue, and who were expected to keep their charges quiet.

HINDU
PERIOD

MUHAM-
MADAN
PERIOD

Two of these chiefs were the ancestors of the present Rajas of Bobbili and Vizianagram who entered the district in the train of Sher Muhammad Khan, who was Faujdar in 1652. The Muhammadan sway seems to have been weak, and revolts of the zamindars were common. (It does not appear that anything but a nominal control was ever exercised over the hill tracts of Jeypore, though these were claimed as included in the Chicacole circar.)

In 1687 Aurangzeb, the emperor of Delhi, overthrew the kingdom of Golkonda and brought the whole country under his direct rule, appointing to its charge an officer called the Subudar of the Deccan, who was afterwards commonly known as the Nizam of Hyderabad. Under the rule of this potentate Chicacole, the northernmost of the five 'northern circars', continued as before to be administered by the Faujdar, or Seer Lascar.

It was in the year 1682 that the English first established a factory at Vizagapatam, the Dutch having been a few years before them at Bimlipatam. From this date onwards the Company's records throw a clearer light on the history of the surrounding country. The records of 1693 mention a curious incident:—

'Rangarow, a neighbouring Raja (clearly the Raja of Bobbili), upon clearing a Tank in his Country found a vast Treasure buried in earthen pots with a small p^a of Copper in each pot mentioning w^t contained therein and by whom buried, by w^{ch} it appeared to belong to y^e family of y^e Sumberdues (the Rajas of Jeypore) and to be buried by y^e great grandfather of y^e present Raja, w^{ch} has made a great contest between y^e neighbouring Rajas and impeded all commerce in those parts, Rangarow claiming itt because took up in his Governm^t and Sumberdue asserting a right to it by y^e Copper plates w^{ch} specifie it to be buried by his ancestors who formerly had y^e Governm^t of those parts. Y^e event we must leave to time, but 'tis conjectured and not without reason y^e upon y^e Sier Lascar's return from Metchlepatam he will soon decide y^e matter to y^e dissatisfaction of both Parties by condemning itt all to y^e king's and his own pticular Treasure.'

In 1694 the Seer Lascar had his hands full with revolts by the local Rajas, among whom 'Sunba Deo' (the Raja of Jeypore) was prominent, and at length had to 'condescend to dishonourable terms'. In October 1697 'Somberdu' and other Rajas again revolted and 'took and slew the Seer Lascar and the greatest part of his army'. Another revolt occurred in 1698 when the local Rajas defeated the Seer Lascar's troops on every possible occasion and confined him in Chicacole. During these years the chiefs of the factory at Vizagapatam made no attempt to interfere in the local disturbances, but endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Faujdar—not always with success, as in 1711 the latter besieged Vizagapatam when the chief was unable to repay a sum which he had borrowed from the Faujdar and rashly re-lent to two of the local Hindu chieftains. After a blockade of some months the Company paid the amount demanded and the siege was raised.

The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 was followed by great disorder in his southern possessions. In 1724 the Subadar of the Deccan made himself virtually independent and began appointing his own officers.

STRUGGLE
BETWEEN THE
ENGLISH AND
THE FRENCH

The Chicacole circar for a period had peace under the firm but kindly rule of the first Faujdar appointed by the Subadar, namely Anwar-ud-din, who was later Nawab of Arcot. About the year 1742 reports of the growing power of the Marathas began to cause uneasiness in the country, and the Rajas of the plains, fearing a raid, sent their families to Vizagapatam for protection in the Company's fort. The threatened raid did not take place. In 1748 the Subadar of the Deccan died, and the French and English took opposite sides in the disputed succession which followed. The events of this struggle belong to the history of the southern districts of Madras, and it is enough to mention here that eventually a French protégé, Salabat Jang, secured the post of Subadar, and that Bussy, the French general, obtained from him in 1753 the cession of four of the northern circars, including Chicacole, for the support of his troops.

The Faujdar of Chicacole, Jafar Ali, was disinclined to give up his charge to the French and persuaded Gajapati Viziarama Razu, head of the Vizianagram family, to join him in opposing the entry of M. Moracin, Bussy's nominee to the charge of the circar. Viziarama Razu was, however, won over by the French, and Jafar Ali then called in to his aid the Marathas of Nagpur, who crossed the hills by the ghat at Pachipenta under the guidance of the zamindar of that place and devastated the circar from end to end (sparing however the Vizagapatam settlement of the English, whose friendship Jafar Ali courted).

Of this expedition it is recorded that 'more than one-half of the invaders fell a sacrifice to the noxious air of the hills in effecting their passage, and the remainder, feeble or disheartened, rather than hazard returning the same way, adopted the desperate resolution of making a prodigious circuit through unfrequented routes, in order to cross the Godavari,

with the risk of being intercepted by the principal troops and perhaps after all, of not discovering a practicable ford' (Fifth Report E. I. Company). In any case, after looting the country, the Marathas went south, crossed the Godavari and regained their own territory with immense booty.

In 1754 Bussy managed to establish some authority in the circars and appointed a new Faujdar at Chicacole. But this nominee soon disavowed the French, and Bussy had to return in 1756 to restore his fallen authority. With the assistance of Viziarama Razu he sacked Bobbili and marched into Ganjam, receiving the submission of the local chiefs and zamindars. In 1757 the Vizagapatam settlement surrendered to the French. There is no record of the French having attacked Jeypore, as asserted by the chronicles of the family. In 1758, Ananda Razu, who succeeded to the Vizianagram estate on the death of Viziarama Razu revolted from the French and invited the English to join in expelling them. In spite of the protests of other members of the Calcutta Council, Clive despatched Colonel Forde by sea to Vizagapatam with a force of Europeans and sepoys. In November 1758 this force joined Ananda Razu, and on the 9th December fought an action with the French near Rajahmundry, which ranks as one of the decisive battles of India and in which the French were utterly routed. As a result of this battle Salabat Jang, the Subadar of the Deccan, deserted the French and made a treaty with the English. The northern circars were thus restored to the sway of the Subadar of the Deccan, but seven years of the completest anarchy followed, during which 'the forms, nay even the remembrance of civil Government seemed to be wholly lost'.

BRITISH
PERIOD

However in 1765 Clive obtained from the Mughal emperor at Delhi a firman granting the northern circars to the Company, and four years later Vizagapatam was made the headquarters of a district, with Mr. John Andrews as the first Chief in Council. But many years of disturbances were to follow before settled government was established in the plains, and almost a century elapsed before the British Government assumed the administration of the Jeypore hills.

During the early years of the English factory at Vizagapatam it is evident from the Company's records that the Rajas of Nandapur were a powerful factor in the affairs of the plains and frequently caused embarrassment to the Muhammadan rulers at Chicacole. But during the struggle between the English and the French in the northern circars and the years of anarchy which succeeded the defeat of the latter the Rajas of Vizianagram greatly extended their power, and by the time of the grant of the circars to the Company Viziarama Razu, the then Raja, and his elder brother Sitarama Razu were by far the most prominent persons in the new territory. For many years the Chiefs in Council made no attempt to check their power, which consequently continued to expand. In 1768 Viziarama Razu wrote to the Government of Madras stating that in 1752 Salabat Jang, Subadar of the Deccan, had granted

him the Jeypore country as a jaghir on an annual payment of Rs. 24,000, and asking that the grant might be renewed. He produced an English translation of the sanad, and this set out that the villages of Casseypatnam (Kasipuram), Nandapore, Maulgal (Madgole), etc., amounting to 24,000 Rupees were assigned by way of Jaggeer to Rajah Viziamramraz Manna Sultan. Manna Sultan may mean 'Lord of the hills' but Grant (in his *Political Survey of the Northern Circars* appended to the *Fifth Report on the affairs of the E. I. Co.*) translated it 'King of the Jungles' and says it was conferred on Viziamrama, in derision, but at the request of Bussy, by Salabat Jang. In September 1768 the Madras Government, in consideration of the past services of the Raja to them, decided to confirm him in the possession of the Jaggeer he has requested, so long as he continues obedient to the Company's Authority and exerts himself in promoting their influence in the Circar, but the cowl issued accordingly in March 1769 merely granted and confirmed to him and his heirs 'the said revenue of Rs. 24,000 issuing out of the said districts of Casseypatnam, Nandaporam and Maulgal'.

Soon after this the various zamindars formed a strong confederacy to throw off the Vizianagram yoke. But Sitarama Bazu, the Dewan and *de facto* Raja, persuaded the Chief and Council to regard this as a challenge to their newly-constituted authority, and with the aid of the Company's troops he readily defeated the insurgents one after the other.

It was during the course of these disturbances that the Company first asserted its authority over the hill country by sending a body of troops to Jeypore and obtaining the submission of the Raja. Captain Richard Mathews, commanding the troops in the Chicacole circar, informed the Chief and Council at Vizagapatam that the 'Nandaporam Zemindar' was determined to assist the malcontents in the circar, had offered his daughter to 'Guzzeputdoo' (the Raja of Parlakimedi) to procure his alliance and had sent a man to purchase a reinforcement of 2,000 Maratha horse. He therefore advised that the passes to the hills be occupied in order to prevent an invasion.

Captain
Mathews'
march to
Jeypore

The Council thereupon asked for the approval of the Governor and Council of Fort St. George to take possession of the passes leading into the circars, and this was accorded. Captain Mathews acting on his own initiative had already by the 15th January 1775 taken Rayaghada, meeting with but slight opposition. On the 22nd January he informed the Chief and the Council at Vizagapatam that he was in possession of the passes leading towards Narayanapatnam. The Council, while congratulating Captain Mathews on his successes, instructed him as follows: 'As the President and Council have long wished to know the nature of these passes, we are to request you will be as particular as possible in the description of them, their situation and the force you think necessary to protect them giving us as soon as possible the best account you can procure of the value of that part of the Country on the

other side of the first range of hills and whether it ever paid any Jemabundy to Government. We also wish to be informed of the distance the different passes are from the Maharatta Country and how far it is in the power of the Wistadah (Bastar) Rajah to give any assistance or protection to those who are inclined to disturb the tranquillity of this Circar and as we are ignorant of the situation of his Country as well as of his force any information you can obtain on this head with every other respecting him will be very acceptable.'

On the 14th February Captain Mathews wrote from 'Camp near Jayapoor' that he had come through the pass with great difficulty as the enemy 'kept us alert by continual skirmishes while I was marching towards ye pass that leads into the Madagsit Country. This pass is six Coss from Jayapoor near which I am. The Country that I have passed through is very mountainous and woody and yields little more than dry grain except wheat. The westward (properly Buttadah) Country, they tell me, is twenty Coss to the westward of this place. I have not heard anything more about it, as the Enemy encircle my camp so that people cannot go or come without a strong party.' On the 24th February he reported that 'hard duty and the accustomed complains of the Country hath caused many to fall sick. Four of my European officers are incapable of duty.'

On the 25th he wrote 'Yesterday I received advice that twenty days ago a party of Maharattas consisting of one thousand Horse and five hundred Infantry armed with firelocks arrived at Callahandru and gave out that they proposed passing through Bassimcotah (Bissamikatak) in their way to the Circar.....But as the Passes are secured as much as a number of the Rajah's (the Raja of Vizianagram's) Troops can be depended on for their security I hope that they will not be able to effect their purpose.' Captain Mathews' next report is dated the 17th March from Camp near Mychwau (possibly Makkuva, nine miles from Salur) : 'The party of Maharattas did come much nearer than Callahandree. They threatened to penetrate into the Circar by the Ryagudda pass in hopes to oblige me to raise the Blockade of Jayapoor, but the guard at the defiles kept so good a countenance that the plunderers did not think it consistent with their general plan to attempt forcing them. However, as their affinity would create an alarm in the Circar and give me on that account as well as in regard for my own situation some uneasiness, a tributary of theirs was prevailed upon, in promise of support to throw off subjection, who attacked an advance party put them to flight and took forty Horses, the main body then retreated to the open Country. This news came the same day that I had brought Vickerandoo to the terms prescribed by the Hon'ble Board. For upon the receipt of your favour of the 22 of February I sent again to him and he promised to come to me in five days. In seven he came and agreed to surrender the Fort and quit all pretensions to the several passes leading into the Circar, requesting that he might be suffered to keep the country to the westward of them. I took possession of the Fort on the 11 instant. It is a square

of about one thousand yards built of mud. The wall 20 feet high. The bastions very good, the Rampart tolerable and a ditch 20 feet wide and as many deep.'

Captain Mathews' observations on the country, though brief, are of interest as being those of the first European to penetrate into the hill country of Jeypore. 'I have made all possible enquiry and cannot learn that Vickeramdoos or any of his predecessors ever paid tribute to any power whatever for the Hill country. The possession of which hath been in the same family time out of mind and though often threatened and sometimes attacked by the Moors and Maharattas of ye other side the Hills and the Troops of the Circar, never before conquered and I am happy that so great a security to the Hon'ble Company's territory hath been effected in so short a time with so little damage as that of thirty men killed and wounded.

'Callahandree, the Capital of a Rajah tributary to the Maharattas, is 70 miles north-west of Gudaporam. The Maharattas do not keep any force at this place. About fifty Coss to the westward of Callahandree I am told that they have 25,000 Horse.

'Bustaba lies to the southward of Callahandree. Between them are two or three Forts now belonging to the Maharattas which they have lately taken from the Burtada men, whose country from north to south is three hundred miles in length and the breadth in most parts from east to west 150 miles.'

As a result of this campaign a considerable, even a major portion of the Jeypore estate was brought under the control of the Raja of Vizianagram, the Company's protégé. But the report of Mr. Oram (one of the members of the Circuit Committee) in 1784 states that the frequent revolts and disturbances of the people of Jeypore soon afterwards decided the Vizianagram Raja to hand back the whole country to Vikrama Deo for an annual sum of Rs. 40,000, of which no more than three-fourths was ever paid.

In 1776 the Madras Government despatched a Committee of Circuit to enquire into the state of the northern circars and the revenue system there. The Committee was, however, recalled in 1778 and an attempt was made to regulate the payments of the zamindars by the Governor himself at Madras. In 1783 the Committee of Circuit was revived and in a report of 1784 strongly condemned the administration of the Chiefs in Council and spoke with indignation of the oppressions of Sitarama Razu, the Dewan of Vizianagram. Among other proposals they recommended that Jeypore should be constituted into a separate zamindari, entirely independent of Vizianagram, with a peshkash of Rs. 35,000. This suggestion was not, however, immediately adopted.

In the years that followed, maladministration in the Vizianagram estate led to the accumulation of large arrears of peshkash and to great discontent among the lesser zamindars

In 1793 the estate was sequestered and the Raja was promised an allowance and directed to leave the district. Instead of obeying this order he gathered a large body of fighting men round him at his camp at Padmanabham, which he refused to disband. After various negotiations had proved fruitless he was declared to have broken with the Company, and in July 1794 Lieutenant-Colonel Prendergast attacked him with a force of seven and a half companies of sepoys. In the battle which followed the Raja's troops were defeated and the Raja himself slain. Fugitives from the army, however, gathered round the Raja's eight-year old son, Narayana Razu, and endeavoured to induce other zamindars to support the revolt. The chief hopes of the insurgents were centred on Ramachandra Deo of Jeypore, who then resided at Narayanapatnam. The latter, however, held aloof and the rising consequently collapsed.

The Jeypore Raja was rewarded for his behaviour by the grant of a permanent sanad for his estate for an annual peshkash of Rs. 25,000. Other zamindars who had been dispossessed of their estates by Vizianagram were given temporary leases, and the Vizianagram estate was restored, greatly curtailed, to the young Raja.

The permanent settlement

In the year 1802 the permanent settlement was introduced throughout the district, and the Jeypore estate was conferred upon Ramachandra Deo with a reduced peshkash of Rs. 16,000.

In the plains of Vizagapatam the permanent settlement of 1802 proved politically a failure, and for many years after its introduction the zamindars were in a chronic state of discontent. At the close of 1832 the disturbances in the district and the Parlakimedi zamindari of Ganjam became so serious that Mr. George Russell, member of the Board of Revenue, was sent as Special Commissioner to concert measures for their suppression. To check further disturbances of the same kind Act XXIV of 1839 was passed and seven-eighths of the district was removed from the operation of much of the ordinary law and administered directly by the Collector with extraordinary powers conferred upon him in the capacity of 'Agent of the Governor'. Gradually the extent of the application of this special law was reduced until in 1868 all the areas of Vizagapatam district that are not now classed as 'Agency' were excluded from it and administered under the ordinary law. The Act is still in force in the whole of Koraput district.

Discovery of human sacrifice

One of the most important results of the appointment of the Special Commissioner was the discovery of the prevalence of the practice of human sacrifice, commonly known as the 'Meriah' rite, whose existence had not even been suspected till the year 1836, when it was brought to light by Mr. Russell. The stronghold of the practice was the Kondh areas of the Ganjam and Cuttack districts and the adjacent Oriya States, but the whole of the territories of Jeypore were in a greater or lesser degree affected. In 1845 the Governor-General of India in Council took steps to organise the special Meriah Agency, whereby the task of suppressing the Meriah sacrifices throughout

the Bengal and the Madras territories was placed in the hands of a single officer aided by a number of assistants. The Agency remained in existence until 1861, by which time it had successfully accomplished its object. No instance of a Meriah sacrifice has come to notice in Koraput since the abolition of the Special Agency. A history of the measures adopted in this district for the extirpation of the practice is given in the next chapter.

From 1803 to 1848 Jeypore remained an almost unknown country to the officers of the district. In 1819 Mr. Thackeray, a member of the Board of Revenue, spoke of the hill tracts of Vizagapatam as being 'a wide tract of hill and jungle, inhabited by uncivilized and indeed unconquered barbarians; their climate and their poverty have secured them from conquest. No great native Government ever seems to have thought this tract worth conquering. It has been left as a waste corner of the earth to wild beasts and Conds. Nobody seems even to know the boundary. This tract has never been explored; there is a blank left here in the maps.'

In 1848 great complaints reached Vizagapatam of the feebleness of the Raja of Jeypore, Vikrama Deo II, and the tyranny and misrule of his managers. Large bodies of raiyats found their way to the coast and represented the country to be the scene of plunder, murder and rapine. At last the Raja's officials were driven out of the Gunupur taluk and disturbances of some importance immediately arose. The faction opposed to Vikrama Deo (whose avowed object was to remove him) was headed by his eldest son (a youth of thirteen who was afterwards Ramachandra Deo III) and the latter's mother, the Patta Mahadevi; and their following comprised the most influential muttadars of the country.

Both parties agreed to abide by the decision of the Agent regarding the dispute, and in April 1849 Mr. Smollett accordingly set out for Parvatipur. He was met there by the son, who travelled with great pomp of elephants, palanquins and horses and a guard of 1,000 matchlock men, while the Raja was represented by some of his officers. A compromise suggested by the Agent was accepted by neither party, and to prevent further anarchy, Mr. Smollett attached the four thanas of Gunupur, Bayaghada, Narayanapatnam and Alamanda.

Not long afterwards he arranged to meet both father and son together; and after wearisome and protracted negotiations a reconciliation was effected and the attachment withdrawn. A breach soon ensued, and on the 16th September 1849 the son seized his father and the latter's chief servants and confined them all in the fort at Bayaghada. They were released by a company of sibbandis under Captain Haly, but the old man's authority was completely gone and the villagers would not even bring him food. A second reconciliation was afterwards effected and it was agreed that Gunupur should be attached and that the revenues thereof should be devoted to paying off the Raja's debts and liquidating the arrears of peshkash. The

Raja appears to have lost all self-control at this point, and to have sunk into the deepest abasement. He did not return to his capital, but allowed his son to proceed thither and administer all his affairs. He himself remained on at Narayanapatnam, deserted by his servants, given up to the most besotted sensuality, and subsisting on the charity of the villagers 'who were heartily tired of his residence among them'.

In 1855 Jeypore affairs again attracted attention, the existence in the zamindari of the practice of *sati* being brought to notice. Mr. Smollett reported that cases were frequent; that moreover, owing to Vikrama Deo's incapacity the country was in a state of complete anarchy; that the Raja's younger son had seized Gunupur; and that the only means of ensuring security to life and property was to post a European officer in Jeypore. Vikrama Deo was sounded regarding this suggestion and in reply wrote a long letter promising to stop all crime in the country, asserting his competence to rule, and earnestly deprecating the interference of Government. Meanwhile, however, the retainers of his two sons had come to blows over the seizure of Gunupur and a severe fight had occurred. In July 1855 the Government authorised the Agent to assume 'the control, both police and revenue, of the tracts above the ghats, the taluks below being managed by the agency direct'. Lord Dalhousie, however, was then at Ootacamund and objected, considering that the step was likely to 'involve the British Government in a protracted jungle and hill war, such as that of Gumsur'. Mr. Smollett protested that the two cases were in no way parallel, but no further action was taken until Vikrama Deo's death in 1860.

Direct admin-
istration
assumed

The Agent, Mr. Fane, then revived Mr. Smollett's proposal; this was ultimately sanctioned: and in January 1863 Lieutenant Smith was located at Jeypore as Assistant Agent and Captain Galbraith as Assistant Superintendent of Police. Some hostility was evinced at first to the arrangement, and it was necessary to deport, under Agency warrants, two leading malcontents, both ex-Dewans of the estate. Nor was this astonishing. 'Truth to say', as Mr. Carmichael, then Agent, wrote in 1864, 'we are working out in Jeypore an experiment which has never been tried before. Eighty years of independent native misrule have been succeeded at once, without compromise and without any exhibition of military or semi-military force, by an administration which aims at the same completeness as prevails in our oldest provinces.'

A good idea of the internal state of the country during the preceding period can be gathered from the reports of the officers of the Meriah Agency which are contained in the next chapter, and from the following extract of a report written by Lieutenant J. M. Smith, the first Assistant Agent, about 1865: 'The administration of both civil and criminal justice was entirely in the Rajah's hands till January 1863. Before that he was supposed to send down to the Governor's Agent any serious cases of homicide; but they never came down unless they were sent

for. They were punished by the Rajah, either by cutting off the offender's hands, or by fine, if he was a man of property female infanticide used to be very common all over the country, and the Rajah is said to have made money out of it in one large taluq. The custom was to consult a 'dasari', when a female child was born, as to its fate; if it was to be killed, the parents had to pay one Narrain Missr, the Amin of the taluq, a fee for the privilege of killing it, and the Amin used to pay the Rajah Rs. 300 a year for renting the privilege of giving the licence and pocketing the fees. In cases of rape, the procedure was to cut the woman's nose off, and after beating the man well to turn him out of the caste by stuffing his mouth with beef. In cases of murder the Rajah generally had the man's hands, nose and ears cut off; but after all that he seldom escaped the vengeance of the deceased's relatives In short the authority of the Rajah and of the chiefs subordinate to him was supreme within their respective circles. They administered such rude justice as they pleased, and if any person was suspected of an intention of proceeding to Vizagapatam to complain to the district officers, or to inform against his local superiors, he was immediately seized and confined in a safe quarter.'

Since the assumption of the direct administration of the Agency tracts the history of the Koraput district has been chequered only by a number of petty risings of the hill people, which are locally known as 'fituris'.

In July 1864 trouble occurred with the Savaras of Gunupur taluk. One of their headmen having been improperly arrested by the police of Puttasingi, they effected a rescue, killed the Inspector and four constables and burned down the station-house. The Raja of Jeypore was requested to use his influence to procure the arrest of the offenders, and eventually twenty-four were captured, of whom nine were transported for life and five were sentenced to death and hanged at Jaltar, at the foot of the ghat to Puttasingi. The Government presented the Raja with a rifle and other gifts in acknowledgment of his assistance. The country did not immediately calm down, however, and in 1865 a body of police who were sent to establish a post in the hills were attacked and forced to beat a retreat down the ghat. A large force was then assembled, and after a brief but harassing campaign the post was firmly occupied in January 1866. Three of the ringleaders of this rising were transported for life. The hill Savaras remained timid and suspicious for some years afterwards, and as late as 1874 the reports mention it as a notable fact that they were beginning to frequent markets on the plains and that the low country people no longer feared to trust themselves above the ghats.

In 1879 disturbances which broke out among the Koyyas of the Rampa area of East Godavari district spread to Malkanagiri taluk. The discontent was fanned by the scandalous conduct of the local police. The Inspector had 'worried and insulted all the respectable people in the country by his violence, extortion,

Recent
history

drunkenness and lechery. The constables of course followed suit'. Roads near the stations were deserted in consequence and markets were closed. In April 1880 Tamma Dora, the great Koyya leader, entered the taluk and captured the Podia police-station after a fight. The Inspector and six constables were killed. Colonel Macquoid of the Hyderabad Contingent marched with 100 men to protect Motu, but was attacked on the 6th May and retreated. This set the country in a blaze, and Tamma Dora was hailed as the Raja of Southern Malkanagiri. Later on, however, he was driven back to the Rampa jungles and in July 1880, refusing to surrender, was attacked and shot by the police.

In 1892 the Kondhs of Kalahandi State rose against the Oriyas and murdered some hundreds of them. Luckily the invitation to join them conveyed by the circulation of the head, fingers, hair, etc., of an early victim, was not accepted by the Kondhs of this district, but the Parvatipur police reserve under Mr. Prendergast took a prominent part in restoring order across the frontier.

The Bastar rebellion of 1910-11 also had few repercussions in this district.

The most notorious of all 'fituris' was the rising of 1922 which was led by Alluri Srirama Razu and was not suppressed until its leader was killed in 1924. The focal point of this rebellion was in the Gudem taluk of Vizagapatam district, and the hillmen of Koraput district did not take up arms. However, in September 1923, Srirama Razu and his gang came as far as Malkanagiri in search of arms and provender. But all weapons had been removed from the local police-station and the rebels left Malkanagiri empty-handed after one day's stay, abstaining for some reason from rifling the sub-treasury.

In July and August 1932 a Paiko named Srihari Das collected round him a following of Kondhs of the Narayana-patnam area, who were persuaded to believe that he possessed superhuman powers. He built himself a fort in the hills and with the aid of his followers committed a number of robberies and dacoities in the neighbourhood. In September a party of armed reserve police under the Assistant Superintendent of Parvatipur rounded up the gang and its leader after a sharp chase.

A new chapter in the history of the Jeypore country was begun when the district of Koraput was formed and incorporated in the new Orissa Province on the 1st April 1936.

CHAPTER III

THE MERIAH SACRIFICES

In the year 1836, the existence of 'Meriah', or the rite of human sacrifices among the Kondhs, was discovered by Mr. Russell, the Commissioner, of the Madras Civil Service. The following passages are extracted from various official reports, contained in Volume V of the Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Home Department) entitled 'Human Sacrifice and Infanticide'.

EXISTENCE
OF HUMAN
SACRIFICE
DISCOVERED

Jeypore was, from the first, one of the suspected localities. 'It is necessary to keep in mind that, besides the Khond districts of Cuttack, and those under the Madras Presidency, commencing southward with Jeypore and extending beyond the Mahanadi, the practice embraces also many parts of the Nagpur provinces, and a large belt of territory hitherto independent.'— Mr. Russell.

On the 24th November 1837 Mr. Arbuthnot, the Collector of Vizagapatam, in reply to a requisition calling on him to report what he knew of the practice, and what means should be adopted to put a stop to it, wrote as follows:—

Arbuthnot's
report

'The result of my inquiries on this subject leaves no doubt in my mind that this revolting practice does prevail in the most inaccessible parts of the whole range of hills that divide the Company's territories from those of Nagpur and Hyderabad.

'Of the hill tribe, Kodulu, there are said to be two distinct classes, the Kotya Kodulu and Jatapu Kodulu. The former class is that, which is in the habit of offering human sacrifices to the god Jenkery with a view to secure good crops. This ceremony is generally performed on the Sunday either preceding or following the Pongal feast. The victim is seldom carried by force, but procured by purchase, and there is a fixed price for each person, which consists of forty articles, such as a bullock, a male buffalo, a cow, a goat, a piece of cloth, a silk cloth, a brass pot, a bunch of plantains, etc.

'The man who is destined for the sacrifice is immediately carried before the god, and a small quantity of rice, coloured with saffron, is put upon his head. The influence of this is said to prevent his attempting to escape, even though set at liberty. It would appear however, that from the moment of his seizure till he is sacrificed, he is kept in a continued state of stupefaction or intoxication. He is allowed to wander about the village, to eat and drink anything he may take a fancy to, and even to have connection with any of the women whom he may meet.

✓ 'On the morning set apart for the sacrifice, he is carried before the idol in a state of intoxication. One of the villagers officiates as a priest, who cuts a small hole in the stomach of his victim, and with the blood that flows from the wound, the idol is besmeared; then the crowds from the neighbouring villages rush forward, and he is literally cut into pieces; each person who is so fortunate as to procure it, carries away a morsel of the flesh and presents it to the idol in his own village. A sacrifice is never offered in any village oftener than once in twelve years, nor is there ever more than one victim; this, however, is not the case in Bustar, where twenty persons have frequently been sacrificed at a time.'

Lieutenant Hill, of the Survey Department, has the following remarks in his Report of the 2nd July 1838:—

'The Khonds located in the hill fastnesses of Jeypore and Bustar and of Chinna Kimedya, Goomsur, Boad, Sohpore, Duspulla, etc., appear to be the only tribes that have maintained their independence. The country over which Khonds are scattered extends from the north of the Mahanadi to very nearly as far south as the Godavari. Of the Khond districts north of the Mahanadi, I have no accurate intelligence; but there can be little doubt that the 'Meriah' practice will be found to exist, as it certainly does in the adjoining hilly parts of Duspulla, Boad and Sohpore. From the Goomsur Maliahs southwards, Chinna Kimedya, Pedda Kimedya and Jeypore, complete the chain to Bustar, in which latter place the practice is prevalent to an enormous extent The Khonds are said not to be the only people who sacrifice human beings. At Bissumcuttack, the Jeypore Rajah's Karkun pointed out a child of about eight years of age in a large Brinjari camp, who, he stated, had been purchased near the coast, and was to be sacrificed on crossing the boundary of Orissa (the Jung river). The Brinjaries were questioned regarding the child, and claimed it as one of their own tribe, but Koonechee Singh (a son of the late Zamindar of Sooradah, who accompanied me) pronounced the child to be a Wooriah of the same caste as my bearers; hence I fear that the Brinjaries who travel these roads, are in the habit of performing this ceremony; great caution is necessary in believing any Khond Mootah to be free from this stain, as on several occasions when the practice has been stoutly denied, I have afterwards obtained undoubted proof of its existence.'

MERIAH
AGENCY
FORMED

By Act XXI of 1845, the Governor-General of India in Council was empowered to place in the hands of one officer (to be called 'the Agent for the suppression of Meriah Sacrifices'), aided by a sufficient number of competent assistants, the entire control of the tracts inhabited by the Kondh tribes, whether situated within the Bengal or Madras territories. 'Thus,' it was anticipated, 'the serious difficulties which had previously occurred, in consequence of the power of the officers employed in the promotion of this important work being restricted to the local limits of their respective Presidencies, would for the future be obviated, and that unity of action secured which is essential

to the successful issue of measures directed to the same object.' The first Agent was Captain Macpherson, of the Madras Army. He continued in office up to the spring of 1847, when he was removed on certain charges of mismanagement preferred by General Dyce, the officer who was sent up to quell an insurrection which had supervened. Subsequently, after a full enquiry by a Special Commissioner, Mr. J. P. Grant, B.C.S., Captain Macpherson was declared 'to have, with a very little exception, cleared himself and his administration from all General Dyce's accusations'. He did not however reassume charge of the Agency, wherein he was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, also of the Madras Army.

The first visit of the Meriah Agency to Jeypore appears to have been in 1851. The following is a Report from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, dated the 10th October 1851. It will be seen that the Jeypore Kondhs had the audacity to attack his camp:—

Colonel
Campbell's
first visit

'I have to report that it is my intention to take the field as early in November as the season will permit, probably about the 10th, and passing through Goomsur and a part of the Boad and Chinna Kimedya Maliahs, proceed at once to the sacrificing tribes of Jeypore, having first brought to submission three Mootahs of Chinna Kimedya, viz., Goomah, Jadoka and Sonkagodah, bordering on Jeypore, which have not been visited.

'I shall enter Jeypore by Bundaree of the Gunapur taluq, or by Bissumcuttack, as may be most advantageous, and pass through the Zamindari of Patna and Kalahundy on my return at the end of the season.'

On the 18th November, Colonel Campbell ascended the ghats into the Kondh country, passed through the heart of the Goomsur and Chinna Kimedya Maliahs, and thence, through an unexplored country, in a south-westerly direction, to Bissamkatak.

'I learned with much satisfaction, from concurrent testimony from various sources, that with the exception of two small Mootahs, Ambodala and Kankabady, bordering on Chinna Kimedya and Mohungir of Kalahundy, the Meriah sacrifice had ceased for more than two generations; but that some of the villages still participated in the cruel rite by procuring flesh of Meriahs, principally from the neighbouring district of Ryabejee of Jeypore.

'From the two small Mootahs above named, four Meriahs were removed; all, I have reason to believe, that the people had in their possession.

'In the house of the Tat Rajah, I discovered a youth that had been purchased by him for sacrifice, and who had undergone all the ceremonies preparatory to his immolation to the god of battle 'Manicksoro', in the event of his coming into collision with the troops of his superior of Jeypore.

'On the 17th December we left Bissumcutback for Ryabejee in an eastern direction, from which place sixty-nine Meriahs were eventually rescued. I found it necessary to push for the open country of Godairy, where the Khonds, after some little evasion and procrastination, delivered up their Meriahs, to the number of forty-six and readily entered into the usual agreement to abandon the rite of human sacrifice for ever.

'From Godairy, I proceeded in a north-east direction to Lumbragaum of Malo Mootah of Godairy. Lumbragaum is one of a cluster of six villages, which are generally at feud with each other; but on the occasion of my visit, they were closely united to repel the retribution which they supposed I had come to exact for the murder in which all were more or less concerned, of three messengers of the Negoban or manager of Godairy, who, under cover of being the bearer of a proclamation respecting the Meriah, had extorted goats, buffaloes, brass vessels, etc., from the Khonds.

'I used my best endeavours for several days to undeceive these wild people, but either they did not comprehend me, or there was some underhand influence at work, which I could not detect. After repeated threats and demonstrations, emboldened by the smallness of the force at my disposal, and excited by liquor, about three-hundred of them attacked my camp, shouting and yelling more like demons than men, supported by as many more uttering cries of encouragement from the rocks and jungle which surrounded the camp; but a steady and resolute advance soon drove them off; a few shots over their heads, which did no harm, completed the route, and we pursued them rapidly over the mountains till they were lost in the jungle dells on the other side.

'The next day, delegates arrived from the several villages of the confederation; and, the day following, all came, made their submission, and delivered up their Meriahs.

'The whole population of the neighbouring Mootahs, including those of Chinna Kimeddy, were intensely watching the result of the struggle at Lumbragaum, the successful termination of which exercised a most favourable influence on the proceedings which followed in the large Mootah of Sirdarpore.

'From Lumbragaum I proceeded in a southern direction to Sirdarpore. The people do not rear Meriahs as in Ryabejee and Chunderpore, but they procure the flesh of Meriahs from the two last-mentioned places, and formerly from Chinna Kimeddy. They also, when a sacrifice is considered necessary, unite and purchase a victim for the occasion; but at once, without any hesitation, they agreed to abandon the rite and all participation in it for ever.

'From Godairy I marched due north by Seergodah and Bejeepore, to the Mootah of Chunderpore, one of the strongholds of the Meriah, second only to Ryabejee.

'The people of Bundare, one of the principal Khond villages of this Mootah, refused to come to me, or send me their Meriahs. I knew that a human victim had been sacrificed about a month previous to my first arrival. Even for this great crime, I promised that they would receive pardon, if they came in and delivered up their Meriahs; but they resisted all my efforts to conciliate them, and eventually fled, with everything they could remove, to their concealed fastnesses in the mountains. These I endeavoured to discover, but without success; the lateness of the season forbade a longer delay, and most reluctantly I caused the village to be destroyed, as affording the only hope of saving the lives of three persons, who, if the village had been left standing, would certainly have been sacrificed on my leaving the place. The people had not the excuse of ignorance to plead, for in the season of 1848-49, I took away from them eight Meriahs; and, moreover, successful evasion would, if unpunished, have set a most injurious example to the whole sacrificing population.'

Colonel Campbell then proceeds to describe the sacrifice which took place at Bundare. It is called 'Junna', and considered by him to be peculiar to the Kondhs of Jeypore, for he never met with it in any other part of the Kondh country.

'It is performed as follows, and is always succeeded by the sacrifice of three human beings, two to the sun, to the east and west of the village, and one in the centre, with the usual barbarities of the Meriah. A stout wooden post about six feet long is firmly fixed in the ground; at the foot of it a narrow grave is dug, and to the top of the post the victim is firmly fastened by the long hair of his head; four assistants hold his outstretched arms and legs, the body being suspended horizontally over the grave, with the face towards the earth. The officiating 'Junna', or priest, standing on the right side, repeats the following invocation, at intervals hacking with his sacrificing knife the back part of the shrieking victim's neck, 'O mighty Manicksoro, this is your festal day! To the Khonds the offering is Meriah, to kings, 'Junna', on account of this sacrifice, you have given to kings, kingdoms, guns and swords. The sacrifice we now offer you must eat, and we pray that our battle axes may be converted into swords, our bows and arrows into gun-powder and balls; and if we have any quarrels with other tribes, give us the victory. Preserve us from the tyranny of kings and their officers.' Then, addressing the victim: 'That we may enjoy prosperity, we offer you a sacrifice to our god 'Manicksoro', who will immediately eat you, so be not grieved at our slaying you! Your parents were aware when we purchased you from them for 60 rupees, that we did so with intent to sacrifice you; there is, therefore, no sin on our heads, but on your parents. After you are dead, we shall perform your obsequies.' The victim is then decapitated, the body thrown into the grave and the head left suspended from the post till devoured by wild beasts. The knife remains fastened to the post, till the three sacrifices already mentioned are performed, when it is removed with much ceremony.

'The number of real Meriahs rescued this season amounts to 158, and the number of Poossias* registered distinct from the Meriahs, 16. The practice of rearing Meriahs by bringing up women to prostitution is more general in Jeypore than in any other part of the Khond country; hence the great number of women and their children rescued. They are not, as a general rule, sacrificed in the villages wherein they were born, lest a father should be instrumental to the sacrifice of his own child, which would not be acceptable to the Earth Goddess, the victim not having been purchased; but they are exchanged, when a victim is needed, with children similarly begotten in a neighbouring Mootah, and the mothers are eventually sacrificed when they become old.

'To the west of Bissemcuttack, I was informed that the Meriah had been suppressed, about the same time that it was discontinued at Bissemcuttack; but that, when within their reach, some of the villagers procured Meriah flesh for their fields. To be efficacious, the flesh must be deposited before the sun sets on the day of the sacrifice, and to ensure this, instances are related of a piece of human flesh having been conveyed an incredible distance by relays of men in a few hours. But the prevalence or otherwise of the Meriahs to the west or the north can only be ascertained with certainty by a visit to those countries, which I hope to accomplish next season.'

Colonel
Campbell's
second visit

In November 1852, Colonel Campbell again ascended the ghats; and it will be seen from the following extracts of his Report, dated the 13th April 1853, that his severity at Bundare had had the desired effect: 'At Bundare of Jeypore, I found the people anxiously looking for my arrival, uncertain as to their reception, in consequence of the sacrifice perpetrated by them last year, and the destruction of their village as the only means of averting the fate of three victims in their possession doomed for sacrifice. They soon, however, gained confidence, and came to me with their Meriahs, throwing themselves on the mercy of Government. Of the three victims prepared for sacrifice, one had made his escape to my camp, another had died, and the third was delivered to me. Two more, who were brought, were given by me in marriage, at the request of the chiefs, to two young Khonds of the village.

'I passed through the Mootahs of Chunderpore, Ryabejee and Godairy, the strongholds of the Meriah in Jeypore, and out of two hundred and twenty Khond villages, only one chief, Sorunga Majee of Daddajoriga of Ryabejee, refused to produce his Meriahs, who are now said to be his wife and child; but the true cause of his flight was fear, for he alone of all the Khond chiefs of Jeypore performed the Meriah sacrifice last year, after I had left the country. I could not discover his place of concealment, but his relatives have become security for him.

'From Godairy I proceeded to Bissemcuttack, where I found the Khonds true to their pledge.'

* Children of female Meriahs married temporarily to Kondhs.

In regard to the limits of country wherein 'Meriah' prevailed, and to its existence amongst other communities besides the Kondhs, Colonel Campbell has recorded these remarks:—

'I have ascertained that the extreme limits of the tracts within which the Meriah sacrifice is known, are from 19° 20' to 20° 30' north, and from 83° 15' to 84° 30' east; but within these limits are several extensive districts where human sacrifice has never been practised, at least within the memory of man, such as the *infanticidal* tribes of Souradah and Chinna Kimedya, the non-sacrificing tribes of Surrungudah, Koorboolee, Nowgaum and Dejee, and the numerous Uriya communities found in almost all the most fertile parts of the Khond country. In Jeypore and Kalahundy, the principal Hindu Chiefs, on great occasions, such as going out to fight, building a fort, or rebuilding an important village, were in the habit of propitiating the goddess Manicksore by the immolation of three human victims called 'Junna'. Of this class, eight have been discovered in Jeypore, and the Chiefs to whom they belonged made no secret of the purpose for which they were kept, and at once produced them, and in the presence of their Khond and Uriya followers abjured the right for ever.

'This season, every district, every Mootah of Chinna Kimedya and of Jeypore, has been visited, and all the Khond Chiefs of these districts and Mootahs, with two exceptions, have delivered up by their 'Meriahs', and have given their adhesion to the pledge of renouncing the sacrifice of human beings for ever. I do not know of the existence of a Meriah in Chinna Kimedya or Jeypore: I believe they have all been removed.'

The following is from the last published Report of Colonel Campbell, dated the 9th February 1854, and gives a narrative of his proceedings during the past season:—

Colonel
Campbell's
last report

'In the Khond tracts of Jeypore my reception was most gratifying. I visited my old opponents of Lumbragaum, Bapalla and Bundare, and found them as contented and happy as their neighbours of Chinna Kimedya; they, with all the Khonds of Jeypore, declaring their fidelity to the pledge they had given, and their resolution to have nothing more to do with the sacrifice of human beings. Five Meriah women, who had been given in marriage to Khonds of the Souradah infanticidal tribes, and who fled from their new husbands, were given up; and a Meriah youth, who escaped from me last season, was brought by his owner, Indroomooni Majee, of his own accord, who reproached me for not taking better care of him 'for', said the Majee, 'he has undergone the ceremonies preparatory to sacrifice; take him away with you'. There has been no sacrifice, nor attempt to sacrifice in Jeypore since March 1852, nor in Chinna Kimedya since November of the same year.

'From Jeypore I passed in a north-western direction through the Zamindaries of Ryaghur and Singapore, a fine open level country, well cultivated, with a population of Khonds and



Telugus. The Khonds are here a civilized race, very industrious, and pay rent for their land like their Telugu neighbours; they acknowledged having occasionally procured part of the flesh of a human victim from Jeypore and Tooamool, but for many years no sacrifice had taken place among themselves. Through Singapore and Ryaghur, several thousand Brinjary bullocks pass from the interior to the coast with oil-seeds, wheat and cotton, and return laden with salt.

'It affords me heartfelt satisfaction to be able to report thus satisfactorily of the suppression, I will not presume to say of the complete suppression, for that will depend on our future supervision and watchfulness, of the Meriah rite in Goomsur, Boad, Chinna Kimedý, Jeypore, Kalahundy and Patna'.

It appears that the total number of Meriahs rescued in Jeypore in 1851-52 and 1852-53 was as follows:—77 males and 115 females; and of Poossias, 14 males and 8 females.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell was succeeded in his office by Captain MacVicar, who was shortly afterwards followed by Captain A. C. McNeill. Some extracts of their reports relating to Jeypore are appended.

Extract from a letter from Captain MacVicar, Agent to the Governor-General in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, dated the 21st May 1855

Captain
MacVicar's
report

'All the sacrificing tribes of Jeypore hills have been visited this year. Their country has been thoroughly searched, and traversed throughout its extreme length and breadth, and with one exception only, the Khonds have remained true and steadfast to their pledge.

'The exception occurred in the village of Aseergoody, where a party of Khonds had subscribed thirteen goonties for the purchase of a victim. A lad was stolen for this purpose by a Khond named Kisky, from the house of his father, and given for sacrifice, but the rite was not consummated prior to Captain McNeill's arrival. He fortunately secured all the parties concerned, save Kisky, who had died of smallpox, and they are now undergoing the punishment due to their disobedience of the Sirkar's orders. They do not pretend to extenuate their guilt, but much may be urged in mitigation of their fault, and I shall be glad when, after a sufficient example has been made, I shall be able to set them free. Captain McNeill had the satisfaction of restoring the destined victim to his parents in Bissemcuttack, whence he had been stolen.

'I cannot adequately express my sense of the fidelity of the hill tribes of Jeypore, in so nobly adhering to their word. They were most warmly applauded and encouraged to persist; they said the harvest had been bountiful and the monsoon abundant, blessings which were denied the Uriyas on the plains, who had suffered from drought, and from the many evils necessarily arising from want of water.

'For three years now these Khonds have ceased to shed blood, and no calamity has befallen them, no ruin overtaken them. Thus have they had convincing proof that their prosperity is not dependent upon the Meriah sacrifice, which I trust is for ever at an end.

'In the low country of Jeypore, I regret most unfeignedly to relate that human sacrifices prevail almost in every district. Here, as in Bustar, we have to deal with relatively civilized and educated men and not with semi-barbarous tribes as in the hill tracts of Orissa. The former are not, in my opinion, deserving of the same consideration as the latter, and some sharper and severer measures should be adopted than we have ever yet employed amongst the wild tribes of the mountains.

'The Rajah of Jeypore is an old imbecile creature, quite unable to take any part in the government of his country. He vowed he had long ago ordered the discontinuance of human sacrifice, but not of Suttee, which he did not know had been prohibited by the Sirkar. The people that surround the Rajah care for nothing, but the attainment of their own selfish ends; and, under such a system of anarchy and misrule, it can create no surprise that Junna Poojah is almost universally celebrated.

'There is a class of people called Tooras and Toorees, who are purchased at various rates, and incontrovertibly supply the Junna victims. The most direct and conclusive evidence of this fact was obtained at Ramgherry and Mulcagherry, and the details will be found in the diaries of the proceedings of the Assistant-Agent in those districts.

'The Pater of Ramgherry and his Uriyas eventually confessed that human sacrifices were offered, and gave an account of the ceremonies which I here condense.

