HISTORY OF ODISHA (FROM 1435 TO 1803 A.D.)

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HISTORY OF ODISHA (From 1435 TO 1803 A.D.)

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UNIT-1 Chapter-I

The Suryavamsi Gajapatis:

Sources, Political history (Kapilendradeva, Purusottamadeva, Prataprudradeva)

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1.1.0.Objectives

This chapter will discuss the Suryavamsi Gajapatis. After studying this lesson the students will be able to:

- know the different sources of Suryavamsi Gajapatis
- understand the political history of Kapilendradeva
- know about the political history of Purusottamadeva
- evaluate the political history of Prataparudradeva

1.1.1. Introduction

The Ganga dynasty was followed by the establishment of the rule of another glorious dynasty known as the Suryavamsi Gajapatis. The political chaos which had been prevailing in Odisha from the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. due to the weakness and ineffectiveness of the later Gangas was ended by the emergence of a powerful military leader, named Kapilendradeva who overthrew the Gangas and founded a new dynasty, called Suryavamsi (solar dynasty). For personal glorification, the rulers of this dynasty claimed their descent from the mythical solar dynasty to which Lord Ramachandra belonged. As they possessed large elephantry in their army, they were popularly known as Gajapatis, i.e. the lords of the elephants.

1.1.2. The Suryavamsi Gajapatis

The Suryavamsi rulers traced their origin to the Sun God. The title 'Gajapati' or 'Lord of elephants' was invariably born by the rulers of this dynasty. Earlier some Eastern Ganga rulers also bore 'Gajapati' title but they were not famous as Gajapati rulers. Perhaps the royalty of the rulers of this dynasty owed a lot to the possession of a large number of elephants. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Odisha reached the zenith of its glory under the Suryavamsi kings. The Suryavamsi Gajapati kings were not only noted for their aggressive imperialism but their rule for a century and also for the renaissance in Odia literature.

1.1.3. Sources

The history of Suryavamsi Gajapatis of Odisha is based on various available sources. The sources can be divided into two groups (1) Literary sources, and (2) Inscriptions.

Literary sources: Sanskrit literary works like the *Parasurama Vijaya*, *Abhinava Venisamharam*, *Sarasvati vilasam*, *Jagannatha vallabha*, *Prabodha Chandrodaya etc*, Odia works like the *Mad,ala Panji*, *Sarala Mahabharata*, *Chaitanya Bhagavata*, *Jagannatha Cheritemrite* etc. Bengali literary works like the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, *Chaitanya Mangala* etc. Telugu works like *Manucharitam*, *Krishnarasa Vijayamu* etc, Persian works like the *Tarikh*-

i-Ferishta, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Akbarnamah, Burhan-i-Ma'asir etc. form the literary sources of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis.

Inscriptions: Similarly some inscriptions like the Velagalani copper plate inscription, Lingaraj temple inscription, Puri Jagannath temple inscription, inscriptions found from Simhachalam, Sri Sailam, Srikurmam and further Velicherla copper plates, Kondavidu inscription etc. comprise the inscriptional sources for the Suryavamsi rule in Odisha.

1.1.4. Political history of Kapilendradeva (1435-1467 A.D.)

The political history of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis started with Kapilendradeva who ascended the throne in 1435 A.D. The *Madala panji* narrates him as an adopted son of Matta Bhanudeva or Bhanudeva IV, the last Ganga king who was childless. On the other hand, the *Gangavamsanucharitarn* of Vasudeva Ratha describes that Kapilendradeva usurped throne of the Gangas when Bhanudeva IV was fighting in a distant place.

Various inscriptions of Simhachalam support this fact revealing that Bhanudeva IV was carrying on protracted struggle against the Reddis of Rajahmundry in distant south by that time. Had it not been so, Kapilendradeva would not have crowned himself at *Kritivasa kataka* i.e. Bhubaneswar rather at Cuttack which was the citadel of Ganga power. Perhaps, out of the fear of the feudatories, he accomplished the coronation work at Bhubaneswar with great hasty. Further, had he been adopted as son of Bhanudeva IV, he would have described himself as a Ganga king in his own records and also the records of his successors would have described him as a Ganga king. On the other hand, he himself, his sons and grand-sons, all have been described as the member of the Suryavamsa. The story of Kasia-Kapila, Kapila as a cow boy, a thief, etc. and his selection by the Ganga king Matta Bhanudeva by the will of and Jagannath all had been designed to legitimatize his claim to the throne and thus, are far from historical facts.

1.1.4.1. Problems for Kapilendradeva at the time of accession

Just after his accession in 1435 AD., he found the throne of Odisha as full of problems. (1) In the South, the Reddi rulers of Rajahmumdry were extending their frontiers further north. Form the North, the country was threatened by the Sultan of Bengal. (2) The distant Malwa also tried to take advantage of the revolution of local chiefs and feudatories to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kapilendradeva.

At that critical juncture, Kapliendradeva took immediate steps and by his army subdued the rebel chiefs like the Matsyas of Oddadi, the Salivamsi chiefs of Nandapura, the Vishnuvardhana Chakravartins of Panchadharala and the Gangas of Khimindi. His Lingaraj temple inscription reveals thus: "all kings of my kingdom of Odisha should work for the good of the paramount sovereign and should keep to virtuous ways and not remain in bad ways. If they act badly towards their sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their property confiscated." This order definitely directed the defiant chiefs to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kapilendradeva.

1.1.4.2. Introduction of Kapilabda

Kapilendradeva introduced 'Kapilabda' after his ascession. The above mentioned Lingaraj temple inscription was issued in the 7th year of Kapilendradeva's rule. It states that by 1442-43 A.D., the task of quelling the internal rebellions by Kapilendradeva had been accomplished. After subjugating the unruly feudatory chiefs, Kapilendradeva embarked upon the policy of aggrandizement which earned him a good name as a great hero of the Gajapati dynasty.

1.1.4.3. His wars and conquests: Victory over Gauda

After his accession, he wanted to settle score with the Illyas Shahis of Bengal. Taking the internal quarrel of the Sarquis of Jaunpur, the Gangas had extended the frontier of Odisha upto the river Bhagirathi (Ganges). Perhaps, Kapilendra, while fighting against the combined army of the Reddis of Rajahmundry and Vijayanagara Empire, received the news of the attack of sultan Nasiruddin Abul Muzzafar Mahmud Shah of Bengal. He rushed immediately and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him extending the sway of Kapilendradeva up to the river Ganges. In an inscription dated 1447 A.D., Kapilendradeva assumed the title 'Goudesvara'. So, definitely by 1447 A.D., Bengal (Gauda) was under the sway of Kapilendradeva. However, the attack of Sultan Mahmud Sharqul of Jaunpur in 1457 A.D. and his son in 1458 A.D. and Kapilendra's negotiation with them as per Ferishta's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* have not been ascertained by any other corroborative evidences. One thing is affirmed that Kapilendra had won victory over Bengal. Had it not been so, he would not have assumed the title 'Gaudesvara'.

1.1.4.4. Occupation of Rajahmundry

In the south, Virabhadra I, the Reddi ruler of Rajahmundry posed a great problem of Kapilendradeva in checking the southward progress. An inscription at Draksharam dated 1444 A.D. clearly proves that by that time Rajahmundry was under the control of the Vijayanagara Empire. Before his engagement with Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur, Kapliendradeva had suffered a setback at the hand of Mallappa Odeyar sent by the ablest ruler of Bahamani, Devaraya II when

Kapiledndra had attacked Rajahmundry. With the death of Devaraya II in 1446 A.D. the Vijayanagara Empire became weak under his son and successor Mallikarjunaraya. The hold of Vijayanagara over Rajahmundry became weak. Taking advantage of this situation, Kapilendradeva dispatched a grand army under his son Hamvira for the occupation of Rajahmundry. Hamvira defeated the Reddis with ease and Rajahmundry was annexed to the empire of Kapilendradeva. Raghudeva Narendra Mahapatra was appointed as the Governor of Rajahmundry. The task of subjugating Rajahmundry was accomplished before 1448 A.D.

1.1.4.5. Conquest of Kondavidu

For a few years, Kapilendradeva postponed his conquest in the South as he had to pay attention towards his northern frontier. The inscription of Mallikarjuna at Matamura in the Guntur district dated August 19, 1453 testifies the fact that the territory to the South of Krishna was under the authority of the Vijayanagara empire. Taking advantage of the weakness of Mallikarjuna Kapilendra's army crossed the krishna river and occupied Kondavidu. Kapiiendradeva appointed Ganadeva Routaraya, one of his relations as the *Pariksha* of Kondavidu. An inscription at Chintapallipadu in the Guntur district dated April 12, 1454 records Ganadeva Routaraya's gift to a temple. Thus, almost whole of the Guntur district passed into the hands of Kapilendradeva before April 1454. Now, he became the master of the Reddi Kingdom of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu.

1.1.4.6. Victory over Telingana

Having encouraged with his success, Kapilendra wanted to extend his sway up to Telingana coast that lied between Rajahmundry and Bahamani Kingdom. Telingana had important forts like Rachakonda, Devarkonda and Warangal. They were under the occupation of the Bellama chiefs of Telingana. Their support to Devaraya II, the king of Vijayanagar in a war against Bahamani enraged Alauddin ahmad Shah who through Sanjar Khan subdued the Bellamas, describes *Burhan-i-Maasri*. Alauddin Ahmed Shah II was succeeded by his son Humayun Saha who appointed Malik Shah as the governor of Telingana. Sikandar Khan, the son of Jalal Khan revolted against this decision of Humayun Shah. Aided by Linga, the Bellama chief at Devarkonda, Jalal Khan took up arms against Humayun shah and was killed by the latter. Humayun wanted to punish Linga. Linga appealed Kapilendradeva to render military service to him. Kapilendradeva readily extended his helping had to Linga.

The Bahamani forces sustained a total defeat at the hands of the combined army of Odisha and Devarkonda in 1458 A.D. After this, the Bellemas of Devarkonda, Rachakonda and Warangal became vassals of Kapilendradeva against Bahamani Kingdom. This victory over Devarkonda led Kapilendradeva to assume the title 'Kala vargesvara'.

1.1.4.7. Capture of Bahamani Kingdom

The death of Humayun Shah in 1461 created appropriate situation for Kapilendradeva to invade Bahamani kingdom. Now Kapilendra with his grand army aided by the Bellama chiefs marched towards Bidar, the capital of Bahamani kingdom. Sultan Nizam Shah was only eight years old. The Hindu army plundered and devastated the country while proceeding towards the capital of Bahamani kingdom. The fall of the Muslim Kingdom was inevitable. However, at that juncture, Kapilendradeva had to retreat.

Ferishta informs that the Hindu army took refuge in a fort and Kapilendradeva had to pay a large sum of money and retreated. This description of Ferishta is to be taken with a pinch of salt. If a critical analysis is made, it will be apparent that Kapilendradeva had no chance to surrender to a weak and feeble minor ruler of the Bahamani kingdom. On the other hand, it can be presumed that the long absence of the Odishan army from the capital led the Muslim ruler of Bengal to attack Odisha and Kapilendradeva had to retreat to deal with sultan Hussain Sharqui of Jaunpur. However, after setting score with the Sultan of Bengal, Kapilendra again marched towards Bahamani kingdom with renewed vigour and captured Hahur, Bidar and several other places that rightly led him to justify the title 'Kalavargasvara'.

1.1.4.8. Vijayanagara Empire

The death of Devaraya II and the succession of his son in 1447 A.D. created an opportunity for Kapilendradeva to cross sword with the Vijayanagara empire. Saluva Narasimha the subordinate ruler of Chandragiri under the Vijayanagara empire was dreaming of building his own castle over the Vijayanagara empire. The internal mal-administration of the empire prompted Kapilendra to attack that country. To materialise his plan, Kapilendra first wanted to conquer Udayagiri fort which occupied a strategic position of the Vijayanagara empire in the coastal regions.

By the instruction of Kapilendra, his lieutenant Tamma Bhupala conquered it in 1460 A.D. as an inscription of the top of Udayagiri hill of the same year records the construction of a temple. After the conquest of Udayagiri, Basava Bhupala, son of Tamma Bhupala was appointed

as its governor. With Udayagiri as base, Hamvira, the valiant son of Kapilendradeva, marched along the coastal line of the Vijayanagara empire, Now, Mallikarjuna transferred Saluva Narasimha, the ruler of Chandragiri *rajya* to the central division of his empire with Vinukonda as its capital. This made Chandragiri *rajya* weak. Pasupati Tamma Bhupati, a lieutenant of Kapilendradeva, attacked the fort of Chandragiri and occupied it sometimes before 1464 A.D. Controversy prevails over the occupation of Vijayanagara empire by Odishan army. The Anantavaram plates of Prataprudradeva state that Kapilendra sent his son Hamvira to conquer Hampi, the capital of Vijayanagara who succeeded in conquering it and forcing the emperor to pay tribute.

The Gangadasa- Vilasa Charitam confirms the fact stating that Kapilendradeva in combination with the Hayapati (Bahamani Sultan) wanted to humiliate the young emperor of the Vijayanagara empire but the latter came out like a cub of the lion from his den and defeated the combined army of the Gajapati and Hayapati. R. Subramanyam brings a solution to this riddle by his opinion that though Hamvira defeated the Vijayanagara army but the whole Vijayanagara Kingdom did not come under the sway of the Gajapati ruler of Odisha. That Hamvira had proceeded upto Trichinapolli is evident from an inscription in Sriranga temple which records a gift of cows in 1464 A.D. by 'Dakshina Kapilesvara Kumara Mohapatra'. After the conquest of Tanjor and Tnchinapolli regions, Hamvira stopped his agressive march. The grandson of Kapilendra named Kumara Kapilesvara Mohapatra was appointed as the Viceroy of the conquered tsrntores n 1464 A.D. By extensive conquests of Kapilendradeva, the Odishan empire extended from the rivel Ganges, in the north to Kaveri, in the south.

1.1.4.9. Closing years of Kapilendradeva

The last years of Kapilendradeva were full of sorrows and problems. He found himself deserted and betrayed by some of his trusted servants and soldiers. Though, diplomatically he nominated Purustottamadeva, his younger son as his successor by the will of God Jagannath. But it was not accepted by Hamvira with ease. When a fratricidal war was imminent between the two brothers, news of the loss of territories reached Kapilendradeva. In the North, Ruknuddin Barbak captured Mandaran fort. In the South, Saluva Narasimha occupied his previous kingdom driving out the Odia army from that territory. The internal quarrel between Hamvira and Purusottama and the loss of territory made Kapilendra weak and he breathed his last most probably in 1466-67 A.D.

1.1.4.10. Estimate of Kapilendradeva

The reign of Kapilendrdeva was a splendid epoch in the history of Odisha. He was a great military genius. He was the founder of the Suryavamsi rule in Odisha. The spirit with which he subdued the refractory chiefs and firmly established the Suryavamsi regime is certainly commendable. He bore high-sounding titles befitting to his status. By putting an end to the Ganga rule in Odisha and bore the title 'Gajapati'. After conquering a part of Bengal, he justified his title Gaudesvara. His conquest of a part of the Bahamani kingdom and his expedition to Bidar led him to assume the title 'Kala varges vara'. After conquering a part of the Vijayanagar empire, he entitled himself as 'Navakoti Karnata'. 'Navakoti, perhaps meant 'nine crores' of people of the parts of Bahamani kingdom and Vijayanagara empire. Thus, the pompous title of Kapilendradeva was 'Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara'.

