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Mother Orissa, Mother India, Mother Victoria: Expressions of National Life in Colonial Orissa

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Abstract

In the early 20th century, Orissa, a province in British India, was marked by dismemberment and fragmentation. Nationalist leaders in colonial Orissa often portrayed the province as a disfigured mother to evoke nationalist sentiment among the Odia people and garner support for the unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts in adjacent provinces to form a separate and complete Orissa province. One painting from the period depicts a woman representing “Mother Orissa” being dissected on a table by an Englishman and surrounded by wolf-headed figures representing Bengal, Madras, and Bihar, who were opposed to the idea of Orissa’s unification. However, these leaders were careful not to create an environment of coercion and sought to allow for expressions of difference to foster a healthy national life. One way they did this was by trying to unite intrareligious groups in Orissa while also calling for the need to bring together people of different regions living in Orissa. Additionally, they balanced their allegiance and devotion among three mothers: Mother Orissa, Mother India, and Mother Victoria.

Keywords: Oriya nationalism; family metaphor; Mother Orissa; Mother India; Mother Victoria

Introduction: Motherland and the Reconstituting of Oriya Identity

In his speech titled “*Utkalamatara Abahana*” (Invocation of Mother Utkala) during the thirteenth session of the Utkala Sammilani, Madhusudan Das urges the audience to imagine the image of motherland in their hearts. He declares that the conference stage is a sacred space for worshipping the motherland and invokes the mother before starting the *puja* (worship). He instructs everyone present to set up the image of the motherland in their hearts and emphasizes the importance of doing so. To feel the embrace of the motherland, he refers to the line *janani janmabhumischa swargadapi gariyasi* (mother and motherland are greater than heaven) and encourages the audience to pray once in the lap of Mother Utkala with their eyes closed. He believes that this will bring forth the image of the motherland in their hearts. He concludes by urging the audience to invoke Mother Utkala for the *puja* and salute the motherland.¹

The purpose of invoking and worshipping the motherland as an idol is to create a collective consciousness among the audience, encouraging them to view the land with the same affection and love as they have for their mother. This concept aligns with Benedict Anderson’s idea of the nation as an “imagined community,” created through the shared imagination of its members.² However, Madhusudan Das’s approach is slightly different. Instead of imagining the nation as a community, he asks the audience to imagine the motherland as a mother. This evokes a stronger emotional bond, as the love between a mother and child is considered natural and interestless. This familial attachment brings a sense of disinterested love and solidarity toward the nation. In Anderson’s

(2006, 143) terms, this political love can be understood through the vocabulary of kinship or home, as the figure of the mother is dominant in both contexts:

Something of the nature of this political love can be deciphered from the ways in which languages describe its object: in either the vocabulary of kinship (motherland, *Vaterland*, *patria*) or that of home.... Both idioms denote something to which one is naturally tied.

Ultimately, Madhubabu's speech inspires the audience to feel a filial attachment toward the nation, evoking a sense of human feeling toward one another.

During the colonial rule in India, the metaphor of the motherland was commonly used across the country. However, it was not an indigenous cultural practice but a result of colonial modernity. The publication of *Mother India* in 1927 by Catherine Mayo, which portrayed Indian women in a negative light, caused an uproar among nationalist leaders. The nationalist leaders sought to reclaim the idea of Mother India from the colonial masters and create a tradition of presenting her as a spiritual and chaste figure. To counter the Eurocentric view of Mother India, nationalist leaders incorporated oriental values and norms into the metaphor (Gupta 2001, 129). They sought to present her as a spiritual and chaste figure, in contrast to the negative portrayal in Mayo's book. This transformation of the metaphor into a symbol of spiritual and cultural identity became a vital aspect of anticolonial nationalism in India. According to Partha Chatterjee (1993, 6),

anti-colonial nationalism creates its own domain of sovereignty within colonial society well before it begins its political battle with the imperial power. It does this by dividing the world of social institutions and practices into two domains—the material and the spiritual. The material is the domain of the “outside.” ... The spiritual, on the other hand, is an “inner” domain bearing the “essential” marks of cultural identity.... This formula is, I think, a fundamental feature of anti-colonial nationalism in Asia and Africa.

Partha Chatterjee's concept of dividing the world of social institutions and practices into two domains, the material and the spiritual, is integral to anticolonial nationalism in Asia and Africa. This division allowed anticolonial movements to create their own domain of sovereignty within colonial society before engaging in political battles with imperial powers. The material domain was associated with the “outside,” whereas the spiritual domain represented the “inner” and essential marks of cultural identity. This formula of division played a fundamental role in shaping anticolonial nationalism in these regions.

Anderson's theory challenges the idea of nations as natural or given entities. Instead, he emphasizes their cultural construction, highlighting the role of print capitalism, language, and a shared historical consciousness in shaping the imagined communities that constitute nations. Central to his argument is the notion of the “imagined community,” characterizing nations as socially constructed entities. Anderson posits that nations are not inherent or preexisting; rather, they are products of shared identity, culture, and history.

Print capitalism emerges as a crucial catalyst in the formation of these imagined communities. Anderson contends that the proliferation of print media, newspapers, and the printing press played a pivotal role in standardizing languages and disseminating information. This standardization, in turn, contributes to the creation of a common national consciousness. Language assumes a significant role in Anderson's theory, serving as a unifying force. The standardization of language through print media facilitates a shared national identity by providing a common linguistic medium for communication.

Gellner (1983) argues that nationalism is a “political principle” that emerged with a shift of the social structure from an agrarian to an industrial one. Again, industrialization led to mass education, which in turn facilitated a common language and common culture, giving birth to a collective national identity. Anthony Smith (1991) explores the role of ethnicity in the formation of

national identity. He emphasizes cultural homogenization, which is important in the formation of the nation and emphasizes national symbols that are used by the citizens for sharing a common identity and collective memory.

This article aligns with modernist theories of nationalism, asserting that Oriya nationalism emerged as a modern phenomenon following the rise of print media. The media played a crucial role in disseminating nationalist ideologies by printing speeches, essays, and books of leaders. However, the article goes beyond this consensus by shedding light on the unique approach adopted by nationalist leaders in Orissa. Here, the path to arousing nationalism involved portraying the motherland as a distressed and dismembered lady, with the sons expected to alleviate her sorrow and unite her disjointed parts.

We also argue that regional nationalism in Orissa, rather than posing a threat to pan-Indian nationalism, was complementary. Nationalist leaders skillfully balanced their allegiance among Mother Orissa, Mother India, and Mother Victoria. This contribution deepens our understanding of how nonethnic groups, such as the Oriyas, adopted the technique of revisiting and rejuvenating their past, akin to an ethnic taking pride in its historical glory.

The nationalist leader B. C. Pal (1911, 147) believed that the concept of Mother India was not just a metaphor but a real personality embodied in the land that bore and nurtured the people: “The woman who bore them and nursed them, and brought them up with her own life and substance was no more real a personality in their thought and idea than the land which bore and reared, and gave food and shelter to all their race.” The Hindu concept of *Prakriti* and *Purusha* was used to understand the full truth and reality of this concept (Pal 1911, 131–194). In Bengal and other regions, the mother figure was often associated with *Shakti*, embodied in deities like Durga or Kali, which inspired the conceptualization of Bharatmata or Bangamata or Telugu Talli³ or Utkal Janani. However, the mother figure was not limited to these deities, as they were considered world mothers and could not be confined to nationalist ideology. Nationalism is a modern phenomenon, according to modernists like Anderson and Gellner,⁴ and it would be incorrect to relate ancient Indian culture to nationalist ideas.

In 1875, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya wrote the hymn “*Bande Mataram*” as a tribute to Mother India, which was later set to music and sung by Rabindranath Tagore at the Indian National Congress in 1896. Although the hymn does not specifically mention Bangamata, it portrays the land as a powerful and strong entity rather than a victimized or impoverished woman. One of the songs of Dwijendralal Roy also evokes the concept of Bharatmata, as she emerges from the ocean and inspires devotion and joy. In his popular song “*Banga amar, janani amar, dhatri amar, amar desh*” (my Bengal, my mother, my caregiver, my country), Roy experimented with European melodies and introduced chorus lines, which were new to Indian music (Bose 2017, 21–22). In 1905, Abanindranath Tagore painted a depiction of Bangamata, later changed to Bharatmata, as a serene saffron-clad ascetic woman carrying the boons of food, clothing, learning, and spiritual salvation in her hands. In Bengal, Bangamata or Bharatmata was imagined as a manifestation of *Shakti*, but her status as a cultural artifact varied depending on the situation.

In Tamil Nadu, the representation of Mother India came first in the newsweekly, *Intiya*, of poet-patriot Subramaniam Bharati. In 1907, the paper printed an image of a saree-clad woman sitting reclined with one arm resting on a globe that shows a rough outline of an unnamed India, extending the other arm to bless a group of men. This image was accompanied by a poem with the ending line “*Vande Mataram!*” In 1909, the paper published an advertisement for a new Tamil daily *Vijaya* that depicted Bharat Mata as a four-armed figure holding four children in her arms, with four men under her feet in carved boats. The men were holding each other, two of them in Hindu dress and the other two in Muslim dress. The image showed a Hindu goddess holding a banner proclaiming “*Allahu Akbar*” (God Allah is the greatest) in Urdu script, complemented by the popular nationalist phrase in Devanagari script, “*Bandemataram*” (I bow to thee, mother) (Ramaswamy 2010, 19–21). In 1913, *Andhra Patrika*, a periodical, published an image of a saree-clad woman labeled as Mother Andhra rising out of the map of the South Province. This image represented the personification of

Mother Andhra and was titled “*Andhra mata Sirvachanam*” (The Blessings of the Mother). The same issue also included an image of Bharatmata blessing *Andhra Bala* (the child of Andhra) (Mitchell 2009, 95). In Banaras, Shivprasad Gupt built the Bharatmata temple in which the nation as mother was represented by a detailed physical map. The temple was inaugurated by Gandhi in 1936 and contained a poem named “*Matri Mandir*” by Maithilisan Gupt. Unlike other representations of Mother India, the mother was concretized into a geographical and political map in this temple (Gupta 2001, 4292).