'On th site of the old fort at Ramgherry, facing the east, and at Letchmapore, facing the west, two victims are sacrificed every third year. The residence of the goddess, Goor-boneshanny, is supposed to be at the bottom of a hole eighteen inches square by three feet deep. On the day of sacrifice the victim is made over in irons to the officiating priest, who presents him with a pair of new cloths, and plies him freely with liquor until he is almost, if not wholly, insensible; his irons are then removed, he is forced into the hole, his arms are seized by two assistants and held out in a horizontal position, while the priest deliberately makes an incision in the back of the neck and then cuts the throat of the poor victim from ear to ear; the blood is allowed to flow to the bottom of the hole where the goddess dwells. After a little time, the head of the wretched Junna is severed from his body, placed in his lap, earth is thrown over the mutilated carcass, and a heap of stones marks the spot of this appalling tragedy.

'When the hole is again wanted, the bones of the last victim are thrown away. One of these mangled bodies was exhumed, the spot having been pointed out by the Chief of the district, when further denial and equivocation were useless.

'At the above sacrifice it is not usual for any but the priest and his assistants to be present, but at Letchmapooram, where another deity is propitiated, the whole country assists, and the victim is decapitated without any peculiar ceremonies.

'At Mulcagherry, four children were rescued, who were devoted to sacrifice, and their immolation only prevented by the opportune arrival of Captain McNeill's camp. In this country four are always sacrificed at a time, one at each of the four doors of the fort; besides this, six sacrifices are offered triennially in the four Purgunnahs into which Mulcagherry is divided; some of these sacrifices are celebrated during the Desserah, some in September and others again in December. The object in all cases is the same, to obtain benefits and avert evils.

'In the town of Mulcagherry, one hundred Toorees were surrendered and duly registered. The best security being given for their future appearance, they were allowed to remain. The Chiefs and people have made the most solemn promises to relinquish the rite; but I think some stringent law to reach these particular cases should be passed and rigorously applied.

'It is no unusual thing in the district of Mulcagherry to put to death supposed sorceresses, and a few years ago no less than five unfortunate women were immolated on the plea of having caused the death of an Uriya Chief.

'In addition to the regular sacrifices, offerings are made on special occasions. In May 1854, a Tooree aged ten years was sacrificed by the Ranee, in fulfilment of a vow for restoration to health.

'In all parts of the country the orders of the Government were made known both with reference to Suttee and Junna. The plea of ignorance cannot be raised in future, but I fear some severe examples must be made ere these cruel practices are completely suppressed in Jeypore.

'The Madras Government have already directed their Agent to institute inquiries, and with his aid I do not despair of seeing these barbarous usages eradicated. We have succeeded amongst the savage tribes of the hills, and we shall not, I believe, eventually be baffled by the people of the plains, whether in Bustar or Jeypore.'

Extract from a letter from Captain A. C. McNeill, Agent to the Governor-General in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, dated the 12th June 1856

Captain
McNeill's
first report

'Leaving Junnogudah on the 4th January, I proceeded in a southerly direction to the Zamindary of Nowhorungpore, a dependency of Jeypore, and ruled over by Sree Cheyton Deo. Neither during last season's tour, nor this, could I gain any information to lead to the belief that human sacrifice, under any denomination, obtains in this Zamindary; and the practice

of Suttee, which last year I found still prevailed in this, as well as nearly all the other districts of Jeypore, has ceased since the instructions issued prohibiting it. Nowhorungpore, well ruled and governed, affords a happy contrast to the misrule and anarchy which unhappily prevails in nearly every other portion of Jeypore.

From Nowhorungpore, which I left on the 12th January, I proceeded direct to Jeypore, and I deeply regret to state that, notwithstanding the stringent orders issued last season, prohibiting human sacrifices, no less than four cases have taken place since my last visit to the country, in February 1855. Of these, two occurred in Mulcagherry, one being a 'Junna' and the other being sacrificed as a sorceress. One case occurred in the Odrogoro taluq, where it was celebrated with all the formalities of the Meriah of the Khonds; the unfortunate victim being cut in pieces, the flesh distributed, and afterwards buried in the fields. In this taluq, one sacrifice is performed every third year, for the general welfare of the community.

The fourth sacrifice took place in the Ramgherry taluq and occurred in the month of September 1855. Its object was a propitiation to the gods to obtain the release from confinement of the Pater, who had been detained in irons at Jeypore on the plea of non-payment of peshkash, but the real cause of his detention was no doubt owing to his having confessed to me, last season, the prevalence of human sacrifice in his district, and also narrated all the particulars, connected with the mode in which the ceremony was performed. The victim sacrificed this season was seized by a band of Kongars, or thieves, in the Bustar territory, brought to Ramgherry, and offered up in the name of the Beercombo deity. On receiving the full particulars of this sacrifice, I sent a Sebundy guard for the purpose of apprehending the Pater of Ramgherry and all the other guilty parties, but they fled into the Bustar territory, and all further attempts to seize him were of no avail owing to the duplicity of the Jeypore people, who not only connived at his escape, but assisted him in his flight.

Another mode is frequently practised to get rid of persons accused of witchcraft and sorcery in the Ramgherry taluq, which is as follows:—Near the village of Tentally Goomah, a large pool in the bed of a river (which runs into the Godavari near Mulcagherry) formed by water falling over a precipice of about forty feet is called 'Koorchy Koondah'. The depth of this pool is from twelve to fourteen feet, as measured this season by some Sebundies deputed to visit the place, though the natives of Ramgherry believe it to be, and stated it to be, more than twenty yards deep. Into this pool, women accused of sorcery are thrown after having a stone tied round their neck.

I received information that, during the last twelve months, two unfortunate creatures had thus perished. The brother of one of them, formerly an inhabitant of Ramgherry, but now residing in the Kotapady taluq, expressed his willingness to

depose publicly to the above effect, provided I assured him protection from the Jeypore authorities, who would have no hesitation whatever in making away with him, as soon as I left the country.

Death is not always awarded in Jeypore to persons accused of sorcery. Two individuals of the Kotapady taluq (a man and a woman) complained to me at Jeypore, that the son of a person named Bhoota Sanodore died of natural causes, but that the complainants being accused of having caused death by enchantment, they were seized, sent to the village blacksmith, who extracted all their front teeth with his forceps; and the complainants bore unmistakable evidence of their teeth having been removed.

One old woman of about fifty years of age also complained to me at Bheredejhollé, that she had been accused of causing the death of a person of the Jeypore taluq; that she was seized and had ropes of straw bound round her from the feet to the head, and was then bound to a tree preparatory to being burnt in this position, and that she owed her life to some people, who happening to pass by at the time, forcibly released her, when she fled to the Nowhorungpore country, where she had remained for the last nine months. Nothing, she said, would induce her to return to Jeypore, as her life would not be safe there, whereas she had no fears while living in the territory of Cheyton Deo.

The above are a few of many complaints brought before me, but in which I had no authority to interfere, as they did not come within the jurisdiction of the Agency; and not a day passed during the twelve I remained at Jeypore, but my tent was besieged from morning till night, with people begging for that justice and redress, which, they said, was not to be obtained from the Rajah or his advisers. Three people complained that their relations had been openly murdered in the town of Jeypore, and that no measures had been adopted for the punishment or even the seizure of the murderers. It was almost impossible to make these poor creatures understand that the Agency had no power to interfere in such matters, and that our attention was given solely to cases relating to human offerings to the gods.

When recommended to take their grievances before the Agent to Government at Vizagapatam, where they would be sure to find redress, they replied, that if persons attempted to leave the country with that intention, pajks or peons were invariably sent after them, who forcibly prevented them from going to the low country.

Organized gangs of Khongars (thieves) form a portion of the establishment of every man of any influence or standing in Jeypore. These bands of Dacoits, for they deserve no better name, pay a yearly tax of one rupee per head to the Rajah, or rather to the person who may be temporarily in charge of affairs in Jeypore, for the Rajah is a mere cypher, completely in the hands of a few cunning, intriguing individuals, whose sole care or thought is their own aggrandizement, at the expense

of the Rajah, and of all parties whose interests are not identical with their own; and to such an extreme has this system been carried, that the Rajah has for some time been completely dependent for his daily food on the charity of his brother, Sree Cheyton Deo of Nowhorungpore, although the annual revenue collected from Jeypore is two lacs, of which one thousand six hundred only goes as peshkash to Government.

I was informed by many respectable persons, long connected with the country that the assessment has gradually declined from four lacs to the present amount during the reign of the present Rajah. The country everywhere shows the remains of a district at one time highly cultivated, but now whole taluqs are deserted, and the ryots are everywhere reduced to the lowest degree of abject poverty.

The eldest son of the Rajah, of whom I saw a good deal this season, acknowledged that the state of the Zamindary was such that, if it continued, it must entail ruin on the family; that human sacrifices were celebrated in every taluq, and that murders and other atrocities were rife in every district, and that no attention had been paid to the repeated orders of the Government, forbidding human offering to the gods. He therefore requested that I would endeavour to re-establish order in the country. I informed him that I could not interfere in such matters, as they were not the objects of the Agency.

The Agent to the Government at Vizagapatam has attached the five taluqs of Jeypore below the ghauts, including Gooni-poorum, and these are now under management for the Rajah. but this arrangement, intended for his benefit and that of his family, has created much discontent in Jeypore, instead of being accepted in the spirit in which it was intended.

I attribute much of the indifference to, and disregard of, the orders issued this season, and also the duplicity evinced by the Jeypore officials, to the circumstance that no officer with any authority to take cognizance of the many misdemeanours perpetrated in the country had ever been to Jeypore, till I for the first time visited it last season. The people were well acquainted with the circumstance that the hill Agency had been yearly extending its operations, and that season after season, new districts hitherto untraversed by Europeans were being brought under supervision and control, and that the Khonds, of whom all were afraid, had been induced to submit to the will of the Sirkar. They consequently imagined that, on the arrival of the Agency at the capital of the country, all complaints would receive redress, and due notice be taken of cases of murder and other misdemeanours. Finding, however, that our efforts were entirely devoted to the suppression of human sacrifices, and that no notice whatever was taken of other crimes, the people were led to the belief that their former proceedings might be continued without fear; and impunity from punishment in these cases had led to indifference and disregard to orders regarding human sacrifices.

Extract from a Report of Captain A. C. McNeill, officiating Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated the 12th May 1857

Further
report by
Captain
McNeill

'Leaving Nowhorungpore on the 20th January, I proceeded to the Khuzba of Jeypore, where the same state of anarchy and misrule still prevails; murders, dacoities and assassination still continue unabated, and several cases of persons sacrificed as sorceresses were brought to my notice, as having occurred in the more remote taluq; but the lateness of the season did not admit of my visiting those districts, as it would require the undivided efforts of one officer for four months in the year efficiently to supervise the flat taluqs of Jeypore alone. In my Report of last season's proceedings, I had the honour to bring to the notice of Government the evil practices of the race of professional thieves, called in Jeypore Khongars. I this season elicited many new features regarding their proceedings, some of which may perhaps be considered interesting. These Khongars are employed by all the head people of Jeypore, and pay a polltax of one rupee per annum to the Rajah. Even Cheyton Deo, the Jaghirdar of Nowhorungpore, also the Joograj, or eldest son of the Jeypore Rajah, do not consider it below their dignity to retain in their service a number of them. Parties of Khongars, respectably dressed and disguised as travelling merchants, frequent the different fairs in the vicinity of Jeypore, and often proceed as far as that of Rajam in Chutteesghur; others again proceed to the low country of Parvatipur, Vizianagram and Vizagapatam, where they enter into fictitious dealings with Mahajans, who having no reason to suspect the respectability of the supposed traders, suffer for their credulity by being robbed during the night, thieves being perfectly safe as soon as they enter Jeypore territory.

'Some idea may be formed of the depredations committed by this lawless race, when I state that a yearly contract obtains in Jeypore called the 'Khondar Goota', averaging from one thousand to three thousand rupees per annum, and which is entirely obtained from the sale proceeds of property stolen by Khongars. Numerous Brinjaries complained to me that, whereas they at present pay transit duties amounting to 12½ rupees per one hundred bullocks, for passing through the Jeypore country, they would willingly pay double that amount, if they were only guaranteed protection against the Khongars. The Ooriahs and Khonds also of every district were unanimous in stating that they would be far better off, if they paid double their present rent, and were protected from these depredators, than pay the amount at present demanded, and, at the same time, be left to the mercies of these thieves.

'Many were the complaints made to me, by Brinjaries and other traders, of the amount of transit duties which they had to pay between the coast and Chutteesghur, amounting, as they stated, to the sum of Rs. 256-4-0, on one hundred laden

bullocks, the rates being as per note.* In addition to this a further charge was made at Ryaghur, while on their way to the coast for salt.

From Jeypore, which I left on the 4th February, I proceeded through the hitherto unvisited districts of Pootyadeso, Sorrobisse, Korkahputtah, Jhoomkah and Ryaguddah. Throughout these taluqs, infanticide, both male and female, prevails to a very considerable extent. I was visited by the greater portion of the Khond inhabiting these Mootahs, and they at once frankly acknowledged that infanticide was still prevalent amongst them. The reasons which lead to it are, however, different from those which influence the Khonds of the Sooradah tracts; amongst these latter, poverty is the sole cause, whereas in Jeypore the Khonds are comparatively civilized and well off; the manner in which it is performed is as follows:—

When a child is born, a Jauny or Dessaury, as he is called in that part of the country, is summoned, and consulted by the parents as to the future prospects of the new-born infant. The astrologer, for such is his pretended avocation, consults the horoscope, and also a Pungee, or book formed of *cadjan* leaves, on which are written certain sentences, intermixed with rudely-drawn figures of gods, goddesses, demons and devils, some of which are supposed to represent good and some evil. After certain ceremonies are performed, an iron or bone style is inserted at random into the Pungee, and the figures to which it points fix the fate of the child. If the god, goddesses or other sign represents good, the infant is spared; but if, on the other hand, it be one foreboding evil, the doom of the child is fixed, the Dessaury stating that the child, if allowed to live, will be the source of evil to the father, mother, relations or village community, as the case may be, or that murrain will attack the cattle, or that long years of drought will ensue. The point of the compass from which the evil would ensue is also stated. The living infant is then placed in a new earthen vessel, the mouth of which is closed with a lid on which a small quantity of rice and some flowers are placed; the vessel is then marked with alternate vertical streaks of black and red, removed to the point of the compass indicated by the Dessaury, and there buried. A fowl is then sacrificed over the spot. These Dessauries are generally of the Ooriah or Dooliah race, illiterate and ignorant men, who obtain their livelihood by thus working on the credulity and superstition of the Khonds. In Korakaputtah and Joomkah, the Dessauries are Khonds, and do not

				Rs.	a.	p.
* At Ryaghur of Jeypore	...	...	...	2	4	0
At Kasipur	...	...	...	6	0	0
At Mohulputna	...	...	...	6	0	0
At Ampany of Kalahundy	...	...	...	24	0	0
At Bindra Nowaghur	...	...	...	18	0	0
At Chuttoesghur	...	...	...	200	0	0
Total				256	4	0

(Captain McNeill's note)

use a Pungee, but by a rude calculation, ascertain the position of some of the planets, and pretend to calculate their probable influence. In these two last-named taluqs, the infant is not placed in an earthen vessel, but wrapped in a cloth and then buried.

'From Korakaputtah and Joomkah, I next proceeded to Ryaguddah, one of the flat taluqs of Jeypore, and at present under attachment by the Agent to Government at Vizagapatam. In Ryaguddah, as elsewhere, infanticide still prevails, but the Khonds bound themselves to renounce the habit for ever, and I have no doubts as to the results, as they are a highly civilized race when compared with their neighbours, and they talk both Ooriah and Telooogo fluently, in addition to their own language.

'Leaving Ryaguddah, I passed through the Doorgi Mootah of Jeypore, where I was visited by the whole of the Chief Khonds. Infanticide is unknown amongst them, forming, as they do, a portion of the sacrificing tribes of Jeypore. They have remained true to their pledge, and all their restored *Possiahs* of former seasons were brought up for inspection.

'From Doorgi I passed through the Khond Mootahs of Goodairy of Jeypore, and Panigoondah of Chinna Kimeddy, where everything was quiet, and the Khonds contented and happy.'

Four years later in a letter, dated the 11th June 1861, Captain McNeill shows that although the practice of human sacrifice had by then been suppressed the Khonds would certainly relapse into it if official supervision were removed.

'After completing the work in the southern districts of Chinna Kimeddy, I passed on to the Khond tracts of Jeypore, where I was waited on by all the Ooriah Chiefs and Majees. The Khonds of these extensive districts have remained true to their pledges, but an uneasy feeling prevailed throughout the country. The Ooriah Chiefs, when questioned, acknowledged that, though the Khonds were 'nominally under control, still they, the Patros, were not responsible for the dispositions of the Khonds, and knew little of what might be passing in their minds'. The Khonds, when questioned by me acknowledged that the harvest had this year been an abundant one, and that sickness was not more prevalent than usual; but nevertheless, they could not conceal a feeling of distrust and uneasiness under the relinquishment of human sacrifice. From this part of the country, seventeen new Meriahs were rescued, and after being registered were restored in adoption.

'Several rescued Meriahs, established as ryots in the low country, on a visit to their old friends in the Ryabejee Mootah, informed me on my return to the low country, that the Khonds of Ryabejee openly acknowledged that the only reason which kept them from sacrificing was the yearly repeated visits of the Agency, and that its discontinuance would be the signal for a return to the old state of affairs.'

The following are extracts from Captain McNeill's diaries for the month of January 1862 and form part of the final report submitted by him :—

Leaving Mohulpatna on the 1st January, I traversed a considerable portion of the Naorangpur taluq of Jeypore, and was visited by a considerable number of Khonds who on being questioned, denied all participation in the attempt at sacrifice last season. Little or no reliance however can be placed on these statements, as it was universally acknowledged both in Thooamool and Kasipur, that the Khonds of Naorangpur had assembled at Pookregoodah, and the men of Kooramoollee of Mohulpatna, who visited me on the 1st, confirmed this statement. The Rajah's people had evidently tutored these Khonds, whose own statements would lead to the belief that they sacrificed neither bullocks nor buffaloes, but only sheep and goats and were so far advanced in civilization that they on all occasions consulted Brahmin astrologers.

Arriving at Jeypore on the 7th January, I received the visit of the Rajah 'Sree Ramchander Deo' on the 10th; but I could obtain no information from him, or any of his subordinates, as to whether Junna sacrifices still obtain in the Jeypore country or not. All parties protested most solemnly that human sacrifices had ceased, as the strictest orders had been issued on the subject. Information, received from various sources, goes far to prove that Junna sacrifices occurred in each Godiah of Jeypore, during the Dusserah in 1861, on the occasion of the present Rajah succeeding to the Gudee, and that in the town of Jeypore itself a girl of about twelve years of age, kidnapped from the 'Poorogher' Mootah, was sacrificed at the shrine of the Kalika deity, cholera at the same time being very prevalent.

I had no expectation of obtaining from the Rajah or his people any true evidence; all parties denied the existence of human sacrifice, and the people of the town were prohibited from entering my camp under pain of severe punishment. In former years my camp used to be crowded with people selling milk, vegetables and other articles. This season not a single individual was allowed to pass the limits of the town, around which guards were placed day and night; while parties of Khongars were constantly patrolling round my camp, with the view of ascertaining, if possible, whether persons from Jeypore entered it or not. After my departure from Jeypore, several persons accused of giving information were heavily fined, and some placed in confinement, amongst whom was an orphan Brahmin boy of about eight years of age, who on two occasions came to my camp begging for alms.

This restriction of intercourse, imprisonment and fine certainly suggest the idea that there was something which the Rajah and his people were anxious to conceal, or else why all these precautions? Enquiries are still being instituted, and the results will be duly communicated; thirty new Tooras and Toorees hitherto concealed in Jeypore were surrendered, and eventually given in adoption on good security.

'Leaving Jeypore on the 16th, I passed on to Ramgherry, where I arrived on the 18th January, but there, as at Jeypore, the Rajah's instructions (prohibiting any intercourse with my camp) had preceded me. Persons acquainted with the spot were sent to the site of the 'Gorba Nishanee', the place where in 1855 I obtained such conclusive evidence of the frequency of human sacrifice; but my visit had been anticipated, and the pit, where the body of the victim is always deposited after sacrifice, had been recently dug up, and whatever it contained, removed, the persons deputed to the spot, finding no difficulty in removing with their hands earth to the depth of three feet and upwards, while all around was covered with tangled grass and roots. Twenty-three new Toorees were surrendered in Ramgherry and given in adoption on the usual security; most of those of former seasons were brought forward for examination; some were stated to have made their escape to Bustar and Naorangpur, but the Patro has promised to produce them.

From Ramgherry I proceeded to Mulcagherry, the most southern portion of Jeypore, and formerly the hotbed of Meriah sacrifices. Internal feuds have distracted the country, and the inhabitants appear very unwilling to have any intercourse with me; but I have nevertheless received intimation of several cases of recent sacrifice, alleged to have been committed since my former visit.'

**ABOLITION
OF THE
AGENCY**

In a resolution, dated the 18th December 1861, the Governor-General in Council recorded his opinion that the abolition of the Agency for the suppression of Meriah sacrifice was expedient; and he 'resolved that the necessary steps be taken for carrying the abolition into effect, the duties hitherto performed by the Agent being transferred to the several authorities within whose jurisdiction respectively the several portions of the hill tracts are situated'.

This was shortly afterwards arranged accordingly. By a Despatch from the Secretary of State, dated the 23rd November 1861, No. 31, received by the Government of Fort Saint George, previous to the receipt of the foregoing Resolution, it appears that the abolition of a distinct Agency for Meriah was the natural consequence of the organization of the constabulary for the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agencies. The Governor-General in Council recorded in high terms his sense of the 'energy and good judgment' displayed by the last Agent, Captain McNeill.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE

Out of a population of 1,127,862 souls no fewer than 705,600 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION dwell in villages with less than 500 inhabitants; 257,907 live in villages with between 500 and 1,000 inhabitants each and 109,358 in villages of between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants. Only 24,079 live in villages with between 2,000 and 5,000 inhabitants, and 30,920 in villages or towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants. There are altogether 5,183 villages in the district according to the Census figures of 1941, and the average population of a village is less than 220. Only two places in the district, Jeypore and Gunupur, are large enough to rank as towns, and the urban population is only 19,920, or less than 2 per cent of the total. These figures show that the social organization of life in the district is still in a primitive stage. In the remotest areas the villages are still mere tribal settlements of perhaps not more than half a dozen houses, with no pretensions to permanence. The inhabitants, Kondh or Koyya, after a few years of occupation, abandon the site and move on elsewhere to make another clearing in the jungle, which will in turn be their home for a short period. In nine-tenths of the district the nomadic form of life has practically disappeared, but the hillman has not yet acquired the passion for ownership that is generally characteristic of the peasant. He is not tied to his piece of earth and is ready, if need be, to move with a few of his fellow-tribesmen and settle down in one of the deserted village sites that are to be found all over the country.

The district as a whole has a density of population of 114 persons to the square mile. Jeypore with 206 persons to the square mile is the most densely populated taluk, and at the other end of the scale comes Malkanagiri with 39 persons to the square mile. In view of the almost complete absence of urban concentrations and the large proportion of the superficial area that is taken up by forests and steep and rocky mountain slopes it can scarcely be said that the district is underpopulated. The idea that it can support a vastly increased population in agricultural pursuits is probably illusory. Such an increase would only be possible at the expense of a wholesale disafforestation, which would have disastrous effects on the littoral areas to which the forests now serve as a catchment.

In 1891 (before which date reliable figures are not available) Its growth the population of the area now comprised in the district was 690,303. In the next ten years there was a small increase of about 3,000, but by 1911 the population had increased by 140,000 to 833,328. In the following decade the population declined to 805,588, owing to the influenza epidemic of 1919, which affected the district severely. The last twenty years have

seen very remarkable increases in population, the figure having risen by 17.88 per cent to 949,652 in 1931, and by 18.77 per cent to its present figure in the last decade. The increase has been specially rapid in the Jeypore, Nowrangpur and Malkanagiri taluks, doubtless owing to the extensive breaking up of waste land to the plough. Between 1921 and 1931 the Malkanagiri taluk increased by 41.90 per cent, and in the following ten years the Nowrangpur taluk added 33.09 per cent to its numbers. The Koraput and Pottangi taluks together increased by 26.74 per cent between 1921 and 1931 and by 10.12 per cent between 1931 and 1941. In the Rayaghada subdivision the increase between 1921 and 1931 was only 2.56 per cent, but in the next ten years there was a rise of 15.49 per cent. Without doubt the increased rate of growth of the population in this subdivision is largely due to the opening up of the country following the opening of the Raipur-Vizianagram railway line to traffic in 1932.

Immigration The remarkable increase in the population of the district as a whole in the past twenty years must have been caused partly by immigration from the neighbouring districts and States and cannot be the result purely of an excess of births over deaths. But unfortunately figures for birth-place have not been extracted in the Census of 1941, and it is not therefore possible to estimate the respective parts played by immigration and by natural increase in the growth of the population.

Emigration The only form of emigration that calls for mention is that of labourers to the tea-gardens in Assam, which is organized by the Tea Districts Labour Association. The Agency tracts were thrown open to recruitment of labour for Assam in the year 1923, and now a substantial number of labourers are dispatched annually from the recruiting depot at Koraput. The number of emigrants in 1936-37, 1937-38 and 1938-39 was 2,345, 3,526 and 3,825 respectively. Koyyas and Porojas are the principal classes recruited. The great majority of emigrants return home after a period of residence on a garden.

LANGUAGES The languages of the district form a veritable Babel. Details regarding mother-tongue were not extracted at the Census of 1941, but the 1931 Tables reveal that out of every 1,000 people in the district 552 have Oriya as their mother-tongue, 196 Kui or 'Kondh', 73 Telugu, 53 Savara, 89 'Poroja', 26 Gadaba, 22 Koyya, 17 'Konda', 16 Jatapu and 8 Gondi. Of the remaining eight, six speak other aboriginal tongues, namely Dhruva, Jhodia, Pareng and Pengo, and two other Indian languages, principally Chhattisgarhi and Hindi.

Oriya Oriya as spoken by the hill tribes in the Koraput district differs so much from the Oriya of other parts of the province as to be almost unintelligible to a new-comer. The language has a strong admixture of aboriginal words and phrases, and the idioms in various parts of the district differ to such an extent that it would be a difficult and unprofitable task to attempt an examination of all the local varieties. But the Oriya of the upper classes is by no means a corrupt language, and that spoken

in the open country of the Gunupur taluk is indistinguishable from the language of Ganjam. But the Oriya both of Koraput and Ganjam has some noticeable peculiarities which distinguish it from that of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. The honorific plural 'apana' is scarcely ever used, and the form 'tumbhe' is used when addressing a superior or an equal and 'tui' to an inferior. A number of words are current, which in the old Orissa Division of Bengal had passed out of polite usage years ago. Such words are 'gnoita' for husband, 'randi' for a widow, 'andira' for man, 'maikina' for woman or wife, and 'paiti' for work. The explanation seems to be that the Oriya now spoken in Ganjam and Koraput is the form of the language which was generally spoken in Orissa a century ago. The Oriya of Cuttack has been influenced by literary experiments and so has tended to discard words which had humble associations or were considered to be characteristic of the lower classes. Koraput has long been isolated from the influence of modern Oriya literature and has thus retained the old form of the language unchanged. The influence of Telugu on the language of the district has been small and is practically confined to the use of official expressions that are commonly current in the Courts of Madras.

Telugu is most spoken in the Gunupur taluk, where considerable numbers of plainsmen from Vizagapatam district are settled. Its speakers are also numerous in Rayaghada and Pottangi. In Rayaghada there has been settlement of Hindu Telugus from the plains, while in the Pottangi taluk Telugu is the mother-tongue of some of the hill tribes, such as Konda Doras, Jatapus and Muka Doras, and of the untouchable Paidis, who live on the eastern edge of the 3,000-foot plateau. Telugu is of course a Dravidian language, and its characteristics are well known.

No expert survey has ever been made of the aboriginal languages which are spoken by 37 per cent of the population. Grierson's Linguistic Survey did not extend to the Koraput district. The following notes are based on the experience of officials and others possessing no specialized knowledge of the subject.

The language described as 'Jatapu' ought, without doubt, to be classed as a dialect of the Kondh language, as it is well known that the Kondhs and the Jatapus are closely related tribes. 'Konda' is the language of the Konda Doras (sometimes also described as Konda Porojas), and although specimens of this language show little resemblance to the Kui of the grammars, yet it is undoubtedly a Dravidian language and it would be fairly safe to class it as a Kondh dialect. Taking into account these two tongues, Kui speakers number 22 per cent of the population of the district. The Kui of the Ganjam Agency and the Kondhmals has been closely studied, and there are grammars of the language and even a small literature. There has, however, been practically no research into the language as spoken in this district, the only publication being a grammar and vocabulary compiled by the Rev. F. V. P.

Schulze of Satur, which deals with the language of the Kondhs of the eastern slopes of the Pottangi taluk, among whom Telugu influence has been very strong. According to Mr. H. W. Alderson, who has made a prolonged study of the Kondhs of Ganjam and the Kondhmals, the dialect spoken by the Kuttia Kondhs and Bissamkatak differs strikingly from the Kui of the Kondhmals. The Kondhs of Kalyana Singapur maintain that they cannot understand the language of Kondhs in the neighbouring taluk of Bissamkatak, and refuse to make the attempt. Probably there are some half a dozen different dialects of Kondh spoken in the district, but the data available is at present quite insufficient to allow an attempt to distinguish between these or to define their localities. As is well known, the language of the Kondhs is Dravidian.

Gondi

Gondi is spoken by the Gonds in the north of the Nowrangpur taluk, and Koyya by the tribe of that name in the south of Malkanagiri. The two are related, being dialects of the language of the Gonds of the Central Provinces, and Dravidian in origin.

Savara

Savara and Gadaba (also known as Gutob) are the principal Munda languages spoken in the district. Antoine Meillet in *Les Langues du Monde* classes the Munda dialects among the Austro-Asiatic languages, and conjectures that their speakers were driven southwards from the north-east of India by the pressure of Aryan immigrants. The principal features of the languages are the existence of semi-consonants, which are imperfectly articulated and indistinct, the copious use of prefixes, infixes and suffixes, and the use of the dual case in addition to the singular and plural.

The Savara language, as spoken in the Parlakimedi Maliahs, has been studied by Rao Sahib Professor G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu of Parlakimedi, his son Mr. G. V. Sitapati and Miss A. M. C. Munro, of the Canadian Baptist Mission. The first-named has produced a Savara-English and English-Savara Dictionary. The Savara language is said to be very similar to that of the Juangs, a primitive tribe inhabiting Keonjhar, Pal-Lahara and Dhenkanal States, as also to that of the Pareng Porojas of Pottangi taluk.

Gadaba

Gadaba has certain resemblances to Savara. Like other languages of the Koraput plateau it has never been studied, except in an amateur fashion by officials of the district, who generally have had neither the time nor the training necessary for a scientific inquiry.

Other languages

'Poroja' undoubtedly covers a variety of entirely different dialects. The term (derived from the Oriya word *praja* meaning a raiyat or subject) is applied by the uninitiated to all kinds of aboriginal tribes having no relation with each other. There is in fact no such language as Poroja, but quite distinct languages are spoken by the following tribes to whom the title 'Poroja' is usually given:—Bonda Poroja, Jhodia Poroja, Dhruva Poroja, 'Konda Poroja' (also known as Konda Dora), Pareng Poroja.

Pengo Poroja and Didayi Poroja. Of these the languages of the Bonda, Pareng and Didayi Porojas belong to the Munda branch, and the remainder are Dravidian. The 'Konda' language has already been classed with Kondh, and the languages of the Jhodias and Pengos, regarding whom more will be said later, are probably more distant derivatives of Kondh. 'Dhruva' is, however, evidently unrelated to Kondh, except for its Dravidian origin. Possibly it is a derivative of Gondi. Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti states that there is a remarkable resemblance between Pareng and Savara. The languages of the Bonda and the Didayis have obvious affinities with that of the Gadabas.

A fact which has yet to be explained is that a section of Gadabas, known as the Ollaro Gadabas, speak a language which is unmistakably Dravidian, though judging from their appearance and customs this tribe would seem certainly to come of the same stock as the other Gadabas of the district who speak a Munda tongue. What the language of the Ollaro Gadabas is remains a mystery. The number of its speakers is unknown, as the language has evidently been included with Gadaba in the Census returns.

A comparative vocabulary of various aboriginal languages of the Koraput subdivision is printed as an Appendix.

At the Census of 1941, 174,234 of the population were **RELIGION** tabulated as Hindus, 2,545 as Muslims, 10,344 as Indian Christians and 940,632 came under the heading 'Tribal'. The classification, however, was made by community and not by religion, and a considerable portion of those classified as 'Tribal' worship the Hindu gods and are accepted within the Hindu fold. As many as 15,695 of these are Christians, and the total number of Indian Christians in the district is thus 26,039. The population classified as Hindu consists principally of persons belonging to Oriya castes commonly met with in the plains, whose ancestors most probably entered the district within the last few centuries. Most prominent among these are the Paiks, Malis, Sundis and Brahmans. 25,296 members of the 'scheduled castes' are also included among the Hindus. Of the latter Dhubas and Ghasis are those most commonly met with. The 'Tribal' population consists of two groups, firstly certain castes which are considered to be 'backward' though not necessarily aboriginal, among whom Bhattodas, Bhumiyas, Gauds and Ronas are most numerous, and secondly of the true aboriginals. In the 1941 Census population figures for Hindu and backward castes were not extracted, and detailed figures are only available for the aboriginal population. A list of the numbers belonging to the principal aboriginal tribes is given on page 63 below.

The Muhammadans are for the most part traders living in **Muham-** towns and are most numerous in Jeypore and Nowrangpur **madans** taluks. But in Tuba and one or two other villages round Nandapur in the Pottangi taluk there are some interesting isolated settlements of Muhammadans, who say they are the descendants of soldiers who came on a military expedition from

Golkonda against the Jeypore country, and settled down there and married Poroja women. They still wear the Musalman costume and observe the Moharram.

Christian

The Christians, who are more numerous in Koraput than in any other district of Orissa, are practically all converts of the Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The Mission began work in 1882, in which year its pioneers, the Reverends H. Bothmann and E. Pohl, started to build a Mission house at Koraput, but suffered so severely from fever that they abandoned the place in favour of Salur. Koraput was reoccupied in 1885 and in the next five years beginnings were successively made at Jeypore, Kotapad, Nowrangpur, Parvatipur and Gunupur. Mission houses were subsequently built at Rayaghada, Bissamkatak, Nandapur, Lakshmipur and Doliamba. In the absence of the German missionaries during and after the Great War work was carried on by the American Lutheran Mission. The German missionaries returned in 1925. The district is now divided into two mission fields, the area comprised in the Rayaghada subdivision being called the East Jeypore Mission, and under the administration of the Danish church. There are now ten European missionaries working in the district. The Mission maintains a Higher Elementary School with a boarding house at Jeypore and a number of elementary schools with boarding houses at Kotapad, Nowrangpur and Koraput, as well as a Leper Asylum at Salur in Vizagapatam district.

The Baptist Mission at Dummagudem in East Godavari district works in the Malkanagiri taluk.

Hill tribes

In that section of the population that has been classified as 'Tribal', amounting to 83 per cent of the whole, it may be said that three main classes can be distinguished. Firstly, there is the great Dravidian family, represented by the Kondhs, the Porojas, the Gonds and the Koyyas. Secondly, there is the Munda or Kolarian race, of whom the Savaras and the Gadabas are the chief representatives. Thirdly, there are tribes and castes whose origin and affinities are uncertain, but whom tradition pronounces to be settlers of many centuries' standing in the district. Such are the Bhumiyas and the Mattiyas, whose name proclaims them to be sprung from the soil on which they live, and the Bhattodas. With this class also have been included the Ronas and the Gauds, who are known to be immigrants from the plain lands in Orissa, but many of whom after centuries of residence among aboriginals have adopted their neighbours' ways of life and so have come to be classed with these as 'backward tribes'. Between these different classes of aboriginals there are considerable differences in regard to their religious beliefs and ethnic origin; but the hill tribes as a whole vary but little in their social organization, their economy of life, their vices and their virtues, but are as the poles apart from the Hindus of the plains, who are now frequently their close neighbours. The hillman cares little for his individual rights and cannot conceive existence outside the tribe to which he belongs. He has no urge to acquire property, to add field to field or to lay by a store of grain against a year

of want. For generations he has been accustomed to do only the minimum of work that will bring him in food sufficient for the day. He has lived in a comparatively rich and sparsely populated country and has been used to extract ample yields from the land by means of the sketchiest sort of cultivation. The idea of working for gain is quite foreign to him, though he acknowledges as reasonable the demand that he should work because his king or the overlord of his village orders that it should be done.

Physically the hillman is shorter in stature than the average Hindu, but muscular and without any tendency to corpulence. He likes to deck himself and his women with brightly coloured ornaments and to pass his time in hunting, drinking and song. His womenfolk keep their houses and their surroundings spotlessly clean. Exhortations to cleanliness and advice upon sanitary matters are superfluous. He also almost invariably tells the truth and on the rare occasions when he attempts to lie, his embarrassment is so obvious that detection is inevitable.

The tribesmen worship a host of aboriginal deities, of whom Jakara (or Jakari), the goddess of the Kondhs, and Takurani, the goddess of smallpox, who has a shrine in nearly every village of the Koraput subdivision, are the best known. When smallpox is virulent the goddess is propitiated by the following ceremony: a little car is made on which is placed a grain of saffron-stained rice for every soul in the village and also numerous offerings such as little swings, pots, knives, ploughs and the like, and the blood of certain sacrificial victims, and this is then dragged with ceremony to the boundary of the village. The malign influence of the smallpox deity is thus transferred across the boundary. The neighbouring villagers naturally hasten to move the car on with similar ceremony, and it is thus dragged through a whole series of villages and eventually left by the roadside in some lonely spot.

Near every village there is a rock or a tree in which some divinity is supposed to dwell, and to which some legend is usually attached. The shrine of Birukhomba, two miles from Boipariguda, which is widely worshipped by the Bhumiya of the surrounding country may be quoted as an example. The legend of the origin of this shrine will be found on page 162 below.

The aboriginal deities are usually worshipped (always by priests belonging to the hill tribes themselves) with offerings of buffaloes, goats, pigs and fowls, and much burning of resin. Though it is well known that human sacrifice was practised in various parts of the district until less than a century ago it is improbable that this was an essential part of the religion of any tribe other than the Kondhs. The latter still acknowledge to their goddess Jakara that the sacrifice of a buffalo is only an inferior substitute for a human victim, but none of the other hill tribes seem to retain any such feeling. It appears from the reports of the officers of the Meriah Agency that, except in the Kondh country, sacrifice of human beings in this district was



only of sporadic occurrence, and when instances did come to light it was not always the hill tribes that were responsible. The slaying of witches was much more common, and to this day the fear of witchcraft exercises an extraordinary influence over the aboriginal mind. A crowd of exorcists, medicine-men and magicians live by pretending to counteract the effects of the black art. These impostors (who are distinct from the ordinary village worshippers) are known in different parts and among different tribes as *disaris*, *bejjus*, *siras* and *guniyas*. The powers attributed to witches are almost unlimited. They are supposed, for example, to be able to transform themselves into tigers (although one foot always still retains its human shape), to be able to wither up any limb they touch, and even to draw the life-blood from their victim by sucking at one end of a string, the other end of which is laid upon his breast.

Devil-drivers, who profess to cure 'possessed' women, are common, and employ much the same methods as elsewhere. They seat the woman in a fog of resin-smoke and work upon or beat her until she declares the supposed desire of the devil in the shape of sacrifices; and when these have been complied with one of her hairs is put in a bottle, formally shown to the goddess and buried in the jungle, while iron nails are driven into the threshold of the woman's house to prevent the devil's return.

Rain-making spells are numerous, from the common practice of covering a frog with green leaves and water until he croaks, to the mysterious *barmarakshasi panduga* of the Kalyana Singapur Kondhs, which consists in making life-size mud images of women seated on the ground and holding grindingstones between their knees, and in offering sacrifices to them.

A common belief among the hill tribes is that sorcerers remove the little finger of the right hand of a stillborn child that has been buried and with its aid are able to perform any miracle they wish. It is believed that a sorcerer possessing such a little finger can cure a sick man or kill a whole one by means of the power that it confers, and such sorcerers are regarded with terror by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages.

Men of the hill tribes are extremely gullible and are prone to be cheated by pretences that one would not expect to deceive a child. Generally the deceiver is merely a ~~Domb~~ trickster trading on their simplicity, but from time to time some saffron-clad ascetic, claiming to be charged with a divine message, leads them to insensate conduct on a large scale. The most remarkable instance occurred in 1931 when a rumour, whose origin was never traced, spread through the countryside that the goddess Kali would shortly visit the home of every hillman and before her visit every black domestic animal or fowl should be killed or otherwise disposed of. Within the space of six weeks or two months hundreds of black goats, hens and pigeons had been killed and black cattle driven off into the jungle, and many more had been sold to eager buyers from the jungle for a tenth of their proper value or less. Some raiyats even uprooted the

young niger plants on account of the colour of the seeds. The rumour was quickly discredited and the raiyats regretted their rash acceptance of it, but by this time it had spread to every taluk of the district and even across the border to the Ganjam Agency, and there can have been few villages that did not suffer some material loss.

The Hindus as a whole number 15.5 per cent of the population. Some Hindu castes, such as Paiks and Malis, have been long represented in the Agency. There is little to distinguish these from the Ronas and the Gauds, who have been classified as 'Tribal'. People of these castes have fitted themselves into the scheme of life in the district and adopted many of the hillman's easy-going ways as well as some of the rusticities of his speech. For the most part they are unlettered and contented to remain so. The other Hindus, among whom Brahmans, Sundis and Telugu Komatis are prominent, are more recent arrivals in the district. These keep up the practices of the plain lands from which they have come, and frequently maintain connections with the relatives whom they have left behind. It cannot be said that the Hindus or the Hinduism of the district have any special peculiarities, as their characteristics are those of the plains districts from which they draw their origin.

No population figures for castes were extracted at the Census of 1941. But the following list shows the numbers of the principal aboriginal tribes in the district, as ascertained in that Census:—

Kondhs	...	...	...	182,784	
Porojas	...	...	...	129,747	
Dombs	...	...	...	103,388	
Savaras	...	...	...	52,518	
Gadabas	...	...	...	33,139	
Koyyas	...	...	...	27,891	
Gonds	...	...	...	24,788	
Jatapus	...	...	...	15,173	
Konda Doras	...	...	...	5,781	
Dhruvas	...	...	...	2,797	
Bonda Porojas	...	...	...	2,565	
Didayis	...	...	...	1,661	
Gondias	...	...	...	1,178	

The total for Kondhs includes 6,282 persons described as Poroja Kondhs, while the Poroja total is a most comprehensive one. Apart from 51,105 unqualified Porojas, it includes 33,969 Jodia Porojas, 16,176 Pengo Porojas, 10,272 Pareng Porojas, 8,805 Kondh Porojas, 6,512 Konda Porojas and 4,326 Bareng Porojas.

Brief notes on the principal aboriginal tribes, as well as on some of the Hindu and 'backward' castes, are given in the following pages. But it will save space if a few points common to most of the hill tribes are first mentioned.

General
charac-
teristic

Tribes, except where otherwise stated, are divided into exogamous septs, each of which takes the name of a totem. The commonest totems are the tiger, cobra and tortoise, but the bear, iguana, dog, monkey, goat, bull, cow, lizard, parrot, peacock and vulture also occur, and in addition certain plants such as the pumpkin and the *bauhinea purpurea*, and a few inanimate objects like stone and the sun. Members of the same totem or *bams* may not intermarry, and children take their father's totem. Every totem is revered. Animal totems may on no account be killed or eaten. The very idea of such a possibility makes the totemist shudder, and he declares that so unspeakable an act would result in the entire destruction of his whole tribe. Totems must, indeed, be befriended where possible—a tortoise, for instance, being put in the nearest water. If the totem attacks a man he may kill it in self-defence; but its dead body is then often given funeral rites almost as if it were the corpse of a man. When a man sees his totem he folds his hands across his breast and does reverence. Plant totems are not eaten, injured or even touched. The sun is venerated by the people of its totem, fasting when it does not appear; and stone by being excluded from all buildings and all service—stone mortars, for example, being forbidden. The idea that members of a totemistic division are all one family is strong. If one of them dies, all the others are under pollution for three days and have to get their food from their wives' relations.

The recognized forms of marriage include several of those forbidden by Manu. There is marriage by purchase, by service for three years in the house of the girl's parents, by mutual consent and clandestine elopement, by forcible compulsion on the part of the bridegroom and his friends, and by selection at the *dhangadi basa* or girls' sleeping-hut. One form of the last is described in the account of the Bonda Porojas below.

But the usual procedure is for the man's parents to go to the girl's house, leave presents (usually pots of strong drink) there, and judge of the likelihood of their suit being successful by seeing whether the liquor is thrown away or drunk. If it is drunk, they renew the suit with other presents until at length an understanding is arrived at. Subsequent ceremonies are simple and consist mainly in the provision of caste dinners and more liquor.

Divorce and widow remarriage are universally permitted. The younger brother may marry his elder brother's widow; but the converse is not permitted as the elder brother is regarded as the father of the family. If a widow has children and marries outside the family her new husband has to pay a fine called *rand tonka* or 'widow-money'. The right to divorce is mutual and is exercised on slight grounds. The husband generally

makes the woman a small present first. She often forestalls him by running off to the man she fancies, who then has to return her jewellery and pay a sum of money by way of compensation to the first husband, which is known as *sogaritha*.

The dead are generally burnt, but among some castes the ashes are afterwards buried, and the spot marked in some way. Children who have not cut their teeth, pregnant women and people who have died of smallpox are buried.

It is a very common practice among tribes who make use of the Oriya language to call their sons after the day of the week on which they happened to be born; namely, Robi for Sunday, Somara for Monday, and so on.

The Kondhs are numerically the strongest tribe in the Kondha district. They predominate in the north-east, and especially in the Bissamkatak and Rayaghada taluks, where they form something like two-thirds of the population; and they are also numerous in the western half of Gunupur taluk, and the north-eastern portion of Koraput taluk. The Kondhs are a migratory race, and even at the present day there is a perceptible movement on their part westwards and southwards. In comparatively recent years communities have moved over into the Madgole hills of Vizagapatam and the wild uninhabited hills of Malkanagiri taluk, whither they are attracted by the possibility of unhindered *podu* cultivation. They can still be met with on the move in these parts, but have not settled in any considerable numbers. The majority of the Kondhs in the district are not of the wild and barbarous type regarding whom there is such a considerable literature and who are so prominent in Ganjam, but a series of communities descended from them which exhibit infinite degrees of difference from their more interesting progenitors according to the grade of civilization to which they have attained. In the regions of Bissamkatak and Gunupur taluks bordering on Ganjam live the Kuttia Kondhs, who are not dissimilar from their relatives beyond the border and are still in a primitive stage. In the Niamgiris live the Dongiria Kondhs, as rude a tribe as any in the district. But the so-called 'Deshiya' Kondhs of the plain country of Bissamkatak and the Kondhs of the Kalyana Singapur valley practise settled cultivation and have adopted some of the Hindu customs and styles of dress. Nearly ninety years ago Colonel Campbell of the Meriah Agency commented on the degree to which these Kondhs had advanced beyond their relatives in Ganjam. The Kondhs of Narayanapatnam and north-eastern Koraput are in an intermediate stage, being more advanced than the Kuttias and less so than the 'Deshiya' Kondhs. Practically all Kondhs still speak their own language.