After centuries of military inactivity, Kapilendradeva brought Odisha into the chess board of Indian politics breaking her isolation. He defeated his contemporary rulers like Mahmud Shah, Humayun Shah, Mallikarjuna and Saluva Narasimha. As a result, he created a vast empire stretching from the river bank of the Ganges to that of Kaveri.

Kapilendradeva was a great patron of literature. He himself was an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit. His play *Parasurama Vijaya* shows that he was a dramatist of no mean order. This drama had been staged before God Jagannath during a Mahotsava, informs the *Madala Panji*. During his reign period, Nrusingha Vajapayee, a famous *Advaitavadin* had written a commentary named *Samkshepa Saririka Vartika* on Sankaracharya's work *Samshepa Saririka*. The first renaissance started in Odia literature during Kapnendradeva. Sarala Dasa's Odia *Mahabharata* represented the totality of Odishan culture. His *Vilanka Ramayana* and *Chandi Purana* were two other great works.

Not only Kapilendradeva was a patron of poets and men of letters but he was great builder too. He constructed the outer-wall of the Jagannath temple at Puri. He also established Kapilesvarpura and Damodarapura *Shasana*. Perhaps, he constructed the temple of Kapilesvara near Bhubaneswar. Further, the Gokarnesvara Siva temple at Midnapur and Mallkarjuna Siva temple contained the inscriptions of Kapilendradeva. Kapilendradeva was a great devotee of God Jagannath. He always described himself as the *Sevaka* (servant) of the God. He provided the number of facilities for the worship of the God in Puri Jagannath temple.

Thus, in achieving his political goal, he also used the name of the God as a magic stick. Kapilendradeva wanted to maintain peace and tranquility throughout the empire. Though he was constantly busy with warfare, he desired that his people should live happily. It is needless to say that his reign period created several mile-stones in the annals of Odishan history.

1.1.5. Political history of Purusottamadeva (1467 - 1497 A.D.)

Purusottamadeva was a unique personality among the Suryavamsi Gajapati kings of Odisha. His success, in its varied aspects, was multi-dimensional, original and effective. His assumption of power in 1467 A.D. by the 'Will of God Jagannath' as Kapilendradeva had pointed out, marked a fratricidal war with Hamvira, his older brother. During the period of Kapilendradeva, his eldest son Hamvira had accompanied him in almost all his expeditions and brought laurel to the former. His claim to the throne was set aside by Kapilendra, perhaps, due to the persuasion of the mother of Purusottama who was a *Phula-Vivahi* wife (a position between queens and concubines) of Kapilendradeva. Since the legitimate claim of Hamvira to the throne of Odisha was relegated to back-ground, he proceeded to settle his score with Purusottamadeva.

As per the accounts of Ferishta, Hamvira, in association with the Bahamani king Muhammad Shah III attacked the Gajapati kingdom in the south. Muhammad Shah had sent Malika Hussain Bheiry on his behalf to help Hamvira in the campaign. Hamvira occupied Kondapalli and then proceeded to Cuttack and defeated Purusottamadeva. Hamvira was placed as the Gajapati on the throne of Odisha. Taking Ferishta's accounts into consideration and also taking into consideration the version of the Saravati Vilasa, Subrarnanyam supports this fact because from 1472 to 1476 A.D. no inscription of Purusottamadeva is found in any part of Odisha. He further states that Hamvira drove away his brother Purusottama to forest and occupied the throne. When he failed to receive any assistance from the Bahamani Sultan for the outbreak of a great famine in the Bahamani kingdom, he had to compromise with his younger brother Purusottama. Prof. R. D. Banerjee and K.C. Panigrahi do not agree with Dr. Subramanyam's view and reject the Muslim accounts of Ferishta. Prof. Panigrahi says that there is no source from 1472 A.D. to 1476 A.D. to show Hamvira's rule in Odisha. Further, as Hamvira enthroned himself as the Gajapati king of Odisha, what was his necessity to receive help from Bahamani Sultan for maintenance of his position when he had already driven away Purusottamadeva to the forest?

However, the views of Prof. Banerjee and Prof. Panigrahi cannot be accepted on three grounds. First thing, why there is no evidence to support the rule of Hamvira? It is, perhaps, due to the fact that after reassuming the throne Purusottamadeva, through his sincere efforts, might have obliterated all the evidences associated with the reign period of Hamvira, Secondly, as the people of Odisha had tremendous faith on God Jagannath, they ventured not to mention anything about Hamvira who had a legitimate claim over Odisha as Purusottama was declared Gajapati by the will of Lord Jagannath. Thirdly, when Harnvira felt that he would not receive the support of the people of Odisha due to their fear to God Jagannath, he thought it prudent to compromise with his brother. Of course, he did it when he was defeated at the hands of Purusottama and the latter also allowed Hamvira to rule over Khimindi as a vassal. Perhaps, Purusottama never wanted, to reflect his discomfiture at the hands of Hamvira or the latter's defeat at his hand- as both the facts were correlated. In the genealogical list of the Suryavamsis given by Raghudeva Narendra in the copper plate grant, the name of Hamvira does not figure. Perhaps, right from the days of Purusottamadeva, there was sincere and deliberate attempt to ignore the name of Hamvira from the pedigree of Kapilendradeva, the founder of the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule in Odisha.

1.1.5.1. Recovery of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry

Taking an opportunity of the civil war that took place between Purusottamadeva and Hamvira, Saluva Narasimha had occupied a large slice of Odishan territory extending his sway as far as Masulipatam, in the north sometimes before 1476 A.D. Meanwhile, Sultan Muhammad Shah III of Bahamani had conquered Rajahmundry and Kondapalli. When Purusottamadeva marched towards Rajahmundry, the fort of Kondavidu was already in possession of the Sultan of Bahamani. As per the accounts of Ferishta, Purusottama had to sue for peace with the Sultan being unable to recover the fort and offered 25 elephants to the Sultan as a token of friendship.

After the expulsion of Odishan army from Rajahmundry and Kondavidu, the Sultan of Bahamani placed Muslim governors there and when wanted to take revenge upon Saluva Narasimha who was a silent spectator when Purusottama was marching to cross sword with him. After suppressing a revolt at Kondavidu, when Muhammad Shah III was encamping at Malur, he got a forged letter of Nizam-UI-Mulk Hassan Bahry showing that Mahmud Gawan, his trusted general and well-wisher of Bahamani Sultan had asked the help of Purusottamadeva against him. At this, he became furious and ordered to execute Mahmud Gawan which was immediately

obeyed after his death, the plot was unearthed and out of grief, the Sultan died in 1482 A.D. leaving the empire with chaos and confusion. The accession of Mahmud Shah to the throne of Bahamani kingdom who was only twelve years old, provided an opportunity to Purusottama to recover the lost territories in the South. Taking advantage of the Mal-administration of Bahamani, Purusottama fished in that troubled water and easily conquered Rajahmundry and Kondavidu early in 1484 A.D.

1.1.5.2. Recovery of Udayagiri-rajya

After consolidating his power in the entire Krishna Godavari delta, Purusottama aimed at the occupation of *Udayagiri-rajya* which was under the possession of Odisha under Kapilendradeva and that had been occupied by Saluva Narasimha during the civil war between Hamvira and Purusottama with which, the latter was grossly entangled. Now, Purusottama, with his army, marched to Udayagiri, defeated and imprisoned Saluva Narasimha who purchased his freedom by surrendering Udayagiri and offering his daughter to Purusottama who is associated with 'Kanchi-Kaveri legend'. Though, no definite date or year is known about the occupation of Udayagiri, but with tolerable degree of certainty. It can be stated that the task was accomplished sometimes before 1489-90 A.D. The Sanskrit epic *Prabodhachandrodaya* refers to the fact that in the conquest of Udayagiri Purusottamadeva was helped by Vira Vasava or Basavabhupati. Further, the *Sarasvati Vilasam* narrates that Saluva Narasimha was captured alive in the battle and he purchased peace by surrendrening Udayagiri-rajya to Purusottarnadeva.

After the conquest of Udayagiri, Purusottamadeva is never seen in the war-field. He tried to bring peace inside his kingdom by performing religious and constructive works. He spent his time with the company of eminent scholars. Purusottamadeva died in 1497 A.D.

1.1.5.3. Padmavati episode

The Padmavati episode or Kanchi-Kaveri legend is a romantic episode among the people of Odisha till to-day. According to this tradition, King Purusottama wanted to marry Padmavati, the daughter of Saluva Narasimha, the ruler of Kanchi. Although, Saluva Narasimha had given his consent for the marriage but his visit to Puri and observation of the work of Purusottama who performed *Chherapahanra* (sweeping away the dirts before the cars of Gods with golden broom during car-festival) led the former to deny the marriage proposal of his daughter with the latter. This infuriated Purusottamadeva who led an expendition to Kanchi but was defeated at the hands of Saluva Narasimha. This led the king to fall at the feet of God Jagannath who told the former in

a dream to march towards the Kanchi for the second time and in that expedition success was bound to kiss the feet of Purusottama. Surcharged with enthusiasm, Purusottamadeva marched towards the south. While proceeding with galloping march, he had to take a halt on the bank of Chilka lake at the prayer of Manika, a milk-maid. She narrated the fact that two young soldiers of the king, one dark and the other fair complexioned, riding black and white horses respectively ate all the curd from her pot. When she asked for payment, they presented her a ring saying that the Gajapati of Odisha who was about to come on that way, would make payment to the milkmaid on their behalf. King Purusottama looked at the ring and knew that it was of God Jagannath. His eyes were filled up with tears of joy who established a village near the lake named Manikapatana after the name of the milk-maid. As is apparent, the king of Kanchi was defeated and Purusottama forcibly brought Padmavati to Odisha. He instructed his minister that the princess would be given in marriage to a *Chandala* (lower-born) so that his anger would be pacified. The clever minister of the king waited for an appropriate opportunity. At the time of the car festival, Padmavati garlanded Purusottamadeva by instruction of the minister, when the king was performing the work of a *Chandala i.e.Chhera pahanra*. The king had no alternative but to accept Padmavati as his queen. This legend has been accepted by many scholars as a historical truth. However, a few scholars also reject the legend. Almost all the scholars accept Saluva Narasimha as the ruler of Kanchi. Of course, Chandragiri was the base of Saluva's political power and it remained under the Vijayanagara empire. There was no place named Kanchi upon which Saluva Narasimha held his sway. Prof. K. C. Panigrahi states that Chandragiri was a sacred place. In cultural activities, it was so famous that it assumed the name Kanchi after the capital of the Pallavas. To justify his stand, Prof. Panigrahi says that as Kapiiendradeva conquered Bidar, the capital of Bahamani and called himself as 'Kalavargesvara', similarly, Chandragiri would have taken the place of Kanchi.

Prof. Panigrahi, while accepting the historicity of the Padmavati episode, cites *Sarasvati vilasam* where the name of Prataparaudra's mother appears as Rupamvika. He further says that perhaps, the name of Saluva Narasimha's daughter was Rupamvika which was changed into Padmini or Padmavati after her marriage following the tradition of the change of bride's name after marriage by the family members of the groom which is prevalent in Odisha and other parts of the country too. Here, again attention can be drawn towards the institution of *Chherapahanra*. Some scholars are of the opinion that it was introduced by Purusottamadeva in order to

demonstrate his boundless devotion for the throne of Jagannath. He exploited the situation whose creator was his father Kapiiendradeva. Since, the choice of Purusottama by Kapilendra to the throne of Odisha was illegal, Purusottama wanted to legalize it by showing his greater devotion to God Jagannath who had already occupied a unique position in the mind and heart of the people of Odisha. However, this enumeration is to be taken with a pinch of salt.

It is a fact that Purusottama had framed this story through the priests of the temple. The scene of the encounter of God Jagannath and Balarama with Manika, the milk-maid with a pot has been depicted in the *Jagamohana* of the temple of God Jagannath. That scene might have been utilised by the Brahmins to mobilise the pilgrims in favour of Purusottama who held the Brahmins with high esteem. On the other hand, it can alternatively be suggested that Purusottama might not be the creator of the institution of *Chherapahanra*. It might have been instituted by his father Kapiiendradeva. As Kapilendra was an usurper to the throne of the Gangas, he might have started this tradition of *Chherapahanra* in order to efface the bitter memory from the mind of the Odishan people in the light of the Ganga theory of kingship that made the king a subordinate to God Jagannath. This tradition which had, perhaps, not been highlighted during the reign of Kapilendradeva, was fully capitalised by Purusottamadeva. Later on, it was popularised by the Odia poets and writers.

Prof. K. C. Panigrahi, in his much controversial book *Sarala Sahityara Aitihasika Chitra* written in Odia correlates the Kanchi-Kaveri legend with *Surekha-harana* episode of the Odia *Mahabharata* which is fantastic and superfluous. Here, a simple question can be asked. When was the *Sarala Mahabharata* composed? It is definitely during the reign period of Kapilendradeva. So how this Kanchi-Kaveri legend be related with the episode of *Surekha harana* by poet Saraladasa who composed the *Mahabharata* during the reign of Kapilendradeva? Could the poet visualise the future activities of Purusottamadeva from a distant past? Keeping all these facts in mind, as an impartial observer it can be stated that the romantic Padmavati episode is not a historical fact. Purusottamadeva had framed it through the priests of the Puri temple (or through Brahmins) to legitimatise his position as his father Kapilendradeva had ignored the claims of his eldest son Hamvira. The episode, undoubtedly, gave a subordinate position to Purusottama in relation to the God and Brahmins but however, it was an impending necessity on the part of the king to stabilise his position on the throne of the Gajapati Kings of Odisha.

1.1.5.4. Estimate of Purusottamadeva

To estimate Purusottamadeva, as envisaged, he was a great diplomat. Immediately after his accession, he abolished *Chaukidari tax* which was imposed previously on the Brahmins. He also renewed old grants to them as is evidenced from his Jagannath temple inscription. He capitalised the favour of his father Kapilendradeva, the divine blessings of God Jagannath and the sympathy of the Brahmins to legitimatise his position on the Suryavamsi throne. Like his father Kapilendradeva, Purusottama was an opportunist. Taking the weakness of the Bahamani Kingdom, he attacked it and recovered the lost Rajahmundry region and Kondavidu fort. He also recovered *Udayagiri-rajya* from Saluva Narasimha.

During his reign, the boundary of Odisha did not expand. He was not a hero of the first rate calibre like his father Kapilendradeva. As an administrator, Purusottama was a liberal man. His reign was peaceful which created circumstances for the growth of Odia literature. There was no attack, either from the North or South on Odishan Empire during his reign. This, undoubtedly, brought happiness to his subjects who breathed a fresh air of peace and tranquility. Though there was initially trouble at the time his accession owing to the revolt of Hamvira but very soon, Purusottama diplomatically solved the problem and brought normalcy inside his empire. Purusottamadeva was a patron of literature.

He was a great Sanskrit scholar. The two Sanskrit lexicons- *Haravali* and *Trikandasesam* are ascribed to him. Prof. P. Mukherjee informs that these lexicons were quoted by the lexicographer Vandaghatiya Sarvananda in his *Tika Sarvasva*. Purusottama is credited with the composition of abhmava *Gitagovinda* and *Namamalika*. Besides, *Chaininka Chakada Pustaka* by Fakir Chaini, Arjuna Dasa's *Kalpalata* and *Ramavibhaha*, Damodara's *Rasakoili Chautisa* were some notable works in Odia that belonged to his reign period.