In Orissa, there was a tradition of deifying the motherland based on the concept of Shakti. This tradition was significant because Orissa had a long history of Shakti worship in the form of Tapoi’s worship of Maa Mangala in every household. Madhusudan Rao’s poem, “*Utkala Bandana*,” projected Utkala as a “*biramata sati*” (chaste mother of the heroes), who sustains millions of her children with the nectar flowing from her breast. She is depicted as the epitome of beauty, with the sea washing her feet and many rivers, mountains, and forests adorning her beauty (Rao 1915, 237–238). Lakshmi Kanta Mohapatra’s song, “*Bande Utkala Janani*” (presently the Odisha state anthem),⁵ was first sung at the conference of Utkala Sammilani in Balasore in 1912. The song praises Utkala, the motherland, and worships it as a mother whose voice and smile are sweet.⁶ It is described as a sacred land of knowledge, science, saints, yogis, and poets, known for assassinating its enemies and possessing world-famous monuments. Each stanza of the song ends with the refrain *janani, janani, janani*.

The land was elevated to the position of a mother through the use of terms like Utkalajanani (Mother Utkala), *Matrubhumi* (motherland), and Utkala Mata (Mother Utkala). Writers and poets who regarded the motherland as their mother also saw themselves as her sons and servants and were expected to dedicate themselves to her service, even sacrificing their lives if necessary. This devotion was meant to inspire fellow countrymen to do the same.⁷

In his presidential speech in the fourteenth session of the Utkala Sammilani, Gopabandhu Das assumes the request letter to him for attending the Utkala Sammilani to be the call of the mother and no one can decline that call.

I read the request letter by the messenger from the Utkala Sammilani time and again; it seemed to me like the call of the mother. How could I decline the call?

Mother Utkala Janani

If you feel sympathy for this poor son, then please assist him in fulfilling his duty. I am not the leader of the nation in this current situation, nor do I desire to be. My life’s ultimate goal is to be a devoted servitor to you. You have given me the opportunity to serve you today, but as your unintelligent and unworthy son, I wonder what service I can possibly offer.

You save yourself mother. I am a mere human. (Das 1919, 1, 5)

The concept of motherland goes beyond a mere personification that can be spoken to. It is an active force that responds to the call of its people and also calls on them to serve. Although the motherland is addressed as a human being, she is actually deified and considered to be an all-knowing goddess with the power of creation, destruction, and sustenance. Later, Gopabandhu addresses the people of Utkala, regardless of their background or religion, and acknowledges that the land of Utkala is accommodating them all. The speaker invites them to the Utkal conference and suggests that the mother Utkala is eagerly waiting to receive their service and devotion (Das 1919, 1, 5).

Madhusudan Das also emphasizes that the motherland transcends religious and sectarian boundaries and welcomes everyone without any discrimination based on caste, creed, or color. She is a universal mother who loves all her children equally and expects their service and worship. In the ninth session of Utkala Samilani, Madhusudan Das expresses a similar sentiment:

I am the son of mother Utkala and all those who have been born in the land of Utkala, whether Bengali or Muslim or Brahmin or Karan or Pana or Panjabi, and are eager to offer themselves in the lap of the mother after their death; all are children of mother Utkala. (1958, 31)

Madhusudan Das's message thus is one of inclusivity and unity, as he stresses that the love for one's motherland transcends any differences in social or cultural background.

The idea of creating a united front and fostering a sense of togetherness among the people was based on the notion of a secular mother who accepts everyone as her children. This approach sought to overcome divisions caused by caste, religion, and ethnicity. The reference to subcastes like Brahmin, Pana, and Karan reflects an effort to unite intrareligious groups in Orissa, whereas the mention of Bengali, Muslim, and Punjabi shows an attempt to bring together people of different religions living in Orissa. The inclusion of the Kolha, a tribal group, was also significant, as it demonstrated a desire to avoid excluding a large segment of Orissa's population from the national movement. The idea was to unite everyone under the banner of Utkala mother, emphasizing a common identity and shared heritage. As Smith (1991, 76) says, "[i]n nationalist language 'unity' signifies social cohesion, the brotherhood of all nationals in the nation, what the French patriots called *fraternité* during the Revolution. The family metaphor underlying the genealogical concept of the nation reappears here in secular, political guise: as the union of fraternal citizens." In his poem "*Prarthana*," Gopabandhu Das portrays the people of different religions—Hindus, Christians, Jains, and Muslims—as siblings who share the same mother, Utkalamata. They are bound together in the bond of fraternity, forgetting all the discrimination that exists among them. They pray together and implore the Almighty to give new radiance and courage to Mother Utkala. They consider themselves as the poor children of Utkalamata and implore the lord not to leave them in the sorrow of their mother (Das n.d., 1).

In another essay, the writer, Sri Aa (pseud.), addresses the motherland as *Go Utkala Janani!* (O Mother Utkala!) and says,

I will serve you. I will cry for your poor sons. I will dedicate my entire body to their service. I will go to the doors of every one of your sons and there I will cry for you, narrating your sorrowful story. I will say, "Oh, sons of Utkala, come forward and witness the plight of your sorrowful motherland. Alleviate your mother's sorrow, dedicate your humble lives in the service of the nation, sacrifice your lives for the welfare of the mother, and repay the debt of your mother."⁸

Personifying and deifying the motherland is not a new concept, but when the nation is portrayed as crying, bleeding, or in sorrow, it creates a pathetic fallacy that evokes sympathy from the audience. This technique was appropriated by nationalist leaders in colonial Orissa to instill a sense of nationalism among the people. Madhubabu used to showcase paintings to the audience from the Sammilani platform. The English newspaper *Odia*, the mouthpiece of Utkala Sammilani, published a painting on its front page depicting "Mother Utkala" clad in a white saree and the "daughter in exile" representing Ganjam standing at a distance, separated by a gap labeled "the gulf of administration."⁹ This painting (Figure 1) represented the divided Orissa of Madhusudan Das's imagination, where Ganjam was separated from mainland Orissa and there was a demand for its union with Orissa. The painting was intended to evoke feelings of separation of the mother from her children and the associated plight. In his discussion on "*Odishare Nutana Ingraji Sambadapatra*," Gopabandhu Das ponders on the influence that such paintings would have on people.

Look at this scene! The mother stands here, and the daughter gazes at her from the other side, separated by the sea. Oh, what a heart-wrenching sight! Will this sea ever dry up? Will a bridge ever be built? Can the mother and daughter ever reunite, or will they continue to stare at each other with tearful eyes until the end of time? Will this cruel administrative rule never end?

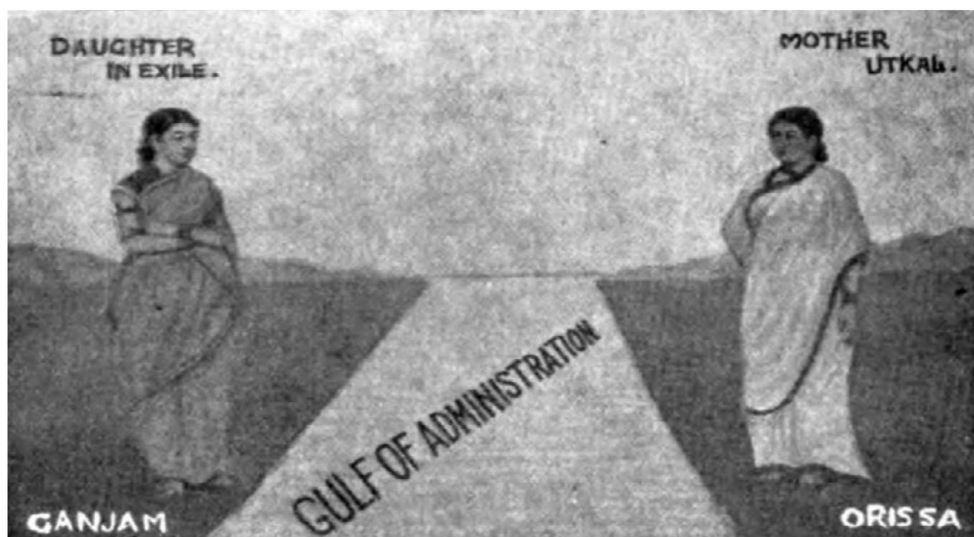


Figure 1. Mother Utkala.

These questions deeply agitate and perturb the heart as we look at the face of Odia. Utkala Sammilani was established to solve this national problem, and the purpose of the *Odia*, the mouthpiece of Utkala Sammilani, is the same. The only national desire of the Oriyas is union. (Das 1917, 280)

Madhusudan sent a painting (Figure 2)¹⁰ as a New Year greeting to the Indian State Secretary and highly placed royal courtiers. The painting, titled “New Year’s Greeting of a Dismembered Nation,” depicts a dismembered woman clad in white. A suited and booted gentleman with a knife in his hand is dissecting the lady on a table, and above him is written “Vivisection of Orissa.” Several wolf-headed persons stand around the table, holding the dismembered limbs in their hands. A person clad in a dhoti kneels beside the table, beseeching the gentleman to unite the dismembered parts: “Canst thou not minister ... [illegible] and put the severed limbs together?” The painting was intended to highlight the dismemberment of Orissa and urge the gentleman to reunite the state.¹¹

The painting depicted a dismembered woman representing Mother Orissa, with a gentleman symbolizing the English dissecting her on a table. Wolf-headed figures around the table represented Bengal, Madras, and Bihar, who were reluctant to support the unification of Orissa. The painter’s representation of the English as a gentleman and the others as wolf-headed figures was intended to show his *rajabhakti* (loyalty to the king) and implore not beasts but a human being with a human heart to unite the dismembered parts.