The dress of the civilized Kondhs of both sexes is ordinary and uninteresting. The Kuttia Kondhs wear ample necklets of white beads and prominent brass ear-rings, but otherwise they dress like any other hill people. Their women, however, have a distinctive garb, putting on a kind of turban on state occasions, wearing nothing above the waist except masses of white bead necklaces which almost cover their breasts, and carrying a series

of heavy brass bracelets half way up their forearms. The Kondh is as a rule tousle-headed, dirty and unkempt, and very frequently to be found in a state of intoxication. But these somewhat undesirable characteristics are compensated by a frank, open manner, a remarkable truthfulness and an engaging self-confidence which lead him to treat any stranger, whatever may be his rank, as an equal. Though it is fortunate that the Kuttia Kondhs have escaped the degradation which contact with more enlightened peoples so often brings to aboriginals, one primitive characteristic which they still retain is a cause of embarrassment both to their neighbours and to the administration. This is their fondness for cattle-lifting, which by them, as by highlanders living in other countries and periods of history, is regarded as a manly sport rather than a crime. Men of this tribe steal out in bands under cover of night and drive off cattle from other villages, slaughter them in the jungle and feast on the beef. The less interesting Kondhs who have settled in open country seldom get into trouble with the police; and though they obstinately decline to take advantage of the opportunities of education that are offered to them, they have acquired a little of the thrift that is so necessary for the hillman to defend his interests against the encroachments of those who would deprive him of his land and possessions.

The following account of the customs of the Kuttia Kondhs is based on notes made by Maulavi Musahib Khan, B.A. Marriages are sometimes made by arrangement by the parents of the bridegroom and bride, and sometimes the bridegroom selects his own mate and takes her away by force. In the former event the bridegroom's relatives present two bell-metal plates to the bride's parents, and the betrothal is then considered to be complete. If the engagement subsequently falls through the plates are returned together with a penalty of two cows and a pig, which are slaughtered and eaten by both the parties concerned. The feast ends all disagreement caused by the dissolution of the engagement. When a Kondh youth selects a bride of his own the elopement seems to be more symbolical than real. The girl is restored to her parents and a date fixed for the marriage, at which the parents and fellow-villagers of the bride bring the girl to the bridegroom's house accompanied by the beating of drums. On a stone placed under the outer eaves of the bridegroom's house the right leg of the boy and the left leg of the girl are tied with a thong of cow-hide. The boy and girl are then anointed with oil and turmeric and bathed, and rice is thrown over them. They enter the house and take food from the same plate. The friends of both parties, men and women, then feast and drink together and the marriage is considered to be complete.

For twenty-one days after a birth the mother is regarded as polluting. On the twenty-first day the baby's head is shaved and the body smeared with oil and turmeric. The village women come to the house and wash their feet with turmeric water, and then join in a feast which is cooked and served by the mother.

Dead bodies are burned, except when a person has died of cholera or smallpox and then the body is buried. Three days after death a ceremony is observed, whereat a cow is killed in the room where death occurred. The beef is eaten and the head of the animal is kept in the room. In the night the village priest (*bejia*) and four or five relatives of the deceased approach the burning ghat and call upon the dead man's ghost (*dema*), shouting his name three, five or seven times and asking him to come and join in the feast. They then return to the house and boil and eat the head of the cow.

The Kuttia Kondhs worship four deities, namely, Topakasaru, the mountain deity who lives in a big rock, Gangi, the field goddess living at the edge of a field, Bui, living under Banyan trees near the fields, and Jakari, the village goddess. There are two principal festivals. In the month of Chaitra Topakasaru is worshipped in the Bihano Parbo. Grain and eggs are offered at any cave or rock where the divinity is believed to dwell. Fowls and goats are sacrificed and the blood offered to the god, after which the villagers feed on the flesh. In Baishakh or Jesta month Oto Parbo is celebrated in honour of Jakari. A machan is raised above the ground, and a big bamboo is stuck upright in the ground. Four youths, who observe fast, climb up to the machan morning and evening for four days, and call out the names of the deities and invite them to take part in the feast, informing them of the day whereon it is to be held. The feast itself lasts for four days. Buffaloes decorated with flowers are led to the bamboo which has been fixed in the ground and are there slaughtered with a knife. The blood is sprinkled at the places where the deities are believed to reside and the meat is distributed among the participants in the feast. This buffalo sacrifice takes the place of the human sacrifice which was suppressed in the middle of the last century. When performing the sacrifice the Kondhs apologise to the deity for not being able to offer a human victim in view of the prohibition imposed by 'Kyamal Makmel Sahib' (referring to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Captain Macpherson who were in turn in charge of the Meriah Agency). Though there is now probably no person alive who ever witnessed a sacrifice of a human victim the Kondhs apparently still regard this as the proper method of propitiating their gods, and the buffalo sacrifice as a less effective substitute.

Of the Deshiya Kondhs of the Narayanapatnam area Mr. Musahib Khan has observed that they worship their goddess Jakara at four principal festivals in the year, Kulimarka or Nua Khiya in the month of Bhādrapada, Hirsā Parbo in the month of Kartik, Chaitra Parbo, and Bali Parbo, in Baishakh. Prayers are also addressed to Ganga Devata who is believed to control the rainfall. A feature of the worship of this goddess is a dance by a man mounted on a bamboo pole to which his legs are tied. Kondhs living in hilly places pray to the goddess of wind to spare their crops from damage by wind and storm. In most of these ceremonies, as well as those connected with birth, death and marriage, a female priestess, known as the

bejjuni or *gurumayi*, officiates in addition to the male priest of the village. When a birth occurs the mother's touch is considered polluting for eight days. On the eighth day the *bejjuni* performs a sacrifice, which is offered to the spirit of a dead ancestor who is supposed to have been reborn in the new-born child. Dead bodies are cremated. Eight or ten days after a funeral all who have attended it take part in a feast. The priestess invokes the ghost of the dead man and places a portion of the feast for him on the path at the end of the village.

Marriages among the Deshiya Kondhs are usually arranged by the parents, but take place after the girl has reached maturity. Details of the ceremony appear to vary from place to place. But it is frequently fairly elaborate, and both the priest and priestess officiate.

Jatapu Doras

The Jatapus or Jatapu Doras appear to be a recent offshoot of the Kondh tribe. They are most numerous in the Gunupur and Rayaghada taluks, where they are found on the fringe of the Telugu country. The Jatapus worship the Kondh goddess Jakara or Jakari with sacrifices of pigs, goats and buffaloes, and their customs are a mixture of Kondh usages and those of the Telugu Hindus. Remarriage of widows and divorcees is permitted, but such Hindu customs as pre-puberty marriages are being gradually adopted. The tribe is divided into exogamous septs and the name of the septs, e.g., Thoyika, Mandangi or Kondagorre, is frequently placed before the individual's name, after the fashion of Telugu house-names. Telugu is usually the subsidiary language to the ancestral tongue, which is a variant of Kondh. The tribe has for some years been in the forefront of the hill tribes in respect of educational progress. A number of them have obtained employment as school teachers and one at least has passed the secondary school leaving examination.

Eneti Doras

Another offshoot of the Kondhs is the tribe of Eneti Doras of the Rayaghada subdivision. These are not numerous and the foregoing remarks about the Jatapus have general application to them also.

Konda Doras

It will be convenient here to mention the Konda Doras, a tribe in the eastern part of the 3,000-foot plateau which has obvious affinities with the Kondhs. The Konda Doras (literally in Telugu 'lords of the hills') are not so numerous in this district as in the hill tracts of Vizagapatam to the south. In spite of their high-sounding title they are generally underdogs and the lordship of the hills in the area which they inhabit belongs to the Mukā Doras and (in Vizagapatam) the Bagats. The Konda Doras have a language of their own, which has been described in Madras Census Reports as the 'Konda' language and which is clearly allied to Kui, the language of the Kondhs. Members of this tribe all speak Telugu, sometimes exclusively, sometimes in addition to their own language. It should, however, be mentioned that the Konda Porojas appear to be identical with the Konda Doras, and these are Oriya speakers. It appears to be well established that the Konda Doras are a section of Kondhs who, after centuries of separation from the

main stock of their race, have acquired some distinctive characteristics. It appears (vide Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India) that the tribe is divided into two distinct sections, named *pedda* and *chinna* or great and small. The *chinna* or inferior Konda Doras have adopted very many of the Telugu practices of the plains. Konda Doras have been settled in the plains of Vizagapatam for very many generations, and it is distressing to observe that there they are not only regarded by the Hindus as beef-eating outcastes but have taken to petty crime as a means of livelihood and are a notified criminal tribe. The Konda Dora of the hills has not the free and confident bearing of the Kondh, but he is an honest cultivator with no leanings to crime. The fate of his cousins in the plains is a warning of what may happen when aboriginal tribes are left to find their feet among a more intelligent and industrious people.

The Kondhs are the most important Dravidian tribe in the **Savaras** district, and it is fitting next to discuss the principal Munda tribe, namely the Savaras. To guard against mispronunciation the name should more properly be spelt 'Saora'. The name of the tribe has been well known for nearly two thousand years. Pliny makes mention of Suari, and Ptolemy of Sabarai. Ptolemy particularizes his description by saying that the tribe dwelt to the south-west of the Gangetic delta and at a short distance from the sea coast, thus making identification with the Savaras of Orissa almost certain. The name also occurs both in the Mahabharata and the Katha-sarit-sagara. At the present day, tribes bearing this name or variations of it are spread very widely over India. Savaras are common in the districts and States of Orissa and in Chhattisgarh. Other branches of the tribe are found in the Damoh and Saugor districts of the Central Provinces and even in the United Provinces, where they are known as Sairs or Sairai. But it is only in the hills of the Ramagiri and Parlakimedi taluks of Ganjam and the Gunupur taluk of Koraput that the true type of aboriginal Savara now survives, unaffected by Hindu influences. Unlike the Kondhs, but apparently like other tribes of Munda origin, the Savaras are no longer of a migratory habit. It is perhaps therefore safe to hazard a guess that they were earlier arrivals in these hills than the Kondhs and other Dravidian tribes; and in view of their linguistic affinities with the Santals and Mundas that they were immigrants from the northern and eastern parts of India.

The Savara customs, character and physique differ so radically from those of the Kondh as to make it certain that the two races have an entirely different origin. In 1851, Colonel Campbell of the Meriah Agency was struck by this difference when he first came across the tribe in the neighbourhood of Gudari. He wrote: 'At this place I first came in contact with the **Savara** race. They are of a fairer complexion and their features, resembling the Gentoos of the plains, have a better expression than those of the Kondhs. They speak a different dialect, are less dissipated in their habits and consequently more athletic in their persons which they adorn with beads and

bangles; this custom, however, is more common with the women than with the men. Their arms are the battle-axe, bow and arrow, though a few have matchlocks. They are professed thieves and plunderers and are the terror of the inhabitants of the plains. Even the Kondhs so ready to fight among themselves, would rather avoid than seek a quarrel with the Sourahs; the latter generally make their attacks under the cover of darkness, a mode of warfare rarely adopted by the others.

'The Sourahs do not sacrifice human beings, nor is female infanticide known among them, but some of them participate in the Meriah, by procuring flesh from places where the sacrifice occurs, and burying it in their fields.'

Much of this description is undoubtedly true. Though at the present day the Savaras have given up the tribal warfare among themselves which apparently prevailed less than a century ago they are still addicted to stealing cattle by night, usually for the purpose of their tribal sacrifices. Physically the Savaras are of shorter and stockier build than the Kondhs and much lighter-skinned. The obliquity of the eyes points to the Mongolian origin of the race. In character the differences between the two tribes are most striking. Freiherr von Eickstedt described the Kondhs as 'cheerful, mobile, friendly and self-possessed' and the Savaras as 'reserved, suspicious, refractory and obstinate (hartnäckig)'. This comparison is perhaps unfair on the Savaras, who are an attractive race when their reserve has been penetrated. But obstinacy and intractability are certainly among their most prominent characteristics and have frequently proved a difficulty to the administrator. The Savaras are probably more intelligent than the Kondhs and undoubtedly more industrious.

A visitor to the country of the Savaras cannot fail to be struck with the laborious skill with which they terrace the hillsides for rice cultivation, which is so much in contrast with the careless and haphazard cultivation of other hill tribes in the district. The upper terraces are often only a few feet in width and are supported by stone revetments, sometimes fifteen feet deep. Every spring or streamlet is used for irrigation and every pound of fodder is preserved by cutting the crops close to the ground and storing the straw on platforms or up trees to save it from damp. The Savaras are not content with wet cultivation alone and every family has its patch of *podu* cultivation on the hill slopes, yielding splendid *cholam* twelve or fourteen feet high. They have practised this shifting cultivation with characteristic thoroughness with the result that the hill slopes have been denuded to a greater extent than in the Kondh country. The Savara is unfortunately not thrifty in money matters, and much of the best paddy land had passed into the ownership of Sowcars from Gunupur and other large villages before the Act of 1917 rendered such alienations illegal.

Savara men wear round their loins a cloth with coloured tasselled ends hanging down in front and behind, on account of which they are sometimes called 'Lambolanjiya' (long-tailed) Savaras, to distinguish them from the Kapu Savaras of

the low country. They also wear a coloured cloth on the head, with frequently a bunch of feathers stuck in the hair and a number of brass and bead necklaces (sometimes as many as thirty) round the neck. The women wear only one cloth, tied round the waist, except when they leave the Savara country to go to market or for some other purpose. Then another cloth is thrown over the shoulders to cover the bosom. Numerous strings of beads are worn round the neck, and the ears and nostrils are pierced with brass rings.

Detailed studies of the customs and religion of the Savaras have been made by Mr. F. Fawcett, Professor Ramamurti and Miss A. M. C. Munro. A note by the two last-named has been published in the Madras Census Report for 1931. All these investigations, however, have been concerned with the Savaras of Ganjam, and the usages of the tribe in Koraput have yet to be studied.

There are no exogamous divisions among the Savaras, as among most hill tribes. But it is considered improper for a man to take a bride from his own village. When a youth wishes to marry a girl his parents take an arrow, a white crane's feather and some liquor to the house of her parents, and if these latter at first throw the presents into the street and attack the bringers, they try again until they are peacefully welcomed and matters are put in train, or until the youth, tired of refusals, carries off the girl by stealth or force. Women are frequently taken off by force, and abductions sometimes result in fights between the rival suitors and their supporters. It is said that marriage by capture used to be universal among the Savaras, and sometimes even now the bride's parents conform to this custom by making a mock resistance when the bridegroom comes to fetch the girl. Savaras burn their dead and have a belief in the immortality both of the soul and of the body. A number of deities, who are generally considered to reside in stones or trees, are worshipped and their religion requires plenteous sacrifices of cattle.

In the low country round Gunupur, as well as in the adjoining Palkonda taluk of Vizagapatam, live Savaras of a more advanced type, known frequently as Kapu Savaras. Though speaking their own language at home, most of these have a knowledge of Telugu. Their customs are similar to those of the hill Savaras, but Hindu influence is apparent. There is no intermarriage between them and the Savaras of the hills.

The Porojas are the distinctive tribe of the 3,000-foot Poroja plateau and the majority of their number were enumerated in the Koraput, Pottangi and Jeypore taluks in the Census of 1941. The term 'Poroja', which simply means 'subject' or 'raiyat', is however used as an appellation by a number of different tribes, some of whom are doubtless quite unrelated to each other. In this Census an attempt was made to classify the various classes more accurately than had been done before, and the figures given on page 63 above are the result. The Bonda Porojas, as well as the Didayis and Dhruvas, who also style themselves Porojas, are clearly distinct from the typical Porojas

that are met with round Koraput. Of the 129,747 persons that have been classed as Porojas, it seems probable that the Pareng Porojas, who number ten thousand odd and are practically confined to the Pottangi taluk, must be clearly distinguished from the remainder. The Pareng language is of Munda type and it appears that enumerators frequently made the entries 'Pareng Poroja' and 'Pareng Gadaba' indiscriminately. This tribe should more properly go with the Gadabas. The term Konda Poroja appears to be interchangeable with Konda Dora, the former being an Oriya and the latter a Telugu version. 6,512 members of this tribe, almost all of whom live in the Pottangi taluk, should therefore be excluded from the tally of Porojas. The distinction between Porojas and Kondhs is often slight, the designation 'Poroja Kondh' and 'Kondh Poroja' are both found, and the former have been classed with Kondhs and the latter with Porojas, perhaps arbitrarily. All the Poroja Kondhs and nine-tenths of the Kondh Porojas were found in the Rayaghadra taluk and perhaps their affinities are more with the Kondhs than the Porojas. The remaining classes of Porojas, namely the Porojas proper, the Pengo, Jodia and Bareng Porojas, and some smaller classes such as the Sodabissia Porojas, appear to be fairly closely connected with each other, though the task of investigating their individual idiosyncrasies still awaits an expert's hand. The following remarks are however of fairly general application, though referring specially to the Jodia Porojas that are common in Koraput taluk.

It is probable that these Porojas are descendants of Kondhs immigrating from the north who, after centuries of existence in a settled instead of a migratory form of life and through adoption of ordinary methods of cultivation enforced upon them by the absence of forests, have lost most of the wilder characteristics of their ancestors. There seems to be little difference between the Jodia, the Pengo and the Bareng Porojas. In some villages the only distinction is that one sect indulges in eating beef while another abstains from it; in other villages no distinction is kept or if there be one the basis of it is not known.

The Poroja women are more careful in their toilet and more cleanly than the Kondhs and indeed the females of most other hill tribes. They dress very neatly in a traditional costume of white and cerise striped cloths reaching barely to the knee. One forearm, or sometimes both, is loaded with German silver bangles up to the elbow, the hair is always decked with marigolds or other bright flowers, and their substantial but shapely arms and legs are often heavily tattooed from wrist to shoulder and from ankle to knee. Though small of stature the Poroja woman is of robust physique and indeed appears to be a much healthier and happier being altogether than the Poroja male. When any number of these attractive little creatures is collected together, as they are often to be seen in Koraput, for the ostensibly serious purpose of tiling a house, carrying bricks or mixing cement, a constant cheerful chatter is to be heard, interrupted at frequent intervals by high-pitched bursts of

merriment. Except in the remotest villages these women are quite free from embarrassment in the presence of strangers.

The dress of the Poroja male consists as a rule merely of a coarse cloth round his loins and a head cloth, between the folds of which a knot of hair sticks out behind. Young men wear one or two metallic rings on the left wrist and a garland or two of coloured beads round the neck. The Poroja is a simple and likeable creature, but is not only colourless to outward appearance by comparison with his wife or sister, but also appears to be greatly her inferior in intelligence.

In a few villages the aboriginal Dravidian language survives, in others relics of it can be picked up in the homely talk and songs of the people. Distinctive Poroja words are *puttra* (a stream) and *kanda* (a child). Oriya is spoken with a peculiar lilting intonation and a number of very distinctive mispronunciations, of which the most noticeable is the substitution of the aspirate for the labial 'p'. Thus 'pani' becomes 'hani' (or sometimes 'phani').

Marriage customs differ considerably in different areas and it would be profitless to point out all the variations. Round about Koraput the preliminary overtures follow the usual type. On the day fixed for the marriage the bride goes to the bridegroom's village in state. Outside the latter's house two poles are planted, between which a pumpkin is suspended from a string. As the bride's party approach, this is cut down with a *tangi*, the party enter the house, the bride is given a new cloth and liquor is liberally distributed. Cheered by this, the wedding party dance most of the night through, and next day, after a caste dinner, the bride is formally handed over to her husband in the presence of the *janni* (priest) and headman of the village.

When a death occurs the corpse is taken outside the village and burned or buried, according to the usual custom. The people of the village then bathe and take to the village a long, flat stone which they set upright with another slab at its foot. A rag is tied round the upright stone, and a bamboo, whose top is split into a trident, is placed upright behind it. Offerings of food and fowls are placed on the flat stone on the third and tenth days after the death. After nightfall on the tenth day the soul of the dead man is called upon by name and one of those that carried the corpse, who is supposed to be possessed with the deceased's soul, comes out of the darkness sounding his *tangi* on a hoe. He is led to the house where the death occurred. In this house three drawings have been made on the floor, representing Yama, Sani (Saturn) and a devil, three grains of rice placed between them and a pot placed over all. The possessed man enters the house and kicks away the pot, scattering the grains. The others then look to see on which of the drawings the grains lie, and from their position the future of the soul after death is determined. If the grains lie on the picture of the devil it is believed that the soul has become a devil.*

* Report on Madras Census of 1931, page 376

Poroja villages are enclosed with a living fence with a gap for an entrance. Houses are built in rows with a wide space between. The house contains a storeroom, a kitchen and a sleeping apartment, with a cow-shed and manure heap in the rear.

Gadabas

The principal Munda tribe of the 3,000-foot plateau is the Gadabas, and the singular dress of their womenfolk cannot fail to strike any one who has toured in the neighbourhood of Sembliguda or Nandapur. They were in previous days palanquin bearers by profession, but are now orthodox cultivators. But a survival of their ancient professional etiquette still forbids members of the tribe from having anything to do with the horse, the rival means of transport in former days. There are three subdivisions of the tribe in this district, namely the Bodo, Sano and Ollaro Gadabas. Other types are found in small numbers inhabiting the fringe of the ghats in Vizagapatnam district from Salur southward to Narasapatam, but the tribe seems to be unknown in any other part of India. Their own name for themselves is Gutob.

As the Savara differs from the Kondh, so does the Munda Gadaba differ in character from the Dravidian Poroja. While the Poroja is cheerful, friendly and amenable, the Gadaba is sullen, shy and obstinate. The amateur anthropologist can also fancy a distinct difference in feature between the two types, the Mongolian caste being fairly pronounced in the case of the Gadabas. But such theorizing on the origin of the tribes is brought up short by the puzzling fact that the Ollaro Gadabas, a community small in numbers but to all outward appearances similar to other Gadabas, speak a language unmistakably Dravidian in origin, while the language of the Gotobs proper is as obviously Munda.

Gadaba men dress like other hill people, but the women of the tribe have the most extraordinary garb of any in the district. Round their waists they tie a fringed, narrow cloth, called a *kereny*, woven by themselves on the most primitive loom imaginable, of which the warp is the hand-spun fibre of different jungle shrubs and the woof is cotton, dyed at home with indigo and *morinda citrifolia* and arranged in stripes of red, blue and white; either over or under this they wear a bustle made of raw-hide laces or of strands of stout cord woven from other shrubs and tied together at the ends; round the upper part of their bodies is another cloth, similar to but smaller than the waist cloth; on their right forearms, from wrist to elbow, are a number of brass bracelets; over their foreheads is fixed a chaplet of cowrie shells, the white seeds of the *kusa* grass, or the red and black berries of the *abrus precatorius*; and in their ears are enormous coils of thick brass wire, as much as eight inches across and containing as many as twenty strands, which hang down on their shoulders and in extreme cases prevent them from turning their heads except slowly and with care. The hair is dressed in two coils, whose ends are plaited together at the back of the neck, bound round a piece of wood bent into the shape of a horse shoe, which is used as a stiffening material.

The above are the essentials of the costume; the details differ in different places. The bustle is accounted for by the following tradition: a goddess visited a Gadaba village incognito and asked leave of one of the women to rest on a cot. She was brusquely told that the proper seat for beggars was the floor; and she consequently decreed that thenceforth all Gadaba women should wear a bustle to remind them to avoid churlishness.

Each of the three sub-sections of the tribe is divided into totemistic septs. Marriage customs follow lines similar to those of the generality of hill tribes, marriage by elopement being a recognized feature, as with other tribes. Marriage of course occurs after puberty. Stone slabs are erected to the memory of the dead and sacrifices offered to them now and again.

The other principal Munda tribes of the district are the Parengs, the Didays and the Bonda Porojas. The Parengs live in the southern portion of the Pottangi taluk. They speak a Munda language which Professor G. V. Ramamurti of Parlakimedi has pronounced to be very closely akin to that of the Savaras of the Parlakimedi Maliahs. The women wear a kilt woven of fibre, but different in pattern from that of the Gadabas in that it is thinly striped on a white or dingy white background while the Gadaba cloth is broadly striped in various colours.

The Bonda Porojas are certainly the wildest and rudest and possibly the most interesting tribe in the whole district. Their name simply means 'naked people', but the men of the tribe call themselves by the appellation 'remo'. They are restricted in their habitat to the hilly country between the river Machkund and the plains of the Malkanagiri taluk. In this extremely wild and inaccessible region they live undisturbed by alien intruders, growing rich crops in the ashes of the forest which they fell and drinking copiously of the toddy of the sago-palm. Periodically they descend to sell their produce at the weekly markets of Mattili and Mondiguda, but they do not welcome strangers into their midst. It is said that the first vaccinators to visit the Bonda strongholds had to flee before a rain of arrows.

The women (who are, as a rule, peculiarly ugly) shave their heads completely and wear no garment but a strip of coloured cloth woven from jungle fibre (*asclepias gigantea* apparently) eight inches wide and two feet long which they tie round their middles in such a way as to leave the left thigh bare both in front and behind. This cloth can be shifted round the body to suit the exigencies of the moment, for instance, when fleeing in embarrassment from a stranger, sufficient presence of mind is retained to shift the cloth so that the inevitable gap is in front instead of behind. The patent deficiency in clothing is supplied by a mass of brass and bead necklaces and by heavy circular collars of brass, often of great weight. A string with olive shells or little scarlet seeds on it is tied round the head. The people of the tribe explain this scanty costume by saying

that some of their ancestresses once came upon Sita when she was bathing in the Machkund with very little on, and laughed at her, and that she pronounced a curse upon them if they ever wore more clothes than she was wearing then. Marriages in the tribe are arranged in an extraordinary manner. About two months before Dasara each village Naik has a hole about eight feet square and nine feet deep dug in his village and roofed with logs and mud so arranged as to leave one small opening. In this all the unmarried girls of the village have to sleep. Any youth desirous of matrimony joins them there at night and next morning leaves his brass bracelet with the girl of his choice. The pair afterwards go together to the girl's people and explain matters, and then, with the relatives on both sides, repair to the jungle, where a fire is lit and the girl applies it to the boy's buttocks. If he cries out 'Yam! Yam!' in pain the girl refuses him, but if he makes no sound the couple are considered to be man and wife. The girl, of course, takes care not to hold the brand too close to a youth she likes, and this system has the advantage of giving both parties a choice in the matter. This practice is a rude variant of the custom prevalent among many of the hill tribes whereby a boy desirous of marriage goes at night to the *dhangadi basa* or hut set aside for the unmarried girls to sleep in, and proffers his suit to the maiden of his affections. The Bonda Porojas are, however, secretive about this custom and it does not appear that any outsider has in recent years seen one of the pits dug for this purpose.

The Didayis are confined entirely to a stretch of about twenty miles in the Machkund valley between Duduma and Kondakamberu. In dress and language they are more similar to the Gadabas than to the Bonda Porojas.

In the foregoing paragraphs all the principal aboriginal tribes inhabiting the Rayghada subdivision and the Koraput and Pottangi taluks have been discussed. They can be broadly classified in two divisions, firstly, the Munda tribes, i.e., the Savaras, Gadabas, Bonda, Pareng and Didayi Porojas, Jatapus and the rest, who for many centuries have been gradually filtering into the district from the north. It is appropriate to pass next to the representatives of the great Gond race, which is so prominent in the Central Provinces and has given its name to the country of Gondwana. Somewhat curiously the Gonds are represented only in the extreme north and the extreme south of the district. In the north of Nowrangpur taluk and especially in the Pannabeda Muttah are found the Gonds proper, who are split into three divisions of Raj, Dur and Muria, each of which is subdivided into totemistic septs. These Gonds still speak their own Dravidian language, but all adults are able to speak either Oriya or Hindi. The Gonds are fond of music, dancing and the chase and like other aboriginals delight in decking their persons with brightly-coloured ornaments. The representatives of the tribe in this district are careful cultivators and much more temperate in their habits than other hill tribes. They are not reckless burners of forests, nor have they the fatal weakness of the Kondhs and Savaras for alienating their lands.

Moreover they exhibit a certain aptitude for education, and are in all respects an example to other hill tribes in the way in which they adapt themselves to the advance of civilization without losing their primitive virtues.

In the south of the Malkanagiri taluk the principal tribe is ^{Koyyas} the Koyyas, and it was not until fairly recently that their connection with the Gonds was generally recognized. It is, however, established that the Koyya language is but a dialect of Gondi. In the northern portion of Malkanagiri taluk near Salimi there are some settlements of Koyyas who call themselves Gondias and profess to be unable to understand the language of their fellow-tribesmen to the south. These numbered 1,178 in 1941. The Koyyas as a race belong less to Koraput district than to the Agency tracts of East Godavari in Madras, where they are the principal tribe, and the adjoining portion of Bastar State. The Gond race is prominent throughout the Bastar State from the south to the north, where it adjoins the Central Provinces. Hence it is clear that the Koyyas are not an isolated group but are connected with the main body of their race. It is thought that the original home of the Gonds was in Southern India, and that they worked their way into the Central Provinces through Bastar State. The presence of Gonds in Malkanagiri taluk certainly corroborates this theory.

The Koyyas of Malkanagiri are much more primitive than the Gonds of Nowrangpur. Few can speak any language other than their own. For the most part they are quite unused to settled cultivation. They live in villages of about half a dozen houses set down in clearings in the jungle. Every tree is removed except for the *mohwas* and the tamarinds, which are invaluable for their fruit. Four years suffice to exhaust the soil in one locality and the Koyyas then migrate to another part of the forest, make a fresh clearing and erect a new village. They drink heavily of the juice of the date palmyra palm, which are common in their part of the country, though rarely seen elsewhere in the district. In matters of diet they have no prejudices and will eat anything in the way of meat from a rat to a cow.

Koyyas are peculiarly subject to the disease of 'yaws', which is described on page 91. In practically every settlement one meets sufferers from this disease, often with the most revolting ulcers.

The Koyya dances are most distinctive. The young men put on a basket head-dress to which a pair of buffalo or bison horns is attached, and beat time on drums while going through various pantomimes, e.g., of a fight between two bulls. The young women dance round in a circle, with their arms intertwined, singing an improvised song the while.

On the whole the Koyyas are an attractive race, of a prepossessing appearance, with a neat though not a powerful physique. They have perhaps been fortunate in inhabiting a most inhospitable country, which has not as yet tempted more civilized immigrants to settle in any numbers, and have thus

escaped the contacts with an alien mode of life which are usually so demoralising to hillmen. They are truthful and frank and very bold in hunting wild animals with bow and arrows, axes and spears. Though lazy cultivators they are good manual labourers and are very well thought of in the tea-gardens of Assam, whither numbers of them emigrate for work.

The Dhruva Porojas, who may tentatively be classed with the Gonds, live in the north of the Malkanagiri taluk, and number 2,797 souls.

Next to be considered are certain tribes who have generally been regarded as 'backward', but whose origin and affinities are quite unknown. According to their traditions they have resided in the district or the neighbouring States since time out of mind, but they possess no relics of a tribal dialect and their social customs mark them as decidedly less primitive than the tribes of purely Munda or Dravidian origin. All these tribes inhabit the 2,000-foot plateau and the northern portion of the Malkanagiri plain. It is likely that they came into this country when it formed part of a Hindu kingdom long before the arrival of the kings of the Solar race in Nandapur. The most notable of these tribes are the Bhattodas, Amanaitas, Bhumiyas and Mattiyas.

Bhattodas

The Bhattodas are the typical agricultural caste of Nowrangpur and north Jeypore. They are accepted as being within the Hindu fold, stand high in the social scale and wear the sacred thread, permission to use which was bought by their ancestors from the Raja of Jeypore. Their origin is a matter of some doubt. They all speak a corrupt form of Oriya and not even a vestige of a tribal dialect survives. Moreover, although they are as averse from education as any other tribe and are equally fond of hunting, they are undoubtedly better and more industrious cultivators and much more temperate in their habits than the generality of hill tribes. It would, therefore, probably be more correct to regard them as Hindus who have been influenced by prolonged contact with aboriginals than as actual aboriginals. The tribe is found in Kalahandi and Bastar States but Nowrangpur is the region of greatest concentration. A tradition has it that they are immigrants from Bastar and this is very likely to be the truth as inscriptions show that the Bastar kings ruled over most of the 2,000-foot plateau in the eleventh century A.D. It is not impossible that the name of the tribe is connected with that of the State.

The tribe is divided into endogamous divisions, styling themselves Bodo and Sano, of whom the former claim to be of purer descent, and into exogamous totemistic subdivisions. Marriage occurs either before or after puberty and the Hindu custom of wedding a youth to his paternal aunt's daughter is sometimes followed. The marriage ceremonies are far more elaborate than those of an ordinary hill wedding. In front of the bridegroom's house a pandal of nine sal poles is erected, the caste *disari* officiates as priest, the couple's little fingers are hooked together and their cloths knotted, they walk seven times round the

pandal, *homam* is lit, the pair are marked on the forehead with saffron and bathed in saffron water, and a caste banquet concludes the affair. The dead (with the usual exceptions) are burnt and pollution lasts ten days, during which the deceased's relations cannot cook any food; ceremonies are performed at the cremation ground on the second and eighth days.

Similar to the Bhattodas are the Amanaitas who live in the north of the Jeypore taluk and the south of Nowrangpur. Inter-dining with the Bhattodas is sometimes permitted and the customs generally resemble those of that caste, except that it is said that an item in the marriage ceremony is a free fight with mud for missiles. Like the Bhattodas the Amanaitas are divided into two endogamous divisions named Bodo and Sano. Amanaitas

The Bhumiyaas reside in the western and southern portions of the Jeypore taluk and in the north of Malkanagiri. Like the Bhattodas they speak only Oriya, but they do not enjoy such a high position in the social scale and are less temperate in their habits. Their marriage and funeral customs resemble those of the Bhattodas. They possess no traditions regarding the country from which they migrated to Jeypore, nor the time when their migration took place, but maintain that they are sons of the soil. Bhumiyaas

The Mattiyas of north Malkanagiri also claim to be autochthonous, as their name indicates. The name was doubtless conferred upon the tribe by later Oriya-speaking immigrants to the country. But the Mattiyas, though primitive enough, have no tribal dialect and are more advanced than other tribes among whom they live, such as the Dhruvas and Gondias and are probably later arrivals. Mattiyas

The Dombs, second only to the Kondhs in total numerical strength, are the most widespread of all the tribes in the district. They are common in every taluk and there is scarcely a village of any size in the whole district without its street of Domb houses. Closely allied to the Dombs are the Paidis of Vizagapatam, the Panos of Ganjam and the Gandas of Sambalpur. The tribe indeed has ramifications extending far beyond the boundaries of Orissa. By profession they are drummers, weavers or village watchmen. To the last-named occupation they are entitled, as is frequently the case in India, by their hereditary aptitude for theft, which involves a similar proficiency in its detection. Though occupying a position so low in the social scale as to justify their inclusion among the 'depressed' classes their lot is far from being the unenviable one of outcasts in villages of the plains. In intelligence the Domb is easily superior to the aboriginals in whose midst he lives, and is usually able to earn a comfortable livelihood by his wits. In some of the wilder and remoter parts of the district the position of the village watchman or *bariki* is one of great influence. Where the Savaras and Kondhs know no language besides their own tribal tongue they rely upon the *bariki* not only for interpretation but advice, whenever circumstances require, a visit to the *sowcar*, the police-station or the Magistrate's court. Manual Dombs

labour is not much to the taste of the Domb and he finds it more profitable to huckster in the weekly market and pick up commissions on the transactions which he puts through on others' behalf. Most of the cattle trade in the district is conducted by Dombs.

A tradition in the Agency, current among others besides the Dombs, has it that the Panos of Ghumsur in Ganjam district proved themselves so obnoxious to the people by their criminal habits that the Raja issued an order that any Pano should be killed wherever he should be found. In fear of this edict the men of the tribe scattered and some of them sought refuge in the hills of Jeypore. Soon after their arrival one of their number succeeded by a trick in inducing the Kondhs of the locality to accept him as their king. Observing that the Kondhs were in the habit of worshipping a certain *bija* tree this man concealed himself in the tree and suddenly leapt from it when the Kondhs were performing their devotions, announcing that he had been sent to them to be their king. Simultaneously he summoned some of his fellow-refugees who had concealed themselves nearby and declared that they were his retinue. The Kondhs believed that a king had been given to them by the tree as a reward for their devotions and accepted the ruler thus sent to them. They built forts for him at a number of places, of which the remains of one near Sembliguda are still clearly visible and are known locally as the 'Domb fort'. A period of terror and anarchy followed during which the Raja and his followers came to be called 'Dumbas' or 'devils', which name was later changed to 'Domb'.

The tradition further narrates that the reign of the Domb kings was ended by a boy, who was found in a forest guarded by a cobra and a peacock and fed by a goat, and was brought up by the foster-parents who discovered him. After overthrowing the Dombs he established a kingdom at Narayana-patnam, which was later moved to Nandapur. One of the successors of this Raja had no male issue and at the bidding of the god Sarveswara, who appeared to him in a dream, married his daughter to a certain youth who had come to his kingdom, also at the direction of the gods, and from this union sprang the present family of the Rajas of Jeypore.

There appear to be two main subdivisions among the Dombs, namely the Oriya Dombs and the Miriganis. The former, who are the more numerous, are further subdivided into Kuppias, Maggulis and Mandiris. Among the Miriganis there are also three sub-sects, namely Kobbiria, Vodillia and Andiniya. All these sects are further subdivided, as is usual in the Agency, into exogamous totemistic sects. Oriya Dombs habitually kill cattle and eat beef, while the Miriganis do not approve of the killing of cattle but are not averse from eating the flesh of animals that have died a natural death. The Miriganis generally regard themselves as superior to the Oriya Dombs, and in fact are their betters both in economic status and social customs. In general they earn a livelihood by cultivation and weaving and are not to any great extent addicted to crime.

For many decades the Oriya Dombs in the Koraput sub-division were the terror of all honest villagers. They specialized in cattle-theft, and in 1899 the other hill-folk were exasperated by the depredations on their herds to such a degree that the naiks of sixteen villages in the Jeypore taluk headed an organized attack on the houses of the Dombs, which they razed to the ground in some sixteen villages. The Dombs had fortunately got scent of what was coming and made themselves scarce, and no bloodshed occurred. The Dombs also formed bands of dacoits and were a terror to cartmen from the plains, especially on the road between Koraput and Jeypore. In the year 1923 the Oriya Dombs of Pottangi, Koraput, Jeypore and Nowrangpur were notified to be a criminal tribe under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1911, and the enforcement of the provisions of this Act has resulted in a remarkable decrease of crime. Much of the crime that still occurs can be attributed to hardened criminals who are past reclamation. A share in the credit for the reformation of the Dombs cannot be denied to the missionary efforts of the Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission, whose activities have been chiefly concerned with this tribe. The vast majority of the Indian Christians in the district have been recruited by conversion from the Dombs.

The marriage customs of the Dombs are remarkable for their elasticity. Marriage occurs after puberty. Generally the rite consists in the couple hooking their little fingers together, having their cloths knotted and being bathed in saffron water. The untying of the knotted cloths is the final ceremony. But unions among Dombs are frequently of the most impermanent kind and men and women allow themselves a good deal of licence in the matter of choosing fresh partners.

Children are supposed to be born without souls and to be afterwards chosen as an abode by the soul of an ancestor. The coming of the ancestor is signalized by the child dropping a chicken bone which has been thrust into its hand and much rejoicing follows among the assembled relations.

In the Telugu-speaking parts of Pottangi taluk is found the tribe of Paidis, who are also numerous in Vizagapatam. These are practically identical with the Dombs, and intermarriage occurs between the bilingual elements of the two tribes.

In the north of the Nowrangpur taluk live a related caste, the Ponakas, but intermarriage with the Dombs does not seem to be permitted, and the Ponakas can perhaps be regarded as Hindus rather than aboriginals.

Below the Dombs, and lowest of all castes in the social **Ghasis** scale, come the Ghasis. They are grooms by profession but sections of the caste are also scavengers. The Ghasis are addicted to crime and have been notified as a criminal tribe. They are also noted for being drunkards and brawlers. In spite of their lowly social position Ghasis are frequently fair-skinned and by no means ill-looking. It is possibly for this reason that, although contact with a Ghasi is utter defilement entailing

severe penalties to any one of another caste, instances of Hindu men taking Ghasi concubines and being themselves degraded to the status of outcasts are by no means infrequent.

Gaudos

The Gaudos, the most numerous of the Hindu castes in the district, are herdsmen by tradition. They are to be found in every taluk. There are a number of endogamous sections in the caste, of which the principal is the Magatha Gaudos. These have been classified as hill tribes for the purposes of the Agency Land Interest Transfer Act; they are residents of long standing in the Agency and their status is generally low. On the other hand the Solokondhia Gaudos, who are numerous round Kakkirigumma in the Koraput taluk, are people of considerable substance, and comparatively recent immigrants; they say that they are the seventh generation to reside in the Agency and that their forefathers came from Parlakimedi in Ganjam.

Ronas

The Ronas, who are sometimes called Rona Paikos, say that seven brothers, their ancestors, came long ago to Nandapur, then the capital of the Jeypore country, and took military service under the Raja there. They are still most numerous round Nandapur and Koraput. *Rona* means 'battle' and *paiko* 'sepoy'; and some of the caste still serve as arms-bearing retainers under the Maharaja. They wear the sacred thread (leave to do so having been purchased from the Raja in days gone by) and hold their heads high, declining to accept food from any but Brahmans. Like the hill tribes the Ronas are divided into totemistic exogamous septs. When a girl attains maturity she is kept in an enclosure within the house made of thread wound round seven arrows placed on end. Marriage occurs either before or after puberty.

Paikos

The Paikos are found in every taluk of the district, but the Oriya Paikos of the Gunupur taluk are more advanced economically and educationally than their relatives elsewhere, probably because they have not been so isolated from the Oriya culture of the plains. The men of this caste are descendants of the military caste who maintained the prestige in battle of the Gajapati kings of Orissa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their social customs are similar to those of the Ronas; and like the latter many of them are in the Maharaja's service.

Muka Doras

The Muka Doras of the Pottangi taluk differ from the castes above described in that they have Telugu for their mother-tongue instead of Oriya. The Muka Doras regard themselves, and are regarded by others, as aristocrats of high social standing. The family of the zamindars of Pachipenta, who can trace their ancestry back for centuries, belong to this caste. Throughout the area formerly comprised in the Pachipenta estate (long since ruined by the extravagance of its proprietors) the Muka Doras are everywhere regarded by the common people as 'lords'. Most of the mokhasadars among whom a large part of the estate has been parcelled out belong to this community. The Muka Doras have sometimes been regarded as a hill tribe, but this view is almost certainly incorrect. Though many of them are primitive in their habits and their speech these are probably

characteristics picked up through long residence in mountainous areas among aboriginals. It does not appear that they ever spoke any other language but Telugu. The probability therefore is that they are descendants of the military followers of some Telugu conqueror of early days, resembling in this respect the Ronas and the Paikos, who were the warriors of the early invading Oriya kings. Though in general they observe religious ceremonies similar to those of the Telugu Hindus, certain curious hill-rites have been mixed with them. For instance, when a girl attains puberty she is secluded within an enclosure of arrows. A feast is also held in honour of their ancestors. The Muka Doras are as a rule cultivators, but have also taken to pack-bullock trading.

The Malis say that they were originally growers of flowers for temples and came from Benares. They are now the most careful of all hill cultivators, being especially skilful at raising garden crops. They are considered high in the social scale and drink very little liquor. The caste is split into six endogamous subdivisions which chiefly reside in six parts of the Agency, namely Bodo in Pottangi and Koraput, Ponda in Nowrangpur and Kotapad, Kosalya in Parlakimedi of Ganjam, Pannara in Jeypore, Sonkuva in Gunupur and Dongrudia round Nandapur. Marriage must take place, under penalty of being outcasted, before puberty, and among the Ponda Malis, if no suitable husband has been found as that time draws near, a mock wedding without any bridegroom is held. At ordinary weddings a Brahman or caste elder officiates and the rites are not peculiar, but at marriages among the Ponda Malis the auspicious moment is awaited by the couple seated on either side of a curtain with their cloths knotted, the *makkutas* (fillets) on their heads, their hands touching and on them a myrobalan wound in cotton. As the auspicious moment passes the cotton is unwound, the knotted cloths are untied and the curtain is pulled down. These Ponda Malis also practise an unusual ceremony on the ninth day after funerals, the heir digging a hole in the deceased's house and burying in it a light and the remains of his supper.

The traditional occupation of the Sundis is distilling; and now they are scattered all over the hill country, gaining a living by selling liquor or by usury. Their traditions say that they are descended from a Brahman. This man, a great magician, was ordered by the king to exhibit his powers by setting a tank on fire. A distiller promised to show him how to do so on condition of being given his daughter to wife, and then covered the surface of the tank with liquor, which of course burnt readily enough. His descendants by the Brahman magician's daughter are the present Sundis.

The caste headman of the Sundis is called the Bissoyi, but many other wealthy Sundis assume and are accorded this title. Marriage occurs before puberty and, as among the upper Oriyas generally, a man marries outside his family if he can. The actual ceremony lasts seven whole days, and is a wearisome round of rites of which the meaning has been lost. On each

day the couple play with cowries, part of the game consisting in the bride trying with both her hands to capture the shells which her husband holds in one of his, and in his trying to force from her, with one finger, the cowries, she is holding in both hands clasped. A Brahman presides and *homam* is lit, a *pusti* is tied and offerings are made to ancestors. The dead are burnt and pollution lasts ten days. On the tenth night the heir performs an odd ceremony. He gets a pot, makes holes in its sides, puts food and a light in it and carries it to the burning ground. There he puts it down, calls thrice to the dead, saying that food is ready and asking him to come, and then returns home.

Brahmans

The Brahmans form a much smaller proportion of the total population in Koraput than in other districts. They are comparatively recent immigrants to the district (it is said that when the Jeypore kings ruled at Nandapur all the Court functions of Brahmans used to be performed by men of the Telli caste) and their customs do not differ from those of the Brahmans of Ganjam and Puri. Brahmans here are less well-educated than elsewhere and are for the most part occupied in cultivation. They have never had anything like a monopoly of the literate occupations, the Koronos and men of immigrant Telugu castes, especially the Telugu Brahmans, having been strong competitors. Brahmans are most numerous in the Gunupur, Jeypore and Nowrangpur taluks. Former Rajas of Jeypore have been generous in making grants of land to Brahmans, and there are one or two villages where almost all the land is held by Brahmans, such as Padmapur in the Gunupur taluk and Dohara in Nowrangpur.