Like his father, Purusottamadeva was a builder too. According to tradition, Purusottamadeva built the temple of Sundara Madhava at Purusottamapur in the Ganjam district. During his reign period, Tamma Raya, one of his vassals installed an image of Gopala Krishna at Udayagiri which Krishnadevaraya had taken away to Vijayanagara after his conquest on Udayagiri-rajya. Purusottamadeva was a pious man. Besides giving grant to the Brahmins, he also made arrangements for new provisions in the Jagannath temple. He made gifts for the personal enjoyment and stage entertainments of the Siva deity at Potavara. He gave away the revenue of a village to meet the expenses of offerings to the Simmachalam temple.

Thus, Purusottamadeva was a noble ruler. His reign period witnessed peace and stability in the Gajapati empire.

1.1.6. Pratarudradeva (1497 -1540 A.D.)

Prataparudradeva ascended the throne after the death his father Purusottarnadeva He was the last Gajapati ruler in the realm. Though, he was warrior of superb caliber but misfortune encompassed him time and again. Thus, he became a stupendous failure as a ruler paving way for the decline of the Gajapati rule in medieval Odisha.

1.1.6.1. Early South Indian Expeditions

The Anantavaram and Rajavolu plates together testify to the fact that by 1500- 1501 A.D. Prataparudra had encamped on the banks of river Krishna. Perhaps, he was thinking to invade the Vijayanagara Empire. His Anantavaram plate dated 1500 A.D. states: *Yatram Dakshina-digvijayaya Vidadhat Samprapya Krishnatatim*. After the death of Saluva Narasimha in 1419 AD., Narasa Nayaka had become the virtual ruler of that empire. When Prataparudra was measuring the strength of Narasa Nayaka, the covetous glance of Ala-ud-Din Abul Muzaffar Hussain Shah, the Sultan of Bengal over Odisha compelled him to return to his capital.

With the death of Narasa Nayaka, his son Vira Narasimha succeeded his father as the regent, who expelled Immadi Narasimha, the son of Saluva Narasimha from the throne in 1505 AD. and became the founder of Tuluva dynasty in Vijayanagara. He breathed his last in 1509 AD. and was succeeded by Krishnadevaraya, the greatest among the rulers of the Vijayanagar empire. His accession lifted Prataparudra from lethargy who led his second expedition to the South. The work *Rayavachakamu*, an inscription at Tangeda (in the Guntur district) and the Gundapalam copper plates suggest that Prataparudra waited on the river bank of Krishna till 1510 AD. and ventured not to attack the Vijayanagara empire. Again, he had to retreat to his capital to deal with Hussain Shah of Bengal.

1.1.6.2. War with Hussain Shah

When Prataparudra was encamping in the distant South, Hussain Shah was trying to cross the border. A clash between the Odishan army and that of Bengal took place. The upada grant and Velicherla plates of Prataparudradeva testify to the fact. Hussain Shah increased his army and around 1510 A.D. invaded Odisha. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* informs that Hussain Shah conquered the country up to Odisha and levied tribute upon the subjects. The *Madala Panji* states that

Amura (Amir) Surathana (Sultan), the Patisa (Badshah) of Gauda marched upto Puri and destroyed the images of God Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra.

It further informs that on hearing the advance of the Sultan, Prataparudra marched back to Odisha in haste and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the invader pushing him back up to Bengal. Out of fear, Hussain Shah entered into the fort of Mandaran and the fort was besieged by the Gajapati. At this juncture, his able and trusted general Govinda Vidyadhara played treachery and joined the Muslim Camp. This led Prataparudradeva to retreat without subduing Hussain Shah.

1.1.6.2. Krishnadevaraya's invasion of Odisha

Krishnadevaraya first attacked Udayagiri in 1512 A. D. He besieged the fort with his strong army. That fort was a great strong-hold of the Odishan army in the South. Being unable to make his entry into the fort, the emperor prepared new routes through stones and his army entered into the fort. The Udayagiri fort was captured at least in 1513 A.D. and Tirumala Routaraya, the uncle of Prataparudradeva was made captive. Krishnadevaraya, then focused his attention on the Kondavrdu fort which was another stronghold of Prataparudra in the South. Saluva Timma was appointed on behalf of Krishnadevaraya to carry on the operation. Saluva Timma besieged the fort of Kondavidu. The *Amuktamalyada* states that the Odia soldiers who were inside the fort of Kondavidu "went to heaven without any wounds in their bodies." This fact has also been corroborated by the Mangalagiri pillar inscription. The narration of both the sources are indirect and an observation on it can be made in this way that being besieged by the soldiers of Krishnadevaraya, the Odia soldiers inside the fort of Kondavidu met their end by starvation and lack of water. This led to the fall of Kondavidu in 1515 A.D.

The Amaravati, Tiruvannamalai and Kalahasti inscriptions of Krishnadevaraya with the accounts of Nuniz provide with a list of important persons captured during the siege of the Kondavidu fort. Among them were Balachandra Mohapatra, Narahari Patra, Mallu Khan, Udanda Khan and last but not least, Virabhadra, the valiant son of Prataparudradeva. In the meanwhile, the forces of Krishnadevaraya also occupied other minor fortresses of the region like Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Nagarjuna Konda, Tangenda and Ketavaram. The next target of Krishnadevaraya was Kondapalli. This was the last attempt of the Odia soldiers to check the progress of Krishnadevaraya. Praharesvara Patra, the commandant of this fort, fought with the army of Vijayanagara Empire but was defeated. From the Kalahasti inscription, it is

known that from the side of the Odias Sirsachandra Mahapatra, Bijili Khan and Bodhan Mahapatra were taken as captives. Nuniz informs that during the capitulation of Kondapalli, a queen of Prataparudradeva was taken as a captive by krishnadevaraya which has been rejected by almost all the scholars in the absence of any other corroborative evidence. Of course, Prataparudra tried to check the progress of Krishnadevaraya but he was defeated repeatedly at the hands of the latter. Prataparudradeva proceeded back towards his capital Cuttack to assemble fresh army to deal with Krishnadevaraya.

Finding no opposition, Krishnadevaraya proceeded towards Odisha and reached Simhachalam. There he planted the pillar of victory. Though he sent news to prataparudra to meet him, the latter did not turn up. The Amuktama/yada and Manucharita inform that Krishnadevaraya proceeded to Puri, worshipped the Gods, marched towards Cuttack, burnt the capital and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Gajapati of Odisha. Why Prataparudradeva did not turn up to fight against Krishnadevaraya. It was only because the death of his valiant son Virabhadra due to the disgrace (as Virabhadra was directed by Krishnadevaraya to display sword-fighting with a man who was not of noble birth) in the court of the Vijayanagara empire. This weakened the strength of his mind and conquering zeal and he had no alternative but to conclude peace with Krishnadevaraya by giving his own daughter Jagamohini (Tukka) to the latter. As a result of this peace treaty, river Krishna was marked as the line of demarcation between Vljayanagara empire and that of Prataparudradeva. Being weak in mind due to the death of Virabhadra and the miserable fate of his daughter, he found panacea in Vaisnavism and became an ardent follower of Sri Chaitanya. He breathed his last in 1540 A.D. His death paved the way for the downfall of medieval Odisha. Of course, Prataparudradeva had marched with his army to the Vijayanagara empire after the death of Krishnadevaraya in 1529 but sustained defeat at the hands of Achyutadeva and never marched again to that land till his death.

1.1.6.3. Quli Qutb Shah's invasion of Odisha

When Prataparudradeva became weak after the reverses at the hands of Krishnadevaraya, Quli Qutb Shah, a general of Sultan Mahmud Shah of Baharnani kingdom who had carved out an independent kingdom at Golkunda, invaded the southern province of Odisha. Though Prataparudra was weak and feeble, still then he marched towards the South and by the help of his army, defeated Quli Qutb Shah and drove him back to Golkunda. On this occasion, he built the

temple of Mangalagiri on the bank of river Krishna. Prataparudradeva led a painful life till his death in 1540 A.D.

1.1.6.4. Estimate of Prataparudradeva

To evaluate the achievements of Prataparudradeva, it can be stated that undoubtedly, he was a military genius. He had displayed it for many a times e.g. in dealing with Sultan Hussain Shah of Bengal and Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda. No doubt, he was a failure in waging wars with Krishnadevaraya who was an apt warrior of that time. As shown above, different circumstances weakened the strength of his mind and brought military debacles to his career. Prataparudradeva was a great builder.

The *Madala Panji* informs that he built the audience hall of the Jagannath temple at Puri. As per the popular tradition, he built the temple of Chandrasekhara on the Kapilasa hill in the Dhenkanal district. He was also instrumental of renovating the temple of Varaha at Viraja in the Jajpur district. He also constructed the temple of Dhavalesvara near village Mancheswar in Cuttack District.

Sanskrit language received the patronage of Prataparudradeva. In the Undavaill inscription, he is called the master of all arts and the repository of sixty-four kinds of learning. The Velicherla plate describes that Prataparudradeva assumed the title *Vidyanidhi*. His *Sarasvativilasam* is a famous law (*Vyavahara*) book of the Hindus. However, its authorship is doubtful and scholars give credit to Lalla Laxmidhar, one of the court poets of Prataparudra who wrote commentary on *Saundarya Lahari*. Sarvabhauma, who was originally hailed from Navadvipa, wrote a commentary on Laxmidhara's *Advaita-makaranda*. Jivadeva was a poet patronised by Prataparudradeva who composed the *Bhakti Bhagavata*. Ramananda Raya wrote the *Jagannatha Vallabha Natakam*. Paramananda Sena *'Kavikamapura'* who wrote a Kavya entitled *Chaitanya Charitamrita* for the consolation of Prataparudradeva who was sticken with grief after the passing away of Sri Chaitanya. Besides, Sanskrit scholars like Markandeya, Ramakrishna Bhatta. Balabhadra Mishra and several others flourished in Odisha during his life time.

The Renaissance in Odia literature reached its zenith during the reign of Prataparudradeva. That age in Odia literature was famous as the 'Age of *Panchasakhas'*. The five celebrities were Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Ananta Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa and Yosobanta Dasa who flourished during the reign of Prataparudradeva. They were famous for

their immortal creations in Odia literature (discussed in the forthcoming pages). Chaitanya Dasa, Arjuna Dasa, Kanhai Khuntia and Madhaba Pattanayaka were other famous poets during this period. Besides patronising the poets and men of letters, Prataparudra was famous for his liberalism. He generously offered gifts to different deities related with Vaisnava, Saiva and other cults. This shows his religious catholicity. He was a lover of peace and his administration was marked with tranquility prevalent throughout his empire. No doubt, Prataparudradeva paved the way for the decline of medieval Odisha, but his reign period was maked with a tremendous growth of both Sanskrit and Odia literature and progress of Vaisnavism in Odisha.

1.1.7. Conclusion

Thus, the rule of Suryavamsi Gajapatis started with the rule of Kapilendradeva. He was a great military genious. After centuries of military inactivity, he brought Odisha into the chess board of Indian politics. He took the pompous title like 'Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara'. Besides that he himself was a man of literature and a great patron of poets. On the other hand, Purusottamadeva was a great diplomat. During his reign, the boundary of Odisha did not expand. As an administrator, Purusottama was a liberal man. His reign was peaceful which created circumstances for the growth of Odia literature. However, during the rule of Prataprudradeva, the imperial greatness of Odisha, built by Kapilendradeva and maintained by Purusottamadeva was lost. Due to the appearance of Sri Chaitanya and the Panchasakhas, the people of Odisha lost their military tactics which opened the path for the decline of Gajapati dynasty.

1.1.8. Summary

- > The Ganga dynasty was followed by the establishment of the rule of another glorious dynasty known as the Suryavamsi Gajapatis.
- > For personal glorification, the rulers of this dynasty claimed their descent from the mythical solar dynasty to which Lord Ramachandra belonged.
- As they possessed large elephantry in their army, they were popularly known as Gajapatis, i.e. the lords of the elephants.
- > The history of Suryavamsi Gajapatis of Odisha is based on (1) Literary sources, and (2) Inscriptions.
- ➤ The political history of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis started with Kapilendradeva who ascended the throne in 1435 A.D.
- > Just after his accession in 1435 AD., he found the throne of Odisha as full of problems.

- ➤ In the South, the Reddi rulers of Rajahmumdry were extending their frontiers further north. Form the North, the country was threatened by the Sultan of Bengal.
- > The distant Malwa also tried to take advantage of the revolution of local chiefs and feudatories to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kapilendradeva.
- ➤ Kapilendradeva introduced 'Kapilabda' in the 7th year of his rule.
- ➤ Kapilendra had won victory over Bengal or Gauda, Rajahmundry, Kondavidu, etc.
- ➤ He breathed his last most probably in 1466-67 A.D.
- ➤ He was a great military genious, an accomplished scholar, patron of learning and literature and a great builder.
- > Purusottamadeva was a unique personality among the Suryavamsi Gajapati kings of Odisha.
- ➤ His assumption of power in 1467 A.D. by the 'Will of God Jagannath' as Kapilendradeva had pointed out, marked a fratricidal war with Hamvira, his older brother.
- Taking an opportunity of the civil war that took place between Purusottamadeva and Hamvira, Saluva Narasimha had occupied a large slice of Odishan territory extending his sway as far as Masulipatam, in the north sometimes before 1476 A.D.
- ➤ Taking advantage of the Mal-administration of Bahamani, Purusottama fished in that troubled water and easily conquered Rajahmundry and Kondavidu early in 1484 A.D.
- ➤ Purusottama, with his army, marched to Udayagiri, defeated and imprisoned Saluva Narasimha who purchased his freedom by surrendering Udayagiri and offering his daughter to Purusottama who is associated with 'Kanchi-Kaveri legend'.
- ➤ It can be stated that the task was accomplished sometimes before 1489-90 A.D.
- > Prataparudradeva ascended the throne after the death his father Purusottarnadeva
- ➤ He was the last Gajapati ruler in the realm.
- ➤ The Anantavaram and Rajavolu plates together testify to the fact that by 1500-1501 A.D. Prataparudra had encamped on the banks of river Krishna.
- ➤ When Prataparudra was encamping in the distant South, Hussain Shah was trying to cross the border. A clash between the Odishan army and that of Bengal took place.
- ➤ Krishnadevaraya first attacked Udayagiri in 1512 A. D. He besieged the fort with his strong army.
- > When Prataparudradeva became weak after the reverses at the hands of Krishnadevaraya, Quli Qutb Shah, a general of Sultan Mahmud Shah of Baharnani kingdom who had

- carved out an independent kingdom at Golkunda, invaded the southern province of Odisha.
- > Prataparudradeva led a painful life till his death in 1540 A.D.
- ➤ No doubt, Prataparudradeva paved the way for the decline of medieval Odisha, but his reign period was maked with a tremendous growth of both Sanskrit and Odia literature and progress of Vaisnavism in Odisha.

1.1.9. Exercise

- ❖ Write a note on the political history of Kapilendra Deva.
- **\$** Give an account on the wars and conquests of Kapilendra Deva.
- **❖** Highlight the achievements of Purusottama Deva.
- ❖ Discuss the political history of Gajapatis under the rule of Prataprudra Deva.
- **Explain how Prataprudra Deva was responsible for the decline of medieval Odisha?**
- **Discuss** the growth of Odia literature during the Gajapati rule.

1.1.10. Further Reading

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Unit-1

Chapter-II

Suryavamsi Administration

Structure

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1.2.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students investigate about the Suryavamsi administration. After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- to learn the theory of kingship;
- to analyze the council of ministers;
- to investigate the military organization of the Gajapatis;
- to trace the forts existed during the Gajapati rule.

1.2.1.Introduction

The Vast empire of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis extended from the river bank of the Ganges to that of Godavari. The capital of this vast empire was Kataka-Pattana (Cuttack) which was known during the glorious days of the Gangas as Abhinava Varanasi Kataka. The second citadel of the Gajapati power was Kruttivasa Kataka (Bhubaneswar) where Kapilendradeva had been coronated. In order to give stability to the vast empire, the Gajapati rulers had given a good administration.