In his speech at the ninth session of Utkala Sammilani in 1918, Madhusudan also presented a picture of the dismembered Mother Utkala, with her head, hand, and foot lying in different places: “The head lies in one place, the hand in another, and the foot in yet another. No one can call this a healthy condition for a man. The head, like Upendra Bhanja, is lying in Ganjam, dismembered from Utkala Mata” (Das 1958, 53). He showed two other paintings to the audience depicting the plight of farmers, who were the backbone of the nation. In the first painting, the government was on top, followed by the landlord, and at the bottom, the farmer digging the earth. Madhusudan explained that while the farmer was producing paddy the money was flowing like a fountain, but it was not being used for his benefit; instead, it was filling the landlord’s coffers.

The second painting depicted a four-headed person representing the government, a six-headed person representing the landlord, and a twenty-five-headed person representing the farmer.

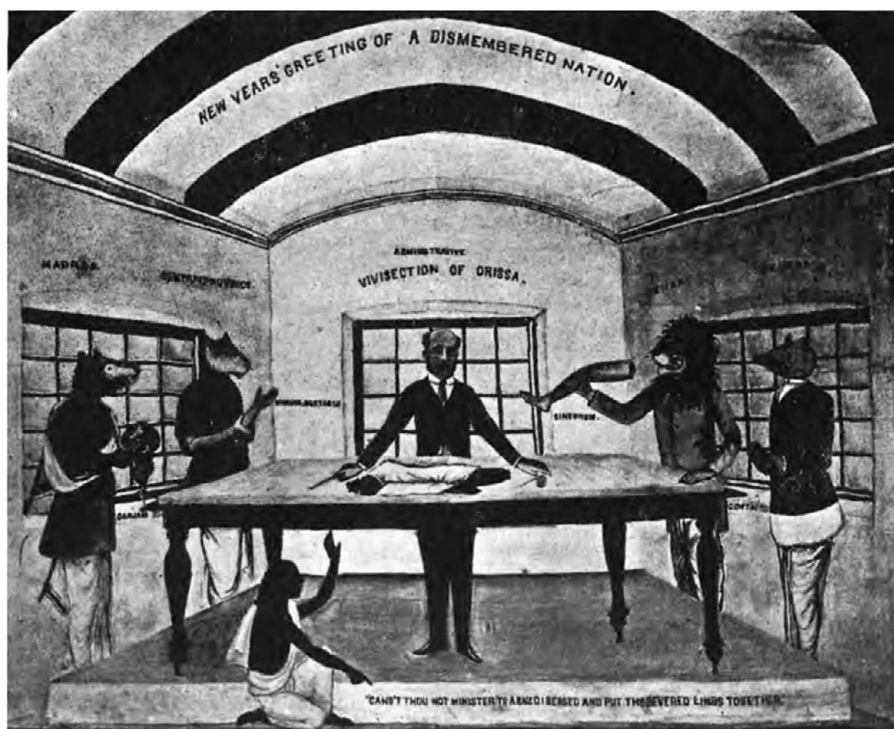


Figure 2. New Year's Greeting of a Dismembered Nation.

Madhusudan explained that the government got a loan at the interest of four rupees, the landlord at six, and the farmer producing paddy had to give twenty-five rupees. These paintings were symbolic of the exploitation under which the peasants of Orissa were groveling (Mahanty 1972, 74–75).

The poem “*Bhratru Nibedana*” by Raja Harichandan Jagaddeb portrays Utkala Janani (Mother Utkala) as a grief-stricken lady who weeps incessantly and sleeps on the bare ground. Her sons, consumed by their own happiness, fail to alleviate their mother’s sorrow. The mother reminisces about her happier past and feels the pain of becoming faceless. She is too ashamed to lift her head, and her once joyful days are now extinct in the current of time. She has become the most wretched, suffering severe punishment, lying scattered in three places as three pieces. The mother weeps for her great sons who were renowned in various fields and worked tirelessly for her. The poet cites some of the great people who have worked and are still working for the motherland, condemning himself for not doing anything for her. Therefore, he does not consider himself a worthy son (*jogyanandana*) of the mother (Jagaddeba 1914, 11–12).

In 1913, Chintamani Mahanty published a book titled *Matru Puja* (The Worship of the Mother). In a dream, the poet sees the sons of Ganjam gathered to alleviate the plight of the mother. Along with the Mahendragiri Mountain, he observes a vast plateau where a large number of people have congregated. In the middle sits a goddess on an altar of gems, and people beseech her with various rituals. However, on the strange pedestal, only the head of the goddess remains, with her divine body separated for an unknown reason. Her face appears pale, like a lotus blooming in the shade, and tears fall from her oppressed eyes. Mahendragiri informs the poet that this goddess is Mother Ganjam and the people gathered are her sons and thus brothers. The king, the worthy son of the mother, wipes her tears with the corner of his cloth. The Gajapati king of Khemandi sprinkles water on her face while the king of Dharakota wipes her sweat with a shawl, the king of Chikiti fans the mother with a flower fan, and the wise old king of Manjusa holds bandages to join the mother’s head

with her body. The prince of Manjusa cries with the plight of the mother. Some other kings who could not attend sent their representatives and many learned and illiterate people, traders, and industrialists have recognized the sorrow of the mother.

The poet reiterates that the sons have certain duties to fulfil, and the nation can only be united if the minds of the brothers unite. Anyone who ignores the plight of the motherland defies the sacred order of the lord of the universe. Indifference toward the mother's suffering causes the loss of all past virtues. The hands of those who do not serve the motherland are useless. The mother implores her sons to beseech the king to unite her limbs. She assures them that one day the king will show mercy, and she urges them to continue imploring at his feet until her limbs are reunited.¹²

In the second session of the Utkala Sammilani, while proposing a plan to improve the condition of the weavers, Madhusudan Das said, "Last year, I said that the mother was on her death bed. The voice would open with the mantra of Upendra Bhanja. If any of you have ever treated a patient, you would know that I mean the dear mother is bedridden, suffering from a fatal fever, experiencing hallucinations, and is unconscious" (Das 1958, 18). In his song "*Utkal Santana*" Madhubabu writes, "Why do you fear when your mother cries? You claim to be the son of Utkala, so why do you act like a coward?" Again, he says, "How can you show your face to society and to the world while your mother, the begetter of heroes, lies in the dust?" (Das 1958, 3).

In his essay "*Ingreji Sikshara Moha*," Nilakantha Das implores the educated sons of Mother India to free her from the bonds of slavery. The mother, portrayed as a suffering slave, beseeches her sons to come to her aid. The author laments that those who boast of their education, consider themselves as role models for others, and claim to be the saviors of the country choose to ignore the mother's plea. Despite having the power to stop the government machinery and being lawyers and government servants themselves, they are more interested in preserving their own interests under the English regime. Even though they refer to India as their *janani janmabhumi* (mother and motherland), they find it difficult to leave behind their own interests.¹³

In Gangadhar Meher's¹⁴ poem "*Utkala Bharatinka Ukti*," mother Utkalajanani pleads with her sons to clothe her in smooth garments that will not harm her body and to provide her with clothing that will not bring her shame.¹⁵ In his poem "*Janmbhumi*," Nanda Kishor Bal (1955) expresses the plight of the motherland by addressing it as a mother. He deplores the tattered condition of the mother who is disgraced in this world.¹⁶ In his poem "*Nibedana*," under the same volume *Janmabhumi*, he urges the *Utkalabasi* (the people of Utkala) to wake up from their sleep and to behold the sight of the motherland wiping her tears in a state of plight.¹⁷

In his poem "*Sangita*" from the same volume, the poet laments, "Mother, there is no one in the whole universe as poor as you / Where have your delightful days gone, leaving you in permanent sorrow?" (Bal 1955, 337). In his poem "*Nabina Samratanka Nikatare Utkala-Matara Guhari*," Mother Utkala pleads for her plight before the newly crowned emperor. She is completely ruined due to the laziness and inactiveness of her sons, who lack knowledge and power and are half-fed. She has lost half a crore of her sons, with Madras snatching Ganjam and Sambalpur and Bengal taking the middle part of her. Being limbless, she has become poor and weak, unable to keep up with developed states like Maharashtra, Madras, Punjab, and Rajputana, which are marching after the British nation with banners of victory. She then admits to being somewhat satisfied that earlier tyranny and superstition have vanished under British rule. So, although she is unhappy, she is content being a loyal subject of the British Raj and her welfare is tied to the welfare of the English (Bal 1955, 307–323).

Unlike the nationalist discourse of other regions, the discourse about the mother figure in Orissa was balanced between *rajabhakti* (loyalty to the king) and self-assessment and assertion. Here, the mother's unhappiness was not solely due to colonial oppression but also because of the inactivity and negligence of her own sons. The British emperor had the power to join her limbs and improve her dilapidated condition.¹⁸

In a speech at the Utkala Sammilani in 1918, Madhusudan Das used the symbol of dust to represent the sanctity and worship of Mother Utkal.

Yesterday, at the end of the meeting, I heard that some of my brothers had anointed themselves with the dust from the stage and taken it home, binding it in their clothes. I was curious to know who these brothers were, but I couldn't find out. However, I have also taken some of this dust, as these brothers have truly found the identity of the mother. The mother Utkala has appeared to them on the stage of this meeting. These brothers, whether they are Pana or Kandara, are my respected elders. I have kept this dust with me, believing that the dust of the mother's feet must have been present in it. (Applause) In the worship of the mother, all castes, be it Brahmins, Karans, Bauris, or Kandaras have equal rights. Likewise, all subjects have the same rights as the king. (Das, 1958, 57–58)

According to Durkheim's concept of "répresentations collectives," symbols hold a sacred position and express "the way in which the group conceives itself in its relations with the objects which affect it" (Lukes 1972, 6). Once chosen, these symbols acquire a unique prestige and can be invested with sanctity, such as a rag of cloth or a piece of paper ("a rag of cloth becomes invested with sanctity and a tiny piece of paper can become a very precious thing") (Lukes, 1972, 424). This creates a "collective conscience" or a state of mind that exists in the minds of all members of society, which can be called collective national consciousness and varies from nation to nation. Applying Durkheim's theory, Madhubabu identifies the dust from a meeting as the dust from the feet of the mother Utkala, which would serve as a symbol for the Oriya nation and act as a motivating force for nationalism. Thus, the dust becomes a representation of the nation's collective consciousness and reinforces the people's sense of identity and unity.