Other castes

Little need be said of the other castes in the district. The Dhakkados are said to be the descendants of illegitimate unions between Brahmans and women of other non-polluting castes. The Kumbhars are potters, the Kanamars and Loharas iron-workers and the Tellis oil-mongers. The Koronos are chiefly engaged in that class of employment that may be described as 'black-coated' and the Telugu-speaking Komatis are traders and usurers.

SOCIAL LIFE villages

The typical Agency village is a settlement of from half a dozen to fifty families of one of the aboriginal tribes. As often as not the village takes its name from a tree which is, or once was, prominent near the site. Koraput, Dummuriput, Kendupoda, Tentulikunti are typical examples. The tribesmen invariably have their own acknowledged leader whom they choose themselves, independent of the appointment of mustajar made by the authorities of the Jeypore estate. The headman is known among the Savaras as the 'gomang', among the Kondhs as the 'samantho' or 'majji', among the Porojas as the 'janni' or 'mudili'. In the extreme south of the district the Koyyas designate their headman as the 'pedda' and in the extreme north of Nowrangpur and Bissamkatak taluks he is known as the gaoutia and elsewhere throughout the district he goes under the title of 'naiko'. Each village has also its worshipper (known as the 'pujari') and its watcher. The latter, like most

village watchers throughout the length and breadth of India, belongs to that class of men which has made theft its traditional occupation, in this district the Dombs. Thus, while most of the hill tribes live within a fairly circumscribed habitat, the Dombs have spread themselves over all the district and there is no village above the size of a mere hamlet that has not a street or at any rate a house or two of Dombs.

The houses are nearly always small and insubstantially constructed either of puddled earth or of jungle wood poles stuck vertically in the ground and covered with a thin caking of mud. In the south of Malkanagiri taluk the poorer classes live in houses with walls of matted bamboo or jungle wood poles without any covering of mud. Houses are thatched with jungle grass or occasionally with the leaf of the date-palm. In the Jeypore taluk and the south of Nowrangpur the villages are generally untidy and uninteresting. But in some parts, notably the north of Nowrangpur taluk, each house, together with a small garden in which tobacco, chillies or mustard is cultivated, is enclosed by a fence of bamboo or *sal* posts, and such village have a neat and orderly appearance. The villages of the Kondhs are outstanding in respect of cleanliness. They consist of a wide street with a continuous row of huts on each side, with a continuous roof covering all the houses in the row. The common roof illustrates the communal feeling prevailing in Kondh villages that is so distinct from the individualism of the Hindus of the plains. The street and the houses are always carefully swept and smeared with cow-dung. Large stacks of fuel are stored in front of each house. The Savaras and Kuttia Kondhs are fond of putting their habitations on hill-tops. A feature of the villages in some parts, notably in the Malkanagiri taluk, is a sheep and goat pen, raised some six or eight feet above the ground, in which animals are kept at night for security against panthers.

In larger villages the superior houses of the Sundi, Brahman or (in the Rayaghada subdivision) Komati money-lenders and land-owners are often conspicuous. Tiled roofs are extremely rare outside the towns, except in the north of the Nowrangpur taluk, where the Dombs (there called Gandas) have learned the art of making rough pantiles.

Except for the hill Savaras of Gunupur and the Koyyas of ^{Dress} Malkanagiri the dress of the hillman is of a dull uniformity. It consists usually of a scanty loin-cloth, head-cloth, and a coarse cloth of the type woven by the Dombs thrown over the shoulder, with a dingy blanket in the cold season. Of late years there has been a growing tendency for men to cover the upper portion of the body, when not actually at labour, with shirts or vests. The cultivator in the fields protects himself from the rain with a combined hat and umbrella made of palm leaves or woven bamboo strips and a shield of stitched leaves worn over the shoulder. Hillmen invariably go armed with an axe, carried with the blade resting on the shoulder. The domestic axe, used for hewing wood or felling trees, has a heavy wedge-shaped blade

with a cutting surface of three to five inches in length and is called a *tangia*. The battle-axe or *tangi* is a more ornamental affair, having a blade curved into all sorts of fanciful shapes with a cutting edge of about nine inches. The *tangi's* handle is bound with metal rings, which are said to have been originally intended as a protection against the opponent's weapon in the days when these axes were really used in tribal warfare.

The dress of the women is as a rule more distinctive than that of the men, and the peculiar costumes of the Gadabas and others are described in earlier paragraphs. Here again, however, the tendency is towards uniformity, and the dress of many of the women of the hill tribes is scarcely different from that of women of orthodox Oriya Hindu castes. But the ends of the cloth are usually tied in a knot over the left shoulder instead of being tucked in at the waist.

Food and drink

On the 3,000-foot plateau and in the Rayaghada country *sama* (or *sua*) is the staple food; round Gunupur, Nowrangpur, Jaypore and Malkanagiri much rice is eaten; and in the Savara country hill *cholan*. The hill people eke out their grain with unusual substitutes, such as the pith of the sago-palm, pounded mango-kernels and dried *mohwa* flower.

The hillman has always been accustomed to concoct intoxicating liquors out of various substances. The favourite drink is the arrack distilled from the blossom of the *Bassia latifolia* or *mohwa* tree. The Government now exercise a monopoly in the manufacture of this liquor, except in one or two very remote areas, and private distillation is forbidden. There are, however, numerous other intoxicants with the consumption of which the Government do not interfere, though their sale is prohibited. Except in Malkanagiri, where palmyra palms are plentiful, toddy is obtained from the sago-palm or *solapa* tree (*caryota urens*). A rough ladder, consisting of a stem of a bamboo with the branches on either side of it cut short so as to make steps, is lashed to the tree and left there permanently, and the owner climbs up whenever he or his requires a drink. Beer is distilled from rice, *sama* (the millet *panicum miliare*) and *mandya*. The grain is washed in the ordinary manner, some more water added and a small quantity of a ferment mixed with it.

Amusements

Hunting is one of the hillman's favourite recreations. In the hot season and especially in the month of Chaitra, when all the world makes holiday, organized beats are held in which all the men and boys of the village take part, armed with bow and arrow, axe or spear, and occasionally with matchlock, and slay any live thing, irrespective of age or sex, which they may meet in the forest. Such expeditions as a matter of course culminate in a feast and carouse in the village.

Nearly all hill people are fond of music, and a variety of rude instruments, stringed, wind and percussive, are in use. Women sing in chorus when working in the fields, and men and boys while away the lonely hours of watching cattle by warbling

to themselves plaintive melodies on bamboo flutes, or twanging a two-stringed mandolin provided with a dried gourd for a sounding-board.

Dancing is however the diversion of which all, men and women alike, are most passionately fond. In time of festivals dancing parties will begin at nightfall, last all night and continue even through the following day. Each tribe has its own particular dance. The best efforts of the Koudhs and Savaras are clumsy beside those of some of the other tribes. The Koyyas have an interesting dance in which the men tie buffalo or bison horns on their heads and engage in mimic fight; their women also dance prettily in a ring with their hands on each other's shoulders. But undoubtedly the most skilled performers are the Jodia Porojas and the Gadabas from the neighbourhood of Koraput and Nandapur.

At a Poroja dance all the girls and the younger married women of the village form themselves into a chain, each maiden passing her right hand behind the next girl's back and grasping the left elbow of the next but one. The girls arrange themselves carefully according to size, the youngest, who are generally nine and ten-year olds, at one end and at the other the leader of the *corps de ballet* who carries a baton of peacock's feathers in her right hand to mark the time. Three or four young men take their stand in the middle of the dancing floor and strike up a song which they accompany on their mandolins while the long chain of girls, linked together and moving in perfect time, follow the leader with her swaying baton, through an intricate series of sinuous lines, curves, spirals, figures-of-eight and then unravel themselves back into line again. They wind in and out like some brightly coloured snake, never halting for a moment, now backwards, now forwards, first slowly and decorously, then faster and with more and more abandon, until suddenly some one gets out of step and the chain snaps amid peals of breathless laughter. All the while the young men in the centre continue to sing, improvising the words as they go along and frequently sending the dancers into bursts of merriment by their personal allusions, delicate or the reverse. The leader of the troupe varies the step in half a dozen different ways and the dancers now sway to the music with their bodies, now clink their heavy German silver bangles together in time. The chain of comely young maidens, dressed in their brightest cloths with their hair neatly oiled and decked with flowers and all in the height of good humour is a picturesque and pleasing sight.

The dances of the Gadabas are simpler but no less spirited. The chain of girls, all dressed exactly alike in their red, white and blue striped cloths reaching barely half way to the knee, and with their feet loaded with heavy chased brass anklets which they clink together in time, swings round in a circle to the accompaniment of muffled drums. The girls chant together in unison as they go round, and the time gets ever quicker and quicker, their steps longer and longer, but still perfect step is kept until the chain breaks or the leader is exhausted.

Festivals

The chief festivals of the Hindus, in which the more enlightened of the hill tribes generally join, are Sivaratri, Holi and the Rath Jatra. At Sivaratri there are large gatherings of people at the Gupteswara caves in the Jeypore taluk and at the Devagiri hill near Kalyana Singapur. The Holi or swing festival is an important occasion in Jeypore, though it is not celebrated at all in the adjacent Telugu country. Imitation flowers of paper or pith are tied in bunches to bamboo poles 20 feet or more in length, called *dhandas*. On the night before full moon these *dhandas* are carried in procession with music and dancing to a bon-fire which is lighted in the north of the town, and are thrown into the flames. The god Vishnu is carried thrice round the fire. On the next day, the day of the full moon, the image of the god is placed upon a swing hung for the occasion and is swung upon it. Swings are set up in every street and men and women swing themselves upon them until late in the night, singing songs the while. On the following day men, women and children amuse themselves by throwing red powder and squirting coloured water at one another. At the day's end all the participants, with their clothes and bodies stained in every hue, repair to the tank, where they bathe and put on clean garments.

At the Rath Jatra idols of Jagannath are dragged in cars through the streets at Jeypore, Gunupur and other important centres.

Among the hill tribes the most important occasions are the Chaitra festival, Balli Jatra and Dasara. The first-named is purely a festival for the hill people and the Hindus do not participate in it. The whole of the month of Chaitra is celebrated as a holiday. There is no work to be done in the fields, the crops being off the ground and the time for ploughing not having yet arrived, the sago-palm is giving toddy and the *mohwa* flower is falling, and everything makes for jollity. The month is spent in feasting, deep potations, nightlong dancing and singing parties and in expeditions into the jungles to gather the *mohwa* blossom during which, it is said, free love is the rule among the unmarried. This is also the great season for hunting, in anticipation of which the long grass has been burned in the jungles. All the able-bodied men take part in the beats and they stay out, sometimes for days together, until some animal has been shot. Should they dare to return empty-handed, the women collect and pelt them with most unsavoury missiles. But dancing and love-making are the chief pastimes during these Saturnalia. In every village the fun is fast and furious, and any one who passes by, even the police constable on beat duty, is invited, sometimes forced, to join in the dance. Parties of girls hold hands across the main roads and take toll of every passing vehicle. Young men go from village to village singing to the girls, and an expert musician can generally rely upon making a conquest in every village he visits.

Balli Jatra ('sand feast') begins five days before the Bhadrabada fullmoon and ends five days after it. The beginning of the festival is identified with the Nua Khiya feast, on which new rice is first eaten. Balli Jatra is an occasion for

great rejoicing and men of all classes put on fancy dresses and dance and sing. The festival takes its name from the ceremony of planting various grains in wet sand which has been brought from a nearby stream and placed in a structure called the *balli ghoro* or 'sand house', but it is an occasion for many other celebrations. In the Bissamkatak taluk a swing is set up, with its seat studded with sharp nails, and on this a *bejju* (medicine-man and exorcist) is swung, while goats and pigeons are sacrificed. The *bejju* then walks upon burning charcoal. He spends most of the three nights before this day in dancing wildly and working himself up into a state of excitement, during which he prophesies both good and evil and pretends to grant boons to those who ask for them.

The Dasara feast is held in honour of the goddess Kanaka Durga (who is sometimes identified with the Takurani who is universally worshipped in the villages) and is the occasion for great celebrations at Jeypore, to which every village within reasonable distance sends a contingent. A detailed description of the celebrations at Jeypore, is given on page 167. Smaller celebrations are held at outlying stations. Those at Bissamkatak are most distinctive. They are described on page 161.



CHAPTER V

PUBLIC HEALTH

CLIMATE

Early official records are full of references to the unhealthiness of the climate of the hill tracts of Koraput. D. F. Carmichael's *Manual of the Visagapatam District*, published in 1869, remarks that 'there is scarcely a man who visits these parts who does not return with an enlarged spleen or liver, more or less affection of the head, making business irksome, and with a constitution broken down'. Even at the present time the district cannot strictly be called healthy, for malaria is endemic almost everywhere and a special allowance is paid to officials serving there, who are not natives or domiciles of the district, to compensate them for the unhealthiness of the climate. But, malaria and its complications apart, the district is more salubrious than most parts of the province. The cold weather is pleasant and the summer, except in the Malkanagiri taluk, is not trying. Most parts of the district are naturally well drained and have a good supply of pure drinking water. The day is perhaps not far off when the 3,000-foot plateau of Koraput will come to be regarded rather as a health resort for the summer months than a place to be avoided on account of its fevers.

VITAL
STATISTICS

Vital statistics are only maintained in six towns which have been constituted Unions under the Local Boards Act, namely Jeypore, Koraput, Nowrangpur, Kotapad, Rayaghada and Gunupur. The presidents of these Boards are responsible for the collection of the statistics, and no obligation is imposed on householders to make reports. Elsewhere, owing to the absence of any suitable agency for collecting information, no attempt is made to keep any record of births and deaths.

DISEASES
Malaria

Malaria is hyperendemic throughout the district, except in a small strip along the western border of the Jeypore and Nowrangpur taluks. The indigenous people gradually develop a relative immunity and in adult life, do not suffer much, and that dread form of malaria, black-water fever, has rarely been seen among them. Immigrants, however, suffer both from the ordinary forms of malaria and from its severer complications, black-water fever and cerebral malaria. Black-water fever is not now as fatal a disease as it used to be, possibly owing to the recognition of the part that indiscriminate or excessive use of quinine plays both in the causation and the aggravation of the disease. In recent years the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company and the Madras and Orissa Governments have taken measures to reduce the risk of malarial infection at various places in the district. An account of the efforts of the Railway Company is given in a later section of this chapter. Government prophylactic work has mainly been concentrated on protecting Koraput, the headquarters of the district, and an account of the work done there will be found on page 171. Similar work has been done on a smaller scale in Jeypore and one or two other places. Observations made since 1930, when a special Malaria Officer

was first appointed, and since when preventive work has been continuously done, show that there has been a slight but definite improvement in the health both of Koraput and Jeypore.

One of the distinctive medical features of the district is ^{Yaws} the prevalence of the disease known as 'yaws', which bears a close outward resemblance to syphilis. This infection is common among the more backward of the hill tribes and especially among the Koyyas of Malkanagiri, and it is locally known as 'Koyya disease'. 'Yaws' is a specific infectious granuloma caused by a spirochaete *Treponema pertinua*. It is not a congenital or venereal disease, though the course resembles syphilis. The primary lesion occurs extra-genitally and is not always demonstrable. The secondary stage consists of the development of papules which may coalesce into larger masses. Later the scales from the papules fall off and a yellowish fluid is exuded and forms a heaped up yellow crust resembling syphilitic rupia. The tertiary stage, seen only in long standing cases, includes periostitis, inflammation of joints, caries of bones and ulcerations of the mouth and palate. Different forms of the disease occur, affecting the soles of the feet, causing ulcerations in the palate, larynx or nose, causing nodular painful swelling on the nose, or forming tumours near the knees or elbows; these latter are painless. 'Yaws' is distinguished from syphilis by the facts that the primary lesion is never venereal, the central nervous system is never affected, the disease is not hereditary, and it fails to yield to Mercury treatment. It responds readily however to injection of arsenicals. In the year 1937, 497 cases were treated in the district, chiefly in the Malkanagiri and Gunupur taluks. In a large proportion of these cases the patients were relieved, but as blood examination was not made it was impossible to ascertain the percentage of cures.

Leprosy appears to be comparatively rare, except in the ^{Other diseases} Gunupur taluk, where it is common. On the other hand infection with venereal disease is common all over the district. Among epidemics smallpox is a regular visitant to the district, but accurate figures of attacks and deaths are not available. Cholera makes comparatively rare appearances, and it is many years since there has been a severe outbreak. The worst of recent epidemics was in 1934. The district has hitherto been free from plague.

Vaccination in some areas is a charge on the revenues of ^{VACCINATION} the Taluk Boards and elsewhere is paid for by the Government. Altogether 26 vaccinators are at work in the district and they are supervised by six Health Inspectors. Vaccination is free, but has not been notified as compulsory. But hillmen generally are quite willing to allow their children to be vaccinated. In 1937, 28,994 vaccinations and 40,996 revaccinations were performed. There is at present no proper system for reporting outbreaks of smallpox to the Health Inspectors. The headmen of villages do not realize their responsibilities in this matter, and information frequently only reaches the authorities through the channel of the police or other touring officials and after it has become too late to take preventive measures.

**MEDICAL
INSTITU-
TIONS.**

The medical needs of the district are met by seven hospitals and sixteen dispensaries. One hospital and nine dispensaries are maintained by the Government, six hospitals and six dispensaries by the Taluk Boards, and one dispensary by a private practitioner with the aid of subsidies from the Government and the Koraput Taluk Board. Particulars of the institutions are given below:—

Institution	Year of opening	Managing authority	Daily average for 1987	
			Out-patients	In-patients
Koraput Hospital ..	1908	Government	106.60	10.17
Ambodala Dispensary..	1927	Ditto ..	31.85	1.08
Bhairava Singapur Dispensary.	1927	Ditto ..	54.88	.01
Boipariguda Dispensary	1932	Ditto ..	27.37	.43
Dabugam Dispensary ..	1927	Ditto ..	43.08	..
Kotapad Dispensary ..	1931	Ditto ..	86.63	1.84
Lakshmipur Dispensary	1927	Ditto ..	56.58	..
Nandapur Dispensary..	1923	Ditto ..	54.22	..
Narayanapatnam Dispensary.	1925	Ditto ..	53.76	..
Venkatapalem Dispensary.	1927	Ditto ..	5.16	..
Jeypore Hospital ..	1887	Koraput Taluk Board	114.30	5.62
Jeypore Ghosha Hospital	1936	Ditto ..	110.98	6.97
Nowrangpur Hospital	1890	Ditto ..	115.22	12.24
Mattili Dispensary ..	1923	Ditto ..	21.53	.54
Malkanagiri Dispensary	1899	Ditto ..	28.38	..
Padwa Dispensary ..	1904	Ditto ..	42.03	1.54
Pottangi Dispensary ..	1913	Ditto ..	42.31	..
Umarkote Dispensary..	1921	Ditto ..	66.60	5.85
Bissamkatak Hospital.	1888	Rayaghad a Taluk Board	41.97	1.25
Gunupur Hospital ..	1869	Ditto ..	94.53	4.97
Rayaghada Hospital ..	1887	Ditto ..	91.90	2.68
Gudari Dispensary ..	1922	Ditto ..	69.72	.91
Borigumma Dispensary	1926	Subsidised	52.06	.14

All indigent patients are treated free at the public hospitals, while at the subsidised rural dispensary the practitioner is obliged to give free treatment to the poor.

The Ghosha Hospital at Jeypore, where only women are treated, was built by the late Maharaja of Jeypore in memory of his mother Sri Sita Patta Mahadevi, and handed over to the Taluk Board for maintenance. The present Maharaja contributes annually a third of the cost of its maintenance.

There are 82 beds available for in-patients in the various institutions.

The following account of the anti-malarial work done by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company has been contributed by Mr. R. Senior White, F.R.S.E., Malariologist to that Railway. It throws an interesting light on the difficulties of malaria protection in the district.

MALARIA
CONTROL ON
THE BENGAL
NAGPUR
RAILWAY

The Jeypore hill tracts have always been notorious for their malaria, and following on the discovery of the mosquito transmission of the disease by Sir Ronald Ross, some of the earliest investigations into malaria in India were conducted in the Koraput area in 1902 by Prof. J. W. W. Stephens and Colonel Sir Rickard Christophers, I.M.S. Major E. L. Perry, I.M.S., spent sixteen months on malaria investigations in these hills in 1912-13, making Koraput his headquarters. But none of these investigators penetrated the Bissamkatak taluk in the north-east of the district, about which all that continued to be known was that the Vizagapatam District Gazetteer gave it the palm for being the most malarious area of the whole district. It was through this notorious, but scientifically unknown, region that the Bengal-Nagpur Railway constructed their Raipur-Vizianagram line in 1925-31.

The route of the Raipur-Vizianagram Railway was originally surveyed by the now defunct East Coast Railway in 1888-86. Two years were spent on reconnaissance before a practical route across the Eastern Ghats was discovered, two years more in actual survey. The records of this party are lost, but it is known that they suffered very severely from malaria. In 1897 a further survey by the same railway, to change the alignment from that of a metre to that of a broad gauge line, was undertaken. This party broke down from malaria 99 miles from Vizianagram, just south of the summit of the pass at Satikona, after traversing barely 40 miles of the hyperendemic zone. In 1907 yet another party of Bengal-Nagpur Railway Engineers essayed a resurvey, but likewise broke down after achieving only two miles further than their predecessors of ten years before. Lastly, in 1923, the 24 miles across the summit of the Range, from a point north of what is now Singapur Road Station to the site of the present Muniguda Station, were again resurveyed. By this time the railway from Vizianagram to Parvatipur (48 miles) was open, and motor transport was to a certain extent available. Only three months, January to March, were spent in the field, and the engineer-in-charge left rail-head with all his staff duplicated. On completion, only 25 per cent were effective.

When therefore actual construction was authorized, it was obvious to the Railway administration that malaria was going to be a most potent factor in the forthcoming operations, and, before any importation of labour was commenced, a whole-time Malariologist was added to the cadre of the medical department of the railway, and posted to the construction. The problem was an immense one. Of the 242* miles to be built from Raipur to Parvatipur, only the first thirty and the last four were found to be in non-malarious country, but the highest incidence of the disease lay between mile 147 (in Kalahandi State) and mile 228 (the boundary of the new Orissa Province, formerly the old Agency limit). On this length it was quite exceptional to find a village with a child splenic index of under 70 per cent. The only town, Rayaghada, had an index of 89 per cent.

Of the 44 species of Anopheline mosquitoes found within the Indian Empire no less than 28 have now been found in the district. These are:—

- Anopheles aitkeni*—James
- A. hyrcanus nigerrimus*—Giles
- A. barbirostris v.d.*—Wulp
- A. vagus*—Donitz
- A. subpictus*—Grassi
- A. culicifacies*—Giles
- A. fluviatilis*—James
- A. varuna*—Iyengar
- A. minimus*—Theobald
- A. aconitus*—Donitz
- A. jeyporiensis*—James
- A. moghulensis*—Christophers
- A. maculatus*—Theobald
- A. theobaldi*—Giles
- A. karwari*—James
- A. majidi*—McCombe Young and Majid
- A. splendidus*—Koidzumi
- A. stephensi*—Liston
- A. tessellatus*—Theobald
- A. jamesi*—Theobald
- A. annularis v.d.*—Wulp
- A. philippinensis*—Ludlow
- A. pallidus*—Theobald

Formidable though this list appears, only the three closely related species *fluviatilis*, *varuna* and *minimus* appear to play any considerable part locally in the transmission of malaria.

* The Panama Canal, the largest engineering work on which anti-mosquito measures had been taken before, is only 46 miles in length.

The elsewhere notorious *A. culicifacies* is the preponderating species of the Anopheline fauna, but has recently, as the result of extended researches, been shown to play little or no part in the etiology of malaria in these hills. The cause of this exceptional phenomenon is not yet known. However the three definitely incriminated species swarm, as larvae, in every small stream and seepage trickle, and in rice fields wherever springs and seepages keep the water cool and in the slightest degree in motion. Rice fields of this nature are general throughout the district. Not only is the numerical output of the vector species very large, but their infective rate is also extremely high, averaging 3.6 per cent over the year in the Bissamkatak taluk.

It was therefore obvious that unless malaria could be controlled the massing of imported, non-immune labour for building the railway was going to result in a disaster of the first magnitude. Such labour is housed in temporary brushwood huts, is quite undisciplined and incapable of being treated with quinine as a routine measure, and must be protected in spite of itself from all forms of epidemic disease. It was thus certain that malaria protection could only be achieved by attacking the disease in the mosquito, and not in man.

tractors to locate their labour camps on pre-selected sites arranged between the engineering and the medical departments, instead of allowing their labour to camp at will all along the route. Two camp sites to every three miles was the standard aimed at, though this naturally varied in practice according to the amount of work involved on each length. After making the necessary concessions in regard to convenience for work and

The problem was solved by compelling the earthwork con-availability of drinking water, the sites were chosen primarily to minimize the amount of water needing treatment within a circle centred on the camp and with a radius of half a mile, the effective flight range of most Anopheline mosquitoes. All dangerous water within each protected circle was then oiled weekly so long as the camp was occupied, whilst new sites could not be occupied until certified safe by the Malariologist, as when taken up for treatment they were naturally full of the winged forms, though sites were chosen as far from villages as possible to minimize the number of the latter likely to be infected by feeding on the local inhabitants.

In practice, it was far from simple to arrange and supervise such an organization. The Sanitary Inspectors had absolutely no practical experience of mosquito control. Owing to bad roads and long distances, these men had perforce to be left unsupervised for days at a time. The work involved was very hard physically, and when it is borne in mind that a week's neglect of some breeding place always leads to the emergence of a brood of mosquitoes it is difficult to give too much credit to the two Chief Malaria Inspectors who were so successful in keeping the ordinary Inspectors up to their work. Much weeding out of unsuitable Inspectors was necessary, but towards the close of the construction a quite reliable force was achieved.

By these means malaria was kept down to a daily sick rate of under two per cent (though the figures could never be collected with any real accuracy), and there was a very little bolting of gangs. The Sub-Assistant Surgeons in charge of clinical measures were constantly on patrol over their twenty-mile lengths, and reported to the malaria staff any camp in which their inspections showed any abnormal malaria incidence. What would have happened without such measures was well revealed when, for any reason, a protection went wrong. Two bad instances of such a happening occurred, one at Solawa village, south of Jimidapeta Station, the other at the crossing of the Vamsadhara river, near Ambodala. General sickness and incapacitation, accompanied by deaths in spite of quinine treatment, at once appeared.

The cost of this organization was, in comparison with the total amount expended on the construction, small. Very small in comparison with what the railway had spent in excess of estimates for enhanced rates in a previous construction where malaria had played havoc with the work. The amount expended on purely anti-malarial operations cannot be disentangled in the accounts from the total expenditure on medical services, which included a base hospital and a District Medical Officer, but the entire medical expenditure only amounted to 0.8 per cent of the total cost of the whole 242 miles constructed.

When construction works were completed, the question of how to maintain the open line had to be considered. It was obvious that non-local staff could not be maintained in health without measures at least as effective as those used for guarding the health of the construction force, yet an expenditure which for such a force was *per capita* reasonable, became on the same basis very high where the staff of a small roadside station only is involved, yet the area to be controlled to protect a staff of two station-masters and six pointsmen is no smaller than to protect five hundred coolies camped at the same spot. In fact, for a small staff, such measures must be of even higher efficiency, for sickness at small stations may involve continuous duty for some man until relief can arrive. Anti-larval measures were therefore continued around the following stations in this district: Jimadipeta, Rayaghada, Singapur Road, Theruvali, Satikona summit (since renamed Bissankatak), Muniguda and Ambodala. In addition Langighar Road, just over the district frontier in Kalahandi State, had also to be protected.

Anti-larval measures by oiling, and by Paris-green dusting after this larvicide became available in 1928, have continued, and must continue, indefinitely, if this length of the railway is to be kept open for traffic. Yet they are unsatisfactory as routine, in that they depend so greatly on the intensely fallible human factor, and the never-ending annual expenditure leaves no permanent results behind it, so that, if such measures are withdrawn, malarial conditions return almost immediately to the *status quo ante*, and, if they have been in force long enough to result in the growth of a child population not immunized by

exposure to infection from birth, cessation must lead to a devastating epidemic among the children. The policy of the railway is, therefore, as far as possible gradually to change over to permanent anti-larval measures, filling in of burrow pits and sub-soil drainage principally. In this district the best examples of sub-soil drainage are in the *dhobi* ravine at Rayaghada, though there are lengths at other stations. Nonetheless there remain vast areas of breeding grounds quite unsusceptible to such works, which must remain under regular larvicidal treatment until further research into biological methods of control yields a solution for such problems. Then, and not until then, will it be possible to do anything for the malaria of the district generally, for sums that can be economically justified by an industrial concern to protect key-men cannot possibly be contemplated when village economics are under consideration. A biological method of control, after the rains are over, for small volume streams which, during the rains, run in such force as to wash out sub-soil drainage, has been evolved but for larger streams and main irrigation channels, and above all for the immense seeping rice areas that occur everywhere, such methods are still to seek. Until such are found, these eight railway stations must remain islets of safety in the vast sea of malaria which is this district.

To illustrate what has been accomplished by the railway for its own staff, the combined annual dispensary figures for the eight stations mentioned above, averaged for the two calendar years 1934 and 1935, are as under:—

Railway population (including dependants)	...	1,015
Cases treated, all diseases	... ..	4,128
Cases treated, malaria only	... ..	116
Percentage of malaria to all diseases	... ..	2.8
Percentage of population attacked with malaria annually.		11.4

Whilst these figures show that even with such measures the stations are not entirely malaria-free, they do indicate that imported plains staff can carry on their duties under tolerable conditions of health.

It is only at Rayaghada that a large non-railway population shares in the benefits of the railway's anti-malaria work, a population sufficiently large to enable the effect of these measures to be estimated in terms of reduction of splenic index. The figures* for the children of this town are eloquent of what has been accomplished.

Child Splenic Index, Rayaghada School

1925	...	...	...	39.3
1929	...	...	...	22.6
1930	...	...	...	19.4
1932	...	...	...	9.2
1934	...	...	...	10.2
1935	...	...	...	8.7

* By 1939 the spleen rate at Rayaghada had fallen to 3.6

Indices of under ten per cent are classed as 'healthy' in the classification of the Malaria Survey of India. The rest of the district is, almost without exception, in their class 'hyper-endemic'.

The problem of malaria in the district is one of increasing difficulty. Before the railway came the villagers grew rice enough for their own needs. Now they grow for export. Where perennial irrigation is available, fields are now cropped continuously, and new fields are always being levelled up. All this means more Anophelina production, and further, in the Bissamkatak taluk at least, the provision of perennial irrigation means continuous malaria transmission, whereas without this, in the months of March to June, humidity falls below the point where transmission of the disease occurs. The perennial irrigation at Satikona summit makes this station so exposed to attack that eight years' work have made not the smallest impression on the 96 per cent splenic index of the village behind the station, where the staff are only maintained by supplementing anti-larval measures by daily spraying of their quarters with insecticides to kill off such adult mosquitoes as have escaped destruction in treating the 239 acres of rice land lying within the protection circle, or have infiltrated from beyond it, and by bi-weekly quininization. Yet adequate usage of the district's large water-supplies to make use of its high soil fertility must be the object of every administrator. A rice experiment station, to investigate how to grow this crop locally without at the same time creating further malaria, is a great *desideratum*.

CHAPTER VI

FORESTS

The forests of the Koraput district are all owned by the Maharaja of Jeypore, with the exception of some comparatively insignificant areas belonging to mokhasadars and inamdars, who are tenure-holders under the Maharaja. In some cases, as in that of the large Ambodala mokhasa in the Bissamkatak taluk, these proprietors have surrendered by agreement the control over the forests in their estates to the Maharaja. The Madras Forest Act of 1882 is in force, and under it the Maharaja's agents are empowered to prosecute persons offending against the Act and the Rules framed thereunder. This power has not been extended to any of the minor proprietors.

GENERAL
DESCRIPTION

At present an area of 1,544.53 square miles has been classified as 'reserved lands' and 100.01 square miles as 'protected lands'. Thus 16½ per cent of the total area of the district is now protected by law against disafforestation. Of the total area reserved and protected 1,393.67 square miles lie in the Koraput subdivision and only 251.47 square miles in the Rayaghada subdivision. Nowrangpur, Jeypore and Malkanagiri are the most heavily afforested taluks, though there are extensive tracts of forest still unreserved in all the three taluks of the Rayaghada subdivision. Koraput and Pottangi are relatively bare of forest growth.

No detailed description of the Jeypore forests has ever been published, nor has any botanical survey been carried out. The following notes are extracted from a report by Mr. J. W. Nicholson, I.F.S., Conservator of Forests, Orissa, who visited the district in May 1937:—

The forest on the 2,000-foot plateau is typically *sal* of a moist peninsular type, the average quality being III. A few patches of teak occur locally. The whole crop was at one time under shifting cultivation and the forests now comprise pole crops in various stages of growth. Large trees are scarce. These forests are those of the most economic importance.

In the north of the Malkanagiri taluk there is *sal* forest mainly of quality III but equalling II in places. It is very remote from any market. The *sal* disappears about 14 miles north of Malkanagiri, giving way to forest of a dry mixed type. Teak occurs in patches. The forests are usually very open and grassy and economically are of little value except for their excellent grazing. The hill ranges which occur on this plateau support dry mixed forest with bamboos, which find a market at Rajahmundry, whither they are floated down the Sabari and the Godavari.

The taluks of Koraput and Pottangi are on an undulating plateau averaging 3,000 feet above sea level, and containing peaks above 5,000 feet in height. Above 4,000 feet there is little forest growth, uncultivated grass lands being the usual vegetation. Below 4,000 feet the vegetation is typically forest wherever the population is scanty.

In the more densely populated areas, as in the hills to the south of Koraput, repeated shifting cultivation over a long period of years has reduced the forest to an open scrub type or barren soil. The existing forests have all been under shifting cultivation. They contain deciduous species such as *dhaura*, *sahaj*, *kerla*, *bija*, *toon*, *simul*, etc., which occur elsewhere in Orissa, mixed with representatives of the Southern India flora. A curious feature of the deciduous species is that they lose leaves in the hot weather for a very short period. The probability is that these hills originally supported a sub-tropical evergreen type of forest which has been largely replaced, through repeated burning, by species typical of drier zones. Bamboos are common locally but they are of poor quality and they probably obtained a footing only as a result of shifting cultivation. The forests in these ranges are of great climatic importance. They will never be of great economic importance for timber supply unless by natural or artificial means the percentage of valuable species can be increased.

In the Rayaghada subdivision the main geographical features are the low-lying valleys of the Vamsadhara and Nagavali rivers and the high hills, rising up to nearly 5,000 feet, which flank them. In the hills and valleys of the Vamsadhara basin, especially along the upper reaches, *sal* is the dominant species. The forests are of potential economic importance but owing to shifting cultivation large *sal* trees and pole crops are at present scarce. In the Nagavali basin, except along higher reaches on the left bank, *sal* is very rare and the forest is mainly of the semi-deciduous type found in the central plateau which adjoins the hills along the right bank.

'The most interesting feature of the Jeypore forest flora is the distribution of *sal*. Over practically the whole of Orissa *sal* forest is dominant on any soil which suits its growth. In Jeypore there are large tracts, e.g., the Koraput plateau, where the climate and soil is suitable for *sal* but the latter is not found. In Malkanagiri the *sal* stops at about the same southerly point as it does in the adjoining Bastar State. It is of quite good quality where it ceases and, as there is no apparent change in climate or soil, it would appear that the great Indian *sal* belt is here advancing gradually southwards and south-westwards. The rarity of *sal* in the Nagavali valley can also be explained on the theory that the *sal* belt was advancing from the north-east until shifting cultivation, through its destruction of most seed trees, checked further progress. The absence of *sal* on the central plateau can be imputed to the fact that if the forests were once of a damper more evergreen character conditions would have been unfavourable to the establishment of *sal*.'

The Madras Forest Act was extended to the Jeypore estate in 1891, when it was under the management of the Court of Wards. Reservation began in earnest in 1900. By 1907 an area of 324 square miles had been reserved. Since then steady progress has been made year by year and the total area now reserved or protected is 1,645.14 square miles. The largest single reserved area is the Kondakamberu block in the Malkanagiri taluk, which extends over 133 square miles. Next come the Behada reserve in the Nowrangpur taluk and the Dharamgad reserve in the Jeypore and Malkanagiri taluks, with 111.50 square miles and 94 square miles respectively. The work of reservation is by no means complete, and indeed it has not yet begun in the Bissamkatak taluk or in the portion of the Pottangi taluk that was formerly included in the Pachipenta estate. An area of some 400 square miles has been proposed for reservation and at least an equal additional area is suitable for it. Eventually an area of 2,500 square miles should be reserved or protected.

HISTORY OF
CONSERVATION
IN
VANCY

The forests are administered under the Jeypore Forest Rules framed under section 26 of the Madras Forest Act. The Chief Forest Officer is empowered to institute prosecutions and, with the permission of a Taluk Magistrate, to compound offences. Officials of the department have been empowered to seize forest-produce which is the subject of a suspected offence. The whole administration is under the general control of the Agent to the Governor.

None of the forests in the estate have been declared 'reserved forests' under section 16 of the Madras Forest Act and for this reason the use of the term has been avoided in this chapter. Section 26 of the Madras Forest Act allows the Government to make rules for the administration of forests standing on land that has not been included in reserved forest and it is under this section that the forests in the district are administered. The elaborate preliminaries of a regular forest settlement need not be gone through before these rules are applied. But on the other hand the application of the rules does not act as a legal bar to the accrual of new rights in the forests, and the penalty for infringement of the rules is lighter than that prescribed for acts prohibited in 'reserved forest'.

Land at the disposal of the estate (which excludes raiyati and communal lands) has been divided under the rules into three classes, namely 'reserved land', 'protected land' and 'unreserved land'. Declaration of land as 'reserved' requires official notification by the Government. As a preliminary the Special Assistant Agent is required to inspect the proposed block and to satisfy himself that sufficient forest has been excluded to meet the domestic needs of the inhabitants of adjacent villages, and for shifting cultivation by members of the hill tribes. The proposals are then scrutinized by the Conservator of Forests from a technical point of view before submission to the Government for final sanction.

The Agent to the Governor is empowered to notify lands to be 'protected'. Protection is only resorted to in areas where,

owing to the absence of extensive forest, reservation would cause hardship to the local inhabitants. Its object is to protect existing forest growth from shifting cultivation, its worst enemy. Protected forests are conserved solely for the use of the neighbouring villagers, and are not designed for exploitation by the estate. Except that shifting cultivation is prohibited there are no more restrictions than there are upon unreserved lands.

The constitution of protected lands began in 1916. It has been found in some cases that the measure of protection given is not enough to save the forests from rapid deterioration, and the Agent has been empowered to prohibit grazing or the removal of produce from these forests. These powers have usually only been exercised by imposing temporary prohibitions for periods up to five years.

These forests are guarded by officials of the forest department of the estate. No experiments have yet been tried in placing them under the control of the villagers, but the latter have recently in not a few cases themselves taken the initiative in protecting small areas of unreserved land where firewood is scarce. A few of the mokhasadars also make some attempt to conserve their forests, but without legal sanction not much can be done.

RIGHTS AND CONCESSIONS

In unreserved land villagers are allowed to graze and remove forest-produce for their domestic needs without payment. Twenty-four species of trees have however been declared to be 'reserved' and four species to be 'prohibited'. Members of backward tribes are allowed certain concessions which are denied to the more advanced inhabitants of the district. These tribesmen are described as 'privilege-holders', and forty-three tribes in the district have been notified as such. They are allowed, provided they obtain specific permission beforehand, to fell trees, including reserved species below two feet in girth, for their domestic needs. In protected lands *podu* cultivation is prohibited, but all the other concessions allowed in 'unreserved' land are in force.

Inhabitants of the district are given general concessions in regard to timber and grazing in reserved lands. Timber is sold at two-thirds the rates fixed for export purposes. The grazing rates are abnormally low, being two annas for a bullock or buffalo per annum, one anna for a calf and one and a half annas for goats. The hill tribes are also given the right, except in a few small blocks where the game is preserved for the Maharaja's shooting, to hold beats for game in reserved lands during the Chaitra festival. Fishing concessions within reserved lands are also accorded to these tribes.

Cultivators belonging to tribes not notified as privilege-holders are permitted to remove wood of reserved species for their domestic requirements on payment of an annual composition fee, which is known as 'plough tax' or 'nongol panno', varying from annas 4 to Re. 1 a year according to locality. In certain ranges where the privilege-holders require trees of a larger girth than the permitted two feet for making their

ploughs they are also required to pay a fee, but at a lower rate than the non-privilege-holders. This composition fee is unpopular, both among privilege-holders and others. But the concessions allowed to villagers, and especially to those of the hill tribes, are much more generous than in other zamindaris of Orissa.

For purposes of forest administration the district is divided into two divisions, which coincide with the Government administrative subdivisions. The Koraput subdivision, which contains eleven forest ranges as well as a twelfth in the Madras Presidency, is under the Chief Forest Officer with headquarters at Jeypore. The Rayaghada subdivision, consisting of five forest ranges, is under a Divisional Forest Officer at Rayaghada. The subordinate staff of rangers and foresters are practically all untrained.

The cost of maintenance of the forests is approximately a lakh and a half, of which a lakh represents pay of establishment and the remainder is expenditure on conservancy and works. The yearly revenue is approximately four lakhs, the main heads being—

	Rs.
Timber—	
(1) On contracts	1,10,000
(2) On permits	75,000
Minor forest-produce—	
(1) On contracts	50,000
(2) On permits	15,000

A sum of Rs. 23,000 is realized from plough tax and this has been included above in the figure for receipts from timber on permits.

There are four main timber leases, of which the most important is that given to Messrs. H. Dear & Co., for the extraction of sleepers in *sal* forests in the Nowrangpur, Jeypore and Malkanagiri taluks for a period of twenty-five years from 1922. During 1935-36 this Company extracted 74,304 broad gauge sleepers, 29,477 metre gauge sleepers and 130,798 cubic feet of specials. A four years' lease was granted in 1935 to Mr. H. Tulloch for the Bissamkatak and Gudari ranges, a five years' lease from 1937 to the Bengal Timber Trading Company in the Rayaghada and Gunupur ranges, and a ten years' lease from 1937 (in renewal of a previously existing lease) to Sri D. Venkataramayya for Malkanagiri, Motu and Ramagiri ranges.

Myrobalans, tamarind fruits and lac are the main items of minor forest-produce. In 1935-36 myrobalans yielded a revenue of Rs. 14,900 and tamarind Rs. 34,000. Lac is cultivated in the Pannabeda Muttah in the north-east of the Nowrangpur taluk, the *kusum* tree being used as the host. Cultivation is not done on a large scale, and is attended with difficulties, as there is a market for the crop in the Raipur district just over the river Tel, and unless it is carefully guarded it is smuggled out of the estate without payment of royalty.

MANAGEMENT

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It cannot be said that the Jeypore forests are scientifically managed. Silviculture and working plans are almost non-existent. The staff, who are for the most part without technical training, are preoccupied in guarding the forests against destruction by the hillmen, who have for centuries been accustomed to consider themselves entitled to do as they liked with all forest growth. No attempts have been made to improve the existing crops. It can indeed be said that the economic exploitation of the Jeypore forests has scarcely begun. But there is cause for satisfaction with the results of forty years' enforcement of the Forest Act. Very extensive areas of forest have had a rest from the continuous depredations to which they were formerly subjected and natural regeneration has had a chance. The work that has been done is without doubt of inestimable importance to the extensive deltaic tracts in the East and West Godavari districts which depend to such an extent on Koraput for their summer water-supply. Much still remains to be done in the way of further reservation as well as for the improvement of existing forests. In broken and mountainous country like Koraput it is unsafe to allow the area under forest to drop below 25 per cent of the whole at the minimum. National interests require that the present 16½ per cent of protected land be raised to the necessary 25 per cent. Reservation is still being steadily pushed on and it may be anticipated that the desired figure will be attained within another fifteen or twenty years.

SHIFTING
CULTIVATION

Shifting cultivation, which is known in the district as *podu* or *dongara* cultivation, has done incalculable damage to forest growth in the past and is still the most serious problem of forest administration. Even at the present day it is a practice which the authorities can only aim at controlling and not at suppressing. As early as 1872 Mr. H. G. Turner, then Special Assistant Agent, brought to notice the destruction that was being caused by the hillmen's reckless habits. He wrote: 'I can myself call to mind a score of hills that have been completely cleared of forest within five years. I have hunted bison in rough jungles that have now no vestige of existence. Old men point to country where there is now not a copse large enough to hide a *sambhur* for hundreds of square miles and tell me that, in their youth, that land was covered with jungle. When civilization pushes back the wilder members of the hill tribes into the yet unconquered jungle, they commence upon it by felling and burning virgin forest on the side of the hills. One would imagine that they would attack the fertile valleys in the first instance. But these pioneers of civilization are generally without ploughs and they cannot keep down the grass with their hoes. The hill-felling will continue until every acre within the village bounds has been exhausted, and it is not till then that the raiyat will begin to manure his low-lying lands. Nor will the hillside be ever suffered to regain its lost function of supplying water for the country round about it; for, when its wood is nearly large enough to become of use in this way, some poor and lazy raiyat will be attracted by the prospect of an easily raised crop, and will destroy the young jungle again. It is not easy to assess the

enormous loss that the raiyat entails on himself by these operations, for he grows his rice in terraces hollowed out of the water courses that spring from the bottom of the slopes of these hills. Within my own circle of observation, I can point to one or two villages where some five years ago two crops were raised, but where there is now no water for the second.

The administrative experience of three-quarters of a century shows that Mr. Turner, who at that time could only look back upon eight or nine years of Agency administration, has exaggerated the rapidity with which forest destruction is affecting the climate and appearance of the Koraput country. Though *podu* cultivation is by no means extinct the 3,000-foot plateau is still well watered and summer crops of rice are grown in nearly every village. Nor, it seems, has the appearance of the plateau greatly changed within the last sixty or seventy years. Early reports show that when Koraput was chosen in 1870 as headquarters for the administration the country round it was completely bare of tree growth, as it is now. It seems likely that the transition from evergreen jungle to the bare hill slopes that are now to be seen was spread over centuries rather than decades. Colonel Beddome, a former Chief Conservator of Forests in Madras, thus described the process as it is seen on the 3,000-foot plateau: 'The burning is (at first at least) very superficial and the stumps, or a greater portion of them, at once begin to grow again; and when the cultivation is abandoned, which it generally is after two years, the forest soon begins to recover itself. The evergreen trees suffer more than the others and these are more or less absent at first and for some years rank grass and much thorn and coarse undergrowth hold sway and fires periodically sweep through and it is not till the growth arrives at an age of some twenty years or more that there is any chance of much humus being added to the surface soil and then fires are soon excluded, seedlings have a chance and shortly afterwards rattans and tree ferns appear. The evergreen trees increase in number and the undergrowth quite changes its character When a tract is allowed forty or fifty years to recover, it appears to return almost to its pristine vigour and form, and many seedling trees in time make way; and unless the base of the older trees be observed, a forester even might be deceived, and fancy that he was in a virgin forest. It is, however, only in a few tracts, chiefly on the eastern and western *ghats* of the plateau where the hills form chaos, that the forests are allowed a rest of any long duration. About the more accessible and less densely-forested portions they are felled over every eight, ten or fifteen years and never have a chance of recovering. They have a wretched, stunted appearance, are very dry and more or less impenetrable from a tangled rank undergrowth and there are no seedlings; nothing, in fact, but the coppice growth, generally of only the quicker-growing but poorer sorts of timber.'