1.2.2.Suryavamsi Administration

The Suravamsi Gajapatis had given a benevolent administration to their subjects which can be discussed as follows.

1.2.2.1. The theory of Kingship

The Suravamsi Gajapatis had given a benevolent administration to their subjects When the feudatories became disobedient to him Kapilendra went to the temple of Lord Jagannatha and engraved an order on the *Jagannahana* invoking the name of Jagannatha and declaring that the chiefs revolting against him, would actually rebel against this great deity.

From the reign of Kapilendra the Suryavamsi kings assumed high-sounding titles such as *Maharajadhiraja, Paramesvara, Gajapati, Gaudesvara, Navakoti Karnataka Kalavargesvara* etc. Kapilendra first assumed these titles after his conquests in Bengal, the Bahamani kingdom and the Vijayanagara empire and all these titles were continued by his son and grandson and even by the Bhoi rulers.

1.2.2.2. Council of Ministers

The king was assisted by a good number of ministers and officers in discharging his duty. Some of them were the *amatyas* (ministers), *Mantri sreni siromani* (Head of the ministers), *Sandhivigrahi* (Minister of war and peace), *Sena-narendra* (Chief of the army), *Vahinipati*

(Leader of the contingent), *Rautaraya* (Captain of the army), *Kathaghara*, *Samantaraya*. *Pariksha* (Secretary for treasury), *Mudra Hasta* (Seal bearer). *Budha Lenka* (Chief priest of the temple of God Jagannath). *Srikarana* (writer of accounts) etc.

1.2.2.3. Land revenue

The land revenue system of the Gajapati period was well developed. The land was measured and accordingly tax assessment was made. The *Guntha* (20 Cubits square). *Mana* (25 *Gunthas*) and *Bati* (20 *Manas*) denoted different units of land. The crown lands were divided into *Khanda* or *Bisi* under two hereditary officers like *Khandadhipati* or *Bisayee* respectively. To facilitate revenue collection from the village, the king appointed its headman like *pradhan* or *Bhai*. The revenue officers in the south were called as the *Nayaka* and *Naidu*. At the time of natural calamities, the peasants were assisted by the state with seeds to carryon their cultivation.

1.2.2.4. Military organization of the Gajapati rulers

A strong military organisation was an indispensible concomitant of a strong state, which was necessary both for its protection and expansion. The Gajapati kings like that of the Gangas were famous for their military organisation. The Suryavamsi records however enable us to form a clear picture of their military organisations. The Suryavamsis inherited from the Gangas a wellorganised military system which was improved upon and made a very strong force that accounted for their success in building up an empire. In the reign of Kapilendradeva Odisha was virtually made a military state and all the castes and communities were called upon to render military service at the time of emergency. The Brahmins seems to have been exempted from a compulsory military service, but even then some Brahmins entered into the army as big and small officers. If the *Madalapanji* is to be believed, the traitor Vasudeva Ratha, a Brahmin, was the commander-in-chief of the last Somavamsi king and it is through his treachery that Chodaganga succeeded in conquering Odisha. In the Chatesvara Inscription Vishnu, the Brahmin minister of Anangabhimadeva HI (A.D. 1211-1238), is represented to have led an army against the Kalachuris of Ratnapura and to have succeeded in wresting the Sonepur tract from them. In the Gopinathapura Stone' Inscription Gopinatha Mahapatra is represented to have been a Brahmin minister and general of Kapilendradeva. From these evidences it is clear that Brahmins also occupied high posts in the army, though they, as a rule, were exempted from compulsory military service. The other castes had no option but to serve in the military organisation as officers and soldiers.

As is apparent from Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata*, which, as we have seen, was composed in the reign of Kapilendra, a belief was created in the minds of the Oriyas that dying in the battle field was the surest way to go to the heaven. To die in the battle field with weapons in hands, has been considered by the poet to be a most religious and meritorious act, which, according to him, provides for the person so dying a secure place in the heaven and exempts him, from the serious sins committed in this world. In the Sabha Parva Narada tells Sri Krishna the ways with which a man killing a Brahmin can escape from this terrible sin, and prescribes inter alia death in the battle field while fighting with weapons in hands. The poet lays great emphasis on the necessity begetting male children and has nothing to say about the necessity from female ones. The birth of a son was a joyous occasion which he has sometimes described in detail, but has ignored the occasions of the birth of daughters. According to him a wife without male children is unlucky and inauspicious and for her he prescribes in the Adi Parva of his Mahabharata eight ways for begetting sons. Since a very large number of young men were required for the army and many of them were losing their lives in the battle field, we can easily understand the poet's partiality for male children and his anxiety for increasing the male population. The protection of the state and its expansion were the joint responsibilities of the entire population and not of the king alone. Militarism penetrated into all ranks of the society and all able-bodied persons were called upon to perform military service. The king had a standing army, but the number of the local militia was far greater than the number of the soldiers in the standing army. Besides, the feudal lords also supplied to the king a stipulated number of soldiers at the time of war and had to fight for him in the battle field.

A vast number of the Oriyas and even the Adivasis and Harijans still bear military titles which their ancestors must have received from the Gajapatis. It seems that, even though some people did not actually serve in the army, they received honorary military titles from the monarch for helping him in some way or other in perfecting his military organisation. Among the local militia the vast majority were cultivators who took to cultivation at the time of peace and turned into soldiers at the time of war. A rough survey indicates that about fifty percent of the people of Odisha still bear military titles, of which a few examples are cited below: *Senapati, Chamupati* (Champati), *Routaraya* (the commander of the cavalry), *Sahani* (the commander of the elephant force), *Dandapata, Dandasena, Paschime Kava te, Uttara Kavata* etc. (the guardians of the marches), *Samantaraya*, *Vidyadhara, Bhramaravara, Harichandana*,

Jagaddeva, Marddaraja, Samantasimhara, Raya Simha, Manasimha, Valiyarasimha, Pahadasimha, Nayaka, Pattanayaka, Dandanayaka, Gadanayaka, Petre, Mahapatra, Behera, Da/abehera, Jena, Badajena, Pradhana, Sama/a, Rauta, Khuntia, Parichha, Parija, Padhihari, Dandapani etc. Sarala Dasa's Mahabharata also gives us an idea about the different divisions of the Gajapati army on march. The first division was known as the Hantakaru Da/a Le., the pioneer force clearing jungles and making roads; the second was known as the Aguani Thata i.e., the advance units; the third was Pradhana Vala i.e., the main army and the fourth division was Pachhiani Thata i.e., the rear guards. The king and the big military officers were furnished with bodyguards who were known as Angavalas; and the detachments which were placed in charge of the captured forts and conquered territories, were known as Paridandas.

Sarala Dasa also gives us a picture of an army on the move, in which flags and other decorative devices were used and the musical instruments such as *Damalu*, *Dadama Tamaka*, *Bijighosa*, *Daundi*, *Ghumura*, *Bheri*, *Turi*, *Ranasinga* etc. were sounded. The weapons used have been given as *Dhanu*, *Trona*, *Sara*, *Asi Parigha*, *Patiisa*, *Kunta*, *Jathi*, *Guruja*, *Saveli* etc. The above few facts are gleaned from Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* which is not a historical work, but though these facts occur in connection with the fights among different characters of his *Mahabharata*, we may be sure that in making such references he was merely drawing upon his own knowledge and experience gained in actual wars. From the poet's description we also gather that the gateways and the walls of the forts used to be breached with the help of horses, elephants, crow-bars and shovels.

1.2.2.5. The size of the Gajapati army

About the size of the Gajapati army different sources give us different accounts which may not represent the actual number of men and animals employed in it. The Muslim sources have sometimes exaggerated or sometimes belittled its number. In the *Burhan-i-Ma'rtasir* it is stated that Kapilendra possessed elephants numbering two hundred thousand, which is obviously an exaggeration. Nizam-ud-din tells us that Purushottamadeva had encamped on the bank of Godavari with 7,00,000 foot soldiers. Azizullah writes that Kapilendra attacked Bidar with only ten thousand foot soldiers, which appears to be an absurdly small number. The figures given by the Portuguese writer Nuniz appear to be more reliable. He states that the king of Odisha opposed Krishnadeva Raya with an army of thirteen hundred elephants and twenty thousand

horses. "The people of Otisa" writes Nuniz "are very good fighting men." The king of Otisa has a mighty army of foot soldiers." In one section of the Rayavachakam an account of the teats of strength exhibited in the Gymnasia at the Capital of the Gajapati has been given. This accont was given to the Vijayanagara emperor Krishnadeva Raya by his spies, who had been employed by him for ascertaining the military strength of the Gajapati Prataparudradeva. Some southern scholars have considered the account to be an exaggerated one. Even granting that it is an exaggerated one, we have to respect the basic truth that the Oriyas of the time possessed great physical strength and were capable of showing wonderful physical feats. We reproduce below a summary of this account as given in Further Sources of Vijayanagara "We entered the city, and saw the palace of the Gajapati, the mansions of the sixteen *Patras*, the Gymnasia and the people who take exercises therein. Even the gods and the demons are not capable of exhibiting such skill in physical exercises as they show. Your majesty might have observed the skill in physical exercises shown by the great wrestlers of other countries; but the style of the people at the capital of the Gajapati is totally different. They alone are capable of lifting up such heavy dumb-bells. They lift them up, and what is more, they lift them up cross-wise. They raise a sack weighing 10 paddes to the height of the uplifted arm of a standing man and throw it upon their own bodies.

Moreover, they catch the sack between their thighs, and-suspend themselves in the air taking hold of the cross-beam (ot the gymnasium). The reason for taking this exercise is this; while engaged in battle, the troopers are accustomed to carry away their opponents bodily imprisoning them between one of their arms and the body; if, however, the opponents fight without losing their hold on their steeds, they abandon their attempt, considering the opponent to be unmanageable. The riders on the armoured horses are not afraid of any wound which they might receive. They attempt to carry away under their arm such riders (?). The soldiers practise this exercise in order to remain firm courageously (in their seats) on such occasions. They completely demolish walls of hundred feet with a *rummi mattakhandam* (?) which is heavy enough to be carried by a man on his head. They also cut with that sword strong tamarind pillars as easily as they cut the pitch of the plantain trees. Planting two crowbars together on the ground they cut them to pieces with their sword.

1.2.2.6. Judicial system

Coming to the judicial system of the time, it was quite effcient in discharging its function. The criminal justice was harsh. Gopinatha Badajena, a revenue officer was tried and put on the

Chang (an instrument to give torturing death by putting a man under two swords). Similarly, Rama Patra was sentenced to death. Thus severe punishments were awarded to the criminals for committing crimes.

1.2.2.7. The provincial administration

The provincial administration under the Gajapati kings was quite efficient. The empire was divided into several provinces known as *Dandapata* or *Rajya*. The governors of such provinces were designated *Parikhas* or *Rajas*. Provinces were divided into *simas* which were further subdivided into *sthalas* or *muthas* that consisted of some villages and the lowest unit of the provincial administration was village (*grama*).

1.2.2.8. The Samanta Rajas

The Gajapati empire was also divided into fragments, each under a *Samanta* or feudal lord. It is clear that feudalism was at its blooming phase during the Gajapati rule. Among the feudal lords, mention may be made of the Matsyas of Oddadi, the Suryavamsis of Nandapur, the chiefs of Panchadharala, Palkonda, Narasapur etc. This feudalism, an ugly feature of medieval period, contributed a lot for the downfall of the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule in Odisha.

1.2.2.9. The forts

The forts played a vital role in the military system of the Gajapatis. The Odishan kings occupied the old forts or established new ones in the entire stretch of their empire. In the north the great forts that were in their occupation, were Mandaran which is now known as Bhitargarh, situated in the Arambagh subdivision of the Hooghly district of West Bengal; Kotisamigarh, variously described as Kotasin, Katasin etc. which is now known as Kotsimul situated on the west bank of the river Damodara, and Raivania and Deulgoan in the Balasore district. In the Cuttack and Puri districts several forts which existed from earlier times, were also utilised during this period. They are Jajpur Kataka, Amaravati Kataka (near Chhatia), Chaudwar Kataka, Varanasi Kataka (modem Cuttack) and Chudanga Kataka or Sarangagarh near Barang. Kasiagarh, situated on the road from Chandaka to Khurda near the village Dalua, was also a great fort which was probably meant to conceal troops, in the dense forest at the time of war. Besides these big forts, there were also smaller ones which have been referred to by Abul Fazl in his Ain-i-Akabari. In south Odisha ancient forts of considerable importance existed at Humma, Khimidi, Chikiti, Palur, Khallikot and Athagarh. In the conquered territories of the south great forts existed at Rajahmundry, Undrakonda in the Krishna district, Kondapalli near Bezwada in the Krishna district, Adanki in

the Ongole Taluk, Vinukonda in the Vinukonda Taluk, Vellamkonda in the Sattenapalle Taluk, Nagarjunakonda on the bank of the river Krishna, Tangeda in the Palnad Taluk and Ketavarman in the Sattenapalle Taluk. In Telingana the great fort of Devarakonda, situated in the Nalgonda district, and also the famous fort of Warangal were in occupation of the feudatories of Gajapatis. But the forts of Udayagiri in Nellore district and Kondavidu near Guntur, were the strongest of all occupied by the Odishan kings. The occupations of these two great forts by Krishnadeva Raya decided the fate of the Gajapati empire in the south.

1.2.3. Conclusion

In order to give stability to the vast empire, the Gajapati rulers had given a good administration. The Suravamsi Gajapatis had given a benevolent administration to their subjects. The Suravamsis mainly based their administration on that of the Gangas and introduced a few innovations. Kapilendra Deva could not give a good administration during his rule as he was involved in wars and conquests. It was during the rule of Purusottama Deva, the people enjoyed peace and tranquility. However, Prataprudra Deva's period saw instability due to external attack. So, good administration was not possible during his reign.

1.2.3. Summary

- ➤ The Vast empire of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis extended from the river bank of the Ganges to that of Godavari.
- ➤ In order to give stability to the vast empire, the Gajapati rulers had given a good administration.
- > The Suravamsi Gajapatis had given a benevolent administration to their subjects.
- > The Gajapati rulers were benevolent in nature.
- > The Suryavamsis mainly based their administration on that of the Gangas and introduced a few innovations.
- ➤ The king enjoyed the supreme power in the state, but his powers were to some extent, checked by the ministers and generals and the priestly class who, as observed earliar, were the custodians of Lord Jagannatha.
- ➤ The Suryavamsi rulers also subscribed to the theocratic conception that Lord Jagannatha was the real king of Odisha and they were their deputies.

- ➤ Kapilendra, Purushottama and Prataparudra in the beginning of their reigns paid homage to this great deity and presented certain objects to him and recognized him as their overlord.
- From the reign of Kapilendra the Suryavamsi kings assumed high-sounding titles such as *Maharajadhiraja*, *Paramesvara*, *Gajapati*, *Gaudesvara*, *Navakoti Karnataka Kalavargesvara* etc.
- > The king was assisted by a good number of ministers and officers in discharging his duty.
- > The land revenue system of the Gajapati period was well developed.
- The Gajapati kings like that of the Gangas were famous for their military organisation.
- ➤ The Suryavamsi records however enable us to form a clear picture of their military organisations.
- Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* also gives us an idea about the different divisions of the Gajapati army on march.
- Sarala Dasa also gives us a picture of an army on the move, in which flags and other decorative devices were used and the musical instruments such as *Damalu*, *Dadama Tamaka*, *Bijighosa*, *Daundi*, *Ghumura*, *Bheri*, *Turi*, *Ranasinga* etc. were sounded.
- > Coming to the judicial system of the time, it was quite effcient in discharging its function.
- ➤ The provincial administration under the Gajapati kings was quite efficient. The empire was divided into several provinces known as *Dandapata* or *Rajya*. The governors of such provinces were designated *Parikhas* or *Rajas*.
- ➤ The Gajapati empire was also divided into fragments, each under a *Samanta* or feudal lord. It is clear that feudalism was at its blooming phase during the Gajapati rule.
- The forts played a vital role in the military system of the Gajapatis.
- ➤ The Odishan kings occupied the old forts or established new ones in the entire stretch of their empire.