Madhusudan Das, in his song "*Santanara Ukti*," sees another embodiment of mother Utkala who has been disgraced like Mother Sita and has sunk into the earth. As a result, the earth of Utkala has become sacred like heaven and anyone who desires to see the mother must embrace the earth and anoint its dust on their face. Madhusudan then calls upon the sons of Utkala to unite and call out to Mother Utkala with one voice, comparing their cry to that of a thirsty swallow looking up at the sky. He urges them to ignite the fire of love for their nation and participate in the *Swarthamedha yajna*, a symbolic ritual of sacrificing selfishness. This will cause an earthquake, and the earth will crack open, allowing the thousand-handed goddess to rise up from it as their mother and savior. Finally, Madhusudan exhorts them to worship her feet as a symbol of respect and devotion.¹⁹

The mother depicted here is not the typical peaceful, nurturing figure who cares for her sons but rather a fierce and vengeful one who is willing to retaliate if her children are threatened. The condition for her to rise from the earth is that her sons must unite and relinquish their selfishness. The intensity of this portrayal, with its emphasis on fierceness and revengefulness, has a powerful effect on the mind and serves to strengthen the bond between mother and sons.

"Rise up Brothers": Appropriating the Family Metaphor of Brotherhood

Nationalist leaders not only imagined the nation as a mother but also envisioned a brotherhood among its members. In the light of Anderson's (2006, 7) "horizontal comradeship," this brotherhood was based on the idea of social unity and equality among all members of the nation. Anthony Smith (1991, 91) also emphasizes the same idea about how the family metaphor brings unity and cohesion in social level.

[N]ationalism operates at the social level by prescribing the mobilization of the 'people', their legal equality as citizens and their participation in public life for the 'national good'. Seeing the nation as a family writ large, it seeks to inspire a spirit of national solidarity and brotherhood in the members of the nation; hence it preaches the social unity of each nation.

This egalitarianism was reflected in the speeches of Madhusudan Das and Gopabandhu Das, who emphasized the equal right of every individual in the formation of the nation. Gopabandhu Das

advocated for liberal humanism, arguing that aristocracy had no place in nationalism and that everyone should be equal in the eyes of the mother.

The metaphor of family was crucial for creating kinship among people of diverse backgrounds, but it also had its limitations. It overlooked exploitations and inequalities in society and sometimes exerted legal and bureaucratic pressures on families. Nevertheless, Anderson's (2006, 84) idea of a "fraternity of equals" was vital in bringing national unity and social cohesion. The nation was often depicted as a great family, with its members as brothers and sisters of the motherland or fatherland, speaking their mother tongue. This symbolism evoked strong loyalties and attachments, overriding individual family allegiances.

Chandra Sekhar Behera²⁰ clarified the objective of the 14th session of Utkala Samilani in his presidential speech. He believed that Utkala is a land of *pabitra samyaneeti* (sacred principle of egalitarianism) and all individuals living in Utkala are brothers and sisters and should be treated equally. He hoped to eliminate inequality and differences among the people, urging everyone to worship the motherland with universal equality. The Sammilani sought to unite all sections of society, from the untouchables to the Brahmins, the poor to the rich, the subject to the king, and the child to the old. Behera emphasized that caste, color, wealth, fame, and position should not create differences between individuals (Behera 1919, 196). The Oriya nationalist leaders encouraged brotherhood and unity, addressing the audience as brothers—*Utkaliya bhaimane* (brothers of Utkala), *bhai Utkalabasi* (brothers of Utkala), and *Utkalabasi bhaibhaunimane* (the brothers and the sisters of Utkala)—rather than using formal address like "ladies and gentlemen." They also urged the people to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the nation. Jagabandhu Sinha advised the brothers of Utkala to work hard and learn from the heroic people of action in other countries.²¹ Sri (pseud.), the writer of "*Sikshita Odia Jubaka*" (Educated Odia Youth) encouraged the brothers of Utkala to awaken, shed their laziness, and take action to address the internal problems of society.²²

Yet the nationalist leaders often invoked Oriyaness, which distinguishes the Oriyas from other regional groups such as the Bengalis and Telengas, to tell the people that they were being oppressed and left behind in education and other areas by more advanced races. To bring unity among the people, there needed to be a revival of Oriyaness as well as societal reform. Nationalist leaders and writers urged the Oriya people to awaken from their laziness and be proud of their heritage. The Oriya identity needed to be distinct and separate from that of other nations, and expressions like *Mun Odia* (I am Oriya), *Odia rakta* (Oriya blood), *ambhemane Odia* (We are Oriyas), *Odia Pua* (Oriya son), *ambha jati* (our nation), and *ambha desa* (our country) were used to reinforce this identity. Some writers like Krupasindhu Mishra lamented the current state of the Oriya people relative their glorious past and urged them to reclaim their greatness. They reminded the people that Oriya history was famous for showing favor rather than begging at others' doors for jobs and favor.²³

The writer of "*Jananira Upadesa*" (Mother's advice) seeks to demonstrate that every Oriya shares the same Oriya blood regardless of their religion or prosperity.²⁴ The essay "*Kangres*" (Congress), written by Krushna Prasad Choudhury, expresses regret about the lack of political education and conservatism among Oriya sons.²⁵ In "*Sahitya Sambada*," the editor of *Utkal Sahitya* discusses the emergence of Oriya nationalism and consciousness, which he believes will benefit the publication of his magazine. He notes that the Oriyas are a nation with a glorious past and rich literature despite being scattered in politics. He observes that the new education and ideas have led to the use of expressions like "*ambhe*" (we), "*ambha jati*" (our nation), "*ambha desa*" (our country), "*ambha bhasa*" (our language), and "*ambha sahitya*" (our literature) in the speeches, conversations, and writings of the Oriya sons.²⁶

The nationalist leaders often tried to remind the people of the glorious past of the Oriyas and to revitalize their sense of *Oriyatwa* (Oriyaness) to form a better future based on this foundation. To achieve this, the past had to be "unexpectedly and powerfully revitalized" (Smith 1991, 170). According to Anthony Smith,

[t]hrough the rediscovery of an ethnic past and the promise of collective restoration of the former golden age, national identity and nationalism have succeeded in arousing and inspiring ethnic communities and populations of all classes, regions, genders and religions, to claim their rights as “nations”, territorial communities of culturally and historically cognate citizens, in a world of free and equal nations. (1991, 170)

Although the Oriyas are not considered an ethnic group, they have a rich cultural heritage and a glorious past. To revive this past, expressions such as *Odiamananka purbapurusamane* (Oriya ancestors), *puruba gouraba* (past glory), and *bira jati* (heroic nation) were used. Gopabandhu Das wrote poems about famous Oriya ancestors like Jagannath Das, Balaram Das, Sarala Das, Anagabhima Dev, Purusottam Dev, Upendra Bhanja, etc. and praised them in his work “*Abakasha Chinta*.” In his poem dedicated to the recently deceased Pandit Harihar Dashsharma, Gopabandhu calls him a worthy son of Utkala and implores him to reform society, as the newly civilized Oriyas (*nabya sabhyadala*) (Das n.d., 23–25) are caught up in selfishness. Krupasindhu Mishra, in his essay “*Rajabhakti*,” points out that the ideals set by the ancestors of the Oriyas are still regarded as the ideal of the great national stream of India. Criticism of the ancestors was not tolerated, and it was strongly opposed. The editor of *Utkala Dipika* sarcastically condemns *The Patriot*’s report that the ancestors of the people of this nation were asleep for a long time with the cover of deception, laziness, and lies.²⁷

Radha Charan Panda²⁸ cites a quote from Jagabandhu Sinha in his essay “*Odia Pua Durbala Kahinki?*” (Why Is Oriya Son Weak?) to emphasize the bravery of the Odia nation.²⁹ Sinha’s quote reflects on the past glory of the Odia people, describing them as a brave nation whose mere marching made the earth tremble. They were skilled in wielding weapons and were fiercely independent, and their banner of victory flew high. However, Panda notes that the modern-day Odia nation is perceived as poor, weak, and lacking in courage and pride. To remind Odia’s sons of their great ancestry, Kuntala Kumara Sabat’s poem “*Odia Pua*” describes in detail the monumental works of their ancestors including Purusottama Dev, Aira Kharabela, Anagabhima Dev, Jajati Kesari, Bhanja, Jagannath, Samantasimhara, and Sarala Das. The poem urges Odia’s sons not to forget the greatness of their forefathers.

My dear son, come listen to a tale,
Of those who came before and did prevail.
Do you know whose blood runs through your veins,
And whose legacy forever remains?
The bloodline of your ancestors runs straight to you,
Never forget that.
Be proud that you are Oriya,
Stand tall and never fall apart.
Remember always, every single day,
The story of your forebears and their way.³⁰

Madhusudan Rao’s song “*Sangita*,” composed for the Puri District Education Conference, is a call to action for “Oriya sons.”³¹ He questions whether they are waking up from their slumber and apathy. During these difficult times, he hopes that the Oriya sons will be infused with a sense of fearlessness, reminiscent of their past glory, and inspired by a vision of a hopeful future, through the grace of the divine.

Rise, oh sons of Utkala!
From lethargy and slumber deep
To revive the sacred glory of the past
And behold the dawn of future hope.

Allow your lives to be transformed
With the elixir that flows from the practice of discipline and courage³²

Madhusudan Das's song "*Utkala Santana*" seeks to awaken the historical awareness of the Oriyas by reminding them of the heroic deeds of their ancestors and the great accomplishments they had achieved. He reminds them that their forefathers had conquered vast territories, from the Ganga to the Godabari, and had left behind a legacy of glory. Madhusudan Das then questions the Oriya people regarding whether they possess any qualities similar to those of their heroic ancestors, being their descendants. He urges them to rise and awaken with the memory of their past glories to inspire them to achieve similar feats in the future.