The prevention and control of *podu* cultivation have for many years been among the chief preoccupations of Agency officers. Education and continuous propaganda have effected something, the reservation of forests and the prosecution of

offenders a good deal more, but the practice still persists and it seems impossible at present to find any means of abolishing it without arousing the greatest discontent among the hill tribes. The most primitive tribes are the worst addicts, and as these inhabit the remotest parts of the district control of the practice is especially difficult. The forests that are suffering on the most extensive scale at present from shifting cultivation are probably those of the Puttasinghi hills in the Gunupur taluk, where the hill Savaras live, and those in the country of the Bonda Porojas in north-eastern Malkanagiri. The Savaras have on several occasions recently burned down and cultivated hill slopes within reserved lands in defiance of prohibition. The policy hitherto adopted in dealing with *podu* cultivation has been to permit each family of hillmen to fell a reasonable extent of unreserved forest, which varies with circumstances, for this purpose on payment of an assessment of an anna or two an acre. But all cases of such cultivation without permission are dealt with under the law by prosecution or levying a compounding fee. The system cannot be said to work well and it is the exception rather than the rule for a hillman to apply for permission. Applications have to be presented in writing and necessarily the passing of orders take some time. The hillman scorns such formalities and generally cuts down the portion of jungle which attracts him most without a thought of asking for permission. A better policy would be to set aside in each village a certain limited area within which *podu* cultivation will be permitted and to prohibit it rigidly elsewhere. But it will not be possible to initiate this until a forest survey of the whole estate, with a demarcation of all reserved and protected lands, has been completed.

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CHAPTER VII

AGRICULTURE

In Koraput the soil is tilled at elevations ranging from 200 to 4,000 feet above sea level and, as would be expected, conditions and methods of cultivation vary widely at different altitudes. But in general agricultural practice is primitive and far more backward than in the plains of the adjacent districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam. There is very little artificial irrigation, manure is little used, implements are of a crude type and the livestock is extremely poor. On the other hand the rainfall is generally plentiful. In the Rayaghada subdivision the best cultivation is found in the Vamsadhara valley above Gunupur, and in the Nagavali valley near Kalyana Singapur, both of which are good rice-growing areas. On higher lands in the Rayaghada and Bissamkatak taluks good tobacco is grown. In the Jeypore and Nowrangpur taluks plenty of rice is grown and the valley of the Indravati, which separates these two taluks, is the principal granary of the district. The land on the 3,000-foot plateau is undulating and unsuitable for wet cultivation. Rice is there only grown in terraced stream beds, and dry crops such as *mandya* and *olisa* (niger seed) are cultivated on the higher ground. In the Malkanagiri taluk cultivation is only carried on in the sketchiest manner, the most typical forms being the *podu* cultivation of the wild tribes in the hills in the east of the taluk and the rather casual growing of rice in swampy clearings in the forest in the plain lands.

GENERAL
CONDITIONS

Artificial methods of irrigation are for the most part non-existent in the district. The only regular irrigation works are two masonry dams which have been built by the Jeypore estate within the last half-dozen years, one on the *Sokota nala* in the Bissamkatak taluk and the other on the *Champakota gedda* in the Rayaghada taluk. The former irrigates 280 acres and the latter about 1,000 acres. Both dams afford a supply of water during the hot weather, making it possible to grow a second rice crop and to give sugarcane the watering which it requires during the dry season. On the Koraput plateau rice is grown in the stream beds, which the raijats terrace out, cutting the banks further back every year. Some of these stretches of rice cultivation, which are known as *jhollas*, are as much as two miles in length and only 80 to 100 yards in width.

IRRIGATION

Tanks are not numerous. Large embankments holding up wide sheets of water known as *sagars* exist at Jeypore, Malkanagiri and a few other places. These tanks, which owe their existence to the enterprise of former rulers of the country, are intended primarily for drinking purposes, but they are also sometimes tapped for irrigation. Smaller four-sided tanks,

excavated in low-lying land, are known as *mundas* or *bandhs*. Most of these have been built by charitable persons to commemorate their piety, and they are intended only for drinking or bathing.

According to the agricultural returns an area of 12,475 acres is irrigated by private canals, 11,405 acres by tanks and 950 acres by wells.

PRINCIPAL
CROPS

The following table gives the normal acreage of the principal crops grown in the district. The figures are only rough estimates, compiled by Taluk Officers from their own observation. There is, of course, no survey and no cultivation accounts are kept by the officials of the Jeypore estate.

Crop		Normal acreage
Foodgrains	Rice	757,000
	Wheat	2,000
	Milleta	53,000
	Ragi or <i>mandya</i>	192,000
	Others including pulses..	120,000
Total ..		1,124,000
Oil-seeds	Sesamum or gingelly	15,800
	Rape and mustard	8,000
	Castor	11,500
	Groundnuts	2,000
	Others (chiefly niger)	80,000
Total ..		117,300
Other crops	Sugarcane	11,000
	Cotton	2,000
	Tobacco	23,000
	Fodder crops	10,000
	Fruit and vegetables	17,000
	Miscellaneous crops	85,000
Total ..		148,000

Total area cropped—About 1,400,000 acres

Rice

Samples of three hundred varieties of paddy have been collected from the five taluks of the Koraput subdivision for classification at the Rice Research Station in Jeypore. Of the early varieties, which are grown chiefly in the hills, the commonest are those known as *dongar dhan*, *mate dhan*, *bata dhan* and *belu dhan*. *Karandi*, *ratan-chudi*, *baldighati*, *lodhiyare*, *bhatagunda* and *kanakchudi* are the favourite medium varieties, while *gadakhunta*, *bayakhunda*, *moncha* and *konai* are the chief late strains, which are sown in the low-lying lands and valleys.

Rice fields as a rule receive no manure. Transplantation takes place in less than ten per cent of rice lands and elsewhere the seed is sown broadcast. In either case the seed rate is high, as much as 50 or 60 lb. of seed being used to the acre. The standard yield per acre is 835 lb.

There are three systems of rice cultivation: (i) the dry system, on high-lying or *dongara* lands, (ii) the partially wet system, on medium lands, and (iii) the wet system, on low lands. Under the dry system the lands are ploughed five or six times when the summer showers set in and are brought to a fine tilth. The seed is broadcast after the break of the south-west monsoon. They are covered up by ploughing or by a levelling board or a brush harrow. The crop is grown either pure or as a mixture crop. It ripens and is harvested earlier than the other rice crops. The partially wet system is adopted where rainfall and irrigation facilities are not sufficient to permit of cultivation by the wet system. The land is tilled and puddled after the first showers and water is allowed to stand in it for some time. Then seeds which have been previously moistened are broadcast and after a few hours the water is let out of the field. The young plants are able to survive dry conditions for some weeks until satisfactory rains fall and the fields are swamped.

The wet system is adopted on low-lying lands in those parts of the district where the rainfall is abundant. Lands are never ploughed in the dry state. But when the monsoon begins the fields are ploughed, flooded and again ploughed and puddled. Before sowing, the water is let out of the fields. The seeds are soaked in warm water for a day and sown broadcast the next day. When transplantation is the practice the seeds are first sown in a nursery which has received a basal dressing of cattle manure. After thirty or forty days they are pulled up and planted out in the fields in bunches about six inches apart. Once sowing or transplantation has taken place the wet fields usually receive no attention, except for regulation of the supply of water, until the harvest. The crop is not weeded. Under this system later strains of paddy are cultivated, the period of growth being about six months, as against three months under the dry system.

On the *dongara* lands harvesting begins in September, while on the low-lying fields it begins about the middle of November and is completed by the middle of December.

Ploughing for dry crops is begun during the summer showers which usually fall in April and May. If these fail, ploughing has to be deferred till the onset of the south-west monsoon and the raiyats consider that a full crop cannot be expected. When the monsoon rains start, sowings of *sama* (*panicum miliare*), *cholam* or *joher* (*sorghum vulgare*) and *ragi* or *mandya* (*eleusine coracana*) take place. In August or early September, when the first violence of the monsoon is spent, the raiyats sow the oil-seed niger or *guizotia abyssinica*, which with

its yellow flowers becomes such a conspicuous feature of the Koraput plateau in November. This is sown either as a pure crop or as a hedging round *mandya* and *sama* or sometimes as a mixture with the two latter crops. Other oil-seeds such as gingelly and castor are grown on a smaller scale.

Pulses, of which the commonest are redgram (*cajanus indicus*) and horsegram (*dolichos biflorus*) are sown in September and October, when the monsoon has nearly finished.

Turmeric

Turmeric is cultivated by the Kondhs of the Narayana-patnam Agency and the area round Lakshmipur in the Koraput taluk. It is a two years crop. Pieces of sprouting rhizomes are planted in the month of May and covered with straw or with *salor siali* leaves. The plants grown up and wither in the following January or February, but are allowed to remain in the soil. They again sprout and wither the following year, after which the crop is ready and the rhizomes are due up in the spring.

Other dry crops worth mentioning are wheat, grown in small quantities near Kotapad and in the Pottangi taluk, and mustard or *soasia*, which is grown on rich soils as a cold weather crop.

Garden crops

After the close of the monsoon the excellent garden cultivation in villages inhabited by people of the Mali caste becomes a feature of the landscape. These people grow onions, chillies, sweet potatoes, brinjals, beans and other vegetables, including European varieties, with great skill and industry. But this type of cultivation is rarely practised by the hill tribes or Hindus of other castes.

Tobacco

Tobacco is an important crop, especially in the Rayaghada subdivision, where it is largely grown for export to the neighbouring States. The local tobacco is of good quality and is highly esteemed as far afield as Raipur. Before sowing, the fields are heavily manured by penning cattle or sheep within them and are then ploughed about half a dozen times and brought to a fine tilth. Seeds are sown in a nursery in October and November and the young seedlings are protected against the sun till they are a fortnight old. After about a month they are transplanted to the main field, which has meanwhile been thoroughly tilled and weeded. After transplantation the crop is weeded and hoed twice or thrice before the harvest, which takes place in March and April. The majority of raiyats cure the leaves before selling them. This is done by hanging them for twenty to twenty-five days and then heaping them in layers in a dark room or a pit in the ground for about a fortnight, after which they are ready for sale.

Sugarcane

Sugarcane has been grown on a small scale for many years, but recently its cultivation has been extended in the Rayaghada subdivision since the opening of a power-driven mill at Rayaghada. Improved varieties have only been introduced recently in a few villages near Rayaghada and Bissamkatak. In the Jeypore and Nowrangpur taluks the crop is planted in March and harvested in the following January. In the Rayaghada subdivision, where the rainfall is less plentiful, planting takes place in June and July and is harvested in January and February. The ratoon is allowed to grow for a year. The ryots mill their canes only after November or December as the canes are not ripe before that time.

When the cane is not sent to the Rayaghada factory for milling it is pressed in the villages in locally made mills, which are usually of wood. Cane-crushing is a nocturnal operation and the creak of the mills is a familiar sound during the winter nights.

Special mention must be made of the type of cultivation PODU CULTIVATION which is locally known by the name *podu*. This is the shifting cultivation that is carried on by jungle tribes all over India. From February onwards the hillmen begin to fell patches of jungle on the hillsides and set the felled timber alight as soon as it is dry. The land is thus cleared for cultivation and the ashes remain to fertilize the soil. As soon as the summer showers set in, the land is made ready for cultivation by simply stirring the soil with hand hoes. Seeds of dry crops such as *johar*, *mandya* and *olisa* are scattered at the top of the cleared space and are washed down the hill slopes by the monsoon rains. Thanks to the fertilizing effect of wood ash the yield of crops sown on felled hill slopes is frequently very good. The practice of *podu* cultivation varies in detail in accordance with the nature and extent of the forest land available, but it is an invariable rule that land thus cleared is abandoned after two or at most three successive years of cultivation, by which time the virtue of the soil has been exhausted. Where possible, a hillman will always choose to clear a hill slope for this sort of cultivation rather than a portion of plain land. A further account of *podu* cultivation and the attempts that have been made to keep it under control will be found on page 104 in the chapter on 'Forests'.

Agricultural implements are of a crude kind. The plough IMPLEMENTS is usually made in four parts—the body, the hilt and the shaft, which are of wood, and the share, which is of iron. Other implements in common use are the levelling board, the soil scraper, the harrow or *danti*, with five, seven or nine tines and the common sickle. For hillside cultivation ploughs are not used, but the soil is prepared for sowing by hand mattocks (*kodikis*) and forks. The kinds of wood most favoured for making agricultural implements are *sahaj* (*aerminalia tomentos*), *dhamana* (*grewia tili aefolia*) and *tangani* (*xylia dolabrisformis*).

It is only within the last year or two that the Department AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS of Agriculture has broken ground in the Koraput district. It is as yet early to assess the value of the beginnings made or to forecast the direction in which its future efforts will be turned. A rice research station, financed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, with the aid of a contribution from the Maharaja of Jeypore, was started at Jeypore in 1937. A farm for demonstration and research, especially in fruit culture, has been opened by the Orissa Government at Pottangi. Mention may also be made of the coffee plantations maintained by the Maharaja at Nandapur and at Mohulbhatta, five miles from Jeypore, which have had some success and may lead to an extension of coffee cultivation in the district.

The agricultural season begins with the summer showers RAINFALL AND SEASONS and thunder-storms of April and May. As can be seen from the

figures on page 20 most parts of the district received an average of between 4 and 5 inches of rain in these two months. It is seldom that the raiyat is altogether disappointed in his expectations of rain in this season. With the onset of the monsoon in the middle of June the main period of activity begins and continues till the middle of December, by which time the paddy, the staple dry cereals and the chief industrial crops, namely the oil-seeds, niger and gingelly, are off the ground. The four months, December to March, are as a rule practically rainless and there is little agricultural activity during this period. This is the time for cultivation of vegetables, tobacco, pulses and wheat. By the middle of March practically every crop has been harvested. Nature enforces on the raiyat a whole month's holiday during the month of Chaitra until the showers of Baisakh call him back to his plough. Tradition rules that this month should be a time of feasting, hunting and love-making and the manner of its celebration has been described on page 88.

NATURAL CALAMITIES

Koraput is within the region of cyclonic disturbances in the Bay of Bengal and is fairly frequently visited by heavy falls of rain giving rise to floods in one or more of its five principal rivers. The Vamsadhara is the most frequent offender in this respect. This river often overflows its banks in the valley above Gunupur. The Indravati also is liable to spread itself into a vast lake in the flat plain to the north of Kotapad. The Kolab and the Machkund, with their steeper run-off, are capable of a fury that is wilder but of shorter duration. In October 1931, when 21 inches of rain fell in a day at Pottangi, both these rivers rose to unprecedented heights. Measurements at the Bagara waterfalls showed that the discharge of the Kolab near the site for the proposed hydro-electric dam reached the figure of 800,000 cubic feet per second. The Machkund rose 40 feet above its summer level at Kondakamberu and swept away the travellers' bungalow, which had been built on a height presumed to be safe from all floods. Villagers living on the banks of these rivers can tell of similar excesses in the past, of which the worst was in 1914. Nevertheless the damage to crops and to life resulting from these floods has always been small, because the two rivers flow through sparsely-populated country, where there is little cultivation. The floods in the Indravati and Vamsadhara have rarely caused any serious distress among the cultivators in their basins.

Since the district was taken under administration by the British no famine has ever occurred. In the year 1919 there was danger of scarcity when famine conditions prevailed in the plains of Vizagapatam and only a light crop was raised in the Agency. The hill raiyats were tempted by the high prices in the plains to dispose of their own produce, without realizing that this was likely to result in a shortage at home. When the danger was realized export of rice to the plains was prohibited and the Maharaja of Jeypore helped to tide over the critical period by releasing for sale large accumulations of paddy in his granaries.

At the last cattle census the numbers of domestic animals CATTLE enumerated in the district were as follows:--

Bulls	...	...	...	10,016
Bullocks	...	...	...	138,076
Cows and calves	...	...	...	244,323
Buffaloes	...	...	...	96,816
Goats	...	...	...	62,946
Sheep	...	...	...	39,500

There is little to be said about these, as they are almost all of the poorest quality, no attempt being made to breed scientifically or to give the animals nourishing food. The local cattle are inferior both for draught and milch purposes to those of the neighbouring plains of Vizagapatam district. The great majority of the carts which pass up and down the Salur-Jeypore Road in such numbers are drawn by bullocks bred in the plains.

A veterinary dispensary was opened at Jeypore in 1929. In 1937 the average number of animals treated there each day was 39. There is one touring veterinary surgeon for each of the subdivisions. Rinderpest is the commonest disease. This makes its appearance almost every year.



CHAPTER VIII

RENTS, WAGES AND PRICES

RENTS

The district being unsettled, the rents payable by the raiyats to the zamindar or to the intermediate landlord, the mustajar, are determined simply by custom and not by any exact principles, and the custom varies widely in different parts of the district. The Madras Estates Land Act prohibits the enhancement of rent except at intervals of twenty years on good cause shown by the landlord in a suit before the Revenue Court and also empowers the Court to fix a fair rent in certain cases where disputes have arisen. But so little use has been made of the Act that it may be said that there are no authoritative findings of the Courts as to what is a fair rent or on what basis the rent ought to be assessed in any part of the district. Nor is any exact information available regarding the varieties of customary methods of assessing rents.

The general rule is that in areas where rice is largely cultivated the rent is calculated on the seed capacity of the land. In the Nowrangpur, Jeypore and Malkanagiri taluks it is paid in grain and in the Rayaghada subdivision in cash. An experimental survey of some twenty villages in the Boipariguda thana was conducted by the Settlement Department in the season 1939-40, and it was there found that the average rental per acre worked out to between 12 and 14 annas. This is however a comparatively backward area, and rents in other parts of the district, particularly in the Rayaghada subdivision, are frequently much higher than this.

In areas where dry crops are chiefly grown, namely the 3,000-foot plateau and some backward parts of Malkanagiri taluk and the Rayaghada subdivision, the rent is fixed on the 'plough' and the 'hoe'. The raiyat pays rent on the number of ploughs and hoes which he uses for cultivation, irrespective of the amount of land he actually tills. In these parts the land is not regularly cultivated but left to lie fallow for considerable periods, shifting cultivation being practised, and it is not possible to identify the holding of a raiyat with any accuracy. The rate of rent levied varies from Rs. 2 to Rs. 6 a plough and from annas 4 to annas 8 a hoe, according to the quality of the soil and the accessibility of the village.

Land is nearly always either cultivated by the tenant himself or let out to others on the sharing system. The practice of subletting land, which is so common in more highly-developed areas, is rare in Koraput, and so it cannot be said that such a thing as an economic rate of rent exists. The market price of good wet land in the most fertile areas does not rise above Rs. 200 an acre.

Agricultural labour is usually carried out by *gothis* and *kambaris* engaged on a system described in a later paragraph of this chapter and it is the exception rather than the rule to hire labourers by the day for this kind of work. When day labourers are employed they are usually paid in grain at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kunchams* of paddy in the smaller so-called *gothi* measure, which is equivalent to 3 *addas* or three-quarters of a *kuncham* in the larger measure. The cash wage is 2 annas a day. In both cases the day is one of six hours, from 8 A.M. to 2 P.M. Males are generally employed on ploughing, sowing and threshing, and females on the other agricultural operations, the rate of wage for both sexes being the same. In unskilled non-agricultural work, such as earthwork and work on roads and buildings, the daily wage for a male labourer varies between 3 and 4 annas and for a female between 2 and 3 annas. The same applies to labour in factories. The practice of paying annual remuneration to village artisans is not common in the district. In general each villager is his own carpenter, barber and washerman. Blacksmiths are paid an annual remuneration in grain for each plough used by a raiyat. The amount varies between 10 *kunchams* and a *putti* in the small measure, or from 5 to 10 *kunchams* in the ordinary measure.

Prices of food-grains generally run higher in the Rayaghada subdivision, where the plains markets are less remote than in Koraput and are also accessible by railway. At Gunupur the price of rice (unboiled) in recent years has ranged between 11 and $12\frac{1}{2}$ seers to the rupee and at Rayaghada between $9\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 seers to the rupee, whereas at Jeypore it has varied from 14 to 16 seers to the rupee. In Nowrangpur rice can be obtained for between 17 and 20 seers to the rupee and in Malkanagiri the price falls as low as 26 seers to the rupee. On the other hand the prices of imported commodities vary in inverse ratio to those of the home-grown food-stuffs. Salt is sold at Gunupur at the rate of Rs. 2-5-0 or Rs. 2-6-0 an imperial maund. In Jeypore the price is Rs. 2-14-0 to Rs. 3 and in Malkanagiri it rises as high as Rs. 5. Thus whereas in Gunupur a measure of rice sells for 50 per cent more than a measure of salt, in Malkanagiri a measure of salt can be exchanged for more than three measures of rice.

With their simple manner of life, which is complicated by few material wants, with an unfailling rainfall and an abundant supply of timber and firewood, as well as a rate of land assessment which is lenient in comparison with those in force in the plains, the lot of the raiyats in Koraput district is by no means unenviable. The hillman is generally a cheerful and well-nourished person who can afford to dress his womankind in bright clothes and load them with brass ornaments, keep up to the local standard of comfort without undue effort, and every spring take a clear month's holiday enlivened by songs, dances, hunting, copious strong drink and deep draughts of other pleasures of the flesh.

The picture is unfortunately not without its darker side. The opening up of the country and its settlement by people

with an entirely different economy of life has given rise to a number of problems, the solution of some of which is still to be found. The new-comers to the country have a legitimate aspiration to acquire land and by industrious tillage to make the best use of its capacities. The hillman is generally willing, if not eager, to part with his land for a cash sum which, though it may seem great wealth to him, is probably much less than its actual value to the purchaser. The temptation to mortgage his land is even harder to resist, for the hill raiyat cannot learn by experience that a mortgage, once executed, is hardly ever redeemed. The disastrous consequences of this fatal thriftlessness, which was turning numbers of hillmen into a landless proletariat, disinclined to work for daily wages and with no resort but to bind themselves as bond slaves to a rich man or to get what they could by *podu* cultivation in the forests, were fortunately realized by the Madras Government before it was too late; and the Agency Tracts Land Interest Transfer Act, enacted in 1917, now prevents men of the aboriginal tribes from parting with their lands to non-hillmen. This Act has also done a good deal to prevent indebtedness among hillmen, since they are prohibited from raising money on the security of their lands, generally their only possessions which have any cash value, and money-lenders will now only grant them small loans on the security of their crops or, under the system which is described below, on a pledging of their services for a period of years.

Debt slavery

The practice of debt slavery, known in Koraput as the *gothi* and in the Rayaghada subdivision as the *kambari* system, is by no means confined to this district, but it probably has more unfortunate results here than elsewhere. It is a time-honoured custom which in its original form was no doubt unobjectionable enough. A raiyat binds himself in return for a lump sum of money to serve another for a period of years as his debt-servant or *gothi*. He receives a maintenance allowance—usually twelve *puttis* of paddy and a cloth every year—as well as some presents of grain at the more important festivals and the right to collect gleanings from the threshing-floor. Every year a portion of the capital amount of the loan—generally about five rupees—is considered to have been worked off; this annual deduction is known as *chidni*. A loan of Rs. 30 would thus be liquidated in six years. When the lender, like the borrower, was a member of one of the hill tribes the yoke of the *gothi* would be an easy one. The loan would generally have been incurred in order to pay the expenses of a marriage, and the lender would as often as not be the borrower's own father-in-law or another close relative. The *gothi* would be treated as an equal in his master's house, would have leisure to carry on cultivation on his own account and be allowed frequent holidays. But when, as often happens nowadays, a hillman pledges his services to an immigrant from the plains the result is a much less harmonious relationship. The plainsman, who has invested money in a servant, tries to exact as much as he can from his investment in the shape of labour. The hillman dislikes being driven and is accustomed to quit work for

days at a time when he finds something more attractive to do; and he regards it as unfair that his creditor should make deductions from his subsistence grant on account of these absences, or even, as he sometimes does, make an addition to the capital of the loan that has to be worked off. In many cases unhappily the attitude of the immigrant who employs a *gothi* is purely one of exploitation, and incorrect accounts of the debt are kept and the *gothi* compelled to work on long after he has repaid the amount borrowed.

Mr. H. D. Taylor, then manager of the Jeypore estate, came across a case in 1892 where a raiyat had borrowed Rs. 20 from a Sundi fifty years back, repaid Rs. 50 at intervals and worked for the whole of his life and died in harness; for the same debt the *sowcar* claimed the services of his son, and he too died in bondage leaving two small sons aged 13 and 9, whose services were also claimed for an alleged arrear of Rs. 90 on the original debt. Such gross oppression as this is probably uncommon to-day, but in 1927 Mr. L. E. Saunders, District Superintendent of Police, collected a mass of statistics which showed that *gothis* were frequently compelled to labour for years, working off their original debts at the rate of only two or three rupees a year and that such debts were held binding on the children of *gothis* who had died in service. These terms were embodied in written contracts. The following is a translation of a specimen taken at random from the collection made by Mr. Saunders:—

'Contract executed by Dolai Pubya Chaitan Kirsani, his son Dolai Pubya Sonya Kirsani, of Padwa, on the 26th August 1926, in favour of Uttarakavatam Suranna of Padwa.

'According to the document executed by Dolai Pubya Sonya Kirsani on the 1st February 1925 an amount of Rs. 61-8-0 is outstanding. For this amount we have agreed that one of us will work in your house for you and attend to whatever work you may require of us without disobeying you. You must give us 10 *kunchams* of paddy a month for our meals, 4 annas a month for salt and chillies and Rs. 1-8-0 a year for clothing. You will deduct Rs. 7 every year from the amount lent, as long as we work, and if you do so we shall work for nine years at your house, without going elsewhere to pay off your debt. After we complete our nine years' service under you, you must pay us the balance of Rs. 1-8-0. For these nine years we shall work without absenting ourselves without leave.'

As a result of this system many hillmen have grown up practically as serfs and spend their lives in a condition of poverty which is embittered by constant bad relations with their employers. Even if a *gothi* does succeed in working off his debt he is often unable to stand on his own legs and finds no alternative but to pledge his services again. Nothing has been done by way of legislation to abolish or modify this system, though its rigours have frequently been lessened by Government officers bringing about an equitable compromise where the terms of agreement have been found in particular cases to be unduly

severe on the *gothi*. Naturally, the *sowcars* are not able to enforce the full terms of their bonds in the Courts, but *gothis* usually have no alternative means of livelihood and must perforce accept their masters' terms. Of late, emigration to Assam has begun to afford the *gothi* a means of escaping from an over-exacting employer, and creditors, realizing this, are tending to become more reasonable.

A quite unobjectionable variation of the *gothi* system exists in towns and the larger villages, whereby a man pledges his services for a period of one year only for a lump sum of twenty to thirty rupees paid in advance. Under this system the *gothi* does not receive any subsistence allowance from his employer in addition to the advance.

Forced
labour

Another practice, which is native to the soil of the Agency tracts and though unobjectionable and even useful in its original form is, like *gothi*, liable to abuse, is the system of *bethi* or forced labour. The raiyat of the hill tracts will not condescend to labour for a daily wage. In fact in the greater part of the district there is no such thing as a labouring class, in the sense of a class of people who voluntarily offer to work for wages. Hillmen have however always recognized as reasonable the demand that they should do certain customary services for those who have authority over them, namely the Maharaja or their local landlord and the Government. Various duties, such as the thatching of rest-houses and other public buildings and the carrying of *tappals* to certain officers in their camps, have been attached to particular villages and are performed regularly and without complaint and duly paid for at a fixed rate. The naiks and raiyats would probably welcome an extension of this system to the execution of works on roads, as they would prefer to have the work directly delegated to the naik than entrusted to a contractor who cannot always be depended on to pay his labourers properly, and has in any case to enlist official influence in order to get the men to work. The trouble comes in when subordinate officials employ *bethi* labour for their private ends, or having engaged it for purposes ostensibly connected with the affairs of the estate or the Government omit to pay for it at the proper rates. Perhaps the form of compulsory labour for which the hillman has the greatest aversion is domestic service in the houses of subordinates in certain out-of-the-way stations, where servants cannot be hired locally and imported servants cannot be induced to stay. But until people of the servant class can be persuaded to settle in these places or the hillmen to change their views regarding working for wages it is difficult to see how the system can be entirely abolished. In the execution of public works a judicious application of the *bethi* system, besides solving the problem of labour scarcity, is likely to encourage a feeling of responsibility among the naiks and help towards the establishment of a system of administration whereby use can be made of the influence of the acknowledged tribal authorities for carrying out the manifold duties of the Government towards the people.

The practice of exacting forced labour without payment of wages has never been officially countenanced in the district.

CHAPTER IX

OCCUPATIONS, MANUFACTURES AND TRADES

Agriculture is the source of livelihood of the great majority of the population. A very small proportion are occupied in industry and trade. There is little of the specialization in hereditary vocations that is normally a feature of rural India. Few Koraput villages have professional washermen, leather-workers or barbers. Indeed there is little need for such services as the hillman is always lightly clad, wears no shoes and is content generally to remain shaggy about the face and head. In the 1931 Census 397,682 persons in the Vizagapatam Agency (which included the whole of the present Koraput district as well as some other smaller areas) were recorded as occupied in agriculture or pasturage. This figure excludes non-earning dependents who were maintained by others engaged in these occupations. Over 30,000 of this number were said to be engaged in 'jhuming' cultivation. Industry provided a living for 29,315 people. This total included 8,024 cotton spinners or weavers, 3,655 workers in metals, 3,623 workers in wood, 1,344 pounders of rice, 723 refiners of vegetable oils and 649 tobacco curers. There were also 1,900 persons engaged in various branches of the building industry, 3,989 washermen, 398 barbers and 215 tailors. 24,882 were occupied in trade, of whom 7,751 were sellers of fire-wood, 3,516 were traders in textiles and 5,974 were general shop-keepers. 115,699 persons were classified as labourers and workmen in unspecified occupations. The professions and liberal arts gave employment to 3,094, including 1,255 teachers, 989 priests and 255 unregistered physicians. Finally 3,856 were classed as 'beggars, vagrants or prostitutes'.

Although the census gives a total of 115,699 labourers and workmen in unspecified occupations it seems probable that the majority of these were agricultural labourers. Ordinary labour is scarce in all parts of the district. Hillmen do not willingly hire their services for a daily wage. The inhabitants of villages alongside the main roads have by now become accustomed to doing work on the usual annual repairs; but for the execution of works in places off the beaten track it is necessary either to make use of corps of workmen imported from outside the district or to entrust the work piecemeal to the headmen of the local villages for execution in their own time. Villagers from Bastar come over in numbers to work on the roads in Malkanagiri, and in Rayaghada and Bissamkatak contractors generally import workers from Kalahandi and Patna States and even from the Sambalpur district. This scarcity of labour is due mainly to the fact that the people are satisfied with a low standard of living and are not anxious to supplement their ordinary income from agriculture. Porojas, Gadabas and Koyyas make quite good workers, but it is almost impossible to induce Kondhs and Savaras to work for wages.

OCCUPATIONS

Labouring
classes

MANUFACTURES

Weaving

The handicraft which employs the greatest number of the people is weaving. This consists almost entirely of the weaving of cotton for clothing. Jute and wool are not woven at all, and *tusser* silk only by a few families near Kotapad. However the women of certain tribes, such as the Gadabas and Bonda Porojas (see page 75) make cloths for themselves out of jungle fibres. It is only the Dombs who earn a livelihood by weaving. They make coarse white fabrics for use by either sex, which are hard-wearing, but more expensive than mill-made cloth. The loom in use is generally of primitive type with push-shuttles. A few Christian weavers have adopted the fly-shuttle. Mill-made yarn is used almost entirely.

Rice-hulling

Of industries which concern themselves with the utilization of the agricultural products of the district the principal is rice-hulling. This is generally a subsidiary occupation carried on at home by women, but of recent years a number of power-driven mills have been established, where rice is hulled for export to the plains. There are now four mills at Jeypore, two at Nowrangpur, two at Kotapad and one at Borigumma, and these give regular employment to some hundred labourers, male and female. No use can be found for the paddy husk and chaff, which are the waste products of this industry, and these accumulate in small mountains outside the mill premises until they eventually catch fire. At present the mills rely on oil for their motive power. An engine which could use the waste product for fuel would conduce to greater economy in the industry.

Sugar and jaggery

Sugarcane is pressed for jaggery in wooden mills in the Jeypore and Nowrangpur taluks. The output is small and only sufficient for local consumption. It is manufactured into sugar on a large scale in the mill opened at Rayaghada in 1937 by the Jeypore Sugar Company, in which the Maharaja of Jeypore holds a commanding interest. This employs 275 persons during the working season.

Oil milling

Oil is manufactured, both for lighting and cooking purposes, from *mohwa*, castor, gingelly and niger seeds. The process is either by grinding in the usual wooden mill or by simply squeezing the seeds between two boards. Castor oil is made by first roasting and then boiling the seed and skimming off the oil as it floats to the top.

Tobacco

Tobacco curing is an occupation of some importance in the Rayaghada subdivision. The process is described on page 110.

Work in wood

Of the persons described as workers in wood the majority are weavers of mats and baskets from split bamboos. This occupation is not the speciality of any one caste in Koraput, as is usual in other districts. Sawyers have also become numerous since the extraction of sleepers from the Jeypore forests was started on a large scale some 20 years ago. There is a remarkable scarcity of skilled carpenters in the district. There are no hereditary carpenters in the villages, and only a few of indifferent skill in the towns.

Mining

The minerals of the district afford little employment to the people. Iron ore from the hills is smelted on a small scale by

the Lohars and Kammars, who are the blacksmiths of the district. Gold was until a few years ago washed in the Kolab river near Kyang in the Malkanagiri taluk. A manganese mine has recently been started near Kumbhikota, in the Rayaghada taluk.

The smiths of the district manufacture agricultural imple-^{Work in}ments and a few other articles in common use. They display ^{metal} their skill to best advantage in the forging of *tangis* with fancifully curved blades. The best examples of this art are to be found in the neighbourhood of Tentulikunti.

The heavy brass jewellery with which many of the women of the hill tribes are bedecked is manufactured locally by the Chitra Ghasis. But brass has for some years been ousted from favour by German silver as a material for ornament. The bangles, anklets and necklets of this material that are so commonly seen are imported to the district ready-made. Work in silver and gold is only done by a few Telugu Kamsalis and Oriya Sunnaris living in the towns and larger villages.

A few families of the Sonkari caste in Nowrangpur have ^{Ornaments} gained a reputation by making fancy objects, such as chains, ^{and toys} bangles and fly-whisks, from lac and by coating nests of boxes with lacquer patterns. Near Tentulikunti boxes and toys are made by ingeniously stitching paddy seeds together. Images of deities and of birds and animals are made with clay for the amusement of children.

The factories registered under the Factories Act numbered ^{Factories} 9 in 1937. These included 4 rice-mills, 2 saw-mills, one tile-factory, one distillery and one sugar-mill. Among un-registered factories were 5 rice-mills, 2 distilleries and a tile-factory. There is also a printing press at Jeypore, called the Bikram Press.

Nearly all the business of import and export to and from ^{TRADE} the Agency is managed by the Telugu Komatis. These men ^{Mercantile} usually live in the plains of Vizagapatam and make periodic ^{classes} trips or send their agents into the hills. They penetrate to the grain-producing centres, such as Kotapad and Nowrangpur, and there see to the loading and despatching of the carts and lorries which have come up from the low country to take down the grain; they organize the operations of the gangs of Brinjaris who drive pack-bullocks between Vizagapatam and the Central Provinces, furnishing them with loads of salt to take to the hinterland, and giving them commissions for purchases of grain to be made in return. The Muhammadan community also plays a part in the trade of the district, especially the hide trade. The Bombay firm of Haji Jamal Nur Muhammad, which has a branch at Jeypore, probably handles more merchandise than any other concern in the district. Oriyas have practically no share in the wholesale trade of the district.

Money-lending is as lucrative a profession as elsewhere. ^{Road-borne} The Oriya Sundis and the Telugu Komatis are its chief ^{trade} practitioners. In recent years numbers of itinerant Afghans have

entered the field. They visit the district during the dry season, peddling petty goods and lending small amounts, and recover their debts with interest in the following year.

Nearly all the external trade of Koraput is with the district of Vizagapatam. By far the most important trade-route is the main road running from Jeypore down to the rail head at Salur, up and down which flows a continuous stream of traffic. Carts and lorries usually ascend the ghats empty or lightly loaded, as the imports to the district are much smaller in quantity than the exports. Trade also flows, but in a trickle rather than a stream, along the roads through Padwa to the Anantagiri ghat, from Narayanapatnam to Parvatipur and from Gunupur to Parvatipur. Merchandise finds its way between Bastar and the Salur railway station by the Borigumma-Kotapad road, and the Kalahandi State finds an outlet through Kalyana Singapur to the Singapur Road station for export further afield. There is little exchange of commodities between Koraput and these States. From Motu in the extreme south of the Malkanagiri taluk there is export of timber and bamboos down the Sabari and Godavari to Rajahmundry, while from the north of the Nowrangpur taluk *sal* sleepers are exported by cart to Kantabanji railway station on the Raipur-Vizianagram line. There exists no means of ascertaining the total quantity of merchandise imported and exported by road, but there is little doubt that this is very much larger than the rail-borne imports and exports.

**Rail-borne
trade**

The principal commodity imported to stations on the Raipur-Vizianagram line lying within the Rayaghada subdivision is sugarcane for the mill at Rayaghada. Over 100,000 maunds of cane were imported to Rayaghada station in the year 1938-39, of which about 30,000 maunds were consigned from stations within the district and the remainder from stations in Vizagapatam. Rice is imported to stations on the Raipur-Vizianagram line, and exported from Gunupur by the Parlakimedi Light Railway. There are few other imports by rail, but the exports are larger in quantity and more varied in kind. The following tables show the total quantities of imports and exports of the principal commodities at stations on the Raipur-Vizianagram line and at Gunupur station in 1938-39. Figures for Salur railway station, which handles much traffic of the Koraput subdivision, are not included.

Commodity	Imports		Quantity (in maunds)	

Sugarcane	74,586
Salt	36,384
Rice	34,335
Lime	20,483
Mohwa flower	13,447
Cement	10,227
Kerosene and petrol (in tins)	5,590
Wrought iron and steel	3,661
Coconuts	3,070
Cotton manufactures	3,021

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Exports

Commodity	Quantity (in maunds)
Rice	67,789
Railway materials	55,571
Oil-seeds	49,699
Provisions	32,110
Sabai grass	27,231
Wood (unwrought)	25,698
Sugar	21,294
Gram and pulses	17,097
Jaggery and molasses	14,447
Tobacco	12,690
Turmeric	8,075
Myrobalans	6,634
Grains (apart from rice)	4,989
Ground-nuts	3,492

The chief exports from the district as a whole are its surplus **Exports** grain (paddy and rice, *ragi* or *mandya*, cholam and red, green and black gram); the oil-seeds, gingelly, niger and mustard, **imports** saffron, turmeric, tobacco, garlic and arrowroot; tamarind, soap-nut, ginger and 'long pepper'; honey and wax; horns, hides and skins; dammar and lac; marking nut, myrobalans and other tanning barks; and, perhaps most important of all, timber and bamboos. The imports include salt and salt-fish; chillies and onions; jaggery, coconuts; kerosene, cotton twist and piece-goods; beads, bangles and coral, metals and metal utensils and jewellery.

The numerous weekly markets take a prominent place, as **Markets** elsewhere, in collecting produce for export and in distributing imports to the villages. Dummuriput, midway between Sembhiguda and Koraput, has for years been the chief mart of the district, but with the growth of lorry traffic in recent years traders from the plains have been finding it convenient to go nearer their source of supply, and Nowrangpur and Kotapad are now the great rice markets. Dummuriput remains the clearing-house for most of the produce of the 3,000-foot plateau, and is perhaps still the biggest market. The best attended among the other markets in the Koraput subdivision are those at Kundili near Pottangi; at Ranaspur, Dasamanthapur and Chaptamba in the Jeypore taluk; and at Mondiguda and Mattili in the Malkanagiri taluk. In the Rayaghada subdivision the most important markets are those held at Bhamini, north of Gunupur (an important cattle market) and at Seshikhal in the Rayaghada taluk.

Weights
and
measures

The weights and measures of the district are borrowed from the Telugu country with which most of its commerce is transacted and are different from those of other districts in the province. As usual there are numerous local variations. The following is the table of weight in most general use:—

2 *ebalams* equal 1 *padalam*

2 *padalams* equal 1 *viss*

8 *viss* equal 1 maund

8 maunds equal 1 *kantlam*

20 maunds equal 1 *kandy*

The weight of a *viss* is 110 tolas or 2.82 lb. avoirdupois. The local maund is of course different from the railway maund.

For measurements of grain and liquids the usual table is:—

2 *tavvas* equal 1 *adda*

4 *addas* equal 1 *kuncham*

20 *kunchams* equal 1 *putti*

30 *puttis* equal 1 *garce (gadisa)*

An *adda* is equivalent to $4\frac{1}{2}$ pints

British measures of lineal distance are now in common use, but the *hat* or cubit (the length from the elbow to the top of the middle finger) and the *bara* or fathom are popular in describing small lengths. Measurements of area are expressed in terms of *garces*, *puttis* and *kunchams*, a *garce* of land being supposed to be the area which will produce a *garce* of grain. This extent is usually reckoned as two acres of wet land and four of dry.

CHAPTER X

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Roads were non-existent when the Madras Government first ^{Roads} took over the direct administration of the Jeypore estate in 1863. At that date carts were entirely unknown in the hill country above the ghats. Merchandise was carried by caravans of pack-bullocks which followed a route not very different from that of the present main road to Salur. In those days Pachipenta, seven miles south-west of Salur, was the gateway to the 3,000-foot plateau and the Jeypore country, and the earliest holder of that zamindari is said to have been appointed by Raja Visvambara Deo I of Jeypore as guardian of the approaches to his kingdom.

For some years after Government officers first entered ^{Jeypore-} Jeypore the annual grant for construction of roads was only ^{Anantagiri} Rs. 13,000, of which Rs. 10,000 was for jungle-clearing along ^{road} the rough tracks which traversed the country, the old rule being that fifty yards (the supposed effective range of an arrow) should be cleared each side of a road. Efforts were at first concentrated on building a road direct from Jeypore, which was then the administrative centre of the Agency, to Vizagapatam by the shortest route, viz., Padwa and Anantagiri. Work was begun on the ghat section below Anantagiri by the old Sibbandi force, and improved by the company of sappers then stationed at Jeypore, who also constructed part of the track down the Petta ghat which had been marked out by Major Shaw-Stewart, R.E. In February 1863, the mortality and sickness among the sappers was so heavy that the Government recalled them. Lieutenant Smith, the first Assistant Agent at Jeypore, nevertheless continued the work and made the 56 miles from Jeypore into an excellent bullock-track. The ghat section up to Anantagiri was not however made practicable for traffic, and from 1866 all funds were devoted to developing the alternative track, viz., Pottangi and Salur, and the Anantagiri ghat was abandoned for many years.

The idea of completing it was revived in 1885 by Mr. H. G. Turner, the then Agent, and after an expenditure of Rs. 67,000 he made the ghat to Anantagiri passable for carts, but the Government declined to sanction the Rs. 87,000 that were required for the completion of Mr. Turner's project, averring that it led only 'to a bare and sparsely-populated plateau and will apparently be of little use except as a second alternative to the Salur-Pottangi road to Jeypore'. Nothing more was done to develop this route until the years after the war of 1914—1918 when the two ghats were considerably improved. Now the whole stretch of road is maintained by the Public Works Department and is a good fair weather motor road, although the greater part of it is unmetalled and some bridges are required to make it passable during the rains. A branch road takes off from Handiput and joins the main Salur-Jeypore road at Sembliiguda.

Whether from Koraput or Jeypore this is a very convenient alternative route to Vizagapatam. But as the trade of the district is largely in the hands of merchants at Salur and Vizianagram the road has never been of much consequence commercially, and with the transfer of the Koraput district to Orissa it also lost all its administrative importance.

Salur-
Jeypore
road

Work on the present Salur-Jeypore road was first begun in 1836 when Lieutenant Smith laid out the section running across the plateau, and in 1869 it was definitely decided that the main route to Jeypore must follow this line. Several experiments were made at the two ghats at each end of the road before the existing routes were finally fixed upon. At the Pottangi end a bullock-track from Sunki to Pachipenta was first improved, and by 1873 Mr. H. G. Turner, then Special Assistant Agent at Koraput, had constructed the ghat which is still known by his name from Pottangi to Tadivalasa in the plains. This was afterwards greatly improved, but though the alignment is in some ways better than that of the route by way of Sunki, the descent of 3,000 feet being accomplished in eight miles instead of twenty, it has now long since been abandoned. The route is still favoured by pack-bullock caravans because the pasture and water on it are much better than on the regular road.

At the Jeypore end, Lieutenant Smith began by cutting the ghat from Koraput to Borigumma which is now known as the Ranigedda ghat. It was not until later that Mr. Turner made a trace down to Jeypore. By 1874 carts, which a few years before had never been seen in any part of this country, could get (with difficulty) right through from Salur to Jeypore. In the next year the existing Pottangi ghat road, which crosses the old Pachipenta route at several points, was begun under the direction of Mr. Nordmann of the Public Works Department. The difficulties were great: the upper staff were constantly down with malaria, and labour was scarce and shy. Colonel Sankey, the Chief Engineer, visited the ghat in 1880 (a bluff on it still bears his name) and pushed the work on: but it was not until 1883 that a carriage could be driven into Sunki. Work was finished in 1884 (though the Sunki bridge was not completed until later) and the traffic which at once swarmed up and down it surpassed the highest expectations which had been formed, the cartmen travelling from the coast as far inland as Kotapad in search of grain. The 22 miles from Itikavalasa to the end of the ghat had cost Rs. 4,05,000, or Rs. 21,000 a mile.

In 1887 Mr. H. D. Taylor, then in charge of Jeypore estate, put in hand the construction of the existing ghat between Koraput and Jeypore (called at first the 'Jubilee ghat' because the Maharaja had contributed to it in honour of Queen Victoria's Jubilee). This road was finally metalled in 1892. The section between Pottangi and Koraput, except for the iron girder bridge across the Kerandi river, was completed by the Public Works Department in 1895, at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000.