1.2.3. Exercise

- ❖ Give an account on the Suryavamsi Gajapati administration.
- ❖ Write a note on the administration of the Gajapati king Kapilendra Deva.

- . Highlight the administration of Purusottamsa.
- Discuss administration during the rule of Prataprudra Deva.

1.2.3. Further reading

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UNIT-1 Chapter-III

The Chalukyas and Bhoi

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1.3.7. Further reading

1.3.0.Objectives

This chapter will discuss the Chalukyas and Bhoi. After studying this lesson the students will be able to:

- know about the successors of Suryavamsi Gajapatis
- understand the political history of Chalukya rulers
- to judge the achievements of Mukunda Deva
- know about the political history of Bhoi rulers
- evaluate the achievements and administration of the Bhoi rulers.

1.3.1. Introduction

The dynasty established by Mukundadeva has been described as the Chalukya dynasty. It seems that he claimed his descent from the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, established by Pulakesin II of the famous Western Chalukya dynasty of Vadami.

1.3.2. The Chalukyas

It is usual for the ruling dynasties of Odisha to associate their origin with the famous ruling dynasties of India. Mukundadeva might have done the same after ascending the Gajapati throne. There is, however, no other independent evidence to show that he actually belonged to the Eastern Chalukya family. In his inscription on the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharama in the East Godavari district, he is described as the son of Saravaraju and grandson of Singaraju.

1.3.2. 1. Mukundadeva(A.D. 1560-1568)

Mukundadeva is considered as the last Hindu king of Odisha. In Odishan traditions Mukundadeva is known as Telinga Mukundadeva. Ferishta mentions about a feudatory dynasty known as Bahuvalendras and as Harichandanas, ruling in the Sarvasidhi taluk of the Visakhapatnam district, Mukundadeva possibly belonged to this ruling family who were originally the feudatories of the Gajapati. Mukundadeva first came into prominence by defending the fort Kataka (Cuttack) when it was besieged by Raghubhanja Chhotaraya in the reign of Govinda Vidyadhara and since then his influence in the politics of Odisha increased.

1.3.2. 2. His achievements

Mukundadeva's inscription of Draksharama, referred to above, clearly indicates that he was in possession of the southern part of the Gajapati kingdom upto the river Godavari. It states that Mukundadeva defeated the king of Gauda and then having performed *Tulapurusha* (the ceremony of weighing against gold) and other ceremonies, he remitted taxes on marriages. This inscription provides the clear evidence that Mukundadeva's kingdom extended upto Triveni in the north before 1567. A flight of steps constructed on the Ganges at Triveni (in the Hooghly district), which is still known as Mukunda-ghata, corroborates the above epigraphical evidence. Prof. R. D. Banerjee states that Mukundadeva also built a great embankment on which the road from Magra to Triveni has been laid and that there is still a considerable influence of the Oriyas at Triveni. Mukundadeva was thus a very able ruler who succeeded in preserving the prestige of the Gajapati empire to a great extent, even though he got the Gajapati throne through murder. The Odishan people still remember him with gratitude on account of the fact that he succeeded in restoring peace and prestige.

However, he became involved in the politics of Bengal, which ultimately cost him his life and throne. Very unwisely he gave shelter to Ibrahim Sur who was a great enemy of Sulaiman Karrani, the Sultan of Bengal, and thus incurred his displeasure. He further gave offence to the Sultan by exchanging embassies with the great Mughal emperor Akbar. In 1566 Akbar A.D. sent envoys to the court of Mukundadeva and Mukundadeva in exchange sent a Hindu ambassador named Paramananda Ray to the court of the Mughal emperor. In this diplomatic relations Akbar gained upper hand as his ultimate aim was to annex Bengal to his empire. For this purpose he wanted the support of the neighbouring Hindu kingdom of Odisha. He was not, however, in favour of strengthening the position of Mukundadeva as was evident from the fact that he did not give any help to the king of Odisha when he was attacked by Sulaiman Karrani.

In A.D. 1568 when Sultan of Bengal invaded Odisha Akbar was engaged in the seige of Chitor and he did not extend any help to the Odishan king probably with the object that Odisha should become a part of Bengal, so that he would ultimately annex Bengal with Odisha. Placed in this predicament, Mukundadeva was attacked by Sulaiman Karrani in A.D. 1568 who sent an expedition under the comand of his son Bayazid assisted by Sikandar Uzbeg and Kalapahara. The Bengal army marched through Dhalbhum and Mayurbhanj and emerged in the coastal strip. Mukundadeva was not prepared for the invasion and he sent Raghubhanja Chhotaraya to resist the invaders. This Raghubhanja seems to have been the same person who had been cast into

prison by Govinda Vidyadhara for claiming the Gajapati throne. He seems to have been released from the prison by Mukundadeva and sent to oppose the invading army. But he could not succeed in the mission entrusted to him and the Bengal army irresistibly reached Kataka (Cuttack). Mukundadeva had no other alternative than to submit to the invaders, as Raghubhanja seems to have turned a traitor at this stage.

Different versions have been given in our sources about the Muslim invasion of 1568. In the *Madalapanji* it is stated that Odisha was invaded by two different armies of Bengal, one of which fought against Mukundadeva on the bank of the Ganges and the other proceeded under Bayazid and Kalapahara towards his capital at Kataka (Cuttack). Mukundadeva bravely fought with the Muslim army, but was ultimately forced to take refuge in the fort of Kotisami, which has been identified with Kotsimul on the western bank of the river Damodara in the Hooghly district of Bengal. The other army under Bayazid reached Kataka which was then under the command of Koni Samanta Simhara who fought bravely against the invaders, but was killed. At this time Ramachandra Bhanja, the commadant of Sarangagarh, declared himself to be the king of Odisha. Mukundadeva heard all these developments in Odisha and hastened to Kataka but due to the rebellion of Ramachandra Bhanja, he had to submit to the invader. Mukundadeva then proceeded to suppress the rebellion at Sarangagarh (near Baranga), but in the fight that followed Ramachandra killed him. Ramachandra in turn was killed by the invaders on the same day.

Another tradition is that Mukundadeva fought with the invading army at Gohiratikari (near Jajpur) and was killed in the battle. Another tradition speaks of two traitors, Sikhi and Manai, who were the generals of the king of Odisha. These traitors indicated a jungle path to Kalapahara who came to the rear of the Mukundadeva's army and routed it.

There are thus different stories about the death of Mukundadeva. It is, however, most probable that he was killed by the traitor Ramachandra Bhanja. In the *Madalapanji* this traitor has sometimes been described as Ramachandra Bhanja and sometimes as Ramachandradeva. The latter name seems to be more correct. He was a local chief who had been put in Charge of the important fort of Sarangagarh. After the fall of the important forts of Kataka and Sarangagarh the Muslim army occupied Odisha.

Our account of the Muslim conquest of Odisha will not be complete without a reference to the desecration of the Jagannatha temple at Puri by Kalapahara. It is stated in the *Madalapanji* that when the servants of the temple got the information of the fall of Kataka they took out the

images of Lord Jaqannatha and his associates from the temple and secreted them in an island in the Chilka lake, but Kalapahara got the scent of it. He proceeded thither and placed the images on an elephant and took them to Bengal where he burnt them on the bank of the Ganges. A Vaishnava devotee named Bishar Mahanti followed Kalapahara to the place where the images were burnt and managed to recover the *Brahmas* (probably jewels) inside the images, put them inside a *mridanga* (a kind of drum) and brought them back to Odisha.

It is stated in the same cronicle that Kalapahara destroyed the great temple of Jagannatha upto the *Amalakasila* and defaced the images. It is difficult to ascertain the truth of the statement since the temple is now covered with a thick coat of plaster which has hidden the evidences of destruction and disfigurement, but to us it seems that the temple was not pulled down or razed to the ground, though the images were damaged and disfigured as far as possible. There is no archaeological evidence to show that the temple was rebuilt at any time. The original temple as built by Chodaganga has come down to us, though the carvings on the outer faces of the temple have been damaged and disfigured. Kalapahara is also represented as the destroyer of several other Hindu monuments of Odisha. As a matter of fact, Kalapahara is a familiar name in Odisha and all damages of Hindu temples and images, irrespective of their age, are attributed to him. It may be true that Kalapahara actually destroyed a large number of Hindu monuments in Odisha, but it is not a fact that he went to every nook and corner of Odisha with a view to destroy them.

There is a tradition in Bengal that Kalapahara was originally a Hindu Brahmin. Dulari, the daughter of the Bengal Sultan, fell in love with him and ultimately married him. Kalapahara had two Hindu wives and he intended to remain a Hindu even though he married a Muslim girl. He came to Puri to perform the ceremony of expiation in the temple of Jagannatha, but the Brahmins did not permit him to perform it. Kalapahara's reaction was very great and therefore, he became a great fanatic. This tradition has however been challenged by scholars. The name Kalapahara was not peculiar only to the Hindus. A nephew of Bahalul Lodi bore this name. Mr. P. Mukherji observces that "the Muslim chronicles conclusively prove that Kalapahara was a full-blooded Afghan and not a Brahmin renegade."

1.3.2. 3. Conclusion

Thus, Mukundadeva ruled for only eight years and during this short time he showed great abilities. He again became the master of the Gajapati kingdom stretching from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south. The people of Odisha still remember him as the creator of

Brahmin *Sasanas* and the builder of several structures within the compound of the Jagannatha temple at PurL He was also a patron of art and literature. The foreign travellers like Saesare Fredericke and Tieffenthaler have nothing but high praise for him. All these evidences prove that the last Hindu king of Odisha was great both in war and peace.

1.3.3. The Bhoi dynasty

With the death of Prataparudradeva, the political scenario of Odisha became turbulent. Treachery, confusion and bloodshed became the order of the day. Gajapati Prataparudradeva had left behind no strong successor to uphold the banner of Gajapati imperialism. Cowed down by selfish rivalry in politics among the feudatories, with impending threat of Muslim invasion and economic bankruptcy caused by ceaseless wars fought during Prataparudradeva, medieval Odisha was heading towards a great disaster. At this juncture, the accession of Kaluadeva, the eldest son of Prataparudradeva to the Gajapati throne in 1540 A.D., provided the people with no peaceful administration. Just after seventeen months of inglorious rule, he was killed by Govinda Vidyadhara, the trecherous general of Prataparudradeva. His death made the confusion worst confounded. Kakharudeva, the younger brother of the deceased Gajapati, who succeeded the former to the throne of Odisha, met the same fate again at the hand of Govinda Vidyadhara who usurped the Gajapati throne in 1541-42 AD. and became the founder of the Bhoi dynasty in Odisha.

1.3.3. 1. Govinda Vidyadhara (C-1542-1549 A.D.)

Govinda Vidyadhara ascended the throne of Odisha when the land was passing through political upheavel. With his assumption of power, he wanted to exert his influence upon the people of Odisha by adopting the title 'Suvarna Kesari' as gleaned from the Narasimha temple inscriptions at Simhachalam. From the *Madala Panji*, it is known that he had led an expedition to Golkonda to recover the Krishna-Godavari-Doab from Sultan Quli Qutab Shah.

In the meanwhile, Raghubhanja Chhotaray, a scion of the Bhanja dynasty of Mayurbhanj and a nephew of Govinda Vidyadhara, rose in revolt. Assisted by Valmiki Srichandana, another nephew of Goyinda Vidyadhara and Abdul Shah, he attacked Cuttack and besieged it. However, the fort was successfully defended by Mukunda Harichandana in the absence of Govinda Vidyadhara. Having heard this news, Govinda entrusted the task of operation against Bahamani kingdom to Danai Vidyadhara and hurried back towards his capital. At his approach,

Raghubhanja left the capital. Govinda Vidyadhara defeated the combined army led by his nephew Raghubhanja Chhotaraya and pursued them to the boarder of Bengal. On his way back to Cuttack, he fell ill and breathed his last at Dasasvamedha *ghata* on the river bank of Vaitarani in 1549 AD.

If the social history of Odisha is analysed, one will find that there was no such caste as Bhoi. However, with the gradual march of time, the accountants and record keepers of the kings of Odisha termed themselves as Bhoi. In due course of time, they served as generals in the Odishan army. Govinda Vidyadhara and subsequently, Danai Vidyadhara were bright examples of it. Whatever the fact may be, the corner stone of the Bhoi dynasty was iaid down by Govinda Vidyadhara and the dynasty is looked down upon as the dynasty of traitors. Some historians also treat the Bhois of belonging to inferior caste (Sudra).

1.3.3. 2. Chakrapratapa (C 1549-1557 A.D.)

Chakrapratapa succeeded his father Govinda Vidyadhara in or about 1549 A.D. He called back the general Danai Vidyadhara from the South and made him his Prime Minister. Chakrapratapa was a tyrannical, cruel and oppressive ruler. Abul Fazl, in his *Akabarnama* narrates that he was killed by his son after the eventful reign of eight years.

1.3.3. 3. Narasimha Jena (C 1557-1558 A.D.)

Narasimha Jena ascended the throne in 1557 A.D. He came under the tremendous influence of Mukunda Harichandana who persuaded the king to dismiss Danai Vidyadhara from power. However, Narasimha Jena paid a deaf ear to Mukunda Harichandana. When his persuation failed, reports *Madala Panji*, he murdered Narasimha Jena and placed Raghurama Chhotaraya, the younger brother of Narasimha Jena on the throne.

1.3.3. 4. Raghurama Chhotaraya (C 1558-1560 A.D.)

Raghurama Chhotaraya succeeded his elder brother Narasimha Jena to the throne of Bhoi dynasty. He became a puppet ruler at the hands of Mukunda Harichandana, the general of the Odishan army. Receiving the news of Raghurama's accession, Danai Vidyadhara returned from the South. On his way to Cuttack, Mukunda Harichandana met him at Mangalajori in Puri and won his confidence. Danai Vidyadhara was entraped by Mukunda who placed the former inside the prison. After a short while, Danai Vidyadhara met his end. In the mean while, Raghubhanja Chhotaraya, receiving the help from Bengal, marched upto Cuttack and challenged the authority

of Mukundadeva. He was captured and killed by Mukundadeva. After that Mukunda Harichandana killed Raghurama Chhotaraya and proclaimed himself as the king of Odisha.

1.3.3. 5. Ramachandradeva I (1568-1607 A.D.)

The accession of Ramachandradeva to the throne of Bhoi dynasty at Khurda marks a glorious epoch for that dynasty. Who is Ramachandradeva? As stated earlier, Danai Vidyadhara was taken captive by Mukundadeva at Puri. Having heard this news, his son Ramai Routaray wanted to march towards Puri but was confined at the fort of Rajahmundry by the order of Mukunda Harichandana. With the passing away of Mukunda Harichandana in 1568 A.D., Ramai Routaraya was released from the fort and he returned Odisha. As Cuttack, by that time was under the clutches of the Afghans, Ramai selected Khurda as the centre of his political activity. This he got from Vala Vikrama Singh as a token of gift, informs the *Chaininka Chakada*. In that place, Ramai Routaraya proclaimed himself as king in 1568 A.D. This Ramai Routaraya is none but Ramachandradeva I, popularly known as Ramachandradeva, who assumed this name after coronation. Then, he proclaimed himself as the Gajapati of Odisha and introduced his own *Anka* (year) in 1568 A.D.