Arise, awaken, oh son of Utkala
Why do you delay, why hesitate?
Remember the valour of days gone by
Let courage and glory be your fate.³³

"*He Utkala! Utha Utkala*" ("Wake up Utkal")

To encourage the Oriya people to awaken from their complacency and lethargy, various phrases and expressions were used by writers and speakers such as *He Utkala* (Oh, Utkala), *He Utkaliyamane* (Oh, people of Utkala), *He Utkala hiteisi bhratrugana* (Oh, patriotic brothers of Utkala), *Utkala basi jagrata hua* (Awaken, people of Utkala), *Go Utkalajanani* (Oh, Mother Utkala), *Utkalasantana* (Oh, sons of Utkala), *utha* (arise), *jaga* (awake), and others. The use of the term "Utkala" as a metonym for the people of the nation was intended to inspire a sense of collective identity and pride. The song "*Udboddhana*" by Nanda Kishor Bal, which was read out in the second yearly session of the Utkala Sahitya Samaja, was one such work that encouraged the Oriyas to awaken from their sleep.

Utkala lies submerged in the depths of depression
A voice calls out to her, knocking at her door
Her sons once progressed with valour and heroism
How did she lose the treasure of days of yore?
.....
The nation, river, mountain, and forest remain
But the Oriya mind is filled with sorrow and pain
The day of despair is shattered, Arise Utkala!
Embrace new hope and strength to your heart's core.³⁴

In the third annual session of Utkal Sahitya Samaja, Madhusudan Rao's song, "*Sangita*" was sung with harmonium. The poet was elated with Mahadevi Bharatirani's divine presence in the festivity. Her call is filled with divinity, the poet says,

For the rescue of Utkala, it has come to Utkala,
Arise, shedding narrow vainglory, stand tall with valor.
And gather in groups at Simhadwara's place of action.³⁵

In the poem "Anangabhima Dev," Gopabandhu Das addresses the Utkali (the people of Utkala) to rise to the invitation of King Anangabhimadev from heaven.

Arise, O! Utkali, throwing the chain of lethargy away,
Sri Anangabhima Dev invites you from heaven's gateway.³⁶

In “*Utkala Bandana*,” Kuntala Kumari Sabat uses the term “*utha*” several times. See the world calling at your doorstep, the fierce statue.
Arise, O! Utkala, let new zeal come up in your life,
Shedding lethargy, laziness far, arise, workmen, heroes, strive.
See in the nearby sky, the dazzling past memory,
Arise, Utkala, arise, let new happiness and courage come to thee.³⁷

To highlight the collective apathy of the Oriya people, terms such as *jatiya jadata* (national lethargy) and *majagata jatiya alasya* (deep-seated national laziness) were used. In his essay “*Jatiya Samasya*” (National Problem), writer Bhubanananda Das laments the fact that very few Oriyas have left their homes to work and gain knowledge in foreign countries. This lack of curiosity and desire to explore beyond their immediate surroundings has resulted in each Oriya becoming a self-centered ruler of their own household. This self-centeredness stands in the way of the growth of the Oriya nation, as it prevents them from shedding social and moral prejudices.³⁸

The Oriya people were scattered across three provinces—Madras, Bengal, and Bihar—and had lost their geographical unity. Therefore, creating an imaginary unit among the Oriya people was important before giving it a geographical shape. To achieve this, expressions such as *asmadesa* (our country), *Utkala samaja* (Oriya society), *Odia jati* (Oriya nation), *Utkalapurabasi mane* (the residents of Utkala), *Utkala krushaka* (the farmers of Utkala), and *Odianka swadhinata* (the freedom of the Oriyas) were used.

Conceptualizing the Citizenry and National Life: The Oriya *Jati* and *Jatiya Jibana*

The Oriya word *jati* has different meanings including species, class, clan, caste, and nation. Nationalist leaders used *jati* to refer specifically to “nation”³⁹ and *jatiya* to mean “national.” Madhusudan Das, in his presidential speech at the ninth session of Utkala Sammilani, defined *jati* as referring to all people of Utkala as one nation. He explained that he was not using *jati* in the sense of caste but rather in the sense of terms like English *jati* or Japanese *jati*. He defined Utkala *jati* as those who consider themselves sons of Utkala and who wish for its past and future glory (Das 1958, 31).

Expressions like *jatiya jibana* (national life), *jatiya prana* (national life), *jatiya jagarana* (national revolution), *jatiya sakti* (national power), *jatiya bala* (national power), *jatiya dhana* (national wealth), *jatiya bhasa* (national language), *jatiya sahitya* (national literature), *jatiya unnati* (national development), and *jatiya samasya* (national problem) were used to foster national feeling among the people. There were regular essays and discussions on *jatiya jibana* including works by Kamapala Mishra, Jagabandhu Sinha, Sekh Mansur, and Biswanath Kar.⁴⁰

Public debates and discussions about who can be considered as an Oriya and who cannot were common. The Oriya identity was not clearly defined, and any form of discrimination would hinder the achievement of the people’s *jatiya jibana*. There were debates on whether Bengalis and Telengas who lived in Odisha could be called Oriyas or only permanent residents. It was also a topic of debate whether Muslims who spoke Oriya and tribal people should be included in the group. The doubt of whether only Oriya-speaking Hindus who lived in Odisha’s mainland should be called Oriyas was clarified, and it was concluded that all Odia-speaking people who lived in the mainland of Odisha should be called Oriyas. The editor of *Sikshabandhu* accused the editor of *Bahika* of creating a new community called *Odia pua* and creating a feud among Bengalis and Oriyas (Jena 1885, 14).

Gopabandhu Das, in his presidential speech in the 14th session of Utkala Sammilani,⁴¹ tried to clarify who an Oriya is. He stated that people who reside in a specific geographic area belong to one race and are named after that area. Those who share the same hopes, aspirations, and interests in their birth and death are all part of the Oriya race.⁴²

He clarifies that there is no difference between Utkala and Orissa, though some people are confused about it. He believes that anyone who has lived or has an interest in Utkala or Orissa regardless of his background or religion belongs to Orissa and Orissa belongs to him. He addresses them as “*Bhai Utkalabasi*,” or “brother residents of Utkala,” and acknowledges that the land is important to them and their children, as it serves as a place for sports, action, rest, and shelter. He believes that if they have accepted the land and linked their fate with others through patriotism, education, and civilization, then their race is determined by this nation and the history and civilization of this nation belongs to them.

Madhusudan Das in his presidential speech at Puri in 1913 in Utkala Sammilani defines Oriya nation as those who are proud to consider themselves the sons of Utkala⁴³ and glorify its past and wish for its future regardless of their race or religion. Utkala Sammilani has been created for the welfare of the people of Utkala and anyone born or wishing to be buried in Utkala is considered a son of Utkala regardless of their background.⁴⁴

Chandra Sekhar Behera, in his speech at the 15th session of the Utkala Samilani in Puri in 1919, explains the definition of an Oriya. He notes that historically, Orissa extended from the Subarnarekha river in the north to the Godabari river in the south, from the Dandakaranya mountain range in the west to the sea in the east. Many people of different races and religions have since merged their lives with the Oriya nation, which is a common occurrence in the formation of any nation. Despite their origins or religions, those who are involved with Orissa with their life and death, happiness and sorrow, language, and civilization are all considered Oriya or Utkali. The land that is the habitat of the Oriya nation is Orissa or *Utkaladesa*.⁴⁵

Loyalty to Three ‘Mothers’: The Balancing Act

The image of the mother was not limited to the motherland Orissa alone; the leaders also saw the mother figure in the Empress Victoria. There was contrast between these two mothers. Whereas one mother was affluent, powerful, and the ruler of half of the whole world, the other was victimized, fragmented, dilapidated, and distressed. So, the condition of the motherland was more a kind of destitution in comparison to the mother empress.

In his song, written on the occasion of 50 years jubilee of Queen Victoria, Radhanath Ray addresses Victoria as *mata* Victoria (Mother Victoria) who is venerable throughout the world. “She is our mother and she is dearer to us. Though she has not given us birth, there is no one like her who is lovable to her children” (Ray 1916, 329). In the end, Radhanath wishes before God for the long life of the mother. In his poem “*Bharateswari*” (The Goddess of Bharat) he deifies Queen Victoria whose feet are worshipped throughout India starting from Maharashtra to Kashmir. In Utkala, the river Mahanadi, the sea, and the mountains hail *Jaya Victoria Rajarajeswari* (Victory to Queen Goddess Victoria) (Ray 1916, 36). Gopal Chandra Praharaj addresses Queen Victoria as *Rajarajeswari* (The Queen Goddess) who is eager to redress all the grievances, but unfortunately she is not communicated properly (Praharaj n.d., 135).

In his poem “*Sri Victoria*” Madhusudan Rao bemoans the demise of Mother Victoria.

The glory of the name of the mother in this world
 The peace of the name of the mother under the sun
 The charm of the name of the mother in man’s heart
 Burning, lively, certain truth
 Proved in whose heart
 That Goddess, Mother Victoria
 Parted from the world.⁴⁶

In this context, the word *sri* is used as a synonym for Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. This highlights the contrast between the impoverished condition of the motherland Orissa, which is

known as *chira daridra Utkala* (forever poor Utkala), and the affluent position of Queen Victoria, who was the *ardha dharanira adhi-iswari* (empress of half the world), *sati siromani* (most chaste), and the *samrajni janani* (Mother Empress) (Ray 1916, 187). The irony lies in the fact that both Mother Utkala and Mother Victoria were considered *sati*, but one was a *samrajni* and the other was destitute. In his poem “*Maharani Victoria*,” Nanda Kishor Bal mourns the death of Queen Victoria, who was known as *satyaparayana sati chudamani* (truthful and chaste), *sumata*, *surani*, *sugharani* (a good mother, queen, and housewife) (Bal 1955, 296–297).