The distance from Salur to Jeypore is altogether 69 miles. The ghat begins six miles from Salur. For four miles it rises

steeply from a level of about 600 feet to 2,000 feet: then for the next five miles follows a level but winding course to Sunki, passing from Madras into Orissa a furlong short of the fifth milestone from Itikavalasa. From Sunki it keeps steadily up, with occasional level stretches, to the head of the ghat at the nineteenth mile from Itikavalasa, 3,500 feet above sea-level. From here it descends again for another three miles into the Pottangi valley, on the 3,000-foot plateau. The road crosses the plateau, passing through Sembliguda and Koraput, and at the 58th milestone begins to descend the steep ghat to the 2,000-foot plateau. Jeypore is two miles from the foot of this ghat.

This is the principal road in the district, and has always carried a phenomenal amount of traffic. On Fridays and Sundays the traffic is especially heavy on account of the very large market held every Saturday at Dummuriput, seven miles from Koraput. But every day sees numerous trains of carts, 20 or 30 in number, passing on their way to Jeypore, Nowrangpur, Kotapad or Jagdalpur to fetch paddy, rice, timber and oil-seeds for the merchants of Salur and Vizianagram. Since the abolition of tolls in 1931 the cart traffic has increased appreciably, and at the same time year by year motor lorries are entering the field in ever-increasing numbers. Hour after hour, night and day, these heavy vehicles lumber along the road. The maintenance of this road is an extremely expensive charge, the average annual cost being about Rs. 800 a mile.

Other developments in road-making followed these early efforts, and in the last fifteen or twenty years progress has been rapid. At the present date (1940) the other principal roads under the management of the Public Works Department in this subdivision are those leading from Jeypore northward through Nowrangpur to Umarkot and southward to Malkanagiri. The former is 67 miles in length and metalled for the greater part. It lacks only one bridge, at Dabugam, eighteen miles north of Nowrangpur. Two miles south of Nowrangpur a girder bridge over the Indravati, here 400 feet wide in time of flood, was completed in 1917 at a cost of Rs. 3,90,000 towards which a contribution of Rs. 1,50,000 was made by the Maharaja of Jeypore. From Pappadahandi a branch road leads to Maidalpur, down the Ampani ghat into the Kalahandi State.

The road to Malkanagiri is 64 miles long, but only the first eight miles are metalled. A fine girder bridge with a single span of 207 feet crosses the Kolab near Kotta. It was completed in 1931 at a cost of Rs. 3,69,000.

Near this point the road up the ghat to Petta, and thence to Padwa and Anantagiri, which has been referred to above, takes off to the south-east. The main road runs on past Boipariguda and at Kollar begins to descend a long ghat to Govindapalle, which is only 750 feet above sea-level. On this portion it runs for 12 miles through thick forest without a single clearing. From Govindapalle the road continues through Mattili to Malkanagiri, on a comparatively level course but almost entirely through jungle.

Other roads
in the
Koraput
subdivision

Temporary wooden bridges span the numerous river crossings on this road, but the floods of the monsoon, especially in the Kusigedda, Saptadhara and Pangam rivers, are so furious that they can only be permanently spanned at a heavy cost. Of late years this road has attracted an increasing amount of lorry traffic, in the dry months, to the great advantage of the inhabitants of this backward tract, who are now able to get better prices for their grains and to buy such necessities as salt, cloth and kerosene oil at a cheaper rate than before.

Of no less importance is the road from Koraput to Kotapad and Bastar, which descends the ghat to Ranigedda and crosses the Jeypore-Nowrangpur road at Borigumma. It is metalled throughout. The Ranigedda ghat road to Borigumma serves in the dry season as a loop road to relieve the main road via Jeypore of much of its heaviest traffic. It is crossed by two perennial streams which interfere with traffic during the rains. The road from Borigumma to the Bastar border is one of the principal outlets for the valuable timber trade of the Bastar State. All stream and river crossings are spanned by wooden bridges, but portions of the road are liable to submersion during the rains.

The Public Works Department also maintain 72 miles of a through road 80 miles long running from Koraput through Lakshmipur and Narayanapatnam to the provincial boundary shortly beyond Alamanda, after which it is maintained up to Parvatipur by the Madras authorities. Between Lakshmipur and Narayanapatnam is a section of ghat falling down sharply from a level of 3,000 feet to about 1,000 feet. It is only within the last ten years that this ghat road has been made practicable for motors. The road is for the greater part unmetalled, and requires a number of bridges. It is not at present of any very great importance either commercially or administratively.

A considerable length of road in the Koraput subdivision is maintained by the Revenue Department. The most important of these is the road running south from Malkanagiri, and those running from Umarkot north to Kundai (33 miles) at the extreme northern point of the district, and north-east through Jorigam to Mohara (31 miles). These are earthen roads, partially gravelled, with wooden culverts over all small streams. As these roads advance in importance it is probable that they will be handed over to the Public Works Department for improvement. Most of the roads now in use in the district were originally formed by the Agency Revenue Officers without professional assistance, and handed over for maintenance by the Public Works Department when they were thought to be sufficiently important to require skilled attention.

Roads in the
Rayaghada
subdivision

In the Rayaghada subdivision there are only two roads of any importance, and these, like the principal roads in the Koraput subdivision, were constructed in order to make the Agency more accessible from the low country of Vizagapatam. One road, which is metalled throughout but still requires a few bridges, connects Gunupur with Parvatipur. Only 11 miles of

this road run through the Koraput district. It ends at the river Vamsadhara just short of Gunupur, and an extension has been constructed northwards to Gudari. The Gunupur-Parvatipur road is fairly busy, but the greater part of the produce of the fertile Gunupur taluk finds its way by rail and road to Parlakimedi and Chicacole in the east.

Another road runs north from Parvatipur to Rayaghada and onwards through Bissamkatak to Ambodala in the extreme north of the district and thence into the Kalahandi State. The road runs for 72 miles through this district. It is metalled except for 20 miles. The river Nagavali, six miles beyond Rayaghada, is still unbridged and is a formidable obstacle to traffic. The bridge over the gorge just south of Rayaghada, which was completed in 1900, is a notable piece of work, standing 95 feet above the level of the stream, but is now overshadowed by the very fine railway viaduct which has been built here. The Raipur-Vizianagram section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, which opened in 1931, runs parallel to this road throughout its course, and the road consequently does not carry a great deal of through traffic.

The 24-mile long branch road from Komatlapeta to Kalyana Singapur has been greatly improved in the last ten years, and is now metalled throughout and needs only a few small bridges. This route has always been one of the principal outlets for the trade of the Kalahandi State. It still carries a lot of traffic and is now an important feeder road to the railway.

Another road which has recently been improved and is likely to increase in importance is that connecting Bissamkatak via Durgi and Ramannaguda with Gunupur.

Owing to the natural trend of commerce and to the fact that for three-quarters of a century administration of the district centred upon Vizagapatam, all the principal roads in the district run down from the hill country to the plains and there are few lateral communications. This defect in the system of communications was felt in 1921 when all the Agency tracts in the Madras Presidency were united under the single administration of a Commissioner. A through road running right through the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agencies was then felt to be an administrative necessity. But the unified system of administration continued for too short a time for any progress to be made in this direction. With the creation of the Orissa Province and the constitution of Koraput as a separate district the want of lateral communications again obtruded itself. The quickest means of reaching Rayaghada, the headquarters of a subdivision, from Koraput was by descending the ghat to Salur and then driving through Bobbili and Parvatipur over nearly 50 miles of roads in the Vizagapatam district. Similarly the only convenient route from Rayaghada to Gunupur, the headquarters of one of the taluks in the subdivision, involved passing through Parvatipur and travelling over some forty miles of roads in Vizagapatam. The first of these difficulties has now been

Future
develop-
ments

Koraput-
Rayaghada
road

removed by the construction of a direct through road from Koraput to Rayaghada. This follows for the first thirty-seven miles the existing road from Koraput to Lakshmiapur, and from there a new road has been cut across fifteen miles of wild country to Kumbhikota in the Rayaghada taluk. From Kumbhikota there was already in existence a rough road leading to Rayaghada, but a good deal of expenditure has been incurred on improving this section, as it contained a very steep descent which required grading and a number of streams to be bridged. The road is altogether 68 miles in length, as against the distance of 112 miles from Koraput to Rayaghada by the old route. Work was begun on the new project in 1938, and the road was opened in 1940.

Muniguda-
Balliguda
road

The district is most unfavourably placed in respect of road communication with the rest of the province. The only practicable route is down the ghat to Salur and thence up the trunk road from Vizianagram to Berhampur, a journey of 208 miles, almost entirely over Madras roads. In the interests of administrative efficiency it will be necessary to find a means of access which does not involve a long journey through another province. The most practicable proposal is to link the main road from Rayaghada to Ambodala with the Ganjam Agency by constructing a new road from Muniguda in Bissamkatak taluk to Balliguda. Work on this project has already been begun.

Ways and means of linking Koraput with Sambalpur district, which is its near neighbour on the north, will also in all probability be devised in the near future. The most feasible method of doing this is by extending to the border the road now leading from Umakot to Jorigam and, by arrangement with the authorities of the Central Provinces, carrying it on across the narrow strip of Raipur district which separates the Nowrangpur taluk from the Khariar zamindari in Sambalpur.

All important roads are maintained by the Public Works Department, while minor roads are in charge of officers of the Revenue Department. The local boards have control only over roads lying within the limits of unions. The total length of roads under the control of the Public Works Department is 617 miles, of which 372 miles are metalled and 245 unmetalled. All the roads under the Revenue Department are unmetalled.

Rest houses

Travellers' bungalows are maintained both by the Public Works Department and the Revenue Department. The former are generally permanent buildings equipped with the essentials of furniture required by travellers, but the latter, with a few exceptions, are structures of mud and thatch and unfurnished and are usually designated 'rest sheds'. The Jeypore estate also maintains a choultry for travellers at Jeypore, founded by the late Maharaja Sir Vikrama Deo, K.C.I.E., in memory of his former tutor, Dr. J. Marsh.

Vehicles

There are regular bus services between Salur and Nowrangpur, via Koraput and Jeypore, and also between Jeypore and Jagdalpur via Kotapad and between Parvatipur and Gunupur. Other services ply between Parvatipur and Rayaghada and

Parvatipur and Narayanapatnam. In 1939, 120 motor vehicles of all kinds were registered in the district. These included 55 lorries and 16 buses.

Mention has already been made of the heavy lorry and cart traffic on the Salur-Jeypore road. Carts now ply on practically all the roads in the district. For the most part these are owned and driven by Telugus from the low country but the natives of the Agency are now making and using them in increasing numbers. In the greater part of the district carts are made after the pattern of those in Vizagapatam, with large wheels of about five feet in diameter, but in the Nowrangpur taluk one meets with smaller wains after the Bastar fashion, having little wheels of two or three feet in diameter with broad fellies. Carts intended for carrying grain have a kind of huge sarcophagus, three feet high and seven long, capable of holding a third of a *garce* and made of bamboo wattle smeared inside with clay, into which the grain is poured loose. The carts usually only have wooden axles. The oxen never have nose-strings or even ropes to their horns, and if they bolt the driver is powerless. The palanquin is still used as a means of conveyance for short distances. The carriers are generally Gadabas and many of them own inams requiring this service of them. *Kavadis* (baskets slung on either end of a bamboo carried across the shoulder) are much used for carrying loads, and are so popular that a man will use them even for the lightest loads, when taking out his dinner to the fields for example.

Two railway lines serve the district. The Parlakimedi Light RAILWAYS Railway (2½ feet gauge) has its terminus at Gunupur. Only two or three miles of this line run through Koraput district. The railway serves to carry much of the highly-prized rice crop of Gunupur taluk, some of which is exported as far afield as Calcutta. The extension to Gunupur was opened in 1931.

The Raipur-Vizianagram branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway (broad gauge) traverses the Rayaghada subdivision, and there are stations at Jimidapeta, Rayaghada, Kalyana Singapur Road, Teruvali, Bissamkatak, Muniguda and Ambodala. The line was opened for traffic in 1932. The railway has not yet brought many changes in the way of life of the inhabitants of this part of the country. Rayaghada is the headquarters of an Assistant Engineer of the railway and there is a considerable railway colony at this place.

There were in 1939 28 Post Offices and 6 Telegraph Offices POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS in the district. The mileage of postal routes, exclusive of railway lines, was 426 miles 6 furlongs, of which 140 miles are motor line. The number of letters delivered in 1939 was 794,153 and of telegrams 8,572. The number of Postal Savings Bank accounts was 2,983, and the value of the deposits in these was Rs. 2,10,748. The value of money orders issued was Rs. 8,25,572, and of those paid was Rs. 3,43,162.

CHAPTER XI

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

THE
PERMANENT
SETTLEMENT

The whole of the district is permanently settled, consisting of the whole of the ancient and impartible zamindari of Jeypore and a portion of the ancient zamindari of Pachipenta, most of which has now come into the possession of the zamindars of Jeypore. Some account has already been given on page 31 of the early attempts at settlement in the district of Vizagapatam. The evils resulting from these fluctuating and temporary arrangements hurried on the introduction of the permanent settlement, which was in the last years of the eighteenth century in high favour in Bengal and was being forced upon Madras by the Government of India. In October 1799, the Board of Revenue issued elaborate instructions to Collectors in the northern circars regarding the methods of arranging this settlement, directing that the zamindars be constituted proprietors of their estates on a permanent *peshkash* to be calculated on certain clearly-defined lines. But at this time very little was known of Jeypore and the other hill zamindaris, and their *peshkash* was fixed arbitrarily, without reference to their actual income, at very low figures. That of the zamindar of Jeypore was fixed at Rs. 16,000, although the Committee of Circuit under Mr. Oram (see page 31) had proposed in 1784 to fix it at Rs. 35,000, and as early as the seventeenth century the rulers of Jeypore had been assessed to a tribute of Rs. 24,000 by the king of Golkonda. The latter had however probably been calculated on the income from minor zamindaris in the plains, which had by the end of the eighteenth century become independent of Jeypore.

At the present day the Government receives a little over Rs. 20,000 in the shape of *peshkash* which constitutes the total land revenue of the district except for a few petty items. Of this Rs. 16,000 is paid on the impartible Jeypore estate proper, Rs. 3,000 on the Kotapad pargana, and Rs. 1,054 is the Orissa Government's share of the *peshkash* to which the Pachipenta estate has been assessed.

The
Jeypore
estate

A history of the Jeypore estate up to the time of the permanent settlement has been given at pages 22 to 32. In 1808 the estate was settled with the Raja Ramachandra Deo II, who continued to hold it until his death in 1825. His son Vikrama Deo II was the next holder of the estate, and lived until 1860. An account of the disturbances arising out of his disputes with his son, Ramachandra Deo III, will be found on page 33. On Vikrama Deo's death Ramachandra Deo succeeded and held the estate until he died in 1889. Of him it has been said 'he was a man of much character and considerable ability, and though his property was incredibly mismanaged in some respects, in

others he showed prudence and foresight. Had his education and training been such as to allow of his going into details, he would probably have administered his estate admirably. He was immensely popular with his people, with whom he mixed very freely and to whom his great liberality justly endeared him.' His son, Vikrama Deo III, was a minor at the time of his father's death, and the estate was taken under the management of the Government under the Agency Rules. The taluks above the ghats were put in charge of Mr. H. D. Taylor, r.c.s. (who held the post until the property was eventually handed back) and the others were managed by a Deputy Collector.

The estate was handed back to the young Raja in November 1895, with a balance of some 7½ lakhs in Government paper and another lakh in cash, besides Rs. 1,05,000 which had been lent to the Salur estate and Rs. 3,53,000 secured by the mortgage of half of the Madgole estate. (The whole of this latter has now passed into the hands of the Maharaja.) The accounts had been systematized, the forest revenue increased, saw mills put up at Matpad, granaries built to receive the large amount of rent which is paid in kind, nearly a lakh spent on improving communications, and many improvements and additions made to the palace and office buildings. The title of Maharaja was conferred upon Vikrama Deo as a personal distinction in 1896, and in 1911 he was created a K.C.I.E. He held the estate for 25 years until his death in 1920. During this time he made a number of gifts to charity, and had the privilege of being introduced to His Majesty King George V when the latter visited Madras as Prince of Wales in 1906. In 1917 he entertained Lord Pentland, who was the first Governor to visit Jeypore.

He was succeeded by his son, Ramachandra Deo IV, who was only 23 years of age on his coming into the estate. Like his father, Ramachandra Deo received the personal title of Maharaja: and he was also privileged to be introduced to the Prince of Wales. For some years he acted as Pro-Chancellor of the Andhra University. He died in February 1931, at the early age of 34, without issue.

The Government of Madras recognized the present Maharaja, Sri Vikrama Deo Varma, son of Krishnachandra Deo, a brother of Ramachandra Deo III, as his heir. Vikrama Deo IV, upon whom the personal title of Maharaja has since been conferred, was 60 years of age when he came into the estate. He had spent his previous life as a patron and student of Sanskrit, Oriya and Telugu literature. He is himself an author and a poet of distinction, both in Oriya and Telugu, in recognition of which the Andhra University has conferred upon him the title of Sahitya Samrat. He had also interested himself in the movement for the formation of the Orissa Province. On succeeding to the estate he bestowed an annual endowment of one lakh upon the Andhra University. This University elected him as its Pro-Chancellor and also conferred upon him the degree of D. Litt. Being without male issue, he adopted in 1935 Ramakrishna Deo, the second son of his only daughter, who is now a boy of ten years of age, and is heir to the estate.

The hereditary title of Raja has been conferred upon the zamindars of Jeypore. While the district was in Madras they ranked second in the list of Darbari zamindars of that Presidency.

The
Kotapad
pargana

The Kotapad pargana consists of the five garhs or forts of Kotapad, Churuchunda, Podagarh, Umarmkot and Raigarh, the country subject to which runs along the Bastar frontier from about 10 miles north of Jeypore town for 80 miles northwards, and has an average breadth of 30 miles and an area of some 2,500 square miles. This was long held on different terms from the rest of the estate and has an interesting history.

In 1777 the Chief of Bastar was driven out of his dominions by his brother and took refuge in Jeypore. The Raja of that place assisted him to recover his territories and in return, on the 6th April 1778, the Bastar Chief ceded to Jeypore these five garhs, free of rent and on certain conditions, among which was the stipulation that Bastar should be entitled to collect in the pargana a tax, called *mahadan*, of Rs. 25 on every 100 bullock-loads of merchandise exported or imported. In 1782 hostilities broke out between Bastar and Jeypore in consequence of the latter having neglected to fulfil certain of these conditions, and the Bastar forces recaptured three of the garhs. The Bastar Chief, however, was in arrears with his tribute to his suzerains, the Marathas, and their troops came and sequestered all five of the garhs. It is alleged that in 1811 the Maratha deputy, Ramchandra Wagh, granted all five to the Raja of Jeypore under a new sanad, on certain conditions. However this may be, they have since remained in the possession of his descendants. Bastar was by no means pleased, and the quarrels and mutual raids and reprisals between the two chiefs kept that part of the country in a perpetual state of anarchy for years, and obliged Jeypore to maintain garrisons of Oriya paiks at each of the five forts. Correspondence regarding the right to the pargana also occurred at intervals throughout the first half of the last century between the Madras Government and the authorities at Nagpur, and the question was not finally set at rest until in 1862 the Government of India ruled that it should be left to the management of Jeypore in the same manner as the rest of that zamindari, and ordered (in 1863) that the Jeypore Raja should pay Rs. 3,000 per annum for it, being compensation to Bastar for the cessation of the right to collect *mahadan*. After this adjudication everything promised fair; the rabble of spearmen kept up by Jeypore at Kotapad and other frontier villages was dispersed, the raiyat ploughed the land and got in his harvests without molestation; in short the land had peace for the first time, perhaps, since 1777. But this fair promise was belied on several subsequent occasions.

The Rs. 3,000 was for many years paid with the rest of the Jeypore *peshkash* and remitted by the Vizagapatam officers to the Government of the Central Provinces, and the latter paid Rs. 2,000 of it to the Bastar Chief and kept the other Rs. 1,000 because in 1819 a remission of Bastar tribute to this amount had been made in consideration of the alienation of the pargana.

The pargana was not included in the *sanad* granted to the Raja of Jeypore in the permanent settlement in 1803 and the Rs. 3,000 was not in any sense *peshkash*. Jeypore thus held the Kotapad pargana free of any *peshkash* at all.

This fact was brought to notice in 1888; the Rs. 3,000 was ordered to be credited to Madras, and not to the Central Provinces revenues; and the question as to the amount of *peshkash* which should be levied was raised. After considerable correspondence a provisional *sanad* was granted to the Maharaja in 1897 which treated the pargana as an estate held in perpetuity upon a quit-rent liable to revision from time to time, and provided for his paying for twenty years an annual quit-rent, liable to subsequent revision and in addition to the Rs. 3,000 already being paid, of Rs. 13,566, or one-fifth of the total revenue demand. Gradually decreasing deductions were provided for in the first ten years on account of the cost of certain semi-military parks which had been maintained in the pargana and were to be gradually done away with.

The Maharaja appealed against this decision on the grounds that the pargana was a feudatory state, and not part of British India, and so could not be assessed to quit-rent; and that the arrangement of 1863 was permanent. In 1899 the Government of India overruled both pleas but directed that the quit-rent should be inclusive of, and not in addition to, the Rs. 3,000. A revised *sanad* was accordingly granted in 1900. The Maharaja, however, appealed to the Secretary of State, who, while holding that Kotapad was part of British India, ordered that the arrangement existing before 1897 should be adhered to. Thus only Rs. 3,000 is now paid for the pargana.

The Pachipenta estate includes a considerable area of hill country in the Pottangi taluk and the adjacent taluks of Madras. Tradition says that Tamanna Dora, the first of the zamindar's family, was a naik of peons under Jeypore who held the fort of Teda (or Tyada) on the plateau, and that he was appointed by Visvambara Deo I of Jeypore (1672 to 1676) to guard the track which in days gone by led up from Pachipenta to the 3,000-foot plateau and the Jeypore country, and was given the title of Dakshina Kabata Jubaraj or 'lord of the southern portal'. Mr. Carmichael states that in 1754 when (see page 27) Jafar Ali, faujdar of Chicacole, called in the Marathas to aid him against the Raja of Vizianagram and the French, the then Pachipenta zamindar Virappa Razu (who, according to the historian Orme, had been dispossessed by Vizianagram) showed the Marathas the way across the hills and down the Pachipenta track and was afterwards in consequence imprisoned for life in the Vizianagram fort. The estate was restored to his son, Mallappa Razu, in 1794.

After the permanent settlement, which was made with Mallappa's son Annam Razu, the estate became heavily involved in debt and for years was one of the most bankrupt and mis-managed properties in the Vizagapatam district. Successive zamindars alienated large numbers of villages in remote parts of

the hills, which they were unable to manage, on inam tenure on payment of a nominal *kattubadi*. These properties are locally known as mokhasas and their proprietors as mokhasadars. Many of the mokhasadars lived in the plains and only visited their villages at rare intervals to extract what cash they could from their tenants. The zamindars did not scruple on occasion to alienate the same village to more than one person, thus leaving the raiyats at the mercy of two or more claimants to their assessments.

In 1906, the estate being hopelessly involved in debt, the whole of that portion of it that lay in the Agency, which was known as Hill Pachipenta, was brought to sale in execution of a decree for 3½ lakhs held by the Maharaja of Bobbili. Maharaja Vikrama Deo III bought the estate and obtained delivery in the same year, after which it was administered as part of the Jeypore estate. But prolonged litigation ensued between the Maharaja and his successors on the one hand and the zamindars of Pachipenta on the other, and this was only finally ended by a compromise which was made a rule of Court by His Majesty's Privy Council in 1933.

The portion of the Pachipenta estate that is situated in the Koraput district now consists of three parts. The largest part is merged in the Jeypore estate and is administered on the same lines as the rest of the estate. The position in the mokhasas is somewhat more satisfactory than it was in the past, a number of the most mismanaged of them having been resumed by the Maharaja. A few insignificant villages are still the property of the zamindar of Pachipenta, who resides in the village of that name in the Saur taluk. Thirdly, another small portion belongs to the Rani of Kottam in East Godavari district, one of whose predecessors obtained it under a decree from a previous zamindar. The portion of the estate which lies in Koraput contains altogether 14 villages, and is approximately 300 square miles in extent.

In addition to these estates the Maharaja also owns the Madgole estate in the Vizagapatam district and some other landed properties in the Madras Presidency.

**Management
of the estate**

On receiving charge of his estate from the Court of Wards Vikrama Deo III entrusted its management to one Pula Venkanna, a retired Deputy Tahsildar of the Madras Subordinate Service. Of this man it is related that in the seventies he was the holder of a menial post in the Chodavaram Taluk Office on Rs. 7 a month. About that time successive incumbents of the post of Deputy Tahsildar at Paderu (see page 142), one of the most unhealthy spots in the Agency, had died with such rapidity that no one could be induced to fill the vacancy. Venkanna volunteered, got the appointment, and was a marked success. Vikrama Deo later persuaded him to resign Government service and accept the dewanship. He occupied this post practically throughout Vikrama Deo's 25 years' tenure of the estate. Though a shrewd manager, Venkanna was not qualified either by education or by experience to effect any improvements in the system of administration.

Ramachandra Deo, on his succession in 1920, was persuaded by the Agent to the Governor to entrust the management of the estate to persons of better qualifications. Till 1926 none of the dewans appointed held the post for more than a year or two. Since that year the Maharaja has borrowed officials from Government service to administer his affairs. Two officers of the Indian Civil Service managed the estate from 1926 to 1932 and from 1932 to 1936. The present dewan (1940) is a Deputy Collector holding a listed post.

For purposes of administration the estate is divided into two portions with headquarters at Jeypore and Rayaghada, with an assistant dewan in charge of each. It is further subdivided into revenue thanas, each in the charge of an *amin*, sometimes also known as a *nigaman*. There are 11 thanas in the 'upper' (or Jeypore) division, and 6 in the 'lower' (or Rayaghada) division. Each thana office is a rent-collecting centre, and has a strong room to receive payments of rent made in cash. Where rent is paid in grain there are wooden granaries for storage. The huge structures at Jeypore, Borigumma, Kotapad and Nowrangpur are prominent features of these places. The total capacity of these granaries is no less than 4,500 *garces*. (For the capacity of a *garce*, see page 124).

The income of the estate from land revenue is now about twelve lakhs. (Forests yield nearly four lakhs more.) On the expenditure side the chief items are a lakh and a half on establishment, a lakh on taxes paid to the Provincial Government and local boards, the annual contribution of a lakh to the Andhra University, a lakh paid yearly to the widow of the late Maharaja, and nearly a lakh spent on the maintenance of temples, both within and outside the estate.

The jirayati lands in the estate are administered partly on a raiyatwari system, and partly on a village rent system called mustajari. No survey or settlement has been carried out in any portion of the district. The relations between landlord and tenant are governed by the Madras Estates Land Act of 1908, which is administered in the Revenue Courts of the Agent and the Special Assistant Agents. Under the Act tenants have occupancy right in their holdings (a right which they did not possess before its enactment), i.e., the landlord can only evict a tenant through processes of law after obtaining a decree in a Revenue Court. The position of tenants in inam tenures and villages in Koraput districts is obscure and is not likely to be fully cleared up until a general survey and settlement has prepared an accurate record for the whole district.

The raiyatwari system is of comparatively recent introduction, and at the present time it is in force in 587 villages, mostly in the Rayaghada subdivision. The estate keeps a register of raiyats and their holdings in the various villages, together with the rent due from each. The holdings are described by their local names, and a rough description of their boundaries is given, as well as an estimate either of their seed capacity or their

LAND
REVENUE
SYSTEM

acreage. Each raiyat pays his rent direct either to the *amin* or to one of the villagers appointed by the estate as the revenue *naik*.

Mustajari

The mustajari system, it seems, has much the same origins as the *gaontiahi* system of tenure in Sambalpur, and it has parallels in some of the Orissa States. But an exact description is difficult, as the system has never been defined by a settlement, and there are numerous local variations. The mustajar is an agent for the collection of rent, who is remunerated by being allowed to cultivate, rent free, a certain definite piece of land, known as *hetha bhumi*, which is earmarked for the purpose by immemorial custom, and sometimes by being permitted to retain a percentage of the collections. In theory the mustajar is elected by the raiyats, but in practice the office is usually hereditary, being held by the *naik* or headman of the village. The mustajar receives a *patta*, locally known as a *kabal*, from the zamindar, and in return executes a *kadapa* in his favour. Fresh *kabals* and *kadapas* are normally executed only after the death of one of the signatories. The rights and responsibilities of the mustajars are defined by no law. The Maharaja can in fact appoint whom he likes to the post, and remove him without having recourse to legal process. The mustajars are not required to keep any accounts or any written record of the holdings in their villages, and perhaps it is needless to say that none are kept by them. In fact the only record of rights in mustajari villages in existence is the Collector's land-cess register, which is prepared every three years for the purpose of fixing the cesses to be paid to the local boards in the district. Extracts from this register are regarded as valuable evidence in civil disputes regarding land.

Though the Estates Land Act makes no specific mention of the mustajari system, the position is that a mustajar, being an agent of the landlord, is bound by the terms of the Act in his relations with the raiyats in his village, whereas the relationship between the zamindar and the mustajar is a civil one, with which the Revenue Courts are not concerned. But suits between mustajars and raiyats are of extremely rare occurrence, and there is no case law at all upon the subject. The Act prohibits enhancement of rent except at a settlement or by a decree of a Court, but instances have come to light where such enhancements have been made without authority. Nor can it be doubted that mustajars do on occasion redistribute the holdings in their villages, disregarding the occupancy rights which the raiyats possess. The Act provides a remedy for such abuses, but the backwardness and ignorance of the people is such that it is scarcely ever invoked.

There are a number of doubtful points regarding the relationship between the zamindar and the mustajars, which require to be made clear either by legislation or a settlement. For instance there are local variations in the method of assessing new cultivation. In some thanas the mustajar leases out waste lands, and no enhancement is made in the *sist* which he pays to the zamindar; in others a corresponding enhancement of *sist* is made. But elsewhere the estate has been leasing

out waste lands and collecting the rent quite independently of the mustajars. There is a similar confusion regarding the right to the usufruct of trees standing on waste lands.

Rent is paid either in cash or in kind, cash rents being commoner on the 3,000-foot plateau (where the crops are mostly dry) and in the Rayaghada subdivision than on the 2,000-foot plateau of Jeypore itself, where so much paddy is raised. The grain received as rent is stored in the granaries at the thana offices and held up until prices are high and then sold to traders. It would fetch much better prices if the sample were not so mixed. Where cash rents are in force the assessment is usually a certain sum on each plough and hoe used. This varies from Rs. 2 to Rs. 6 a plough and from annas 4 to annas 8 a hoe, according to the quality of the soil and the accessibility of the village. Normally a single raiyat is assessed on the assumption that he has one plough and hoe, and is permitted to cultivate as much land as he can. Resentment is felt when the estate or the mustajars attempt to apply the rule literally with raiyats possessing more than one plough or hoe.

Where grain rents are in force the rent is generally fixed upon the seed capacity of the land, the usual rule being that the raiyat pays as rent a quantity of grain equal to that required to sow the land. Some newly settled lands have been assessed to rent on a rough estimate of their acreage. This is the system in force in the Jeypore, Nowrangpur and Malkanagiri taluks. Here also there are anomalies and local variations in practice. In these three taluks all the valuable land is cultivated with rice, and dry crops are comparatively unimportant. Until fairly recent years no rent was claimed on dry land and the general belief gained ground that raiyats were free to cultivate dry land without payment of rent. The estate has now claimed the right to levy rent on dry lands, and in some areas the raiyats have agreed to the demand, while in others they have resisted it.

In addition to cash and grain rents one or two minor miscellaneous dues are still levied. In former days the assessments used to include stated quantities of oil, ghee, skins, arrowroot and so on; but when the estate was under Government management these were very generally commuted into money payments. The only items of this kind which survive are the grass *sist* levied in certain thanas of the 'upper' division, the proceeds of which are used for thatching estate buildings, and the customary *bhet* or offering of a goat or fowls which some villages are required to make at Dasara.

The general uncertainty which exists regarding the rights and customs subsisting in the land revenue system is undoubtedly very unsatisfactory, and it is to be hoped that the many doubts which now exist will be resolved at no distant time by a general survey and settlement. Nevertheless it may be said that on the whole the relations between landlord and tenant are good. Of late the estate has been employing a better type of man in all ranks of its administration, and raiyats are consequently

much less troubled by petty exactions and oppressions than they were 20 or 30 years ago. Further the fact that only two or three hundred suits have to be filed every year, most of them for small amounts, show that the raiyats can afford to pay their rents without difficulty.

Inams

By the terms of the permanent settlement the reversionary right in inam tenures then in existence was reserved to the Government, though the *kattubadi* on them was included in the assets of the estates and is payable to the zamindars and proprietors. In 1862 the Inam Commission appointed by the Madras Government visited the Vizágapatam district and permitted holders of pre-settlement inams to enfranchise their grants from the risk of reversion to the Government by the payment of an annual quit-rent which was fixed according to circumstances and did not vary thereafter. But no investigation was made into the status of the various inamdars in Jeypore and the hill tracts of Pachipenta, with the result that there is at present no practical distinction between pre-settlement and post-settlement grants in the district, the Government never having exercised their right to the reversion of the former either by resuming them or enfranchising them. Owing to the absence of reliable records until comparatively recent years it is now often impossible to ascertain the date of an original grant.

The inams in the district are of three main kinds, namely, gift or *dano*, *mokhasa* and service; but the last two terms are often used as interchangeable. The payment made by the grantee to the Maharaja is known alternatively as *tonki* or *kattubadi*, the former being the Oriya, the latter the Telugu term. *Dano* grants were usually made to Brahmans for religious reasons. *Mokhasas* were granted in favour of the Rajas' relations or other persons of rank, and generally were held to lapse on failure of direct heirs. Frequently a condition was attached to them requiring the grantee to appear with a certain number of retainers at the Dasara Darbar or to perform certain other services. Some *mokhasa* grants, known as *sarva mokhasas*, were made free of all *tonki*, and only with service conditions attached to them. Ordinary service grants were made for such minor duties as doing worship to certain deities, supplying the Maharaja with household necessities and performing domestic service in the palace.

Of the three types of inamdars the *mokhasadars* are the most important. These beneficiaries included persons of varying status, ranging from the grantee of a single village to a feudatory chief like the Tatraj of Bissamkatak, who ruled an estate of hundreds of square miles and assumed and was accorded the title of Raja. All of these large feudal estates have now been resumed by the Maharaja, but the four most important, namely those at Bissamkatak, Kalyana Singapur, Nowrangpur and Malkanagiri survived until quite recent times. The Bissamkatak grant was resumed in 1926, that at Kalyana Singapur in 1892. The last ruler of Malkanagiri, the Bani Bangara Devi, was deposed in 1872 and the Nowrangpur grant lapsed for want

of heirs in the year 1912. Brief accounts of these feudatory chieftainships are given in the accounts of these four places in the Gazetteer at the end of this volume.

Most of the mokhasas which now survive are small properties of a dozen or fewer villages, but those of Ambodala and Jagdalpur in the Bissamkatak taluk, which are grants made originally by the Tatraj, but recognized and continued by the Jeypore Maharaja after the resumption of that estate, are exceptions, consisting of about 150 and 60 villages respectively, and paying *kattubadi* of Rs. 200 and Rs. 160.

CHAPTER XII

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATIVE
CHARGES

Before the Jeypore estate was taken under direct administration in the circumstances set out in Chapter II, the district of Vizagapatam was in the charge of a Collector, who was called Agent to the Governor in the areas covered by Act XXIV of 1839, and two assistants. The latter, who had their headquarters at Parvatipur and Narasapatam, were according to the official usage of that time designated the Principal and the Senior Assistant Collector respectively. The two assistants were also gazetted as Assistant Agents in those parts of their jurisdiction where the Act of 1839 had application. On the assumption of the administration of Jeypore affairs in 1863 the thanas of Gunupur, Rayaghada, Alamanda and Narayanapatnam, which had already been placed under attachment in the year 1859, were annexed, together with the feudal estates in the lower part of the estate, of which Kalyana, Singapur and Bissamkatak were the chief, to the jurisdiction of the Principal Assistant at Parvatipur. Two Sub-Magistrates, each with administrative control over a taluk, were appointed to assist him at Gunupur and Rayaghada. A new Assistant to the Agent, designated the Special Assistant Agent, was placed in charge of the remainder of the Jeypore estate together with the hill portions of the Madgole and Pachipenta estates. Sub-Magistrates were appointed at Jeypore, Nowrangpur, Aurada (near Padwa) and Mahadeoputti (seven miles from Koraput). The Special Assistant Agent was at first stationed in Jeypore, but so greatly did all officials suffer from malaria that it was decided to move the headquarters elsewhere, and in 1870 a move was made to Koraput, as it was fondly hoped that a place standing so high and so clear of jungle would be free from the malaria which infested Jeypore. The Sub-Magistrate at Jeypore was transferred in the same year to Kotapad where he remained until about 1882.

The charges of the two Assistants to the Agent, both of whom came to be known as Special Assistant Agents, remained practically unchanged until 1920, when the formation of the Agency Commission involved a redistribution of charges. But in the meantime certain changes were made in the organization of the subordinate staff. First the Sub-Magistrate at Mahadeoputti was moved to Koraput, the Aurada charge was abolished and a new one created at Malkanagiri. Then in 1883 two new taluks, each under a Deputy Tahsildar, were created, with headquarters at Paderu and Pottangi, and in the following year the Bissamkatak taluk came into existence. Again in 1893 the Paderu taluk was abolished and the Padwa taluk created in its place. Thus the Koraput division* came eventually to consist

* The charges of Sub-Collectors in Madras are known as divisions, not subdivisions.

of six taluks, namely Koraput, Jeypore, Nôrangpur, Malkanagiri, Padwa and Pottangi. The charge of the Divisional Officer at Parvatipur included three purely Agency taluks, Gunupur, Rayaghada and Bissamkatak, and a fourth, namely Parvatipur, which contained the Narayanapatnam Agency as well as a somewhat larger area in the plains. The Parvatipur division also included some taluks which were entirely administered under the ordinary law. Each taluk was in the charge of a Tahsildar or a Deputy Tahsildar, who was also a second class Magistrate.

The district of Vizagapatam, like those of Ganjam and East Godavari, was divided into two sharply contrasted portions, namely the plains and the Agency, presenting different problems and administered under different sets of rules and orders. This system, whereby the three District Officers as well as many of their assistants had different responsibilities and had to observe a different procedure in the two parts of their charges, was rather unsound in theory and presented some difficulties in practice. For this reason Mr. L. T. Harris, Agent to the Governor in Vizagapatam, strongly urged the Government of Madras to form a single administrative division of the Agencies in the three districts. His plan was approved, and in 1920 all the Agency tracts were removed from the control of the Collectors of the districts and placed in charge of a Commissioner, who had his headquarters at Waltair. The administrative subdivisions were redistributed as far as possible on linguistic lines, overriding the former district boundaries. The present Koraput district was parcelled out among four subdivisions, called Kondh, Savara, Oriya and Ghats, each in the charge of an officer designated Assistant Commissioner. The scheme was an admirable one in many ways. It enabled the Commissioner and his assistants to devote their whole attention to the special problems of the Agency; and each of the assistants needed to familiarize himself with only one language to be able to converse with the mass of the people in his charge, instead of having to deal with a variety of languages and tribal dialects.

But there were some practical difficulties. Lack of accommodation prevented the Commissioner and some of his assistants from residing within their charges, and the existing alignment of roads, nearly all of which led downwards from the hills to the plains, made communication between the different divisions of the Agency slow and difficult. These handicaps might have been overcome in time, but the scheme was unfortunately also expensive, and its introduction was followed by a period of financial stringency. The experiment therefore had to be abandoned for reasons of economy in 1923, after a trial of less than three years. The office of Commissioner was abolished, the three old districts were reconstituted, and the previous arrangements restored almost in entirety.

No further changes of importance were made until the constitution of Orissa in 1936, when the Koraput district was created and a number of redistributions of charges were found necessary. The Parlakimedi taluk was included in the Koraput

district for seven months, but was then again restored to Ganjam. The district is now in charge of a Collector and Magistrate, also known as the Agent to the Governor. It contains two subdivisions with headquarters at Koraput and Rayaghada, each under a Deputy Collector, designated Special Assistant Agent. *The Koraput subdivision comprises five taluks, namely Koraput, Jeypore, Nowrangpur, Malkanagiri and Pottangi, and the Rayaghada subdivision three, Rayaghada, Gunupur and Bissamkatak. Each of the taluks is under the charge of a Sub-Deputy Collector. All the Sub-Deputy Collectors are Magistrates, and with the exception of the Taluk Officer at Koraput each of them is in charge of a sub-treasury and a sub-jail. The district treasury at Koraput is in charge of a Deputy Collector.

There is a Public Works Department division, which is co-extensive with the revenue district, and is under an Executive Engineer with headquarters at Koraput. The department maintains all important roads in the district and is responsible for all Government buildings, except some petty and impermanent structures which are maintained by the departments using them.

Secondary schools are inspected by the District Educational Officer, Ganjam. The two Special Assistant Agents supervise the work of the Inspectors of elementary schools, and send in returns to the Director of Public Instruction through the Agent to the Governor.

An officer of the grade of Civil Surgeon is in charge of medical and public health administration in the district.

Revenue

The main heads of revenue are land revenue, excise, stamps and income-tax. Statistics of revenue collections since the formation of the district are given below:—

Year	Land revenue	Provincial excise	Stamps	Income-tax
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1936-37 ..	1,06,221	4,62,033	52,845	44,957
1937-38 ..	1,26,475	4,86,210	50,024	36,397
1938-39 ..	81,979	4,90,139	52,001	51,076
1939-40 ..	1,75,326	4,41,287	49,700	41,563

* The taluks of Koraput and Pottangi have since been abolished. The areas of these ex-taluks and of the Narayanapatnam Agency, which has been separated from the taluk of Rayaghada, now constitute Koraput subdivision. This subdivision was created from the previous Koraput subdivision with effect from the 1st March 1941. The remaining taluks of the former Koraput subdivision, viz., Jeypore, Malkanagiri and Nowrangpur now form a new subdivision known as Nowrangpur, the taluks remaining intact. There are, therefore, now three subdivisions, namely Koraput, Nowrangpur and Rayaghada. The Rayaghada subdivision now consists of the taluks of Gunupur and Rayaghada, the latter comprising the areas included in the taluks of Bissamkatak and Rayaghada before the 1st March 1941 excluding the Narayanapatnam Agency.

Except for a few irregular petty items, the land revenue **Land** demand consists entirely of the *peshkash* and cesses payable **revenue** on the Jeypore estate, the Kotapad pargana and the portion of the Pachipenta estate lying within the district. The demand under *peshkash* is constant and amounts to Rs. 18,547 while the demand under cesses is revised every three years.

The income from excise has increased considerably in recent **Excise** years. But though the opium and ganja revenue is fairly steady, the income from country spirit fluctuates greatly. The consumption of country spirit is larger than in any other district in the province except Sambalpur. The consumption of opium per head of the population is also high, and is only exceeded in Balasore and Puri districts. The consumption of ganja and bhang is the lowest per head of any district in the province.

Opium is supplied to the District Treasury from the factory **Opium** at Ghazipur and is distributed to the Taluk sub-treasuries, from which it is issued to the licensed shops, whence it is retailed. There were 40 shops in the district in 1937-38. Out of the total revenue Rs. 28,008 was received from rentals and Rs. 2,17,225 from duty. The aboriginal tribes are not as a rule addicted to the opium habit, but all other classes in the Agency use the drug freely, frequently as an antidote to malaria. It is nearly always eaten, and opium-smoking is practically unknown. The demand for the drug is largest in the Nowrangpur, Jeypore and Malkanagiri taluks. The wholesale price was formerly Rs. 80 per seer, and the retail price to be public was fixed at Rs. 1-4-0 per tola. With effect from April 1937, these prices were enhanced to Rs. 90 and Rs. 1-6-0.

The cultivation of the hemp plant is prohibited, and ganja, **Ganja** supplied from the Vetapalem warehouse in Madras, is retailed by licensed vendors. A duty of Rs. 29 per seer is levied. Ten shops were settled in 1937-38, and a revenue of Rs. 7,379 realised from licence fees and Rs. 6,470 from duty. There are few regular consumers of ganja in the district, and most of the demand is from wandering ascetics. Occasional cases of illicit cultivation of the plant are brought to light. Bhang is also on sale at the ganja shops, but the demand is insignificant.

Intoxicating drink is an indispensable adjunct to any of the **Spirit** hillman's social or religious occasions, and indeed does not come amiss on any occasion.

The most popular drink is arrack, distilled from the blossom of the *bassia latifolia* or *mohwa* tree, and this is the only liquor from which revenue is derived. The tree flowers in the month of Chaitra (March and April). The people burn the grass under the trees beforehand, so as to facilitate the gathering of the blossoms, and when these fall they turn out and collect them. Some of them are mixed with jaggery and eaten, some are given to cattle as fodder, but the greater part of the crop has always been used for distillation. The process is simple. The flowers are soaked in water for three or four days and are then boiled with water in an earthenware chatty. Over the top of this is

placed another chatty, mouth downwards, the joint between the two being made air-tight by being tied round with a bit of cloth and luted with clay. From a hole made in the upper chatty a hollow bamboo leads to a third pot, specially made for the purpose, which is globular and has no opening except that into which the bamboo pipe leads. This last is kept cool by pouring water constantly over it, and the distillate is forced into it through the bamboo and there condenses.

In the early days the excise administration was particularly simple; the estate was rented as a farm, the Raja bought it, and he then collected the revenue by imposing what amounted to a poll-tax on all the inhabitants—whether they sold or drank liquor or not—graduated according to their supposed means. In 1868 the Government got to know of this, and indignantly took the farm under their own management. But improvements in the system were not so easy to effect as at first sight appeared; it was practically impossible to stop the manufacture of liquor in the thousands of scattered huts dotted about the hills and secluded valleys of the Agency and an attempt made at that time to do so would have driven the hillmen to resistance.

From 1868 until 1925 the system of administration varied in matters of detail from time to time and in different taluks, but remained in essentials unchanged. Strong waters made for home consumption were entirely exempt from taxation, but manufacture for sale was only permitted under a licence. Each retail shop had its own still alongside, and the licence covered both. No excise staff was maintained, and the police kept a sporadic control over unlawful sales of liquor. Under this system the authorities had no idea of the total quantity of liquor consumed or of its strength, and very little control over the price at which it was retailed. But the revenue returns were satisfactory and continually increased.