1.3.3. 6. His achievements

The *Madala Panji* describes him belonging to the *Yadu Vamsa*. After his accession, Rarnachandradeva wanted to extend his boundary in every direction- north, south, east and west. That was the time of Mughal-Afghan conflict for the possession of Odisha. The coming of Mirja Raja Mansingh to Odisha led Ramachandradeva to think that his position might be jeopardized. It was only because Telenga Mukundadeva and Chhakadi Bhramarabara, the two sons of deceased Mukundadeva had appealed to Akbar, the Mughal emperor to recognise them as the legitimate rulers of Odisha. Initially, Ramachandradeva fortified the fort of Sarangagarh and gave shelter to the Afghans inside it.

On his way to Puri, Mansingh waited at Sali and Raja Ramachandradeva wanted to negotiate with him by sending his son Birabara. However, Mansingh did not listen to Birabara and desired to see Ramachandradeva personally in his camp. Ramachandradeva did not turn up. At this, Mansingh proceeded towards Khurda accompanied by his son Jagat Singh, Abul Baqa, Shahabuddin Diwan and others and captured forts like Sahajpala, Kharagarh, Kalupada, Bhumal, Konon, Lonagarh and Bhumala. Ramachandradeva did not come out from the fort of Khurda.

Akbar now changed his mind. In order to crush Afghans in Odisha, he wanted to satisfy Ramachandradeva, on the one har.d and the sons of Mukundadeva, on the other. Accordingly, Mansingh did the needful. The Madala Panji states that during Chandana Yatra, Mansingh proceeded towards Puri with the two rival claimants, Ramachandradeva and Telenga Mukundadeva. The priests of the Jagannath temple asked Mansingh to whom he would offer the power and authority as the king of Odisha. Mansingh took up *Khadi prasada* from the priests and offered to Ramachandradeva proclaiming him as the king of Odisha. However, he satisfied the two sons of Mukundadeva. The fort of Aul (All) and the Zamindari assigned to it were offered to Telenga Mukundadeva who became king over it. Chhakadi Bhramarabara, another son of Mukundadeva was made the chief of Patia. By doing this Mansingh gave the proof of his diplomacy. One notable event during the reign period of Ramachandradeva was the invasion of 1brahim Qutab Shah, the Sultan of Golkunda. He pursued his enemy Mukunda Raja of Kasimkota who sought the help of Ramachandradeva. Of course, it is not clear what happened to Ramachandradeva in that battle waged against Ibrahim. It is to be believed with a tolerable degree of certainty that Ramachandradeva was defeated. This assumption is to be made, because, by that time Kalinga and Rajahmundry were lost to the Odishan empire and included in the kingdom of Golkunda Sultan. Though Ramachandradeva was hard pressed by the Afghans of Bengal in the north and Sultan of Golkunda in the south, he had as many as thirty-two zamindaries at his disposal. Among them, the Zamindari of Khurda was very important which contained 73 forts. Besides, there were Zamindaries of Banki, Domapara, Baramba, Tigiria, Narasinghpur, Angul, Talcher, Nayagarh, Dasapalla, Parikud, Ghumsar, Khallikote, Tekkali, Raghunathpur, Rathipur, Tapang, Rorung, Karki, Bolegarh etc. Roughly, the territory of Ramachandradeva extended upto the river Mahanadi in the north to the borders of Khimindi in the south and from Chilika lake, in the east to Nayagarh and Dasapalla region in the west.

1.3.3. 7. His benevolent works

Ramachandradeva was a pious man. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he reinstalled the idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra in the Puri Jagannath temple which were burnt during Afghan invasion of Odisha under the redoubtable Kalapahada. The *Madala Panji* informs that he himself remained present near the *Jaya Vijaya dvara* and distributed *Mahaprasada* to different sections of the Hindu society. For this noble work, he was called *Dvitiya Indradyumna*. He was also instrumental in building the tempte at Sakshigopala. He also

wanted to appease the Brahmins because he had ascended the throne by ignoring the claims of the sons of Mukundadeva. Though this was recognized by emperor Akbar, still, Ramachandradeva thought it prudent to get the blessings of the Brahmanas to legimatize his claim. So, he established several *Shasanas* (Brahmin villages) among which Vira Ramachandrapura exists today. The *Madala Panji* further informs that Gauri Rani (the queen of Raja Mansingh) built the present *Mukti Mandapa* inside the sacred complex of the Jagannath temple at Puri. Raja Ramachandradeva I was a great patron of scholars. He himself was an accomplished poet who composed *Durgotsava Chandrika* and *Sri Krishna Bhakta Vatsalya Charitam*. However, the composition of *Durgotsava Chandrika* by Raja Ramachandradeva is controversial and its authorship is assigned to Vardhamana Mahapatra, the *Rajaguru* of the family. Ramachandradeva breathed his last in 1607 A.D.

1.3.3. 8. Purusottamadeva (1607-1622 A.D.)

Purusottamadeva succeeded his father Ramachandradeva in 1607 A.D. His reign witnessed the vigorous Mughal atrocity over Odisha. During his reign, the Mughal emperor at Delhi was Jahangir who appointed Hasim Khan as the *Subahdar* of Odisha. He wanted to march towards Khurda and settle score with Purusottamadeva. One of his subordinates, named Raja Keso Das Maru went with his Rajput soldiers and entered into the temple of God Jagannath. Though, Purusottamadeva besieged the temple, the soldiers of Keso Das Maru threw rags socked with oil and ghee setting fire in them which burnt the Chariots of the Raja who ultimately surrendered and came in terms with Keso Das Maru. Raja Kalyana Mal, who succeeded Hasim Khan, was much more titanic than the former. He invited Vidyadhara, the Prime Minister of Purusottamadeva and made him captive at Ghantasila Tangi and attacked Khurda. Purusottama concluded peace with him. After Kalyan Mal, Mukarram Khan was appointed as Governor of Odisha who brought injury to the image of Sakshigopal.

Being infuriated, Ramachandra advanced to cross sword with this fanatical governor appointed by Jahangir but he was defeated. He immediately fled away from Khurda and sought asylum with the king of Rajahmundry. It appears that Khurda was temporarily annexed to the Mughal empire. He was removed in 1620 A.D. and Husain Ali Khan became the *Subahdar* of Odisha for a short time. After him, Ahmad Beg who succeeded Husain Ali Khan as the Governor of Odisha in 1621 enabled Purusottamadeva to deal with the Mughals. Gathering support from the local chiefs, Purusottamadeva marched against him. Ahmad Beg proceeded from Khurda to

deal with him. While holding a camp near Banapur, Purusottamadeva passed away in 1622 A.D. King Purusottamadeva was a great devotee of God Jagannath. He also patronized the Brahmins. He is credited with the establishment of three Brahmin *Shasanas* namely, *Purusottamapura Shasana*, *Sri Purusottamapura Shasana* and *Pratapa Purusottamapura Shasana*.

1.3.3. 9. Narasimhadeva (1622-1647 A.D.)

After the death of Purusottamadeva, his son Narasimhadeva ascended the throne of Khurda in 1622 A.D. He could not escape the wrath of Ahmad Beg, the then *Subahdar* of Odisha. As his humiliating proposal that the royal family of Khurda should remain as security at the Mughal court in Cuttack was not accepted by Narasimhadeva, the former invaded Khurda. Narasimhadeva gave a toe fight to the Mughal Governor and defeated him. This infuriated Ahmad Beg who wanted to lead a second expedition to Khurda. At this juncture, prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) revolted against his father Jahangir and proceeded towards Odisha from Golkunda. This foiled the plan of Ahmad Beg's attack on Khurda and he fled immediately with his family towards Burdwan and then to Akbar Nagar. The rebellious Mughal prince was treated with humility. Being fully satisfied with the behaviour of Narasimhadeva, Shah Jahan left for Bengal. However, the alertness of Mahabbat Khan prompted the prince to retreated towards Golkunda via Odisha.

After the departure of Shah Jahan, Ahmed Beg again returned and remained as Governor of Odisha till 1628 A.D. and did not create any trouble for Narasimhadeva. During the governorship of Baquar Khan Nazim Sani who was appointed after Ahmad Bag, Narasimhadeva faced fresh troubles. Nazim Sani led an expedition to the Sun temple at Konarka. Knowing well the attitude of that *Subahdar*, Narasimhadeva had already removed the image of Sun god from Konarka temple to that of God Jagannath. Raja Narasimhadeva showed regards to God Jagannath. During the governorship of Ahmad Beg, the idols of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra had been transferred to Garah Manitri from the Puri temple. Narasimhadeva brought back these images again to the temple and reinstalled them. The *Madala Panji* states that he had ordered to plaster the temple of God Jagannath at Puri. Further, after a long gap, he again arranged car festival during the Spring season which was not being celebrated due to the fear of Mughal governors. From the *Rasika Mangala*, it is known that Sri Rasikananda Deva Gosvami, the famous disciple of Syamananda, visited Puri and propagated his faith in the nook and corner of the kingdom of Narasimhadeva. The removal of the image of sun god from the temple of

Konarka prompted Mutquad Khan to attack Khurda. In that fierce battle, Narasimhadeva met his end at the hands of his enemy.

1.3.3. 10. Balabhadradeva (1648-1659 A.D.)

The death of Narasimhadeva enabled Gangadharadeva, a nephew of the deceased king by the help of Mutquad Khan, the Governor of Odisha. This led to a great resentment among the subjects and some officials of the king. By taking their help, Balabhadradeva, the elder brother of Narasimhadeva, killed Gangadhara and ascended the throne in 1648 A.D. During his reign period, he had to fight with the Mughals. It was only because when Turbiyat Khan was the Deputy to rule Odisha on behalf of the Mugtial. Mirza Balaki attacked the fort of Andhari. Raipitam, who was incharge of that fort appointed by Balabhadradeva, was defeated and fled away from the fort. His family members were captured. At this juncture, Balabhadradeva fought with the Muslims and freed the family of Raipitam from their clutches. However, the Mughals occupied Andhari fort. The reign period of Balabhadradeva was inglorious. He is known to have established the Vira Balabhadrapura *Shasana* near Puri.

1.3.3. 11. Mukundadeva I (1659-1688 A.D.)

With the death of Balabhadradeva, his son Mukundadeva I succeeded him to the throne of Khurda in 1659 A.D. As he was a minor, Dharmadeva Rajaguru carried on the administration of the kingdom on behalf of Mukundadeva. Taking the fatricidal war among the sons of Shah Jahan, Dharmadeva Rajaguru organised the zamindars of the kingdom and did not pay any tribute to the Mughals. With the victory of Aurangzeb, Khan-i-Dauran was sent to deal with the Odishan zamindars and the king of Khurda. He killed many recalcitrant zamindars and proceeded towards Khurda. He defeated Mukundadeva in 1661 and offered the Kingdom of Khurda to Bhramarabara, the younger brother of Mukundadeva. However, Mukundadeva negotiated with Khan-i-Dauran to get back his kingdom and for materialising this, he sent Dharmadeva Rajaguru to deal with the matter. Khan-i-Dauran was convinced the Mukundadeva got back his throne. After his coronation was over, he imprisoned Bhramarabara Raya.

During the *Subahdarship* of Sayasta Khan, the maternal uncle of Aurangzeb, Mukundadeva faced problems from the side of the Mughals. Abu Nasir, one of the sons of Sayasta Khan marched to Jajpur and Jhankada and broke the temples, establishing mosques nearby. On his way to Puri, at Sakshigopal, he halted. His plan to attack the Jagannath temple at Puri was not materialised, because the *MadalaPanji* informs that there was sudden thunderbolt

during spring season at Sakshigopal and Abu Nasir returned to Cuttack out of fear after negotiating with Mukundadeva. The career of Mukundadeva came to an end in 1688 when he breathed his last affected by the small-pox.

1.3.3. 12. Divyasinghadeva I (1688-1714 A.D.)

Divyasinghadeva I, who succeeded his father in 1688 A.D. was one of the ablest rulers of the Bhoi dynasty. During his reign period, Ekram Khan had attacked the Jagannath temple at Puri and captured fake images of the Lords. However, after his departure, Divyasinghadeva, reinstalled the original images in the temple, opened *Simhadvara* and allowed to continue all the rites of the temple including the car festival which brought joy and jubilation among the people of Odisha. When Murshid Quli Khan the Governor of Bengal was also appointed as the governor of Odisha, he sent Shuia-ud-din, his son-in-law as the Deputy of Odisha, Shuja-ud-din, marched towards Khurda and was defeated by Divyasinghadeva who had gathered the local zamindars in his side. This added a new feather in his cap. However, he breathed his last in 1714 A.D.

1.3.3. 13. Harekrishnadeva (1714-1719 A.D.)

With the death of Divyasinghadeva, his younger brother Harekrishnadeva succeeded him. His reign period was marked with peace and tranquility, because by that time, there was no Muslim attack either on Khurda or Puri Jagannath temple. The white washing of the temple of Lord Jagannath was completed during his reign period. He also established a new *shasana* named *Vira Harekrushnapura shasana*. During his reign period, Gadadhara Rajaguru created many celebrated works like *Sudhi Sara*, *Kala Sara* and *Achara Sara*. He died in 1719 A.D.

1.3.3. 14. Gopinathadeva (**1719-1727** A.D.)

The accession of Gopinathadeva gave a halt to the conflict with the Mughals which was a regular feature of the Bhoi dynasty. His reign is marked with one romantic episode. He was attracted by the beauty of Suka Dei, the queen of Trailokya Harichandana of Banki. To materialise his dream, he attacked Banki and occupied some *paraganas*. Trailokya Harichandana, while fighting in the battle field, was killed by Gopinathadeva. At this, queen Suka Dei went to the battle field and *gave* a toe tight to Gopinathadeva Who was defeated and taken as prisoner by the queen, However, he was released by the gracious queen and Gopinathadeva returned all the previously occupied territories to her.

Gopinathadeva was known for his charity. He established a village named Routarapura near Puri. He also granted a *village* to his physician Dhananjaya Nedhinatha Rao who cured the

king from a fatal disease. During his reign period, a special ritual cleansing took place in the temple of God Jagannath that involved the bathing of the Gods for three times. However, there were many black spots in the character of Gopinathadeva. One glaring instance has already been narrated in connection with Suka Dei. Further, when the chief of Ranapur was on his way to Puri to visit God Jagannath, Gopinathadeva blocked his way and tried to take his daughter forcibly who was a paragon of beauty. The situation was *saved* with the steady flight of the chief with his daughter and followers to Rathipur. He was infuriated with his soldiers entered the palace of Gopinathadeva and killed him bringing an end to the uneventful reign of Gopinathadeva.

1.3.3. 15. Ramachandradeva II (1721-1736 A. D.)

With Ramachandradeva II, another turbulent phase began in the history of Bhoi dynasty. Immediately after his accession, he had to bear the brunt Nizam's invasion from Hyderabad. Ramachandradeva's territory extending between Tekkali, Raghunathpur and the Chilka lake came under the sway of the Nizam. At that crucial phase of his career, Ramachandradeva /I never lost his heart and assembled the native paiks and zamindars. He gave a tough fight to the army of Hyderabad but was easily routed by the army of the Nizam. The above mentioned territory was lost to the Nizam. Taqui Khan, the Naib of Odisha, appointed by Murshid Quli Khan, did not come to the rescue of Raja Ramachandradeva II.