In addition to Mother Orissa and Mother Victoria, nationalist leaders also saw the mother figure in the motherland Bharata. Although there was no concrete geographical shape of Bharat at that time, it was an imaginary union of various regions believed to have a singular culture and a glorious past. Radhanath Ray’s poem “*Bharata Gitika*,” written in Sanskrit, was sung at the Puri session of Utkala Sammilani in 1908. The song eulogizes Mother Bharat, stating that she fulfills the wishes of her sons like a *kalpalata* (wish-fulfilling tree) (Ray 1916, 2).

In the 15th session of the Utkala Samilani, Chandra Sekhar Behera⁴⁷ announced *Jaya Utkala Jananira Jaya* (victory to Mother Utkala) followed by *Jaya Bharata Jananira Jaya* (victory to Mother Bharat). Gopabandhu Das, in his poem “*Sarala Dasa*”, refers to Sarala Dasa as *Bharati Jyestha Suta* (the eldest son of Bharata) whose heroic words aroused the subjugated soul of Utkala with new life. He invokes Sarala Dasa to rise up and spread his enlightening knowledge so that the song of freedom would be sung in every household. The people of Utkala, young and old alike, would then sing *Jaya Bharat Janani* (victory to Mother Bharat) (Das n.d., 14).

They showed their allegiance not only to Mother Orissa and Mother Victoria but also to Bharat, with a loyalty that was not fractured or individualistic but rather complementary and balanced. In the second session of the Utkal Sammilani, Madhusudan Das clarified the concept of the mother, stating that *Bangamata* (Banga mother) and *Utkalamata* (Utkala mother) were one and all the incarnations of Bharat mother were also one: “I am telling you again the same thing what I told you yesterday and I’ll tell you until I am alive that *Bangamata* and *Utkalamata* are one and the various incarnations of Bharat mother are also one; if any one believes this otherwise out of delusion, I hope no *Utkaliya* (people of Orissa) will fall in that delusion” (Das 1958, 18). In a proposal during the same session, Madhusudan emphasized that *Utkala janani* was not different from *Bharat janani* and urged the people to call upon their glorious past and show their power (Das 1958, 17).

There were differences of opinion and outlook of the nationalist publishers and leaders. The publications started by the zamindars and princes were termed as “loyalists” because they were showing their uncritical support to the government. Nationalists like Nilamani Vidyaratna (the publisher of *Sambalpur Hiteisani*) were working as the editors of some of the newspapers and periodicals. They differed from the nationalist *sahajogis* on various issues of political struggle and social reform. There were two divergent political trends in the intelligentsia. Some were supporting the National Congress, and others were opposing it because they were loyal to the zamindars and the government (Acharya 2008, 9–12). Despite differing opinions and outlooks among nationalist publishers and leaders, Gopabandhu Das urged them to act unitedly for their Mother Utkala, forgetting all differences. He addressed them as the sons of Utkala in the fourteenth session of the Utkala Sammilani and emphasized the importance of not leaving the place of worship and pulling the rope of the *Nandighosha* chariot wholeheartedly, giving up personal ego and pride and forgetting discrimination of color, religion, and caste.⁴⁸

In *Nationalist Thought and Colonial World*, Partha Chatterjee (1986, 40) explains how the nationalist leaders developed a discourse that was both anticolonial and self-assertive. This discourse challenged colonialism and its authority, and it was a political and intellectual struggle against the dominant framework of knowledge. However, in Orissa, the nationalist leaders and writers used a discourse that was not entirely anticolonial but still self-assertive. Their discourse oscillated between the devotion to the British Raj and the love for their own country and self-assertion. They were struggling for power and independence but not at the cost of their loyalty to the British Raj.

In the poem “*Utkala Lakshmi*,” Gangadhar Meher personifies the land of Utkala as the goddess Lakshmi, the most beautiful lady in the universe with abundant natural beauty. The land is adorned with the sparkling, white Banarasi saree, which symbolizes the positive aspects of British rule.⁴⁹

Oh, Utkala Lakshmi! You’re a vision of beauty,
Adorned with nature’s splendor aplenty,
All in one place, such lovely bounty.
Yet, your body bears scars of British rule,
Clad in a white Banarasi saree,
With golden embroidery, a testament to good work,
Line by line, in perfect symmetry.
Your beauty and strength have withstood the test of time,
Oh, Utkala Lakshmi, a true goddess divine.

In the text, the depiction of Utkalamata (Mother Utkala) is that of a beautiful lady whose beauty is enhanced by the good work of the British rule. The poet Madhusudan Das encourages the people of Orissa to come together in a conference and become a part of the British state, with the hope that the Oriya race will gain fame and glory (Das 1958, 7). The poet Sri Radhamohan Mohanty, in his poem “*Mangala Gita*,” urges people to pursue education and literature in order to develop the mother tongue and the motherland but also emphasizes the importance of being loyal to the king.⁵⁰ In the fifteenth session of the Utkala Sammilani, Chandra Sekhar Behera expresses joy at Orissa’s equal share in the sorrows and happiness of the empire and its pure *rajabhakti* during a peace ceremony (Behera 1919, 182). The poem “*Abahana*” by Raja Satchidananda Tribhuban Deb (1913) not only welcomes the ruler of India to Utkala, but also highlights the glory of Utkala’s art, sculptures, poetry, and monuments.

Thrice welcome to thee, the wisest of men,
The ornament of Bharat, our nation,
Lord of Bharat, a just and noble viceroy,
How may poor Utkal honor thee today?
What words can we utter to greet and hail
Thee, who rules with wisdom and grace?
Though Utkala is poor, her worn-out frame
Houses a thousand histories, lovingly preserved.
Through trials and struggles, we have endured,
Our spirit unbroken, our hearts pure,
With open arms, we welcome thee,
Our emperor’s viceroy, worthy and true.
May your reign be blessed with peace and prosperity,
And may our humble offering bring thee joy and felicity. (Deb 1914)⁵¹

Conclusion

In this article, we have delved into the case of Orissa, a region within British India, and how nationalist leaders used the notion of a “disfigured mother” to evoke nationalist sentiment among the local Odia people. The case of Orissa is an illustration of how regional identities interact with broader national identities and how they are mobilized for political purposes, which explains the significance of regional identity and its role in shaping nationalist movements within larger nation-states. Within the framework of nationalism, individuals often have layered and multifaceted

affiliations. The fact that the nationalist leaders balanced their allegiance and devotion among three mothers (Mother Orissa, Mother India, and Mother Victoria) reflects the complexities of identity and allegiance in colonial contexts. Therefore, this case study contributes to the expansion of the theoretical and empirical understanding of how nationalism operates in diverse contexts.

The nationalist leaders of Orissa presented the motherland as a distressed lady to create a sense of cohesion and unity among the people and form a complete and beautiful Odia nation. Despite the fragmentation of the land, the leaders focused on uniting the people and cultivating a sense of national identity. They used the family metaphor to urge individuals to fight for the nation's cause and view themselves as members of a joint family. This approach led to the emergence of an Odia identity that was both inclusive and unique. The use of the family metaphor, the deification of the motherland, and the revitalization of past glory all played a role in shaping this identity. Furthermore, the practice of national life among members helped create a sense of shared purpose and community. This inclusive identity encompassed all intrareligious, intercaste, and interregional groups, adding to the exclusive character of the Odias. However, the leaders did not dwell on the causes of fragmentation, instead emphasized the importance of unity and national identity.

Moreover, the Oriya nationalist leaders and writers employed a discourse that balanced self-assertion with a nuanced attitude toward British colonialism. Their rhetoric alternated between expressions of loyalty to the British Raj and calls for independence and empowerment of their own people. Although their ultimate goal was to gain power and independence, they did not reject their allegiance to the British Raj outright. Rather, they sought to renegotiate the terms of their relationship with the colonial power and to assert their own agency within it.

Disclosure. None.

Notes

- 1 “*Bhaimane* (Brothers), invoke the motherland, Mother Utkala for the *puja*. Say it out loud, *Bandai Janmabhumi*” (Das 1958, 55).
- 2 “fraternity that makes it possible over the last two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings” (Anderson 2006, 7).
- 3 In Andhra Pradesh, where language was the basis of the nation formation in postindependent India, Telugu language was personified and deified as mother and named as Telugu Talli (Mother Telegu). In 2002 a statue of the Telugu Talli was installed in front of the Andhra secretariat (Mitchell 2009, 68–71). Fakir Mohan Senapati deified Oriya language as mother in his poems “*Janani Utkala Bhasa*” and “*Sadara Ahwana*” (Senapati 1963, 451, 642–643), respectively.
- 4 But nationalism is not the awakening of an old, latent, dormant force, though that is how it does indeed present itself. It is really the consequence of a new form of social organization, based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state (Gellner 1983, 48).
- 5 The Odisha State Cabinet declared the song as state anthem on June 7, 2020.
- 6 *Bande Utkala Janani / Charu hasyamayee charu bhasa mayee / Janani, janani, Janani*—Lakshmikanta Mahapatra’s “*Bande Utkala Janani*” (Mahapatra 1964, 1175).
- 7 “*Ambhamanakara eha kartabya je niswarthapara hoi Matrubhumira seba kariba uchit. Nijara swartha nathile suddha jahinre anyara mangala heba se kariya kariba bidheya. Je nijara sukha bisarjana kari desa pain bhikari sajipare, epariki desara samuhan kalyana pain prana bisarjana karpire, sehi kebala prakruta desa sebaka*” (Biswal 1921, 135).
- 8 “*Mun tora seba karibi-tora daridra santanamananka pain kandibi, semananka sebare mora samasta sarira dhali debi –tora pratyeka santanara dware dware jai semananka thare tora dukkhara kahani kahi to pain kandibi o kahibi he ‘Utkala Santana! Dhain asa, tumbhara*