In 1925 the central distillery system was introduced in the Gunupur taluk. A syndicate of local merchants was given the contract to manufacture liquor in a central distillery located at Kapuguda, under the supervision of an officer of the Excise Department. Thenceforward all private manufacture of liquor in the taluk (except in the Savara hills which were and still are a non-excise area) was prohibited. Simultaneously a preventive staff was introduced. The system was by degrees extended to other parts of the district, two new distilleries being opened at Rayaghada (1929) and at Ummiri near Jeypore (1930) and the contract for manufacture being given to Messrs. Fraser & Ross of Madras in their position of receivers for an estate in South India. The whole district is now under the distillery system, except for the abovementioned Savara hills and the Kuttiya Kondh hills of Bissamkatak, where there are no excise restrictions at all, and the Malkanagiri taluk, where the outstill system remains in force. The contract for manufacturing liquor at all three distilleries has now been given to the Jeypore Sugar Company. Liquor is sold to the public at 60° underproof, and a duty of 8 annas per proof gallon is collected on it before it

leaves the distillery. The issues of liquor from the three distilleries in 1937-38 were as follows:—

<i>Distillery</i>				<i>Issues in gallons</i>
Ummiri	...	...	...	91,878
Rayaghada	...	...	...	67,870
Kapuguda	...	...	...	32,946

The introduction of the central distillery system at first provoked the strongest opposition among the people, especially in the Koraput subdivision. The hill people averred that their gods would not accept sacrifices of liquor that had been manufactured with the aid of machinery instead of by the traditional methods. Rumours were spread that certain obnoxious materials, such as goats' urine, had been mixed with the liquor. There was almost a boycott of the licit arrack and the people had recourse to illicit distillation on a large scale and the consumption of other intoxicants of which there was no lack. As a result of this campaign the revenue from arrack declined from Rs. 2,75,591 in 1929-30 to Rs. 1,56,969 in 1931-32. Since then the position has steadily improved, illicit distillation has been greatly checked, and there is little objection to the manufactured liquor.

Other intoxicating drinks besides arrack are still consumed, of which the most popular is the *solapa* toddy (see page 86). Beer is brewed from rice or *ragi* and goes under the name *landa*. The preparation of these drinks for home consumption is not interfered with, but their sale is prohibited.

In 1937-38, 113 shops were licensed for the retail sale of distillery liquor, and rentals of Rs. 1,08,049 were realized. The revenue from duty was Rs. 95,652. In the Malkanagiri taluk outstills were settled for Rs. 14,895.

The preventive staff is controlled by a Superintendent of Excise, at present stationed at Jeypore. It consists of 3 Inspectors, 15 Sub-Inspectors and 84 peons. The Madras Abkari Act was in force until the 1st January 1937, on which date it was repealed and the Bihar and Orissa Excise Act was extended to the district. Illicit distillation and smuggling of liquor from the outstill areas of Kalahandi and Bastar States, where it is cheaper, are still fairly common offences, but less so than they used to be. To check smuggling of liquor into the district and of opium out of it into Bastar, where the price is higher, an agreement has been made with the authorities of the State to preserve a five-mile belt on each side of the frontier wherein no shops are to be opened. In 1937-38 there were 675 prosecutions for excise offences, of which 610 resulted in conviction.

Excise duty is levied on the sugar manufactured at the Jeypore Sugar Company's factory at Rayaghada. Receipts in 1937-38, the first year of the factory's operation, totalled Rs. 16,924. In 1938-39 they were Rs. 52,379, and in 1939-40 Rs. 41,563.

Stamps

Of the income from stamps Rs. 88,414 was realized in 1937-38 from the sale of judicial and Rs. 14,945 from non-judicial stamps. Fifteen stamp-vendors received commission amounting to Rs. 1,029.

Income-tax

The Income-tax Act was extended to the Agency in 1917. The district is now included in the Cuttack circle. The number of assessees was 88 in 1937-38.

Registration

The Registration Act was extended to the district (except the Malkanagiri and Bissamkatak taluks) in 1931. The Taluk Officers are *ex officio* Sub-registrars within their jurisdiction, except at Jeypore, where there is a regular Sub-registrar. In 1936, 790 documents were there is a regular Sub-registrar. In Rs. 2,624. In 1937 the figures were 929 and Rs. 2,829.

Motor vehicles

A steadily increasing source of revenue is the taxation of motor vehicles. This is governed by the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act of 1931, and the Madras rules under the Indian Motor Vehicles Act.

Receipts under the Motor Vehicles Taxation Act in 1936-37 and the three succeeding years were Rs. 16,497, Rs. 27,577, Rs. 33,102 and Rs. 32,405 respectively. In the same years road licence fees realized from motor vehicles plying for hire and other receipts from motor vehicles amounted to Rs. 4,384, Rs. 6,377, Rs. 6,333 and Rs. 7,937.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

For judicial purposes the district is a unit, the Collector and Magistrate being also the District and Sessions Judge. Act XXIV of 1839 empowered the Madras Government to prescribe such rules as they might deem proper for the guidance of the Agent and his subordinates in judicial and other matters; for the determination of the extent to which his decision in civil suits should be final or subject to appeal to the High Court; and for the regulation of the manner in which the same tribunal should deal with his judgments in criminal cases.

Criminal justice

Under the rules now in force criminal justice is administered in the same manner as in the plains, both the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code being in force, except that there is no trial by jury and the Agency Sessions Judge has authority to dispense with assessors. The powers of the High Court are in no way fettered. The two Special Assistant Agents are Sub-divisional Magistrates with special powers under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code. All the Taluk Officers are invested with powers either of the second or third class, and are ordinarily empowered to take cognizance of complaints of offences committed within their taluks. There are also two Stationary Sub-Magistrates with second class powers at Jeypore and Gunupur, who try the bulk of the cases arising in those two taluks.

The Jeypore country had so long been in a state of anarchy that for some time after magistrates and police were first posted there, in 1863, daring and violent crime continued to be common. In 1864, to give only one instance, two *palkis* at Nowrangpur fought a duel with broad swords in open daylight in one of the

streets there to settle a dispute between their wives about a well, and one of them had his head taken off at one swoop of his opponent's weapon. To render them more deterrent sentences of death used always to be carried out publicly at the headquarters of the taluk.

Crime in the district is now comparatively light. The Dombs of the Koraput subdivision are the class which gives most trouble to the police. Till less than twenty years ago this caste of professional thieves used to be a regular terror in the countryside, stealing cattle on a large scale and robbing trains of bullock carts travelling by night on the main roads. But the enforcement of the Criminal Tribes Act, whereby well-known bad characters are required to report themselves at stated intervals at the police-station or before the village headman, has given the police a good measure of control over the activities of this tribe. Thefts and burglaries committed by Dombs are still fairly common, but robberies and dacoities are very rare. However, in 1935 a Domb of the Lakshmipur police-station with a long record of convictions, evaded police surveillance soon after his release from jail and collected a gang of about a dozen Kondhs. The gang armed themselves with matchlocks, axes and bows and arrows and terrorized the Kondh inhabitants of the wild country between Lakshmipur and Narayanapatnam for nearly two months. Under cover of night they raided and pillaged about twenty villages, threatening with death anyone who might make a complaint to the police. The whole gang was eventually arrested and the members convicted.

In the Rayaghada subdivision the commonest form of crime is cattle-lifting, committed at night by bodies of Savaras and Kuttia Kondhs who drive their booty off into the jungles, kill it and feast upon the meat. The Dombs in this area are less troublesome than in Koraput and have not been registered as a criminal tribe.

Throughout the district as a whole, one of the chief preoccupations of the police is with cases of homicide and grievous hurt. Most of these occur in sudden quarrels and without premeditation. The practice of carrying the handy axes called *tangis* or *tangias*, which is universal in the Agency, leads to serious consequences in many a dispute which would have ended peaceably had no weapon of offence been to hand. But deliberate attacks upon supposed sorcerers are still not uncommon.

Cheating and extortion are probably commoner offences here than in most districts. Dombs and Ghasis levy blackmail on villagers by threatening to report petty assaults to the police. Other tricksters roam the countryside, pretending to be subordinate officials, and threaten the people with prosecution for offences under the Excise or Forest Laws unless some payment is made to them. Cheats frequently pretend that they have been sent by a creditor to collect a debt, and by exhibiting a slip of printed paper convince the debtor that they are armed with the authority of a Court. Fraud on a larger scale was recently attempted by an educated man who sent out forged notices of

income-tax demand to certain illiterate but comparatively prosperous villagers and then tried to induce them to give him money to get the assessments cancelled.

Civil justice Civil procedure is governed by the Agency rules, which lay down a course of procedure simpler than that prescribed by the Civil Procedure Code, which is not in force. The Taluk Officers and Sub-Magistrates, who are designated Agency Munsifs, are empowered to try suits up to Rs. 500 in value, the Special Assistant Agents those between Rs. 500 and Rs. 5,000, and the Agent those above the latter sum in value. A Sub-Judge, who is a member of the Provincial Judicial Service, is stationed at Jeypore, and the bulk of the suits, appeals and petitions filed before the Special Assistant Agents are transferred to him for disposal.

The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 had effect in the Agency. By no means all of the enactments of the Central and Provincial Legislature have been notified under this Act to be in force in the district or have been declared by executive order to be so in force. It is sometimes a puzzle to find out whether an Act is in force or not.

Koraput must be one of the least litigious districts in India. The number of suits filed in a year is only one for every 1,170 of the population. A large proportion of the suits are filed by the merchants of the towns, and in approximately half of the suits on the file of the Sub-Judge the Maharaja of Jeypore is the plaintiff. Hillmen scarcely ever approach the civil courts except to press a claim for *sogatha*, the customary compensation due to a husband whose wife has been enticed away.

The Madras Estates Land Act governs the relation between landlord and tenant in the district. On an average two or three hundred suits for rent are filed under this Act in the course of a year, and these are tried by the Special Assistant Agents. The zamindar can file suits under this Act for rent due to him from tenants in villages where a raiyatwari settlement has been made. But in the greater part of the estate, where the mustajari system (see page 138) is in force, the zamindar must sue a defaulting mustajar in the civil courts, though the mustajar, in his capacity of agent to the zamindar, may claim against individual tenants in the Revenue Courts under the Estates Land Act. Suits by mustajars are extremely rare.

Police

A police force was first established in 1863 when Captain Galbraith was located at Jeypore as Assistant Superintendent of Police. In May 1865, Jeypore became a separate police district, consisting of all the parts of the estate lying above the ghats. The remaining portion, corresponding to the present Rayaghada subdivision, continued to be part of the Vizagapatam police district. Though the headquarters of the Superintendent was moved to Koraput in 1870 his charge continued to be called the Jeypore district until the present Koraput district was formed in April 1936. The force consisted in 1941 of a Superintendent, 2 Assistant Superintendents, a Sergeant-Major, 2 Sergeants, 9 Inspectors, 41 Sub-Inspectors, 56 Head Constables and 515 Constables. The Sergeant-Major and Sergeants, 14 Head Constables and 137 Constables comprise the armed reserve at

the headquarters of the district. This force is maintained to deal with any trouble among the hill tribes, and also provides a guard for the district treasury and escorts for treasure and prisoners. The district is divided into three subdivisions under the control of the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendents at Koraput and Rayaghada respectively. There are 9 circles, 31 stations and 11 outposts. The subjoined table shows the distribution of the various areas of control.

Subdivisions	Circles	Police-stations	Outposts	
Main	Jeypore	Jeypore	Konga	
		Borigumma Kotapad Kundra	B. Singapur	
		Boipariguda	Ramagiri	
	Nowrangpur	Nowrangpur	Pappadahandi	
		Tentulikunti Kodinga	Maidalpur	
	Umarkot	Umarkot Dabugam Jorigam	Raighar	
	Koraput	Koraput	Koraput Lakshimpur Dasumenthapur Sembiliguda	Ranigedda
			Malkanagiri	Malkanagiri Mattili	Kondakamberu
			Venkatapalem	Motu
Padwa		Padwa Nandapur Pottangi	Sunki	
Rayaghada	Gunupur	Gunupur Puttasingshi Gudari Deppiguda	Gulliti	
	Bissamkatak	Bissamkatak Ambodala Chandrepur		
	Rayaghada	Rayaghada K. Singapur Narayanapatnam		



There is no village establishment in the district, neither the chaukidari system nor the Madras village police system being in force. Under the terms of his *sanad* the zamindar is obliged to see that the village headmen and officials appointed by him render all assistance to the police in the reporting and the detection of crime, but as the latter receive no remuneration from the Government it is only possible to enforce attention to their police duties by reporting cases of remissness to the zamindar. In practice the naikos, and their assistants the chalans and barikis, co-operate well with the police in preventing and reporting crime and in bringing offenders to book. The naikos, whose appointment is sanctioned by the consent of the majority of the villagers, regard the post as an honourable one and willingly discharge the duties attached to it.

JAILS

There are seven sub-jails in the district, one at the headquarters of each of the taluks except Koraput. These are in the charge of the Taluk Magistrates and the Stationary Sub-Magistrates in the case of Jeypore and Gunupur. There is also a Special Sub-jail at Koraput, in charge of the Agency Surgeon. The Special Sub-jail contains accommodation for 229 prisoners, and has a staff of a head warder and 12 warders. Convicts sentenced to terms of imprisonment up to and including one year are detained in this jail. Rope-making, newar weaving and the weaving of aloe mats are the chief industries carried on. There is also a vegetable and fruit garden attached to the jail.

The taluk sub-jails have very limited accommodation except that at Nowrangpur, which has 29 cells accommodating 75 prisoners. These sub-jails are only intended for the detention of persons under trial in the local courts, and for convicts sentenced to terms of one month and less. They are under the control of the District Magistrate, whereas the Koraput Jail sends its returns direct to the Director of Prisons.

GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA
ACT

Under the Government of India Act of 1919 the district was treated as a backward tract, and was excluded, in a modified degree, from the operation of the reforms. Under the 1935 Act Koraput is classed as a partially-excluded area. The franchise has not been extended to the members of the more backward of the hill tribes, who are represented in the Legislative Assembly by two nominees of the Governor. The rest of the non-Muhammadian population is represented in the legislature by three elected members. Jeypore and Malkanagiri taluks form one constituency, Nowrangpur another, and the remainder of the district the third.

CHAPTER XIII

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The history of local self-government in Koraput begins in 1905, when the Madras Local Boards Act of 1884 was applied to the Agency. In that year the Koraput District Board was constituted with jurisdiction over the Koraput division, while the Agency taluks of the Parvatipur division were incorporated in the Vizagapatam District Board. Certain modifications were made in the Act in order to suit local conditions. In 1920 the Act of 1884 was repealed, and the whole system of local government in Madras was reorganized by a new enactment, which among other reforms provided for the popular election of a majority of the members of all Boards, and the choice of a president by the members of the Boards themselves. But the 1920 Act was only applied to the Agency with modifications, the elective principle being completely omitted. After the introduction of this Act the Koraput District Board was abolished, and the Vizagapatam Agency District Board constituted in its place, having jurisdiction over both the Koraput and Parvatipur Agencies. Two Taluk Boards were created, co-extensive with the then existing Koraput division and the Agency portion of the Parvatipur division (except for the Savara and Kuttiya Kondh hills, which had from the first been excluded from the operation of the Act). Though the Local Boards Act of 1920 was repealed in 1930 and a new enactment, which has also since been largely amended, further altered the system of local self-government in the plains districts of Madras, the Act of 1920 has been retained for the regulation of the working of the Boards in the Agency and is still in force. Under this Act the Agent to the Governor is *ex officio* president of the District Board, and the two Special Assistant Agents of the Taluk Boards. Members of the District Board are nominated by the Government from officials and non-officials in the district. Members of the Taluk Boards are nominated by the president of the District Board. The Government has the power to constitute Union Boards in smaller local areas. Presidents of the Union Boards are nominated by the president of the District Board, and members by the president of the Taluk Board. The members and presidents of the various Boards hold office for a term of three years.

The District Board has its offices at Koraput. At present it consists of 19 members, of whom the Agent to the Governor (the president), the Treasury Deputy Collector (the vice-president), the Executive Engineer, the Civil Surgeon, the District Educational Officer, Ganjam and the three Special Assistant Agents are officials and the remainder are non-officials. The Koraput Taluk Board has 16 members, of whom 8 are officials, and the Rayghada Taluk Board 14, of whom 8 are officials.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BOARDS

Sources of income

The bulk of the revenue of the three Boards is derived from land cess, which is levied at the rate of one and a half annas in the rupee on the rent of all lands in their jurisdiction, nine pies being credited to the District Board and nine pies to the Taluk Board having jurisdiction. The Boards are not responsible for the assessment or collection of this cess. Every three years the Collector assesses the amount payable on each holding. Payment of rent in grain is the general rule in the district, and the money value of the rent is calculated on the average market prices in each taluk during the previous triennium. The zamindar collects half the cess from the tenants and has to pay the balance himself. The Collector recovers the total annual demand from the zamindar in instalments, and apportioning it among the Boards.

The other main sources of income for the District Board are rents on ferries, fees in secondary schools and income from investments. The Taluk Boards levy fees on markets and licence fees on certain noxious trades. The majority of the markets in the district are maintained by the Maharaja of Jeypore, who pays to the Taluk Boards 15 per cent of the gross receipts as a licence fee, but the Boards are entitled to levy fees direct on all markets established after 1884. The Boards also receive subsidies from the Government for expenditure on certain educational and medical institutions, and from the District Board in aid of their general resources.

DISTRICT BOARD

The District Board is responsible for secondary education in the district. It maintains high schools at Jeypore and Gunupur, and middle schools at Nowrangpur and Kotapad. It also keeps up an engineering establishment of four overseers, who attend to the upkeep of buildings in the charge of the various Boards, to road works in Unions, and also assist the Taluk Officers in the execution of petty Government engineering works. Until 1927 the Board maintained a much larger engineering staff and held charge of a considerable length of road in the district, recovering part of the expenditure by the levy of tolls. These roads are now kept up by the Government, and not by the Board. The Board maintains a provident fund, to which employees of all the Boards in the district may subscribe.

The total income of the District Board in 1937-38 was Rs. 92,512, of which Rs. 53,910 was derived from land cess, Rs. 2,559 from income on investments, Rs. 22,274 from Government contributions, Rs. 11,479 from school fees, and the rest from other sources. Expenditure on education amounted to Rs. 53,697, on engineering to Rs. 8,925, while Rs. 16,000 was paid in subsidies to the Local Boards. The total expenditure was Rs. 98,731.

TALUK BOARDS

The Taluk Boards are responsible for the allotment of funds for the maintenance of elementary schools, hospitals and dispensaries, a vaccination staff and rural water-supply. The Koraput Board maintains one higher elementary and 94 elementary schools, 3 hospitals and 9 dispensaries, and a staff of 3 health inspectors and 11 vaccinators. Its income in 1937-38 was Rs. 98,098; Rs. 32,820 from land cess, Rs. 6,286 from markets,

and Rs. 37,098 from Government contributions were the chief items. Expenditure was Rs. 88,005, of which Rs. 44,510 was on education, Rs. 24,948 on medical relief, Rs. 10,775 on public health. The Rayaghada Board maintains one higher elementary and 62 elementary schools, 8 hospitals and one dispensary, and a staff of 4 vaccinators. Its revenue and expenditure in 1937-38 were Rs. 62,099 and Rs. 56,534 respectively. The chief items of receipts were Rs. 21,120 from land cess, Rs. 1,658 from markets, and Rs. 22,474 from Government contributions. Rs. 35,076 was spent on education, Rs. 11,887 on medical relief and Rs. 3,942 on public health.

Union Boards have been formed in seven local areas in the **UNION** district, namely the towns of Jeypore, Gunupur, Nowrangpur, **BOARDS** Rayaghada, Kotapad, Gudari and Koraput. The Boards at Jeypore and Nowrangpur are presided over by non-officials, and the remainder by officials. These Boards derive their income from a tax on house-property, which is assessed sometimes on the capital value and sometimes on the rental value of houses, from fees levied in markets, cart-stands and slaughter-houses, and licence fees on noxious trades. They are responsible for sanitation and water-supply and the maintenance of roads in their areas.

The Jeypore Union is the oldest established, having been constituted in 1905. It now has 11 members, of whom 10 are non-officials. Income in 1937-38 amounted to Rs. 13,022, Rs. 7,284 of which came from house-tax and Rs. 1,240 from market rentals. The rate of assessment on houses is one anna per rupee of the annual rental value. The Board has a staff of 39 sweepers, and maintains a large daily market on a site reclaimed from a swamp. In recent years it has sunk a number of wells, constructed cement drains in the main street, and laid out some new roads to meet the growing need of the town for building sites.

The Gunupur Board was constituted in 1929. It now consists of 8 members. Its income in 1937-38 was Rs. 3,613, made up of Rs. 2,762 from house-tax levied at the rate of 8 per cent of the rental value, and Rs. 851 from other sources.

The Nowrangpur Board, which was formed in 1919, has had non-official presidents with a few short-breaks since its inception. There are 8 members. The Board realized a revenue of Rs. 7,789 in 1937-38. House-tax at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per Rs. 10 of the capital value of buildings amounted to Rs. 2,700, and market fees to Rs. 3,754. An establishment of 16 sweepers is kept up. The Board has recently made some improvements to the roads and water-supply in the town.

The Rayaghada Board was established in 1929. Its income in 1937-38 was Rs. 5,284, of which Rs. 3,972 was realized from house-tax, assessed at 8 per cent of the rental value. There are 9 members, and a staff of 22 sweepers is maintained.

The Boards at Koraput and Kotapad were both started in 1937. They have memberships of 7 and 10 respectively.

The Board at Gudari was established in 1940. It has 7 members.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION

PROGRESS OF
EDUCATION

In view of the large proportion of the population that is composed of aboriginal tribes it is only to be expected that Koraput should be a backward district in respect of education. Hill people sometimes assert that if one of their number dares to learn to read his eyes will drop out and his head burst into a thousand pieces; and although actual antipathy to education is becoming rarer, the general attitude in the villages is one of complete apathy. At the census of 1931 it was found that only 15 persons out of every thousand in the Vizagapatam Agency (corresponding roughly with the present Koraput) could be classed as literate. This proportion is slightly lower than in the neighbouring Ganjam Agency, which contains a larger proportion of aboriginals, and has on the whole been less opened up to the ways of civilization. If figures for primitive tribes alone be taken into account, Koraput shows up very much worse, there being only 1 literate per thousand against 5 per thousand in Ganjam. Perhaps the chief reason for the relatively slow progress that has been made in the education of the primitive tribes is that schools have for obvious reasons of policy been opened in the larger villages where the best attendance can be expected. Most of the hill tribes live in small settlements, and in every large village there is a leavening of Hindus, whose children, being naturally more responsive to instruction, are apt to monopolize the attention of the teachers. Further, when an aboriginal boy leaves school he usually has no more contact with the written word for the rest of his life, except occasionally to sign his name, and so is very liable to lapse into illiteracy. It is a common experience to find that a young man, two or three years after he has completed the lower elementary course, when asked what he learned at school replies *pasari golli*, 'I have forgotten'.

GENERAL
STATISTICS

The Muslims are the best educated community, with 150 per thousand literate, followed by the Christians with 70 per thousand. Among the taluks Gunupur has always been the most advanced, and in 1931 had 32 per thousand literate. Malkanagiri, with only 7 per thousand, was at the foot of the list. There were 1,299 literate women in the district, of whom 277 were Christians. Jeypore, with 590 literate women, led the way in female literacy among the taluks.

In spite of the undoubtedly unsatisfactory state of education in the district consolation may be derived from the reflection that the rate of progress has been greatly accelerated in recent years. In 1866 there was not a single school in the Vizagapatam Agency. Mr. Carmichael then wrote, 'The school we set on foot at the town of Jeypore, on our first entering the country three years ago, met with no success whatever, and after struggling for some time with neglect and the climate, the

master came down and shortly afterwards died'. This school was not revived for some years, and a fresh beginning was made by opening a school at Gunupur. In 1895-96 there were 120 schools in the Agencies under the charge of the Assistant Agents at Koraput and Parvatipur, with 2,551 pupils. With half the population of the Koraput subdivision the Parvatipur Agency (corresponding to the present Rayaghada subdivision) then had more than twice the number of schools and scholars. In 1937-39 there were 366 schools and 13,327 scholars in the district, the numbers in the two subdivisions being approximately equal. In 42 years there had been a five-fold increase in the number of pupils throughout the district. But although the Koraput subdivision had made up some of the leeway it is still far behind the Rayaghada subdivision in the proportion of scholars to the total population. The staff in the schools consisted of 566 men and 15 women. One school served on the average 27 square miles, and 1.4 per cent of the population was receiving instruction.

There is no college in the district. The District Board maintains high schools at Jeypore and Gunupur. The former was raised to the status of a high school in 1913, and at the end of 1938 had 436 pupils on the rolls. It has rather inadequate buildings in the centre of the town, and a hostel accommodating 12 boys. The staff consisted of a headmaster and fourteen assistants, of whom six are graduates. The Gunupur school (opened in 1929) had a strength of 198 pupils in 1938. There were nine teachers including the headmaster, of whom four were graduates. It has excellent buildings and a hostel.

SECONDARY
EDUCATION

The Board also maintains middle schools at Nowrangpur, Kotapad and Rayaghada, where English is the medium of instruction. The first-named was opened in 1926, and those at Kotapad and Rayaghada in 1931 and 1938 respectively. There were 303 pupils in these three schools at the end of 1938. The Government makes an annual grant to the Board to aid it in the support of the secondary schools.

All the five secondary schools are thriving institutions, and the number of pupils attending them increases steadily year by year. Some dozens of boys matriculate annually from the two high schools, and some of these go on to take a University course. It is now becoming possible to recruit local men for all the clerical posts in Government offices in the district. Such a state of affairs was inconceivable a dozen years ago. But it is mainly among the immigrant classes that this desire for secondary education shows itself; and in 1938 only a few dozen children belonging to hill tribes were attending secondary schools.

In each of the five schools there are considerable numbers of Telugu-speaking students, which makes it necessary to duplicate classes where the vernacular is taught or used as the medium of instruction, and also calls for a larger staff of teachers than is usual. Fees are charged in these schools, but a

remission of half the fees is allowed to the necessitous children of certain communities classed as backward, and in fact a majority of pupils have been granted this concession.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION There were in 1938 eight higher elementary (or middle vernacular) schools and 356 elementary schools. Of these six higher elementary schools and 144 elementary schools are managed by the Taluk Boards, and two higher elementary schools and 43 elementary schools by Mission bodies, chiefly the Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The remaining schools are managed by private individuals or bodies. The managing bodies of all these schools receive grants-in-aid from the Government.

There is a separate elementary school for Muslims at Jeypore, and Urdu is taught in the Jeypore high school and in the elementary school at Nowrangpur.

There are twelve elementary schools for girls in the district, but girls are admitted to all the boys' schools. There is still considerable difficulty in securing women teachers for girls' schools. The total number of girls under instruction in 1937-38 was 2,023, against less than a hundred in 1895-96.

Until recently certain schools were maintained by the Government especially for children of the hill tribes. But these were all handed over to the Taluk Boards for maintenance in 1937, as a measure of economy. In 1937-38 4,616 children of these classes were attending schools.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

A training school for teachers of the elementary grade was established in 1921. It has been located by turns at Jeypore and Gunupur, being shifted periodically for the convenience of teachers needing training in the two subdivisions. It is now at Gunupur. Thirty-six teachers are undergoing training.

CHAPTER XV

GAZETTEER

Ambodala—A village in the Bissamkatak taluk. The northernmost railway station in the district on the Raipur-Vizianagram line bears the name of this village. Population (1941) 1,361. It is the centre of a mokhasa, consisting of 174 villages (of which 18 are deserted), and paying an annual *kattubadi* of Rs. 200 to the Jeypore Maharaja. The present mokhasadar is a minor. The village contains a police-station, a dispensary and an elementary school.

Bhairava Singapur—A village of the Jeypore taluk, lying close up against the foot of the hills which form the eastern wall of the 2,000-foot plateau. Population (1941) 1,141.

This village appears to have been once a centre of Jainism. Numerous Jain Tirthankara images ranging from a foot to five feet in height have been found in its neighbourhood. One such image, of a seated Rshabhanatha, which is made of a steatite slab, is now worshipped in a thatched temple and is in a well-preserved state. Another, which is kept in the Jagannath temple, is used by the villagers for sharpening their axes. A number of Jain images have been built into the walls of the Siva temple which stands at the foot of the hills. Similar images are to be found in the villages Choramala and Narigam, within a distance of four or five miles of Singapur. This tract of country is now the chief centre of Brahman population in the Koraput subdivision.

Singapur contains a dispensary and a higher elementary school. It is at the end of a branch road which joins the Koraput-Borigumma road at the foot of the Ranigedda ghat.

Bissamkatak taluk—The northernmost portion of the tongue of land which forces its way up between the Ganjam Maliahs on the east and the Kalahandi State on the west. Bounded on the west by the Niamgiri range of hills, on the south it marches with the Rayaghada and Gunupur taluks. The extreme north of the taluk drops down into the valley of the Tel, but all the rest drains into the Vamsadhara. The high range of the Niamgiris (described on page 5) divides this taluk from Kalahandi on the west, and in the east are the *sat*-covered hills of the Chandrapur and Bijapur muttas. The rest of the country is undulating, with scattered low hills. Wonderful tobacco is grown in this land, and is exported in large quantities to Kalahandi and the Central Provinces. The area is 823 square miles, and the population in 1941 was 74,610, or 91 persons per square mile.

Bissamkatak—The headquarters of the taluk, a village of 1,961 inhabitants. It is on the main road from Parvatipur to Ambodala, and four miles from the railway station at Satikona,

and is 1,114 feet above the sea. The name means 'poisonous fort' and is usually supposed to have been earned by the virulence of the malaria there, which is a by-word throughout the district.

The place was till recently the residence of the Tat Raja, 'commander of the troops', a feudatory of Jeypore who was required to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 15,000 and attend on the Maharaja at Dasara with a retinue of 500 paiks. The family were Koronos, a community who in the plains usually follow clerical occupations, but in the hills were a martial people. The first of them, Krishna Tat Raja, came from Bodo Kinedi in Ganjam ten generations ago, cleared the jungle and received a copper plate for Rs. 2,500 from the then Raja of Jeypore, Raghunatha Krishna Deo (1686-1708). His son, Pitambara, built the fort which still survives. He was succeeded by Somanath, and then by Ramachandra. The latter, when at Jeypore on one occasion, refused to make obeisance to the Raja, Ramachandra Deo, who shortly afterwards imprisoned him for fourteen months in Jeypore, where he died. His son Krishnachandra succeeded to the estate, but hearing that the new Jeypore Raja, Vikrama Deo, was preparing hostilities, fled to one place after another and at last went to Kalyana Singapur, the Raja of which assisted him, and stayed there with his son till he died four years later. Krishnachandra had been away from his estate for 17 years, and the Jeypore officials who had administered it during that time so mismanaged matters that the Patros rose against them, went to Kalyana Singapur, brought his son, Narendra, to Bissamkatak and set him up as their Tat Raja. Four fights between the Bissamkatak and Jeypore troops occurred, the latter were defeated every time, and Vikrama Deo then left Narendra Tat Raja in possession of the estate but gave him no patta.

Four years later (1855) disputes arose between Vikrama Deo and his son Ramachandra Deo and the latter went off and occupied Gunupur and other taluks. To secure to his cause the help of the Bissamkatak paiks, he sent for Narendra to Gunupur, presented him with a turban and elephant, and made him Raja. Ramachandra succeeded to the Jeypore estate three years later, and in 1864 patta and muchilika were exchanged between him and Narendra Tatraj by which the latter agreed to pay an enhanced *kattubadi* of Rs. 5,000. After Narendra's death in 1876 his son Ramachandra was asked to pay an additional Rs. 2,000 *kattubadi*. He went to Jeypore to protest and at length left the place without leave. This so angered the Jeypore Raja that he determined to attach the property. He was dissuaded by the then Agent, Mr. Goodrich, and eventually Ramachandra Tatraj returned to Jeypore and agreed in 1877 to pay a *kattubadi* of Rs. 15,000 and to attend the Dasara with 500 paiks. He was given a patta allowing him to enjoy the estate in perpetuity on these terms, but for some years refused either to pay anything or go to the Dasara. He died in 1889 and his heir, Narendra, being a minor, the estate was administered by the Government.

On coming of age in 1908 the young heir almost at once refused to attend the Dasara at Jeypore and later declined to pay any tribute. The Maharaja then filed a suit before the Agent to the Governor for the resumption of the Bissamkatak pargana and for arrears of tribute for three years at the rate of Rs. 15,000 per annum. The Agent dismissed the claim for resumption, holding that Bissamkatak was held on an absolute grant that was not resumable, and granted a decree for arrears of *kattubadi* at the rate of Rs. 2,200 per annum only, which the Tatraj admitted to be due. On appeal the Madras High Court held that the tenure was not resumable, but an absolute one subject to performance of certain ceremonial services, but upheld the claim for tribute at the rate of Rs. 15,000 and granted a decree accordingly. The Maharaja appealed against this decision, and in 1918 the Privy Council upheld the High Court's decision. Thereupon the Maharaja filed further suits for arrears of *kattubadi* and for damages for non-performance of services. Maharaja Ramachandra Deo, on succeeding in 1920, filed suits for the recovery of further arrears. Meanwhile Narendra Tatraj had died, leaving as heir an adopted son who was still a minor, and the estate was taken under management by the Court of Wards. In 1926 Mr. C. A. Souter, the Agent to the Governor, entered into a compromise on behalf of the ward with the Maharaja, whereby the latter took possession of the Bissamkatak estate and in return agreed to forego the large sums which had become due to him under decrees and also paid a sum of Rs. 2,40,000 in cash. This sum was kept in deposit by the Agent until the ward, Sri Govind Chandra Thatraj, came of age and was then handed over to him on his ratifying the compromise entered into by the Court of Wards on his behalf.

The property has thus now been merged in the Jeypore estate.

Sri Govind Chandra Thatraj, who was elected a member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly and took a prominent part in numerous public activities, died in 1939 at the early age of 28.

The Bissamkatak country was formerly one of the worst centres of Meriah sacrifice. In 1851, when a fight between the Jeypore and Bissamkatak troops was imminent, Colonel Campbell found confined in the Tat Raja's residence a young boy who had been purchased to be offered up to propitiate Manaksuro, the god of war, as soon as hostilities began. Nowadays at the Dasara four buffaloes, instead of human victims, are sacrificed to the four goddesses, Markama, Takurani, Durgi and Nyamaraja. The Kondhs come in great number for the event, and after the *pujari* has given the animals one blow they rush in and kill them with their *tangis* and each carry off a portion of the flesh. This is not buried in the earth to secure good crops, as is done in Ganjam, but is eaten in a convivial fashion and washed down with strong drink.

Boipariguda—A village in the Jeypore taluk, 14 miles from Jeypore on the road to Malkanagiri. There is a police-station, a dispensary and a thana office of the estate. About two miles

from here is the small village of Kendupoda where there is a shrine to the forest deity Birukhomb which is held in great reverence by the Bhumiyas of the neighbourhood. It is related that in olden times a party of boys, unaccompanied by the elder people of the village, went out to hunt. Disappointed at finding no quarry the leader of the boys vowed to sacrifice a certain one of the party to the god Birukhomb if a stag were to be found. The name 'Birukhomb' came to his lips by inspiration, for no such deity had ever been known before. The prayer was promptly answered; a stag jumped out from a thicket and was easily killed. In fulfilment of the vow a mock sacrifice was held, at which the leader struck at the head of the pretended victim with a light branch of a tree. But the leaves turned into metal and the boy was killed by the blow. The rest of the party fled in terror in different directions. The elders of the village, alarmed at their absence, made a search and found one of the boys, who told them what had happened. The whole village then gathered beside the dead body, made worship to the new god and asked him to restore the victim to life. The dead boy then rose to life and told the villagers that he had woken from a long sleep. Since that time Birukhomb has shown himself strong both to kill and to save, when invoked, and is the most revered deity in that part of the country.

Borigumma—A village in the Jeypore taluk, situated approximately midway between Jeypore and Nowrangpur on the road connecting these two places. Roads to Koraput via Ranigedda and to Kotapad and Bastar join the main road here. Population (1941) 1,951. There is a police-station, a subsidized rural dispensary and a thana office of the Jeypore estate, with a granary attached. There are also two rice-mills, one of which belongs to the estate. The travellers' bungalow is situated on high ground in a grove of *sal* trees.

To the south of the village is a hill at the foot of which is a temple to Bhairava, where every year a great festival is held in the month of Phalguna. To the east of the hill are some depressions in the ground which are said to be the remains of the ditch round a fort which existed in old days. Some *lingams* standing 6 or 7 feet in height have been dug out of these hollows.

Gudari—A village of the Gunupur taluk, situated 18 miles north of Gunupur on the banks of the Vamsadhara. Population (1941) 3,320. There is a dispensary and a higher elementary (middle vernacular) school. The village is a centre of trade, and the inhabitants are largely immigrants from the plains, among whom Telugu Komatis are prominent.

Colonel Campbell, of the Meriah Agency, visited the place in 1851, and built a guard-house and a small bungalow there.

Gunupur taluk—The most easterly taluk in the district, and also the richest and most advanced in education. It consists of a portion of the Vamsadhara valley and of the hills which enclose this. The valley is quite level (the western side of it most monotonously so) and in it is grown paddy which is the best in the district and is favourably known even in distant

Calcutta. The hills on the west are called the Kailasakota hills and consist of a range averaging 2,500 feet high. Those on the eastern border are home of the hill Savaras. They are called the Puttasinghi hills.

At the end of the eighteenth century the taluk was taken by force from Jeypore by Narayana Deo of Parlakimedi. He gave it to his brother, Pratapa Deo, but the latter was eventually driven out by Sitarama Bazu, dewan of Vizianagram, with the help of the Company's troops. Finding himself unable to manage the taluk Sitarama Bazu gave it back to Jeypore after he had held it for three years. In 1803 Mr. Alexander reported that it was a kind of hereditary farm belonging to the family of a former patro or dewan, then represented by one Narayana Patro, who paid a rent of Rs. 15,000 for it. The attachments of this and the neighbouring thanas of Jeypore which were necessitated by the disturbances of 1849-50 and 1855-56 are referred to on page 33. The taluk has an area of 760 square miles and a population (1941) of 109,980, the density being 144 to the square mile.

Gunupur—The headquarters of the taluk, situated on the banks of the Vamsadhara at an elevation of 260 feet above sea level. The town with its suburbs Kapuguda and Vikrampur has a population of 7,416. Gunupur is at the terminus of the Parlakimedi Light Railway and is a busy commercial place. Though the streets are narrow and irregularly laid out the place has a bright and busy appearance. It originally stood on the right or western bank of the Vamsadhara, but during a flood many years ago the river changed its course and flowed to the other side of the town, which is now perched on a sort of island on the left bank, with the old bed of the river to the east of it. In flood time this fact and the presence of several big channels on its southern side make the place almost inaccessible.

The Balaji *math* here contains a granite temple which is designed on generous lines and contains some excellent carving, but is only partly finished. It was begun by Balarama Das, a mahant of the *math*, but before he could complete it he was turned out of his post in virtue of a decree of the courts obtained against him by the Maharaja Vikrama Deo III, who himself claimed the position of *dharmakarta*. North of this temple are the remains of an extensive mud fort which is supposed to have been built by the Rajas of Parlakimedi. Within it, near a tamarind tree, is pointed out the spot where the wives of the renter Narayana Patro mentioned above committed *sati* on his death.

The public buildings, as well as the shops of the principal merchants, are situated in Kapuguda, which has now long outgrown the parent village. Of the former the principal are the taluk office, high school, hospital and thana office of the Jeypore estate. A new suburb, called Pullareddipeta, has recently been laid out near the Railway Station, and it is here that the polite society of the town have their residences.

Guptesvara cave—One of the most important shrines in the district, situated on the bank of the Kolab in the Jeypore taluk. It is approached by a forest track which leads westwards from Ramagiri for nine miles through wild *sal* jungle, and is near the bottom of the slope from the 2,000-foot plateau to the Malkanagiri plain. The cave is near the top of a limestone hill about 500 feet higher than the surrounding country. It is approached by a modern flight of steps flanked with lines of champa trees and the entrance is about nine feet wide and eight high. Facing this, near the centre of a roughly circular chamber about ten feet square is a natural boulder somewhat resembling a *lingam*, which is held very holy and is called Guptesvara, 'the hidden Siva' because it was there for generations before any man knew of it. It is said to have been first discovered in the time of Vira Vikrama Deo, Raja of Jeypore from 1637 to 1669, who established the great feast in its honour which is still held every Sivaratri and is under the special patronage of his descendants. The place is now popularly declared to have been the scene of several of the episodes in the Ramayana. Behind the *lingam*, the cave slopes downwards into the hill, and becomes very dark. Here are several stalactites, two of which form natural pillars while another is supposed to resemble the sacred cow Kamadhenu. From the udders of this latter water drips at long intervals, and pilgrims sit with their hands spread out beneath, waiting intently to catch a drop when it falls. There are several other caves in the limestone through which the Kolab winds its way at this point, but none so famous. A crowd of some three thousand from all over Jeypore taluk and further afield still gather here at Sivaratri.

Jagamanda—Lies about 13 miles north-east of Gunupur, in that taluk. On a small hillock near it is a little shrine to the god Malikesvara which is known throughout the taluk. It is built in an uncommon fashion of big blocks of stone without mortar; and the people believe that individuals afflicted with leprosy and similar diseases will be cured if they live in it for a fortnight or so and offer small pieces of their person as sacrifices to the deity.

Jagdulpur—A village in the Bissamkatak taluk, situated 19 miles north of Bissamkatak. It is the residence of a patro, who is the holder of the mokhasa which takes its name from the village. The mokhasa consists of 84 villages (of which 20 have been deserted) and pays *kattubadi* amounting to Rs. 160 to the Maharaja of Jeypore.

Jeypore taluk—Situated on the 2,000-foot plateau, it is separated from the Nowrangpur taluk on the north by the Indravati river, bounded on the west by the Bastar State and the river Kolab, on the east by the Koraput taluk on the 3,000-foot plateau, and on the south by the drop down into the Malkanagiri taluk. Along this descent, and also in the west round about Ramagiri, is much excellent forest, but the greater part of the taluk consists of a flat plain, dotted with a few small hills and chiefly cultivated with paddy watered by the ample rainfall, which averages 75 inches and is the heaviest in the district.

Area 1,160 square miles, population (1941) 238,924, or 206 to the square mile. The population is denser here than in any other taluk.

Jeypore—The city of victory', the headquarters of the taluk and the place of residence of the Maharaja, is picturesquely situated close under the western slopes of the 3,000-foot plateau, at the bottom of an irregular amphitheatre formed of its wooded spurs. It is a growing town, and in 1941 the population numbered 12,504. The main street, which runs north and south, is some 25 yards broad and two-thirds of a mile in length. All the principal buildings of the town, including the Maharaja's two palaces, the High School, the Taluk Office, the men's and women's hospitals and the Marsh choultry have frontages on this street. Half way down it the main road from Salur and Koraput meets it at right angles. The town has extended about a quarter of a mile eastwards along this, but the road is narrow and the buildings are inferior to those in the main street. A number of lanes, most of them narrow and winding, extend eastwards, westwards and southwards from the main street.

The Maharaja's residence, known as the old fort, is at the southern end of the main street, facing a large temple to the god Ramachandra. The fort is encircled by a high masonry wall with an imposing gateway, immediately inside which stands a fine Darbar Hall. The residential parts of the palace, which stand behind the Darbar Hall, are substantial masonry buildings, most of which were constructed in the time of the late Maharaja Sir Vikrama Deo, K.C.I.E., on the site of older structures, which were described in 1855 as 'a paltry collection of tiled buildings in bad repair in a courtyard surrounded by a mud wall'. At the extreme south of the street, with a gateway facing down the length of it, is the new fort 'Suryamahal', which was built about 1895, while the estate was under the management of the Court of Wards. It is a fine building in an extensive garden, but it is now considered to be unlucky and is never lived in and is used only for garden parties and similar occasions.

To the north of the town, the main street takes a turn to the west and becomes the road to Nowrangpur, and near here are the Maharaja's guest house, completed in 1936, the residence of the Dewan and other estate officials, a museum of forest products and some of the estate offices. Here also are the buildings of Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

Immediately west of the town is a great tank called Jagannadhasagar, which is a mile long and half a mile wide and never dries up. It is said that the Maharaja Ramachandra Deo II, having heard that there was a wide expanse of water called the sea at Vizagapatam, decided he would have a sea in his own town, and built this tank. West of the tank are extensive groves of ancient mango trees, and from the circular road through these trees is obtained the fairest view of Jeypore—in the foreground the tank, reflecting every tint of the sky above it; behind, the steep wooded line of the higher plateau; and in the middle distance the town itself, almost hidden amid its numerous trees, with the white tops of the palace buildings rising above the mass of foliage.



Jeypore is the chief centre of trade in the district, and contains the shops and warehouses of a number of merchants, most of whom are Telugus or Muhammadans. Export of paddy and rice to Salur and Vizianagram is the chief business. There are now four rice mills in the town, each of which is surrounded by small mountains of husk, for which no use can be found except to fill in unwanted depressions in the ground. A rice research station has been opened just outside the town on its eastern side by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The town also contains a saw-mill (belonging to the Jeypore estate), a printing press and a cinema. A private electric plant supplies light to the principal buildings of the estate.

The District Board maintains a high school together with a hostel (given by the late Maharaja in memory of Mr. A. C. Duff, Collector of Vizagapatam, who was killed by a tiger in 1928). Four primary schools of which one is for Muslims and another for girls, are managed by the Taluk Board, and the Mission maintains a higher elementary school with the aid of a Government grant. There is a hospital for men, another (built by the Maharaja, and supported by an annual contribution from him) for women, and a veterinary dispensary. The Maharaja also maintains a choultry for travellers, founded in memory of Dr. J. Marsh, who was tutor both to the late Maharaja and to his father. Town affairs are managed by a Union (constituted in 1906). In addition to the usual services this Board has opened a market place on the site of an old swamp which has been reclaimed by dumping rubbish. This is thronged every day with a collection of hill people from the surrounding villages selling fish, vegetables, bamboos and the like and wearing quaint dresses and ornaments which are in startling contrast to those of the Telugu immigrants who may be seen purchasing from them.

The town has an ample supply of water from wells, but it is not well drained and in the rainy season some of the low-lying parts resemble a morass. But it is comparatively healthy and has long outlived the fearful reputation which it once possessed. On account of the virulence of the malaria, the headquarters of the Assistant Agent and the Superintendent of Police were moved in 1870 from here to Koraput, and that of the Sub-Magistrate to Kotapad. It was then reported that 'no decently qualified person will accept the post of Sub-Magistrate, which entails a broken constitution and enforced retirement at the end of six months'. The Sub-Magistrate was however moved back to Jeypore about 1882.

The history of Jeypore begins with the removal of the capital of the Kingdom thither from Nandapur during the reign of Vira Vikrama Deo (1637-69). The original fort, which was destroyed by Captain Mathews in 1775 (see page 30) is known as 'old Jeypore'. Its ruin may still be seen. In 1855 the town was described as being 'a most wretched place, there being scarcely half a dozen tiled houses, and those of the most inferior description. . . . There is not an artisan in the place, save one carpenter, and he a Telugu man and not a native of the country'. In 1867 Mr. D. F. Carmichael, Collector of

Vizagapatam wrote, that the town 'has neither manufacture nor trade and is of importance only as the residence of the Raja and the headquarters of the Assistant Agent and the Superintendent of Police'. Its present importance is due to the opening of the Pottangi ghat road and the roads to Nowrangpur and Bastar and to Malkanagiri, which pass through it.