Muhammad Taqui Khan was a religious bigot. Destroying many Hindu shrines in Odisha, he proceeded towards Khurda. Though, Ramachandradeva II had gathered the Paiks around him but by the persuation of the Brahmins, they did not fight for the king and even Bakshi Benu Bhramaravara Rai and Diwan Nilambara Harichandana fled from the battle field. Now, Ramachandradeva appointed two Muslims, Lodhu Miana Diwan and Khalifa Gadadhara Mangaraja as Baksi but the result was negative. Taqui Khan demanded the surrender of Ramachandradeva II after killing the newly appointed Diwan and Bakshi. Though, his order was executed by the kings, Taqui Khan marched towards Khurda, captured Ramachandradeva and brought him to Cuttack. In the meanwhile, Taqui Khan marched towards Khurda and the rebellious sons of Ramachandradeva fled away from the palace. Taqui Khan pursued them and occupied the territory lying between Khurda and Banapur. After leaving Khurda, Bhagirathi Kumar one of the sons of Ramachandradeva II sought the help of the king of Kodala. Athagarh and their combined army brought the disaster for the Mughals. However, Taqui Khan persued Ramachandradeva II to fight on his own behalf against Bhagirathi Kumar who was defeated and

left the battle field marching towards Dasapalla. Still then, Taqui Khan never took Ramachandradeva into confidence and kept him in the palace of Khurda under housearrest.

Ramachandradeva II was quite aware about the bigotry of Taqui Khan. So, he had taken steps to remove the images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra from the Puri Temple, to bring them to Banapur and subsequently to Takkali. The invasion of Taqui Khan to Puri and his entry to the Jagannath temple was proved futile because the idols were absent. So, he again attacked Khurda but Ramachandradeva fled away. The departure of Taqui Khan to Murshidabad, led Ramachandradeva to reinstall the images of the Lords in the temple. Taqui Khan hurried back from Murshidabad and made Ramachandradeva a prisoner in the fort of Barabati. Taqui Khan was murdered in that fort by two Khandayats employed by Rajaguru Paramalakshmi. With the death of Taqui Khan, Murshid Quli Khan II was appointed as the Naib Nazim of Odisha and Ramachandradeva was released from the fort of Barabati. He was greeted by the feudatory chiefs. It is stated that he fell in love with Souria, the daughter of Murshid Quli Khan II and married her being converted to Islam.

This fact is to be taken into account with a pinch of salt. It is to be believed that as he was a weak ruler, he was forced to be converted into Islam. His entry into the temple of God Jagannath was banned after he was converted to Islam. He wanted to enter into the temple by force but he Brahmins and the temple priests obstructed this way and an open rebellion was proclaimed against him. At this juncture, Mir Habib, the Deputy of Murshid Quli, look after administration of Odisha. Out of frustration, he took poison and breathed his last in 1736 A.D. Surendra Mohanty, a notable novelist of the Odia literature, has glorified the career and achievements of Raja Ramachandradeva II for preserving the honour of the Gods of the temple at Puri in his two monumental historical novels, the *Neela Saila* and *Niladri Vijaya*. However, many facts of these two novels are based on imagination of the novelist and should not be taken as solid historical facts. If it is done, it will be a misnomer leaving the history of Odisha on the cross road of puzzles.

1.3.3. 16. Padmanavadeva (**1736-1739** A.D.)

The death of Ramachandredeva II created a vacuum in the political history of the Bhoi dynasty for some time. To put an end to this malady, Padmanavadeva, the king of Patia was appointed as king of Khurda by Mir Habib. He was not the choice of Ramachandradeva II.

However, the rule of Padmanavadeva was opposed by the people of Khurda. It appears that he could not smoothly discharge his duties as a king and left the throne of Khurda in 1739 AD.

1.3.3. 17. Birakishoradeva (**1739-1793** A.D.)

Birakishoradeva was the right choice of Raja Ramachandradeva II to the throne of Khurda. When popular discontentment arose against Padmanavadeva, the claim of Birakishoradeva was placed before Mir Habib who ordered to place Birakishoradeva on the throne of Odisha and that was materialised in 1739 AD. He established cordial relation with Murshid Quli Khan II. Due to his help, the family of Murshid Quli was saved from the attack. of Alivardi Khan. For that reason, perhaps, the relation between Birakishoradeva and Alivardi Khan, the Naib Nazim of Bengal, was strained in the initial phase.

Later on, when Mirza Baquar, the son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan II, rose against Alivardi, the latter wanted to bring Birakishoradeva to his side by offering the former royal insignia near the *Paschimadvara* of the Jagannath temple at Puri, informs the *Madala Panji*. Odisha became the chess board of political strife between the Mughals and the Marathas. Though, Birakishoradeva did not side with the Marathas, ultimately he had to succumb before them. Thus, the Marathas captured Puri and reduced considerably the empire of Birakishoradeva by snatching away from his territories of Banki, Dhenkanal, Narasinghpur, Tigiria, Talcher, Hindol, Angul, Kendrapara, Daspalla and Baud and made the zamindars of these area free from the rule of Khurda. Further, by bribing the priests of the Jagannath temple at Puri, the Marathas maintained the administration of the temple. This gave a rude shock to Birakishoradeva who is said to have become mad towards the end of his career.

Coming under the spell of the Pattnaik family of Bangoraba, he lebelled charge of dishonesty against Paramalakshmi Rajaguru who left the kingdom and went to Narasinghpur. The madness led him to kill his four sons. Bakshi Damodara Bhramaravara captured him and brought him to Cuttack where he was made prisoner by Rajaram Pandit, the Maratha Governor of Odisha. The Maratha Governor reccqnised his grandson Divyasimhadeva II as the successor of Birakishoradeva. Birakishoradeva breathed his last in 1793 AD. The reign of Birakishoradeva constitutes a glorious epoch in the cultural history of Odisha. The worship of Radha-Krishna started right from his period and it became very popular in his kingdom. His mother Lalita Devi was a pious lady who founded Lalitapura *Shasana*. She also built *several mandapas* inside the Jagannath temple. Birakishoradeva also *renovated* the Markanda tank by removing mud from it.

His long rule of fifty-two years, of course, brought peace and tranquility, though struggle between the Mughals and Marathas had brought temporary disturbance in the political scenario of the land.

1.3.3. 18. Divyasimhadeva II (1793-1798)

The reign period of Divyasimhadeva II, though short, was marked with achievements. From the *very* beginning of his career, he maintained a strained relation with the Marathas. Inspite of the desire of the Marathas and the East India Company, he *gave* shelter to Balarama Maharatha, a refractory landholder of the British Company at Ganjam. Being captured, when Balarama Maharatha was taken by the sepoys of Snodgrass, the British officer in charge of Ganjam, the Paiks attacked them and setBalararn free. When Rajaram Pandit, the Maratha *governor* marched to settle score with Divyasimhadeva II, he was convinced that Balarama had breathed his last and thus, Divyasimhadeva escaped the *Maratha* wrath. During his reign, a famine broke out which took a heavy toll of life. However, he whitewashed the temple of God Jagannath and performed the *Jhulana Yatra* of the Gods. The *Aruna* pillar, brought from the Sun temple at Konarka, was installed before the temple of God Jagannth. Divyasimhadeva died in 1798 A.D.

1.3.3. 19. Mukundadeva II (1798-1817 A.D.)

The death of Divyasimhadeva II brought a conflict between Shyamsundaradeva, the second son of Birakishoradeva and Mukundadeva II, the son of Divyasimhadeva II. Sadashiv Rao, the Maratha Governor, supported the cause of Mukundadeva " and the British authority supported it. So, Mukundadeva II became the king of Khurda in 1798 A.D. In course of his administration, he did not maintain good relation with the East India Company. Inspite of the denial of Jayi Rajaguru, Mukundadeva started negotiation with the East India Company who planned to oust the Marathas from Odisha. Accordingly, they promised to handover the king Lembal, Rahang, Serai and Chabiskud which the Marathas had taken under their authority right from the days of Birakishoradeva who kept these Paraganas as mortgage near the Marathas.

Further, the British authority also promised to pay rupees one lakh to Mukundadeva II for the safe Passage of the British army through the territory of the king. As per the negotiation, the Britishers attacked Odisha in 1803 and after capturing Puri, they moved to Cuttack and occupied the Barabati fort. Mukundadeva remained a silent spectator to it for which he had to pay a price. When the British authority did not handover the four Paraganas, mentioned earlier, to

Mu~undadeva, the latter became rebellious. Jayi Rajaguru who was looking after the administration of Khurda on behalf of Mukundadeva II, advised the king not to send his Vakil to Cuttack to receive other fifty thousands of rupees. The forty thousands had already been paid to Jayi Rajaguru. The delay of the king to come to terms with the British authority, prompted the latter to deal with the former corn and contempt. Mukundadeva II raised troops receiving help from the local chiefs. The British authority feared the design of the king.

The British authority could knowthat Jayi Rajaguru was the brain behind it and demanded his surrender. Mukundadeva did not oblige it. Under Major Fletcher, an elaborate preparation was made to deal with the king who succeeded in capturing him and Mukundadeva became a prisoner at Cuttack. Jayi Rajaguru was captured and hanged. Mukundadeva II was sent to Midnapur and he sent a petition seeking pardon from the British government. The British Government, after careful consideration of the prayer of the Raja, released him from Midnapur. However, the kingdom of Khurda was not handed over to him again. He died in 1817. His successors were allowed to stay at Puri and hence, they were known as the kings of Puri.

1.3.3. 20. Administration

The Bhois maintained an efficient administration. King was at the apex of the administrative set up. The succession to the throne was in conformity with law of primogeniture. However, there was exception to this principle also, if situation so demanded. In the case of Narasimhadeva, Divyasimhadeva and Ramachandradeva II, there was exception to the law of succession. The king assisted by a good number of officials among whom the position of 'Rajaguru' was highly esteemed. The Rajagurus were drawn from the influential Brahmin family belonging to *Batsasa gotra*. However, there was an exception to this principle also. Sometimes, the Brahmins belonging to *Kausika gotra* were also chosen as Rajaguru. They were very influential and virtually dictated the state administration. They developed deep into the *Sastras* and became constant advisor to the king, Besides *Rajaguru*, the *oalabehera*, *Khandayat*, *Bisoi*, *Bebarta* (Vakil) *Dalai*, *Karanas*, *Naik* etc. helped the king in the smooth discharge of administration.

The army administration under the Bhois was quite efficient. *Baksi* was an officer, who managed the military affairs of the kingdom. He enjoyed rent-free *jagirs* and was loyal to the king out and out. The soldier of the army was known as *Paika* who belonged to the community

of cultivators. The Khonds, Telegus and even Muslims, also formed the part of militia under the Bhois. Cavalry, elephants and chariots formed parts of the military organisation.

The role of forts in the army administration, is quite known to all. Reward to victors and punishment to traitors formed part of the military administration of the Bhois.

The revenue administration under the Bhois was quite sound. Rent was fixed on land which was realised in kinds. Further, the king also obtained *Nazrana* (presentation) from his subordinate rulers and subjects at various ceremonies associated with the royal family. The duty on exported salt also formed a part of king's income. The income, thus realised, was spent for religious purposes like maintaining the Jagannath temple at Puri and its surroundings, 'as discussed earlier. No doubt, a large chunk of revenue must have been spent for the welfare of the state.

For administrative efficiency, the kingdom of the Bhois was divided into severa *Jagirs*. This clearly indicates that feudalism was in vogue during that period. *Dalabehera* was in charge of the administration of a *Jagir*. *Jagir* denoted the modern district. Village was the lowest unit of the administrative set up under the Bhois. *Pradhan* was the head of the village who maintained the local administration.

1.3.3. 21. Literature

Like the Gajapati age, the Bhoi period also witnessed tremendous progress in Odia literature. Right from the days of the Gajapatis, the importance of Sanskrit literature had declined. So, in the Bhoi period, less works in Sanskrit were produced. Ramachandradevad *Srikrishna Vakta Vatsalya Charitam*. Poet Chintamani Mishra composed many Sanskrit works like *Sambarari Charita*, *Vagmaya Viveka* and *Kadambarisara*. Biswanatha Samantaraya's *Retrtssere*, Haladhara Mishra's *Sangita Kalpalata* and *Basantotsava*, Raghunatha Ratha's *Natyamanorama*, Mukundadeva's *Narayana Satakam* and *Hridayalu Rasaba* etc. were notable Sanskrit works of the Bhoi period.

1.3.3. 22. Development of Odia literarture

The Odia literature went a long way in creating immortal works during that period. The Bhanja kings of Ghumsar enriched the Odia literature of that time. Dhananjaya Bhanja was the author of *Raghunatha Vilas*, *Madana Manjari*, *Ichhabati*, and *Tripura Manjari*, Ghana Bhanja is credited with the composition of mythological *Kavyas* like *Trailokya Mohini*, *Rasanidhi*, and *Govinda Vilasa*, Upendra Bhanja, the poet laurate of the time, surpassed all by his immortal

romantic creations. His *Vaidehisa Vilasa*, *Subhadra Parinaya*, *Lavanyavati*, *Koti Brahmanda Sundari*, *Prema Sudhanidhi* etc. were marked with literary style and jugglery of words. In, almost all his literary creations, the feudal thought has been expressed.

Poet Dinakrushna Das was another notable figure in the domain of literature during that time. He composed Rasakal/ola, Rasa Vinoda, Gundicha Vijaya and Namaratna Gita. Another great name among the Odia poets of that time was of Abhimanyu Samantasimhara who is credited with the composition of Vidagdha Chintamani, Prema Chintamani, Rasabati and Premakanta; Brajanatha Badajena's Amvika Vilasa and Chatura Vinoda, Bhakta Charana Das's Mathura Manga/a; Biswanatha Khuntia's Vichitra Ramayana, Mahadeva Dasa's Vishnu purana, Markanda purana, Padmapurana, Kartika Mahatmya, Magha Mahatmya and Baisakha Mahatmya Narasimha Mishra's drama Siva Narayana Bhanja Mahodaya Natika, Kavi Ratna; Purusottama Mishra's Sangita Narayana; Raghunatha Ratha's Natya Manorama; Chandrasekhara Pattnaik's Lilavati Vistara; Jadumani Routraya's Kavi Kalpadruma etc. were the immortal creations of that time.

1.3.4. Conclusion

Thus, the dynasty established by Mukundadeva has been described as the Chalukya dynasty. Mukundadeva ruled for only eight years and during this short time he showed great abilities. On the other hand, the Bhoi rule marked a new beginning in the political history of medieval Odisha. Though, this dynasty was established through treachery and bloodshed but it was instrumental in giving continuity to the decadent Gajapati Empire. With the coming of Afghans, Mughals, Marathas and Britishers, they manoeuvered the situation and tried to manage their state, craft until Khurda was annexed to the British authority in 1817. However, the vast literary treasure, which was created during the Bhoi period, created several milestones in the history of literature of Odisha.

1.3.5. Summary

- > The dynasty established by Mukundadeva has been described as the Chalukya dynasty.
- ➤ It is usual for the ruling dynasties of Odisha to associate their origin with the famous ruling dynasties of India.
- > Mukundadeva might have done the same after ascending the Gajapati throne.
- ➤ Mukundadeva is considered as the last Hindu king of Odisha. In Odishan traditions Mukundadeva is known as Telinga Mukundadeva.