- dukhini janmabhumira durddasa dekhi jaa-jananira dukhah mochana kara-tumbhara tuchha jibanaku jananira sebare dhali dia- jananira runa parisodha kara*” (Sri Aa n.d., 22–23).
- 9 The painting is available in Das (1951, 54).
 - 10 The painting is from Das (1951, 60).
 - 11 A commonly held perception of Odisha as a geographical entity extended from the Subarnarekha River in the north to Ganjam in the south and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to Madhya Pradesh in the west (Ray 1891, 1). In his book *Prachina Utkala*, Jagabandhu Sinha (1982, 24–32) also presents a few mythological and historical facts about the geographical boundary of Utkal, which he roughly describes as extending from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south. Besides, the nationalist leaders of Odisha consistently appealed to the British government to consolidate the Odia-speaking regions into a single province or to establish Odisha as a separate province. This information can be referenced in Nivedita Mohanty’s work on Oriya Nationalism (2005, 74).
 - 12 *Madhyasthale tara ratna sinhasane / Basichhanti eka debi / Maguchhanti bara nana upachare sakale tahanku sebi / Ebada adbhuta sinhasana pare / Rahichhi debinka sira, / Kejani kipain hoichhi bichyuta / Mastaku dibya sarira* (Mahanty 1913, 10).
 - 13 Das (1920, 153).
 - 14 Gangadhar Meher, a celebrated nationalist poet from the Sambalpur region of Orissa, is well known for his famous verse, which asserts that a person cannot be considered knowledgeable if he/she does not have a deep love for their mother tongue (Odia orig.: “*matrubhumi matrubharsare mamata ja hrude janami nahin/ taku jadi jnani ganare gananiba ajnana rahibe kahin?*” “*Matrubhumi*” (Meher 1961, 279).
 - 15 *Chhanda babu mora komal basan / Angaku jahinre nahaba pida / Deba hele dia emanta bhusana / Jaha gheni mora naheba brida / Anga chahin dia jogya paricchhada / Paricchhada jogu na kata deha / Kata hele heba jibane bipada / Nakara matakuni separe snehan. / Nakha badhithile kara karatana / Ranjidia tahin alata ranga, / Naka bada thile ta kale chhedana / Heba nahin ki mo sousthaba bhanga?* (Meher 1961, 261).
 - 16 *Maa janani janmabhumi! dina hina bese / Helehen lanchita tu lo ehi dharadese* (Bal 1955, 346).
 - 17 *He priya Utkalabasi! Utha nidra teji / Anaa swadese / Dekha dekha matrubhumi pochhanti lotaka / Ki bisada-bese?* (Bal 1955, 347).
 - 18 The nationalist leaders repeatedly appealed to the British government to unite the Oriya-speaking regions into a single province (Mohanty 2005, 208–209).
 - 19 *Suniachhi sastre sati apamane / Dhara hue bidarana / Apamana hetu Sita debinkara / Mahi hrude basasthana / Apamana hetu janani mohara / Utkala bhumadhyabasi / Utkalara mati pabitra hoichhi / Swargadapi gariyasi / Jananira dekha karibare ichha / Jadi hoithae mane / Utkalara mati alingana kari / Ta dhuli lepa badane / Kotie santana gotie swarare / ‘janani’ ‘janani’ daka / Trusnare katara gaganaku chahin / Jesane dake chataka / Jati premabanhi prajjwalita kara / Swarthaku dia ahuti, / ‘Swarthamedha jnana’ chariade nacha / Chhatiku misai chhati / Bhumikampa heba dharani phatiba / Uthibe sahasra bhuja / Sehi tora mata sehi tora trata, / Kara sehi pada puja* (Das 1958, 5–6).
 - 20 Chandra Sekhar Behera served as the president during the fifteenth session of the Utkala Sammilani and was a prominent nationalist leader who played a pivotal role in advancing the language agitation in Orissa. *Naba Utkalara Anyatama Nirmata: Chandrasekhar Behera*, a biography of Chandra Sekhar Behera written by Jagannath Mohanty (2002), was published by Rajya Janasiksha Sadhana Kendra [State Centre for Public Education], Orissa.
 - 21 *Utkaliya bhaimane gadhanidra parityaga kara. Alasyatara mastaka upare padaghata kara chakshu unmilana kari sabhya jagata prati drustipata kara dekha karmabiramane kipari karmakshetrare karma karuachhanti. America ambhamanankara adarsa karma kshetra heba abashyaka* (Sinha 1913–1914, 263).
 - 22 *Bhai Utkalabasi! Jaga. Alasya parihara kara. Sabadhana hua, sesare jepari upajukta o anupajuktara sangramare padi apanara astitwa lopa nakara. Paschatya sabhyatara ketegudie*

- asara bahya paribartana sadhana kari tuni hoi raha nahin. Samajara abhyantarina durabasta prati sutikshna dusti nikshepa kara ebam dekha keunthare tumbhaku kana karibaku heba?* (Sri 1903, 59).
- 23 *Odishare bartaman bala nahin, dhana nahin, mana nahin, jnana nahin, mana nahin, prana parjantya bi nahin. Odisha aji nirjiba nihsantana kahile chale. Jeun Odia boli kahi tumbhara purbapurushamane anynya jatiku pada dalita karuthile, jeun Odiya boli kahiba matre semananka hrudayare teja bahure bala o manare dambhikata asuthila, Ganga tharu Kumarika parjyanta samasta bhukhandare Odia jayapataka uddiyamana thila, jeun Odia sahasikata sammukhare prabala pratapi musulmanmane tini sata barsa parjyanta natamastaka hoithile; sehi Odia boli nijaku parichaya debaku tumbhamananka madhyaru kahaku ghrunabodha heuachhi; sehi Odia boli kahi tumbhemane aji paradwarare ‘Mun Odia mote anugraha karachakiritae dia’ boli chitkara karuachha; paradwarare padanata, ghrunita, lanchhita, bitadita hebaku kunthita heunahan! Tumbhemane sehi Odiamanankara bansadhara? Odia jati atma paritrupti nimante kebe paradware anugrahapararathi hoinathila. Anugraha dekhaiiba nimante Odia jatiya itihasa chirakala prasiddha* (Mishra 1912–1913, 227).
- 24 *Tumbhe jete Saheb hua, jete Bangali hua, jete Christian hua, kintu rakta kahara? Nischaya Odia rakta* (Chaupattanayak 1918, 151).
- 25 *Utkalabasira rajaniti sikshara abhaba ebam rakshanasilata. Rajaniti charcha ba sikshare Odia pua bada amanajogi* (Choudhury 1989–1990, 24).
- 26 *Odiamane gotie jati, semanankara prachina gouraba achhi, prachina sahitya achhi, sanksha madhya alpa nuhen. Rajaniti chakrare semane chhinna vinna hoi padithile hen jatiyatare samaste eka ebam abhinna, Semananka madhyare suddha naba siksha prabartita – nutana aloka prakasita, au dekhajauchhi lekhare, bakrutare, katha prasangare aneka Odia puanka muhanru ‘ambhe’, ‘ambha jati’, ‘ambha desa’, ‘ambha bhasa’, ‘ambha sahitya’ ityakara kathamana uchhuli paduachhi* (Kar 1903, 66).
- 27 *Matra ehi upadesha sange sange lekhaka edesiya lokanku anurodha kariachhanti ki “ehankara pitrulokamane bahukala je kapatata, alashya o mithyacharara pachhoda ghodi hoi nidra jauthile.” Taha emane sighra paritwaga karantu. Aha! Pitrulokankara ki sundara sammana hoiachhi!* (Utkala Dipika 1871).
- 28 Radha Charan Panda served as a doctor and was a writer, social worker, and Gandhian. In his writings, he addressed the issues faced by the people of Orissa. Some of his notable works include *Utkalara Kutira Silpa* (Cottage industries of Utkal) (1934); “*Dhuanpatra*” (Panda n.d.) (this book focuses on the harmful effects of consuming tobacco leaf); “*Panakhia Odishara Kalanka*” (Tobacco chewing, a curse of Utkal); and “*Janaswasthya*” (Public health) (Noted in Panda 2010, pp. “ta,” “ta,” and “tha,” respectively). The last two books are no longer available.
- 29 *Adhunika Odiya jatira sourjya, birjya, dambha, sahasa prabhuti parjyalochana kale kie biswasa kariba je e jati dine ‘birajati’ thila, e jati pada nikshepa dwara Maa Basundhara dine kampita heuthila. E jati samara pranganare dine abalila krame astra sastra parichalana kari paruthila. E jati apanara swadhinata raksha kariba lagi mastakottalana kari thila. E jatira bijaya –pataka dine akasha margare uddiyamana heuthila. Aji Odia jati dina, hina, nibirjya, bhuru, o dambha, sahasa bibarjita!* (Panda 1933, 20).
- 30 *Aji bapa tatekahibi kathati / Sunibu tu dei mana / Kaha kumara tu kaha kulamani / Janichhu ki ganthidhana? [...] / To purbapurusha, tanka pua tuhi / E katha manun na bhula / Odia boli tu mane garba bahi / Chalare teki to matha / Niti mane maneguni heu thaa / Purba purushara katha* (Sabat 1926, 57–58).
- 31 The phrase “Oriya sons” (*Odia pua* in original) was a commonly used term in the speeches of nationalist leaders. It was also used figuratively to refer to the people of Orissa. The underlying challenge associated with this phrase was to unite the Oriya-speaking population and foster a sense of unity among them to establish a distinct Oriya province. We find the reference of *Odia pua* in the following poems and essays: “*Utkala Janani*,” Nanda Kishor Bal (1899, 15); “*Odia*