The great event of the year in Jeypore is the Dasara feast, which lasts for sixteen days and includes several ceremonies in honour of the goddess Kanaka Durga whose temple is within the palace walls. The image of this goddess (other names for her are Kali and Takurani) is said in the Jeypore chronicles to have been originally captured at the end of the fifteenth century from the great Purushottama Deva of Orissa when he was returning through the Jeypore country after his conquest of Conjeeveram. Human sacrifices used to be made to the goddess. The reports of the Meriah Agents say that in 1861 a kidnapped girl of about twelve years of age was offered up to her in the hope of staying an epidemic of cholera in the town. Nowadays sheep and goats take the place of human victims, but the flowers with which they are decked beforehand, which are brought specially from Nandapur in Pottangi taluk, the old capital of the estate, are still known as *meriah pushpa*.

Sheep and goats are sacrificed on each of the first thirteen days of the Dasara and on the fourteenth some buffaloes as well. On that day, which is known in consequence as the Bodo Uppano ('Great offerings') day, the Maharaja, dressed in white, himself visits the goddess' shrine and then holds, from a white throne, a darbar which is attended by the *bhollo loko* (courtiers) and *lampatas* (servants) and others, while the senior Maharani (called the Patta Mahadevi) does the same after him, receiving *bhet* (presents) from the ladies who attend. On the sixteenth, or Sanno Uppano ('little offerings') day, the Maharaja, who this time is dressed in scarlet, worships the goddess in the Darbar hall of the palace and holds, from a scarlet throne, a darbar at which *bhets* are offered. Neither of these thrones are used except at the Dasara. It is customary for the Maharaja's feudal retainers to come into Jeypore with their followers to pay their respects at this second darbar, and many of the inams and mokhasas in the estate (see, for example, the account of Bissamkatak above) have been granted on the express condition that the grantees do this annual service.

On the eighteenth day, preceded by the goddess Kanaka Durga and a white flag which was captured long ago from the troops of Bastar in one of the many skirmishes which took place with that State, the Maharaja and his son, seated in *ambaris* and followed by the European and other officials of the place in *howdahs* on elephants, go in procession to the *Dasara poda* in a mango grove to the north of the town. There worship is paid to the goddess by the Maharaja and afterwards the crowd proceed to shoot a brinjal off the top of a long bamboo. This custom is followed all over the northern circars and the country west of them, and is supposed to symbolise the general rejoicings which took place when Durga succeeded in overcoming the buffalo-headed demon Mahishasura.

Kalyana Singapur—A village in the Rayaghada taluk, standing 30 miles north by west of Rayaghada on the road to Kalahandi 997 feet above the sea in a narrow valley immediately west of the Niamgiris. The population is about 2,000. It contains the remains of an old fort and is surrounded on three sides by the Nagavali river. Just south-west of it rises sacred Deogiri, a round hill of bare, smooth rock, very difficult to climb, in which there is a cave containing a *lingam* where a least is held at Sivaratri, and on which are several pools of water and an inscription which seems undecipherable.

Kalyana Singapur is the chief village of a feudal subdivision of Jeypore, which was granted by Raja Vikrama Deo II (1825—60) to a kinsman on service tenure. In 1864 the then Raja sued the grantee's son, Krishna Deo, for the possession of the property or an annual payment of Rs. 5,000 for it. It was decreed that Rs. 5,000 should be paid and the decision was upheld by the High Court and the Privy Council. Krishna Deo, who was always known as the Raja of Singapur, died in 1884 leaving a young widow named Nila Debi, to whom he had given authority to adopt an illegitimate son named Gopinath Deo, twelve years of age. The Jeypore Maharaja claimed that on the death of any holder he was entitled to resume the estate and allow the heirs maintenance; and he sent men to take over the management of the property. The widowed Rani disputed his right; and the Kondhs of the place all wanted to have Gopinath for their Raja, saying that, whether legitimate or not, he had often been pointed out to them by his father as their future chief and that Sripati Dolapati, the Rani's manager, bullied them unbearably.

Exciting events followed in this triangular duel. At the next Dasara the thousands of Kondhs assembled at Singapur demanded that Gopinath should play the part usually allotted to the Raja at that feast. The Rani refused to allow this, so the Kondhs broke into the fort, carried off the boy and took him to Jeypore, with an escort of 300 strong, to represent matters to the Maharaja. The matter was for the time being settled by giving the boy an allowance and sending him for education to the college at Vizianagram. But at the beginning of 1885 a party of 70 Kondhs marched all the way to Vizianagram, intending to seize Gopinath, carry him off to Singapur and make him Raja. The Agent then sent a nominee of his own to manage the estate removing the Rani's manager, and the hillmen were once more pacified.

Meanwhile the Jeypore Maharaja brought a suit for possession of the property or the enhancement of the quit-rent upon it, and the Rani, a most determined lady, fought the case, waving aside suggestions that she should compromise. She was defeated, the High Court upholding in appeal the Agent's decision in favour of the Maharaja. The property was handed over to the Maharaja in 1892, and the Rani was given an allowance of Rs. 500 a month together with the produce of certain lands. The Kondhs' desire to have Gopinath Deo as their chief died a natural death, and he retired to Jeypore.

After thirty years of peace fresh troubles began in the Kalyana Singapur area in 1923. In that year Sundaranarayana Deo and Krishnachandra Deo, Gopinath Deo's sons, who had been living at Jeypore on a maintenance grant from the Maharaja, went and settled in Kalyana Singapur. There they gradually obtained an astonishing hold over the Kondh raiyats, and in 1925 the elder brother assumed the title of zamindar and began to collect rents and issue receipts. The influence of the two brothers spread with such rapidity as to give rise to apprehensions of a *fituri*, and early in 1925 they and a number of their chief henchmen were arrested and detained as State prisoners under Act XXIX of 1839. The brothers were interned first at Vizagapatam and later at Bellary, but it was found that they still kept up communication with the Kondhs. The latter refused to recognize the Maharaja or to pay rents to him.

In July 1928 an agreement was reached between the Maharaja and the Deo brothers, whereby the brothers gave up their claim to Kalyana Singapur and agreed not to live within the limits of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts or the bordering States without the previous permission of the Agent to the Governor. The Maharaja in return made generous personal allowances to the brothers and their mother Sri Nilamoni Debi. It was not however found possible to release the Deos from detention at Bellary, because the Kondhs remained as stubborn as ever, and continued to demand the release of the brothers unconditionally.

Eventually in November 1929 the Agent, Mr. Bracken, held a *bhet* at which the Deo brothers publicly announced to the Kondhs that they had no claim to Singapur and called upon them to pay their rent to the Maharaja of Jeypore and to recognize him as their landlord. They also released the Kondhs from all oaths they had sworn in allegiance to them.

Even now the trouble was not completely settled. Though most of the arrear kists were remitted, the Kondhs, who had become used to refusing payment would not even pay the current demands. The greatest difficulty was found in executing the warrants of Courts. An unruly spirit was abroad, and early in 1931 Mr. Saunders, the District Superintendent of Police, was assaulted and injured by a party of Kondhs armed with axes.

These protracted disturbances were only finally ended in January 1933, when a body of reserve police were sent to the area to give effect to distress warrants against the most notorious offenders. Since then the Kondhs of Kalyana Singapur have consistently paid their kists with remarkable promptness, and there have been no signs of any hankering for the rulership of the Deo brothers, who are now living in uneventful retirement at Berhampur.

Kechala—A village of the Pottangi taluk, on the southern bank of the river Kolab about seven miles from the Bagara waterfalls (see page 8). A copper plate charter records that the village was granted to a Brahman by name Narasinga Misra, at the time of the solar eclipse on the 24th September 1698. Two

miles from the village proper is an old Jain temple measuring about 30 feet by 10 feet. In addition to five Thirthankara images there are here two images of special interest. One represents the goddess Hariti standing, with a bough heavy with mangoes bending over her head. She is holding a child in her arms, while a lion crouching on its haunches at her right opens its jaws and tries to devour the child. The other is a carving of a king and queen seated together, the latter holding her child. Both images reveal considerable artistic sense and skill in sculpture.

Kondakamberu—The site of a village which has been deserted within the last 20 years, at the junction of the Gurrapurevu with the Sileru river. The place is surrounded by dense jungle extending for many miles in every direction, with a few villages scattered here and there in the clearings. There is a police outpost, a rest shed situated on high ground commanding a magnificent view, and a couple of huts inhabited by the water-carrier for the outpost and a ferryman. Through Kondakamberu runs a bridle-path connecting Malkanagiri (25 miles to the north-west) with the hills of the Vizagapatam Agency. It was by this route that Srirama Razu and his gang of rebels came to Malkanagiri in 1923. The place gives its name to a mutta or a collection of villages placed for revenue purposes under a hereditary muttadar, after the system in vogue in the adjacent tracts of the Madgole estate in Madras. The muttadar pays a fixed assessment to the Jeypore estate, and has power to appoint headmen, or pettandars, in the villages under him. He can wield great influence in the locality. About a mile to the north-east a stone shrine to Siva stands in the middle of the jungle. The inscription upon this is referred to on page 21. Tradition says that it was once the centre of a flourishing village.

Koraput taluk—Situated in the north-western corner of the 3,000-foot plateau. The Kalahandi State and the Jeypore taluk are its northern and western boundaries. The Pottangi taluk is to the south, and the Pottangi and Rayaghada taluks to the east. Area 1,064 square miles, population (1941) 123,082; there are 116 persons to the square mile. The southern portion of the taluk is remarkably bare of vegetation. The landscape consists of an undulating expanse of red earth, with laterite cropping out here and there and coarse grass growing in the hollows. Between the hills meander small rivulets, whose beds have been levelled and planted with paddy. In places erosion has scarred the hillsides and in the valleys the streams flow in fissures in the soil which are sometimes 20 feet deep. There is however plenty of forest in the north of the taluk and to the west on the slopes down to the 2,000-foot plateau. The Narayanapatnam police-station was transferred from the Rayaghada taluk to this taluk in 1941, and the figures of area and population given above include those for this police-station.

Koraput—The headquarters of the district, situated 2,900 feet above sea level on the main road which runs from Salur to Jeypore. Apart from the official population it is an insignificant

village, and in 1941 had a population of only 3,055 persons. As Jeypore, the original centre of administration, was found to be infested with malaria the offices were moved in 1870 to Koraput, then only a tiny hamlet, in the belief that the place would be healthy on account of its height and open situation. But these expectations have not been fulfilled, and though Jeypore has now lived down its reputation for unhealthiness Koraput is still dreaded for its fevers. The place is situated among a cluster of little hills, from which a number of perennial streamlets take their source and flow through the town or its surroundings. Their water, as well as that of the paddy fields in the neighbouring villages, affords plentiful breeding-grounds for malaria-carrying mosquitoes. In 1904-05, in the hope of removing this superfluous moisture, a number of eucalyptus trees were planted round about the nullas. But most of the trees died and the experiment had no noticeable effect in improving the health of the town, though the trees which survived have added to its amenities, now that they have reached maturity. Some of the nullas were afterwards revetted with stone but to no purpose as the cracks which inevitably occurred in the revetment collected pools and furnished new breeding-grounds. In 1917 Mr. H. A. B. Vernon, then Agent to the Governor, proposed to attack the problem by bunding up the streams so as to form tanks with larvicidal fish to prevent breeding. Work was begun on building a bund below the stream known as Tank Nulla, but the method of protection was later discredited and the work was given up.

In 1930 Mr. D. K. Visvanadhan of the Madras Public Health Department was appointed as special malaria officer for the Agency and began to tackle the problem by leading the streams underground through subsoil drains of loosely packed boulders covered with road metal and a layer of turf. The subsoiling of 300 feet of nulla below the jail was completed in this manner, but further works were dropped in 1931 on account of financial stringency. Thereafter anti-malarial measures were confined to a regular spraying of the breeding-grounds with the larvicide Paris green. These measures were not without beneficial results, as records of the spleen rate among children, taken by experts, showed a fall from 51 per cent in 1930 to 36 per cent in 1937.

In 1936 a comprehensive scheme for subsoiling or covering all the streams or possible breeding-grounds for mosquitoes in and around the town was drawn up. The estimated cost of the scheme was Rs. 46,000. and so far good progress has been made in its execution. When the capital works have been completed it is estimated that an annual expenditure of Rs. 1,800 will be required for maintenance. It can then be anticipated that Koraput will be completely protected against malaria, by rendering it impossible for mosquitoes to breed anywhere within range of the town.

The name of the town is properly 'Kora-putti', or 'the hamlet of the *nux vomica*', and it is derived presumably from a tree or trees that must at one time have been prominent near the site. It contains a few clusters of thatched mud huts,

inhabited by aborigines and the lower classes of immigrant Hindus, and a small bazar with a main street flanked on both sides with single-storeyed brick houses with tiled roofs, where the local merchants, who are mostly Telugus, have their shops. The public offices and residences are scattered, as the broken nature of the ground has rendered the systematic formation of streets impossible. The oldest building is a large bungalow (begun in 1873) set back on high ground 200 yards from the main Salur-Jeypore road, which was for many years shared by the Special Assistant Agent and the Superintendent of Police, but is now used as the Collector's office. The quarters of the Revenue clerks are set well back from the main road on the eastern side of the town, while those of the P. W. D. staff flank it on both sides as it passes through the town. To the north-east are the jail, hospital and the police lines. On high ground to the south-west are the offices of the Tea Districts Labour Association depot and the residences of the staff. To the east is the large compound of the Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Mission and the Christian village. The appearance of the official parts of the town is not unpleasing; there is plenty of open space, and the roads are planted with avenues, generally of silver oak trees. Much new accommodation has become necessary since the elevation of the town to the status of a district headquarters, and the construction of the new buildings is now completed. The most important of these is a Circuit House, which has a commanding site on a hill beside the road to Jeypore and considerably improves the appearance of the town.

Koraput has a Government hospital, and the Taluk Board maintains a higher elementary school and a girls' elementary school. The sanitation and the roads in the town are attended to by a Union Board, constituted in 1937. This Board also maintains a weekly market. Apart from malaria the town is remarkably healthy. The temperature does not run to extremes, and there is an excellent supply of drinking water from wells and springs. New-comers from the plains however often make the mistake of wearing insufficient warm clothing, and suffer from colds in consequence, especially during the monsoon.

Kotapad—A village in the Jeypore taluk, 25 miles north-west of Jeypore; population (1941) 5,675. It is a station of the Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission, and also contains a police-station and a thana office of the Jeypore estate, it was formerly the headquarters of a Sub-Magistrate. It contains a middle school, three elementary schools (one for boys, one for girls and one maintained by the Mission) and a dispensary. Kotapad stands on the important main road which connects Bastar (through Borigumma) with Jeypore and Salur. It is only a few miles south of the Indravati, and lies in a wonderful expanse of rich rain-fed paddy fields in the basin of that river, which is one of the most important granaries of all Jeypore. Most of the high mud wall which used to surround the village is still standing, and the moat outside this has been partially filled in and transformed into a chain of tanks. To the west of the village is the great Damayanti tank, a picturesque sheet of water. Kotapad is outside the malaria belt and is consequently

one of the healthiest places in the district. A Union was formed here in 1937, but the village is poor and backward and the Board can only raise a very small income from taxation. There are two rice mills. The place gives its name to the Kotapad pargana, an account of which is given on page 134.

Malkanagiri taluk—The southernmost taluk in the district, separated by a line of ghats from the Jeypore taluk to the north, and forming a plateau 1,000 to 1,500 feet lower than the latter. The Baster State and the Sabari river are its western boundary, and on the east it is bounded by the ghats which uphold the 3,000-foot plateau and on the south by the beautiful Sileru river which joins the Sabari at Motu in the extreme south of the taluk. With an area of 2,288 square miles and a population of 89,617, it is the largest and most sparsely populated taluk in the district, there being only 39 persons to the square mile. Most of the country is jungle, the soil is of poor quality and in summer the land is parched in the extreme, except in the hilly country around the Sileru, and the Machkund, as the upper reaches of this river are called. In spite of these disadvantages recent improvements in means of communication have resulted in considerable increase in the population, which doubled itself in the thirty years 1901 to 1931.

Local tradition carries back the early history of the taluk to the times of one Orjon Malik, who was set upon by a confederacy which included the Jeypore Raja and was slain in a fort near Korukonda. Jeypore obtained the taluk, and granted it on service tenure to the Oriya paik who had shot Orjon Malik in the fight, whose family held it hereditarily until comparatively recently. They were called the Tat Rajas and apparently did much for the country, old tamarind groves, deserted tanks and forgotten forts testifying to their efforts. About 1835 the last of the line, Paramananda, died; and his widow's dewan, Erramma Razu, being overthrown by a faction, procured the aid of some Rohillas from Hyderabad, regained the upper hand, and cut off the noses of four of his chief opponents. These men went and complained to the Agent to the Governor, Mr. Reade, and he sent up a party of Sibbandis who captured Erramma Razu. The latter was sentenced to transportation for life.

Soon afterwards Paramananda's widow died, and her daughter Bangara Devi succeeded. But all authority vested in one Sanyasi Patro, a very turbulent character, who gave trouble by refusing to pay any *kattubadi* to Jeypore and by insisting on levying *moturpha* and *sayer* in spite of the Agent's orders to the contrary. He was eventually imprisoned in 1865, and about 1869 Bangara Devi obtained a lease of the taluk from Jeypore for Rs. 3,500. Her exactions led to much discontent and in 1872 she was deposed and granted a village for maintenance, the Raja appointing a new manager.

About this time Malkanagiri was made the headquarters of a taluk and a Magistrate was stationed there.

In 1879 and 1880 occurred the 'Rampa fituri' which spread to this taluk, and has been described on page 85 above. Since then there has been very little trouble in the taluk, and a steady increase of prosperity.

Malkanagiri—Headquarters of the taluk, situated 641 feet above the sea. The population in 1941 was 1,489. There is a higher elementary school and a dispensary, and a travellers' bungalow situated in a grove of teak trees. Though there are wells most of these dry up in the summer and water for all purposes is then taken from the Ballisagar tank to the east of the town, which is one of the largest reservoirs in the district.

Deva Dongar, the hill about two miles to the east, contains remains of old ramparts; and other heights to the north-east are supposed to resemble an old man, his bundle of fried *mohwa* flower, his dog and a hare the latter is chasing and are named accordingly.

Eighty years ago the village was described as 'a hot-bed of Meriah sacrifices'. Four victims were annually offered up at the four gates of the fort, presumably at the orders of the Rani, Bangara Devi, who then ruled the taluk. In May 1854 this lady sacrificed a girl of ten, in fulfilment of a vow, on her recovery from illness.

Mattili—A village in the Malkanagiri taluk, standing on the main road from Jeypore to Malkanagiri, 27 miles north-west of the latter place. There is a police-station, a dispensary and a school. Population (1941) 1,934.

Nandapur—A village in the Pottangi taluk, situated 14 miles from Sembliguda on the road leading from that place to Padwa. The village, which now contains 1,226 inhabitants, was formerly the capital of the Jeypore estate. In old records the property is always called the Nandapur zamindari. It still contains relics of its former importance. Remains may be seen of a mud fort which apparently surrounded the whole place; in the northern part of the village are two boulders on one of which are sculptured two figures in relief, while the other has been fashioned into an elephant; about a mile to the south-east is a stone Ganapati some six feet high; the same distance to the north is the shrine of Sarvesvara, in which are some inscriptions. In the village itself are the ruins of the famous 'throne of 82 steps'—a flight of this number of stone steps which leads to a roughly circular granite slab on which, it is said, the early chiefs of Jeypore were always installed. About a mile to the east of the village in a clearing in the forest, irrigated by the clear water of a stream coming down from the surrounding hills, is a grove of fruit trees kept by the local officials of the Jeypore estate. Orange and lime trees and choice varieties of mango have been planted there, and in their shade coffee is cultivated. At the entrance to this garden is another ancient stone, upon which two clasped hands have been carved. It is said that this commemorates a treaty of peace made between the chiefs of Nandapur and Bastar.

Though this was once the capital of the estate it is now considered to be a place of misfortune for the Rajas of Jeypore, and it has been the tradition for generations that no Raja should spend a night at Nandapur or make any but the briefest stay there.

The village contains a dispensary, police-station and school.

Narayanapatnam—A thriving village of 1,974 inhabitants situated about 1,000 feet above sea level on the river Janjhavati, in the Koraput taluk. There is a considerable population of Telugu Komati merchants who have prospered exceedingly and built themselves substantial brick houses fronting on the main street. There is a dispensary and a school.

Narayanapatnam has played no small part in the history of the Jeypore estate. The Rajas Balarama Deo and Visvambara Deo, who ruled from 1711 to 1713 and from 1713 to 1752 respectively, both made it the capital of their kingdom. Only the ruins of an old mud fort survive as a relic of their residence. Within these the spot where the numerous wives and mistresses of Visvambara Deo committed *sati* at his death is still pointed out, and it is known as *sati garbha*. Not far off is a curious old cannon of great length made by shrinking successive rings of iron on to a central iron core. In 1794, during the disturbances which followed the battle of Padmanabham, we find the Raja Ramachandra Deo II residing at Narayanapatnam, though probably only temporarily. His son, Vikrama Deo, after resigning all his affairs to the administration of his son who had rebelled against him, retired in 1849 to Narayanapatnam and lived there in a state of 'besotted sensuality' but seems to have returned to Jeypore by 1855.

The historian Ferishta records that a Muhammadan army camped at Narayanapatnam in 1598, and local tradition asserts that formerly there was a considerable Muhammadan population in the village.

Nowrangpur taluk—This comprises the north-western-most corner of the district. Its southern boundary is the Indravati river. On its north is the Raipur district, on its west the Bastar State, and on its east the Kalahandi State. It consists of a level plain without hills of note, which lies about 2,000 feet above the sea and in the north falls away into the valley of the Tel. The southern portion of the taluk, round about the Indravati, contains some of the most fertile land in all the district—wide expanses of paddy, fed by the heavy rainfall and dotted with patches of sugarcane, extending in every direction. In the north are many square miles of beautiful *sal* jungle, hidden among which are many little swampy glades in which paddy is grown. Area 2,095 square miles; population (1941) 264,739, or 126 persons to the square mile.

Nowrangpur—The headquarters of the taluk. Population (1941) 5,325; height above the sea 1918 feet. It consists of a broad street, in which are the public offices and principal shops.

with a few lanes on either side. It is a station of the Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The office of the Special Assistant Agent has been located here since 1936.

A feature of the place is the splendid avenue to the north of the town, which consists of a quadruple row of mango trees two miles long. Water is obtained from four large tanks, two to the east and two to the west of the town, and a number of wells, but there is almost invariably scarcity in the summer, and in a dry year water has to be carried from the Indravati two miles away.

Nowrangpur is known for the lac toys (see page 121) which are made there, and was formerly a centre for the reeling and weaving of tussler silk. It is a great centre for the export of grain, and enormous quantities of paddy and rice are handled at the weekly market, which is one of the largest in the district. There are two rice mills.

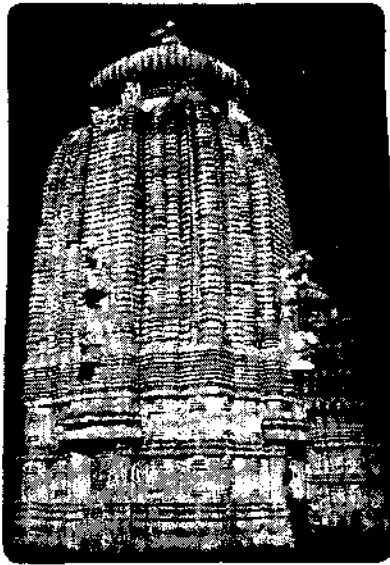
The District Board maintains a middle school, and there are three elementary schools, one of which is managed by the Lutheran Mission. There is also a hospital. A Union was constituted here in 1919. The Board maintains a weekly and a daily market and a cart-stand, besides the usual sanitary staff.

The thana of Nowrangpur (with that of Gudari in the Gunupur taluk) was granted by Ramachandra Deo II of Jeypore in 1820 to his nephew Krishna Deo and his brother Narasinga Deo jointly. The line of the former soon afterwards died out and the property descended to Chaitan Deo, the son of the latter. He was a worthy and loyal old gentleman and managed his property excellently. Most of the avenues and topes in Nowrangpur were planted by him, and it is said that he insisted on there being a tank, a well and a tope in every one of his villages.

On his death in 1876 his three widows retained possession of the estate, but in 1896 the Maharaja resumed it. In 1900 two of the Ranis (the third had died) brought a suit in the Agent's Court for the recovery of the property and won their case. The Maharaja appealed to the High Court, but eventually (in 1904) a compromise was effected by which the estate (exclusive of its forests) was handed over for her lifetime to the then surviving Rani, Sulochana Patta Mahadevi, who administered it until her death in 1912. The thana was then reincorporated in the Jeypore estate. The residence of the old line of rulers still stands, and part of it is used as a thana office.

Padwa—A village in the Pottangi taluk, on the road from Jeypore to Vizagapatam via the Anantagiri ghat. Population (1941) 657. From 1898 to 1936 it was the headquarters of a taluk, but on the formation of Orissa the taluk was divided into two portions, the northern going to Orissa and being merged in the Pottangi taluk, and the southern remaining in Madras.

The new Taluk Office building, completed in 1934 at a cost of Rs. 50,000, was in use for little over a year before the taluk was abolished, and now stands completely unoccupied, except by the police-station. There is a small hospital in a substantial



ANCIENT HINDU TEMPLE AT
PAPPADAHANDI (CLOSE UP)



ANCIENT HINDU TEMPLE AT PAPPADAHANDI

building, also recently finished. But now that its administrative importance has gone Padwa has become an insignificant village. It lies in a fertile valley, where excellent crops of *mandya* and *sua* are grown, and through which flows the Patala river, a tributary of the Machkund. A few miles to the south is the chain of high hills, in which the peaks of Endrika (5,208 feet) and Arma Konda (5,513 feet) are prominent, which separates this district from Vizagapatam.

Pappadahandi—A village of the Nowrangpur taluk, situated eight miles north of Nowrangpur at the point where the road to Maidalpur and Bhavanipatna branches off from the main road leading to Umarkot and the Central Provinces. Population (1941) 680. Height above the sea 1,922 feet. It is a place of pilgrimage on Sivaratri day and contains a temple with elaborate carvings. It is possible that the village is identical with the Pippalaundi mentioned in an inscription of the tenth century found at Podogoda (see page 21). It is certainly a place of some antiquity, as is proved by the existence of the remains of an old fort and some weather-beaten *sati* stones, which are now kept in the temple compound.

The remains of the fort, which was built of slabs of laterite, are now overgrown with jungle, but a chain of three long and narrow tanks clearly marks the line of the ditch which used to encircle the fort.

In the time of Chaitan Deo of Nowrangpur (see page 176) a black granite *lingam* was dug up from the bank of one of the tanks and installed in the temple, where it still remains.

The Deva Saras, or 'Holy tank' is well known. According to current tradition, whenever the wooden posts which represent the deity in the temples to Bhairava in this village and at Nowrangpur become rotten, a new one miraculously appears in this tank. If it leans to the north it is assigned to the Pappadahandi shrine; if south to that at Nowrangpur.

Payakapad—An inam village of 427 people, situated in the Rayaghada taluk. It stands on the banks of the Nagavali and contains the uppermost of five shrines built along that river at each of which large festivals are held at Sivaratri. It is the chief place of a mokhasa granted by a former Raja of Jeypore to Bhubanesvara Praharaz, an Oriya Brahman. The estate was twice taken under the management of the Agent to the Governor, owing to the proprietor being incapacitated, first from 1869 to 1875 and again from 1881 to 1901.

Pottangi taluk—On the 3,000-foot plateau, bounded on the north and west by the Koraput taluk, on the south and east by the Vizagapatam district. Area 1,036 square miles; population (1941) 127,605, with a density of 123 persons to the square mile. In general appearance it much resembles its neighbour Koraput, consisting (except along the eastern edge of the plateau, which is fairly wooded and comprises a line of fine hills running up to and over 5,000 feet) of an almost bare tableland, dotted with bare, red hills, cultivated with dry crops and a little paddy in the damper hollows.

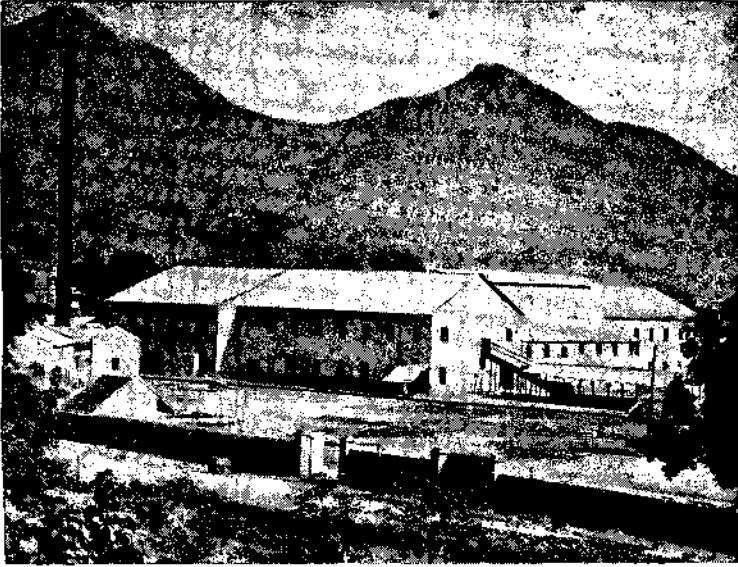
Pottangi—The headquarters of the taluk a village of 1,518 inhabitants (including its hamlets), containing a Taluk Office, hospital and travellers' bungalow. It is on the main Salur-Jeypore road, near the eastern edge of the 3,000-foot plateau, just below the rise to the ridge 3,500 feet high, which borders this. The village is built at the foot of the mass of hills known as Damuku (or 'plateau') on which the highest peak rises 4,642 feet above sea level. On October 13, 1931 a serious natural calamity occurred here. Twenty-one inches of rain fell in the course of 24 hours, and during the night a strip of the mountain side was peeled off and poured down engulfing part of the village in mud and boulders. Over 40 people lost their lives.

Rayaghada taluk—Bounded on the north by the Bissamkatak taluk, on the west by the Kalahandi State and the Koraput taluk, on the south by the Vizagapatam district, and on the east by the Gunupur taluk. It has an average elevation of 750 feet above sea level, and consists of the basins of the Nagavali and Janjhavati rivers. The tract through which the latter river runs is generally known as the Narayanapatnam Agency. It is a well-wooded and comparatively fertile taluk and with 160 persons to the square mile has a denser population than any other except Jeypore. More use is made of artificial methods of irrigation here than elsewhere in the district. The population is 99,295 and the area 620 square miles. The Narayanapatnam Agency was transferred to the Koraput taluk in 1941 and is excluded from the figures of population here given.

Rayaghada ('King's fort')—The headquarters of the Rayaghada subdivision and taluk. It stands 687 feet above the sea on the high bank of the Kumbhikota gedda (near its junction with the Nagavali) about 150 feet above the bed of that stream. The population in 1941 was nearly 5,000.

The place has made long strides in recent years. During the period of the construction of the Raipur-Vizianagram branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway it was the headquarters of an Engineer, and since the opening of through traffic on the line in 1931 an Assistant Engineer and a considerable staff have been permanently stationed here. The town has benefited incalculably from the anti-malarial work done by the railway, of which a description is given in Chapter V. In 1937 a large sugar mill, financed by a local company in which the Maharaja of Jeypore holds a commanding interest, started work and now it gives employment to about 300 workmen during the crushing season. A tile factory has been started by the same company, and it is possible that other industries may follow.

The main street of the town proper is a section of the road running from Parvatipur to Ambodala in the north of Bissamkatak taluk. It contains no buildings of any size except the Taluk Office which stands in an extensive compound at its northern end. The Special Assistant Agent and his staff are accommodated in buildings belonging to the Jeypore estate on the opposite (i.e., the eastern) side of the railway line. To the north of the town



JEYPORE SUGAR FACTORY, RAYAGHADA
(FACTORY—MAIN VIEW)



JEYPORE SUGAR FACTORY, RAYAGHADA
(STAFF QUARTERS)



is the station and the neatly laid out railway colony. The sugar and tile factories are about half a mile from the town on the road to Kumbhikota. About a mile to the north-east, on the banks of the Nagavali, is the arrack distillery, built in 1929-30. There are a middle school and a girls' school maintained by the Taluk Board, as well as one or two State-aided private schools. The Taluk Board also maintains a hospital. The Union Board (constituted in 1929) maintains a daily market besides the usual staff of scavengers and sweepers.

As the town stands some 150 feet above the bed of the Kumbhikota river ordinary wells are useless and the bulk of the water used is laboriously carried up from the river in pots or barrels. The railway supplies its own needs by a steam-driven pump, but has no surplus for distribution among the townspeople. The Jeypore estate have at some expense built a hydraulic ram in the river Nagavali and a pipe line leading to a tank in the middle of the town, but this has long been out of order. A satisfactory scheme for solving the water difficulties of Rayghada has still to be devised.

The main road just south of the town cuts through the large and substantial old mud fort which gives the town its name. This is supposed to have been built by one of the Rajas of Jeypore, who made it his residence. Within it, near the tumble-down temple to its guardian deity Majji Giriya, is pointed out the spot where his wives committed *sati* on his death. Alongside the road is a black slab called the Janni pothoro, or 'priest's stone', on which human sacrifices are said to have been offered formerly. The hill people still regard it with awe and decline on any account to touch it. In the police-station compound lies an old iron cannon which was taken from the fort. It is an exceedingly primitive weapon consisting of a core made of straight bars to which successive rings of iron have been shrunk. It is some six feet long and is provided with four iron rings for lifting it. The imprisonment of Raja Vikrama Deo in this fort by his son is referred to on page 33 and the neighbouring falls of the Nagavali are mentioned on page 7.

Suai—A village of the Pottangi taluk on the road between Sembliguda and Nandapur. Close by the roadside are the remains of an old Jain monastery. This is quadrangular in shape with three cells on each side; but the domes of all the cells, except the three on the western side have collapsed. In each cell is a figure of a Thirthankara on the wall facing the entrance. In the central cell of the three which survive is an image of Rshabanatha surrounded by the twenty-four Thirthankaras that had preceded him. In another cell is an image of the goddess Tara with four arms, adorned with bangles up to the elbows. Unfortunately the monastery has suffered from careless treatment from wayfarers as well as the changes of the weather.

Tentulikunti—A mokhasa village of the Nowrangpur taluk, situated 12 miles east-north-east of the taluk headquarters.

The place is known for the good quality of the iron work done by the smiths in the neighbourhood. Population (1941) 686. Contains a police-station and an elementary school.

Umarkot—A village of the Nowrangpur taluk. It stands on the main road running northwards from Jeypore to the borders of the Raipur district, and is situated 40 miles north of Nowrangpur. From here takes off the branch road leading to Jhorigam, the Pannabeda mutta and the Deobhog zamindari of Raipur. Population (1941) 1,157. The village is the headquarters of a thana of the Jeypore estate. There is a police-station, a dispensary and an elementary school.

GLOSSARY

POROJA

English	Vernacular	English	Vernacular
Man	.. Memari	Gold	.. Sunna
Woman	.. Airikodo	Silver	.. Ruppa
Boy	.. Adisey	Bullock	.. Dhannu
Girl	.. Gunni	Cow	.. Ponda
Father	.. Baba	Calf	.. Payya
Mother	.. Ayu	Buffalo	.. Jommutelu
Brother	.. Libbo	She-buffalo	.. Korvi
Sister	.. Bhovuni	Goat	.. Gorfa
Son	.. Vungen	Sheep	.. Menda
Daughter	.. Iidon	Dog	.. Mukrudi
Husband	.. Monus	Cat	.. Billi
Wife	.. Kadaningal	Boar	.. Pandri
Grandfather	.. Dade	Tiger	.. Nerrasu
Grandson	.. Nathini	Bear	.. Aduju
Granddaughter	Nathini	Pig	.. Kuamul
Uncle	.. Sanobabu	Ant	.. Mumuyi
Village	.. Davu	Fly	.. Piphilu
House	.. Illu	Fish	.. Aya
Water	.. Da	Hand	.. Kivu
Day	.. Jadingu	Foot	.. Sodosu
Night	.. Voongu	Eye	.. Kanoka
Month	.. Massekkudaru	Ear	.. Sishou
Year	.. Borsekkudaru	Nose	.. Mujji
Sun	.. Yeruku	Mouth	.. Iho
Moon	.. Angaithe	Teeth	.. Jiyi
Head	.. Bupb	Neck	.. Gomora
Stars	.. Amatch	Lips	.. Lonuram
God	.. Prabhusey	Hair	.. Balo
Forest	.. Kunda	Knee	.. Andhu
Trees	.. Maranu	Fingers	.. Anguti
Mountain	.. Konda	Toes	.. Maanguti
River	.. Kinde	Paddy	.. Kumidemu
Stone	.. Arangu	Rice	.. Muku
Iron	.. Vumal	Salt	.. Bosu

English	Vernacular	English	Vernacular
Meat	.. Siseet	7	.. Sathogota
I	.. Me	8	.. Attogota
You	.. Morgu	9	.. Novogota
He	.. Nonu	10	.. Dosogota
This	.. Iyinu	11	.. Egarogota
We	.. Balengu	12	.. Barogota
They	.. Boyingu	13	.. Therogota
Here	.. Thimuru	14	.. Choudogota
There	.. Tattu	15	.. Pondorogota
Where	.. Agai	16	.. Sovulegota
Who	.. Mongumoi	17	.. Sothorogota
Why	.. Neyidarumoi	18	.. Otorogota
I come	.. Nannuvamaley	19	.. Onisigota
I go	.. Nannuponnealey	20	.. Kudiyi
I eat	.. Nannuvunnealey	30	.. Kudiyidosogota
I will go	.. Nannuponnealey	40	.. Dedukudigota
1	.. Ekogota	50	.. Dikudidosogota
2	.. Duyigota	60	.. Thinikudigota
3	.. Thinigota	70	.. Thinikudida s o- gota
4	.. Charigota	80	.. Charikudigota
5	.. Panshogota	90	.. Charikudido s o- gota
6	.. Ohogota	100	.. Panchikudigota

GADABA

Man	.. Mangitsheendu	Grandson	.. Seppal
Woman	.. Assumar	Granddaughter	Malsey
Boy	.. Suppal	Uncle	.. Ninniba
Girl	.. Suppalbai	Aunt	.. Malsey
Father	.. Aba	Village	.. Polubbu
Mother	.. Aya	House	.. Vulley
Brother	.. Dada	Water	.. Neeru
Sister	.. Malik	Day	.. Dinnokosu
Son	.. Bayi	Night	.. Narkam
Daughter	.. Malid	Month	.. Moskuse
Husband	.. Sulgeendu	Year	.. Boreakosu
Wife	.. Assumal	Sun	.. Velli
Grandfather	.. Dada	Moon	.. Neelungu
Grandmother	.. Kakko	Stars	.. Puttukuu

Engl h	Vernacular	English	Vernacular
God	.. Mapuruni	It	.. Idilo
Forest	.. Soyava	We	.. Amalpatiri
Tree	.. Ippel	They	.. Orungu
Gold	.. Sunnasai	This	.. Idilo
Silver	.. Ruppasi	That	.. Adilo
Bullock	.. Seditu	Here	.. Idilo
Cow	.. Konderu	There	.. Adilo
Calf	.. Peyya	Where	.. Huseet
Buffalo	.. Seedu	Who	.. Inyeruaa
She-buffalo	.. Taladujeelu	Why	.. Yennasengu
Goat	.. Mege	I come	.. Onavan
Sheep	.. Menda	I go	.. Onselinden
Dog	.. Nethe	I eat	.. Onviyone
Cat	.. Erag	1	.. Eko
Pig	.. Pandri	2	.. Duyi
Tiger	.. Durka	3	.. Theeni
Bear	.. Illifu	4	.. Chari
Ant	.. Saladi	5	.. Pancho
Fly	.. Sirimonagel	6	.. Oho
Fish	.. Minit	7	.. Satho
Head	.. Tata	8	.. Atto
Body	.. Jivey	9	.. No
Hand	.. Ki	10	.. Doso
Foot	.. Podokallu	11	.. Yegaro
Eye	.. Kannul	12	.. Baro
Ear	.. Kannool	13	.. Tero
Teeth	.. Palluvel	14	.. Choudo
Neck	.. Kondrengu	15	.. Pondoro
Hair	.. Sendu	16	.. Soulo
Knee	.. Vangul	17	.. Sothoro
Fingers	.. Vandel	18	.. Ottero
Toes	.. Vandelsay	19	.. Onisi
Paddy	.. Risel	20	.. Selaga
Rice	.. Manchive	30	.. Dedumadi
Salt	.. Supu	40	.. Duyimadi
Meat	.. Sepul	50	.. Duyikudidoso
I	.. Pondu	60	.. Tinikodisi
You	.. Imusa	70	.. Tinikodidoso
He	.. Yeedu	80	.. Charikodisi
		90	.. Charikodidasa
		100	.. Fanchokodi

PARANG POROJA

English	Vernacular	English	Vernacular
Woman	.. Thuyal	Iron	.. Umal
Boy	.. Ponderu	Gold	.. Suna
Girl	.. Guni	Silver	.. Rupa
Child	.. Adwi	Bull	.. Tangili
Father	.. Abba	Cow	.. Innithang
Mother	.. Abya	Buffalo	.. Bongtal
Brother	.. Anna	Goat	.. Kimmen
Sister	.. Bob	Sheep	.. Menda
Son	.. Bob	Dog	.. Kuso
Daughter	.. Budhi	Cat	.. Rumang
Husband	.. Monas	Tiger	.. Kulla
Wife	.. Maize	Bear	.. Khiblu
Grandfather	.. Daddi	Pig	.. Khumrau
Grandmother	.. Amma	Ant	.. Mumi
Grandson	.. Nati	Fly	.. Arroi
Granddaughter	Nati	Fish	.. Ashan
Uncle	.. Niniba	Head	.. Bop
Aunt	.. Atta	Body	.. Ura
Nephew	.. Mai	Hand	.. See
Niece	.. Bhanghi	Foot	.. Paljing
Village	.. Adida	Eye	.. Mon
House	.. Absang	Ear	.. Ler
Water	.. Da	Nose	.. Mu
Fire	.. Khudang	Mouth	.. Thoul
Day	.. Jading	Tooth	.. Ji
Night	.. Ugong	Neck	.. Gomara
Month	.. Kitmong	Lip	.. Lomuru
Year	.. Boros	Hair	.. Thikui
Sun	.. Anki	Knee	.. Mandi
Moon	.. Angaita	Fingers	.. Angutidedai
Star	.. Tara	Toes	.. Angutidedai
God	.. Kitung	Paddy	.. Kundam
Forest	.. Bodera	Rice	.. Munku
Tree	.. Abra	Salt	.. Kosu
Mountain	.. Kunda	Milk	.. Adu
River	.. Kinda	Meat	.. Laddu
Stone	.. Arang		

English	Vernacular	English	Vernacular
You	.. Thu	I go	.. Ming neithoi-dong
He	.. Nonui	I eat	.. Ming gonnir
She	.. Maini	I speak	.. Ming gulungumi
It	.. Adineeda	I will come	.. Ming naiduda
I	.. Mengadai	I will go	.. Ming nathai-dong
We	.. Belang	I will eat	.. Ming gaanir
You (plural)	.. Sobu	Come	.. Nodai
They	.. Solu	Went	.. Nainab
This	.. Endin	Ate	.. Nagar
That	.. Adi	Spoke	.. Najabeda
Now	.. Dimi	Drank	.. Gederu
Then	.. Asodi	Laugh	.. Lendan
Here	.. Indinen	Week	.. Hatto
There	.. Adi	Walk	.. Oding
When	.. Begene	Run	.. Eyes
Where	.. Tugai	Sing	.. Kunkum
Who	.. Ong	Kill	.. Sepla
Why	.. Niden	Die	.. Khitu
I come	.. Ming wainen		

BONDA POROJA

Man	.. Rem	Uncle	.. Kaka
Woman	.. Selambai	Aunt	.. Umbu
Boy	.. Gulene	Nephew	.. Onho
Girl	.. Dakuyi	Niece	.. Onho
Child	.. Siseraha	Village	.. Ungam
Father	.. Ba	House	.. Diho
Mother	.. Yang	Water	.. Da
Brother	.. Byong	Fire	.. Sunga
Sister	.. Tuna	Day	.. Simoyi
Son	.. Nang	Night	.. Mendi
Daughter	.. Nang	Month	.. Arke
Husband	.. Umpar	Year	.. Mi
Wife	.. Nikuni	Sun	.. Sie
Grandfather	.. Totta	Moon	.. Arkey
Grandmother	.. Ya	Star	.. Momorth
Grandson	.. Dadi	God	.. Debata
Granddaughter	Dakuyi	Forest	.. Koman



English	Vernacular	English	Vernacular
Tree	.. Seraw	I	.. Ning
Mountain	.. Biri	You	.. Na
River	.. Kinda	He	.. Mai
Stone	.. Bire	She	.. Gitina
Iron	.. Luha	It	.. Gitina
Gold	.. Suna	We	.. Guler
Silver	.. Rupa	You (plural)	.. Peysa
Bull	.. Gillai	They	.. Maya
Cow	.. Yangoi	This	.. Kana
Buffalo	.. Bungate	That	.. Gitina
Goat	.. Gime	Now	.. Ukude
Sheep	.. Menda	Then	.. Perskhandi
Dog	.. Guoha	Here	.. Akha
Cat	.. Girena	There	.. Artang
Tiger	.. Kukusa	When	.. Andeil
Bear	.. Gimes	Where	.. Teriton
Pig	.. Gudw	Who	.. Jagitina
Ant	.. Buye	Why	.. Masa
Fly	.. Adanga	1	.. Mui
Head	.. Bo	2	.. Umba
Body	.. Azi	3	.. Enge
Hand	.. Titi	4	.. U. u
Foot	.. Tiksung	5	.. Moloji
Eye	.. Ma	I come	.. Ning Uiting
Ear	.. Luntar	Go	.. Uiting
Nose	.. Nisemi	Eat	.. Sumating
Mouth	.. Tum	Speak	.. Susedating
Foot	.. Gine	Drink	.. Udeting
Neck	.. Gulugu	I will come	.. Ning Sabting
Lips	.. Lertum	I will go	.. Ning Uiting
Hair	.. Ugub	I came	.. Ning Sodikonig
Knee	.. Mandi	I went	.. Ning Uidikting
Fingers	.. Anguthi	Laugh	.. Dudo detono
Toes	.. Tikasung	Weep	.. Now detan
Paddy	.. Keranga	Walk	.. Ureng ding
Rice	.. Unkw	Run	.. Neurating
Salt	.. Biti	Sing	.. Ning Seroting
Milk	.. Datikoyi	Kill	.. Nng Bhokating
Meat	.. Chheli	Die	.. Ni Goiting

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