- Pua,” Kuntala Kumari Sabat (1926, 58); “Odia Pua Durbala Kahinki?” Radha Charan Panda (1933, 20); “Utkal Santana,” Das (1958, 2–3); “Santanara Ukti,” Das (1958, 2–3).
- 32 *Jaguchha ki Utkala santane / Jadata nidrara abasane / [...] / Atitara punya gouraba smarane, / Bhabishyara asha-usha darasane, / Amruta abhaya mantrara sadhane / Diksita ki hoiba he prane* (Rao 1913, 53).
- 33 *Uthare uthare Utkala Santana / Uthibu tu kete dine / Puruba goura puruba sahasa / Padibaki kebe mane* (Das 1958, 4).
- 34 *Nimagna achhai Utkala abasada-nidrare / Kiese ta nama raina asi dakai dware! / Surabira pane ehara sute kale unnati / Kemante harai basila e se purba sampati! / Achhi sehi desa bisala nadi giri kanana / Ghora abasada jadita kimpa Odia mana! / Pahichhi bisada rajani utha utha Utkala! / Hrudare dharina nabina asa nabina bala* (Bal 1905, 286–287).
- 35 *Utkala uddhara lagi / Asichhi ebe Utkale / Utha tebe utha sarbe / Teji kshudra mohagarbe / Karma-dhama simhadware / Ubha hua dale dale* (Rao 1906, 326).
- 36 *Utha he Utkali! Jadata sikuli / Phingina dure bahana / Amara bhubanun Sri Ananga Dev / Karuchhanti amantrana* (Das n.d., 16).
- 37 *Dekha biswa asa ahwane dware / Rudra gambhira bisala murti! / Utha he Utkala Utha he Utkala, / Jagu jibane nabina spurti! / Jadata alashya phinga he dure / Utha he karmi, utha he sure! / Dekha adure akasha bakshhe / Ujjala taba atita smruti / Utha utha Utkala! jagu jibane / Nabina ananda, nabina dhruvi* (Sabat 2004, 120).
- 38 *Desabhramana pain Odiara arthara abhaba nahin; majagat jatiya alashya, udasina bhaba o swarthaparata ehara karana ate* (Das 1914, 54).
- 39 According to the dictionary *Purnnachandra Ordia Bhashakosha* (Praharaj 1931, 2954), one of the interpretations of the term *jati* is as follows: In conversations within Odisha, it is commonly accepted that *jati* can refer to the people of a specific region or country, such as the Oriyas and the Bengalis. This interpretation of *jati* gained significance during a period when Oriya nationalism was on the rise. At that time, the Oriyas were not considered an ethnically homogeneous group but rather a diverse community united by a common language, emphasizing the meaning of *jati* as a nation. The *Purnnachandra Ordia Bhashakosha* was compiled by Gopal Chandra Praharaj (1931) with the patronage of the then Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Sir H. L. Stephenson, and the financial support of the king of Mayurbhanj, Purnachandra Bhanj Deo.
- 40 A few such essays are “*Samaja O Jatiya Jibana*,” Kamapal Mishra (1906–1907, 7–11); “*Jatiya Jibana*,” Jagabandhu Sinha (1913–1914, 258–263); “*Sahitya O Jatiya Jibana*,” Sekh Mansur (1914–1915, 32–36); “*Jatiya Jibanare Sahityara Sthana*,” Biswanath Kar (1905, 294–300).
- 41 *Odia jati kie? ... Eka sthanare basa karuthiba lokamananka madhyare swatah maya mamata janme, semanankara asha, abhipraya, bhagya o bhabishyata eka sreyahswarthare abaddha. Semanankara karma bhumi eka ebam abhinna. Sehi bhumi semanaka pakshare pabitra ebam premamaya kshetra. Eha semanankara janmabhumi. Semananka drustire ‘swargadapi gariyasi’. Sutaram jeunmane epari eka nirdhista bhukhandare basa karanti semane eka jati ebam sehi bhukhanda namanusare namita huanti. Ehi prakrutika bidhanare jeunmane Utkala ba Odishare saman asha akanksha dhari janma maranare, saman sreyahswarthare bijadita, semane samaste Odia jati. Kehi kehi puni Utkala ba Odia madhyare parthakya dekhanti. Jatharthare e ubhaya madhyare kounasi parthakya nahin kimba rahiba ucchit nuhen. Bangalara huanutu, Panjabara huanutu, Marwarra huanutu ba Mandrajra huanutu, Hindu hauntu ba Musalman hauntu, Arjya hauntu ba adima adhibasi hauntu, je Utkala ba Odisha sange apanara samasta satwa ba swartha milai deiachhanti, Odisha tankara o se Odishara* (Das 1918, 298–299).
- 42 A similar sense of nationalist consciousness existed in several regions in India: In Gujarat, it was known as “*Gujarat ni asmita*,” with the Gujarati poet Narmada Sankar proclaiming, “We are Gujarati, we are Gujarati” (Chandra 1982, 1282). In Assam, a similar consciousness emerged among the Assamese with the slogan “Assam for the Assamese” following Commissioner of Assam Sir Henry Cotton’s farewell speech.

- “Odianka pain Odisha pradesha, / Prabarttita heu e nyayaniti; / Gaiba Utkala Jabata chandrarka / British rajanka nyaya kirati” (English trans. Let there be a Odisha state for the Odias, / Let justice be our guide, / May all of Utkala sing with pride, / For a noble British King, side by side). See “Nabina Samratanka Nikatare Utkala Matara Guhari” in Bal (1955, 319).
- 43 There was also an in-depth discussion of Kalinga and Utkala in Jagabandhu Sinha’s series of essays published in the magazine *Mukura*. According to Sinha, Kalinga as a geographical entity no longer existed but Utkala still endured alongside Banga. At one point in history, Utkala itself was a component of the larger geographical entity known as Kalinga. As a result, nationalist leaders emphasized the importance of the geographical unit Utkala rather than Kalinga. For further information, please refer to *Mukura* vols. 11 and 12 as well as Rudranarayan Sadangi’s essay “Banga O Kalinga Apeksha Utkala Prachina” (Utkal is more ancient than Bengal and Kalinga) (Sinha 1911–1912, 195–199).
- 44 *Utkala jatira artha jeunmane apanaku Utkala santana boli mane karanti ebam Utkalara atita gourabare jeunmane.*
apanaku gourabanitwa mane karanti ebam bhabi gourabaku akanksha karanti, semananku mun Utkala jati boli jnana kare. ...Utkala bhumire jeunmane janmagrahana karichhanti o jeunmane maranante tankara mruta dehaku Utkala matara krodare arpana karibaku ichha karanti, semane jeun jati heuntu, ki Bangali, ki Musalman, ki Brahmana, ki Karana, ki Kandara, ki Pana, ki Panjabi, e samaste Utkala Santana (Das 1958, 31, 46).
- 45 *Uttarare swachhanira Subarnarekhatharu dakshinare punyotaya Godabari parjyante ebam paschimare Dandakaranya antargata parbata sreni tharu purbare Mahodadhi parjyanta bisala pradesa adi Odia jatira karma kshetra thila. Kalakrame ehi pradeshare nana jati o nana dharmabalambi manushyagana aji nija nija jibana marana, sukha dukkha samasta sehi adiOdia jatira sahita sanslista kariachhanti. Pruthibira kounasi anchalara jatigathana ukta niyamara bahirbhuta nuhen. Kanyakubjaru asithantu ba Bangadesaru asithantu, Maharastharu asithantu ki Tailangaru asithantu, Hindu, Musalman, Christian, Bouddha, Brahma je kounasi dharmu huantu, kimba Bharatara adimanibasi ba Arjya jati heuntu, jeunmane janma maranare, sukha dukkhare, bhasa sabhyatare Odisha sange samprukta, semane hin Odia ba Utkali; puni sehi bibardhit Odia jatira basa bhumira nama Odisha ba Utkala desa* (Behera 1919, 182–183).
- 46 *Ma nama mahima mahimandale, / Ma namara santi tapana tale / Ma nama madhuri manabaprane, / Jwalanta jibanta dhruba pramane / Jara prane pramanita / Sehi mahadebi mata Victoria / Bhabadhamun tirohita* (Rao 1900–1901, 187–188).
- 47 See note 40.
- 48 *Utkala mata pratyeka santanatharu tankara kartabya asa karanti. Karjya kshetrare, nana ghatanare matantara ghatipare. Taha boli ma’nkara pujapitharu kehi antara hele taha Utkalamatanka paksahre daruna kshobhara bisaya heba. Tumbhe chhadipara kintu manerakha ma tumaku chhadibe nahin. Nandighosa ratha nischaya laksha sthanaku jiba. Barna, dharmu, jati bheda bhuli byaktigata ahamkara abhimana pachhaku pakai asa bhai samaste e ratha daudi taniba pranapane* (Das 1951, 33).
- 49 *Jaya go UtkalaLakshmi ekamatra / Sundari tu basudhare / Prakutika sobharasi rahichhanti / To angare ekadhare / Sarbange abruta British rajatwa / Sukla banarasi sadhi, / Sukirti subarnajarifula jahin / Padiachhi dhadidhadi* (Meher 1961, 191–192).
- 50 *Matru bhasa sange matru bhumi bhaji / Rajabhakta hoi Hari preme majji / Heba ucchamana chhadi kubasana manasa-kubruti nichaya* (Mohanty 1913–1914, 73).
- 51 The translation of the poem “Abahana,” titled “Welcome to the Ruler of India: Viceroy of the great Emperor” was published in *Sambalpur Hiteisini*, January 31, 1914. The following is the original Oriya published in the book *Abahana*, which was translated into English by the poet himself: *Asa bijnamani, Bharata-bhusana / Bharata iswara punya rajapratinidhi / Ki dei tosiba aji daridra Utkala, / Ki kahiba aji taba, abhibadanare! / Deba! / Daridra Utkala jadi, bahu purabrutta / Rakhiachhi sajatane, jirna kalebare, / Magadha-nrupati puni,*

Karnata-bhusana, / Jajati, Anantabarmma Ganga-kuleswara-kirtiraji, sarbadwansi kalara kabalu / Dhiramani! Punyasloka narapatichaya / Sasithile bahubale arambhi Goudaru / Godabari-tira-byapi ebhumi khandiki; / Samanya, Utkala jadi Bharata samrajye, / Punyapunja ekadhare niladri kandare / Nirgata tamasa bhaba ghaudi kandaru / Sampadichhi jatne mahajyotira jhataka (Deb 1913, 1–2).

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