- Mukundadeva's inscription of Draksharama, referred to above, clearly indicates that he was in possession of the southern part of the Gajapati kingdom upto the river Godavari.
- ➤ In A.D. 1568 when Sultan of Bengal invaded Odisha Akbar was engaged in the seige of Chitor and he did not extend any help to the Odishan king probably with the object that Odisha should become a part of Bengal, so that he would ultimately annex Bengal with Odisha.
- ➤ Placed in this predicament, Mukundadeva was attacked by Sulaiman Karrani in A.D. 1568 who sent an expedition under the comand of his son Bayazid assisted by Sikandar Uzbeg and Kalapahara.
- > Thus, Mukundadeva ruled for only eight years and during this short time he showed great abilities.
- ➤ He again became the master of the Gajapati kingdom stretching from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south.
- > Govinda Vidyadhara ascended the throne of Odisha when the land was passing through political upheavel.
- ➤ With his assumption of power, he wanted to exert his influence upon the people of Odisha by adopting the title 'Suvarna Kesari' as gleaned from the Narasimha temple inscriptions at Simhachalam.
- ➤ Chakrapratapa succeeded his father Govinda Vidyadhara in or about 1549 A.D.
- Narasimha Jena ascended the throne in 1557 A.D.
- Raghurama Chhotaraya succeeded his elder brother Narasimha Jena to the throne of Bhoi dynasty.
- ➤ The accession of Ramachandradeva to the throne of Bhoi dynasty at Khurda marks a glorious epoch for that dynasty.
- The Madala Panji describes him belonging to the Yadu Vamsa.
- ➤ After his accession, Rarnachandradeva wanted to extend his boundary in every directionnorth, south, east and west.
- > Purusottamadeva succeeded his father Ramachandradeva in 1607 A.D.
- ➤ After the death of Purusottamadeva, his son Narasimhadeva ascended the throne of Khurda in 1622 A.D.

- ➤ The death of Narasimhadeva enabled Gangadharadeva, a nephew of the deceased king by the help of Mutquad Khan, the Governor of Odisha.
- This led to a great resentment among the subjects and some officials of the king.
- ➤ By taking their help, Balabhadradeva, the elder brother of Narasimhadeva, killed Gangadhara and ascended the throne in 1648 A.D.
- ➤ With the death of Balabhadradeva, his son Mukundadeva I succeeded him to the throne of Khurda in 1659 A.D.
- ➤ Divyasinghadeva I, who succeeded his father in 1688 A.D.
- ➤ With the death of Divyasinghadeva, his younger brother Harekrishnadeva succeeded him.
- ➤ The accession of Gopinathadeva gave a halt to the conflict with the Mughals which was a regular feature of the Bhoi dynasty.
- With Ramachandradeva II, another turbulent phase began in the history of Bhoi dynasty.
- ➤ The death of Ramachandredeva II created a vacuum in the political history of the Bhoi dynasty for some time. To put an end to this malady, Padmanavadeva, the king of Patia was appointed as king of Khurda by Mir Habib.
- ➤ Birakishoradeva was the right choice of Raja Ramachandradeva II to the throne of Khurda.
- > The reign period of Divyasimhadeva II, though short, was marked with achievements.
- Mukundadeva II became the king of Khurda in 1798 A.D.
- ➤ The Bhois maintained an efficient administration. King was at the apex of the administrative set up. The succession to the throne was in conformity with law of primogeniture.
- ➤ Like the Gajapati age, the Bhoi period also witnessed tremendous progress in Odia literature.

1.3.6. Exercise

- ***** Write a note on the political history of the Chalukyas.
- **\$** Give an account on the achievements of Mukunda Deva.
- ***** Make note on the political history of the Bhois.
- **\Delta** Highlight the administration of the Bhois.
- **Discuss the achievements of Ramachandradeva** I.

1.3.7. Further reading

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UNIT-2 Chapter-I

Decline and disintegration of Medieval Odishan Kingdom

Structure

- 2.1.0.Objectives
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- 2.1.2. Decline of medieval Odishan empire
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- 2.1.2.10. Treachery and Confusion after the death of Prataparudradeva
- 2.1.2.11. Economic bankruptcy
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- 2.1.2.13. Lack of unity and harmony
- 2.1.2.14. Attack of Kalapahada
- 2.1.3. Conclusion
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- 2.1.6. Further reading

2.1.0.Objectives

This chapter will discuss the decline and disintegration of medieval Odishan kingdom. After studying this lesson the students will be able to:

- know the different causes responsible for the decline of medieval Odishan kingdom
- understand the factors that led to the disintegration of medieval Odishan kingdom
- know about the political causes for the decline
- *identify the socio-economic causes for the decline*
- recognise the other causes for the decline of medieval Odishan kingdom

2.1.1. Introduction

The rise and fall of nations, like day-and night, follows each other in succession. There was no exception to the Gajapati empire of medieval Odisha. This political decline was a sad story of sheer misfortunes. The cold arms of decadence embraced the medieval Odishan empire that had reached the zenith of glory and splendour during a century rule under the great Gajapatis. No doubt, internal strifes had weakened the strong foundation of the Gajapati rule.

2.1.2. Decline of medieval Odishan empire

Different factors like law of nature, conspiracy and treachery, Muslim invasions, aggressive march of Krishnadevaraya, misfortunes of Prataparudradeva, desire for power among the feudatories, coming of Sri Chaitanya to Odisha, weak army etc. contributed a lot for the decline of medieval Odishan empire.

2.1.2.1. Natural phenomenon

Like birth and death, the rise and fall of an empire is the law of nature. This law of nature was also applicable in case of the Gajapati empire in medieval Odisha. In the words of Ibn Khaldun, "Empires are born, attain maturity and die at a definite point of time." This inexorable law of nature also operated in case of the great Gajapati empire. The cornerstone of the empire laid down by Kapilendradeva, was designed and decorated by his successors like Purusottamadeva and Prataparudradeva. However, misfortune cast its ugly shadow over the empire and it dismembered preparing the way for the downfall of medieval Odisha. Nobody could check this inevitable law of nature. The empire was created by treachery and force and it was destined to be destroyed by treachery and force.

2.1.2.2. Weak successors of Prataparudradeva

With the death of Prataparudradeva, the Gajapati empire did not get a good successor. His valiant son Virabhadra had committed suicide in the court of Krishnadevaraya. So, the other

two sons of Prataparudradeva, Ramachandradeva and Purusottamadeva nicknamed as Kaludeva and Kakharudeva respectively, came to the throne in quick succession. These two brothers were killed by Govinda Vidyadhara who founded the Bhoi dynasty on the ruins of the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule. Thus, it is apparent that with the passage of time, the great Gajapati dynasty could not produce great warriors like Kapilendradeva, Hamvira and Birabhadra. So, the dynasty headed towards grave.

2.1.2.3. War between Hamvira and Purusottamadeva

The great fratricidal war between Hamvira and Purusottamadeva, the two sons of Kapilendradeva, sowed the seeds of dissension in the Gajapati empire. The claim of Hamvira as the legitimate heir for the Gajapati throne was set aside by his father Kapilendradeva. Kapilendradeva, in a diplomatic way, asserted the claim of Purusottamadeva injecting in the minds of the people of Odisha that it was the desire of Lord Jagannath. This led Hamvira to be revolutionary and prompted him to start a war of rebellion against Purusottamadeva. By this, he created a lot of problems for Purusottamadeva. Though people were silent spectators to this fatricidal war owing to their fear to Lord Jagannath, still an undercurrent of sympathy they cherished in their heart for Hamvira. This undoubtedly, undermined the prestige of the Gajapati king and gave scope to the feudatories to fish in such type of troubled water in future.

2.1.2.4. Muslim attack

The Muslim rulers posed great menace to the policy of territorial expansion of the Gajapati rulers. The Muslim invaders came during the reign of almost all the Gajapati kings, sometimes intervened in their home affairs and attacked their empire in some crucial moments, thereby crippling and reducing the power, prestige and honour of the Gajapatis. As stated earlier, the attack of Mahmud Shah, Mahmud Sharqui and Hussain Sharqui, the Sultans of Bengal had compelled Kapilendradeva to deal with them relegating his preoccupation to distant background from time to time. During the reign period of Purusottamadeva, Bahamani Sultan Muhammad Shah had sent Malik Hussain Bheiry to help Hamvira in capturing the Gajapati throne of Odisha. Prataparudradeva had to deal with Hussain Shah of Bengal and Ouli Outab Shah of Golkunda. All these Muslim invasions made huge loss of Manpower and resources of the Gajapatis, thereby weakening the internal structure of the Suryavamsi rule.

2.1.2. 5. Invasion of Krishnadevaraya

Krishnadevaraya of the Vijayanagara empire became a potent threat to the very existence of the Gajapati kingdom. His repeated attack on Odishan empire from 1512 to 1519 A.D. shattered the prestige of the empire. He defeated the Odia army in battle after battle. The fall of Kondavidu, Udayagiri, Kondapalli forts and minor fortresses like Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Tangenda etc. took place in quick succession and Krishnadevaraya accomplished all these conquests and broke the morale of the Odishan army. Dark clouds loomed large in the horizon of Odisha, when Gajapati Prataparudradeva signed a humiliating treaty with Krishnadevaraya, as stated earlier. This subdued and shadowed the power and personality of Prataparudradeva. This also weakened the mental strength of the Odishan army. The result of the potracted struggle of Prataparudradeva with Krishnadevaraya was politically disastrous because the far-flung Gajapati empire was greatly curtailed in the South due to Krishnadevaraya, the mightiest emperor at the Vijayanagara empire.

2.1.2.6. Adversities of Prataparudradeva

Prataparudradeva was encompassed with insurmountable problems that broke his mental strength. The territorial loss broke the imperial zeal of Prataparudra. His valiant son Birabhadra was a prisoner at the hands of Krishnadevaraya. He was a notable sword-fighter by that time. To humiliate him, Krishnadevaraya told the former to cross sword with another man of the court who belonged to a lower family. This brought disgrace to Birabhadra who plunged his sword into his heart and breathed his last. This disaster led Prataparudra to submit before Krishnadevaraya and without waging war, he concluded the humiliating treaty with the latter. Besides the territorial loss, he had to offer his own daughter Jagamohini (later on known as Tukka) to his arch enemy, Krishnadevaraya. Further, capitulation of his great military officers like Narahari Patra, Balachandra Mahapatra, Sirsachandra Mohapatra. Bodhan Mohapatra, Mallu Khan, Udanda Khan and others by Krishnadevaraya's army broke the military zeal of Prataparudradeva. The treachery of Govinda Vidyadhara led Prataparudra at his wits end. All these circumstances weakened his mind and made his health fragile. He lost all interest in warfare and took refuge in the Vaisnava faith preached by Sri Chaitanya. This gave a strategic blow to the very existence of the Gajapati kingdom.

2.1.2.7. Betrayal of Govinda Vidyadhara

The treachery of Govinda Vidyadhara was a potent factor for the decline of medieval Odisha. He was a minister of Prataparudradeva and had accompanied him as a general in his march towards Bengal for settling score with Hussain Shah. Hussain Shah took shelter in the fort of Mandaran. When Prataparudradeva besieged the fort of Mandaran, the fall of Hussain Shah seemed to be imminent. At this stage, Govinda Vidyadhara played the role of a traitor and Prataparudra was unable to assert his decisive victory over Hussain Shah. The Gajapati also pardoned Govinda Vidyadhara as there was no substitute to him in discharging the administration of the state. When Prataparudra left to deal with the affairs of the South, he entrusted the management of administration to Govinda Vidyadhara. This discouraged the Odishan army and adversely affected their morale making them weak and feeble. In later stage, this Govinda Vidyadhara became a traitor and became an usurper to the throne of Odisha by killing the sons of Prataparudradeva. He sounded the death-knell of the Suryavamsi Gajapati dynasty and brought into existence the inglorious Bhoi dynasty in the political arena of medieval Odisha.

2.1.2.8. Weak army

The medeval Odishan army which was instrumental in building the vast empire of the Gajapati's, became weak during the period of Prataparudradeva. One of its reason may be this that due to constant warfare during all the Gajapatis, they could not get ample time to be with their family. Their constant absence from Odisha and camping at distant South lost their martial spirit. The treachery of Govinda Vidyadhara during the Bengal campaign of Prataparudradeva, which turned the surest victory of the Odishan army into a failure, broke the morale of the soldiers. Further, the important military officers of the army were taken captives by Krishnadevaraya. After that no good commander was available to lead the Odishan army in proper direction. Thus, it is seen that during Mukundadeva, the Odishan army got easy defeat at the hands of the Muslim army of Bengal led by Bayazid and Kalapahada. Definitely, weak army brought the downfall of the medieval Odisha.

2.1.2.9. Role of Sri Chaitanya and Vaishnavism

Vaishnavism in Odisha under Sri Chaitanya was a great factor for the downfall of medieval Odisha. He had came to Puri in 1510 A.D. He went to South for two years after his short stay at Puri and then went to Vrindavana, stayed there for two years and returned Puri

where he stayed till his death due to the insistence of his mother Sachidevi. That was the period of growth of Vaishnavism which was gaining popularity due to the writings of *Pancha Sakhas*. Sri Chaitanya though this place congenial for the spread of Vaisnavism. Raya Ramananda, the author of *Jagannatha Vallabha Natakam* and a Governor of Prataparudradeva was impressed by the teachings and personality of Sri Chaitanya. He left the job and accepted Vaishnavism. He made an arrangement by which Prataparudradeva met Sri Chaitanya and came under his spell sometimes after 1519 A.D. By that time, Prataparudra had suffered reverses at the hands of Krishnadevaraya and had been visited by heavy tolls of life. He found panacea in Vaishnavism and accepted it and lost his martial spirit.

It is natural that when a king accepts a particular religion, his subjects accept that faith. When Prataparudradeva accepted *Vaishnavism*, many followers of this *Gaudiya* Vaisnava faith emerged during that period. The text *Chaitanya Charitamrita* states that many influential persons of Odisha like Raya Ramananda, Kanhai Khuntia, Janardana Mahanty, Tulasi Parichha, Kasi Mishra, Pradyumna Mishra and many others accepted Vaishnavism. This definitely gave a set back to the efficient administrative set up of the Gajapati as most of the followers of this *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism neglected their duties. The soldiers of the Gajapatis, now tired with warfare, came under the influence of Vaishnavism. This led to the loss of their martial spirit. Thus, some historians opine that Sri Chaitanya and his Vaishnavism contributed a lot for the downfall of medieval Odisha. Sri Chaitanya's responsibility for the downfall of medieval Odisha has allured the attention of historians.

Prof. R.D. Banerjee makes Sri Chaitanya largely responsible for this. He states, "The religious equality and love preached by Sri Chaitanya brought in its train a false faith in men and thereby destroyed the structure of society and government of Bengal and Odisha." Prof. Banerjee draws the attention of scholars of Jayananda's *Jayamangala* where in it has been stated that Sri Chaitanya once advised Prataparudradeva not to conquer Bengal but to march towards the South. Prataparudra, thus, left his deal with Hussain Shah of Bengal and marched towards Chandragiri and the result was embarrassment on the part of Prataparudradeva. Similarly, the influence of Sri Chaitanya over Prataparudradeva paved the way for the downfall of medieval Odisha. ', Prof. Banerjee's view has been taken with a pinch of salt by many scholars like Profs. N. K. Sahu, K. C. Panigrahi, P. Mukherjee and many others. From their discussion, it becomes apparent that although, Prataparudradeva was under the spell of Sri Chaitanya, he had marched to the South to

wage war before his, death. According to Jayananda's description, Sri Chaitanya advised Prataparudradeva not to march towards Bengal and Prataparudra obeyed it. If analysis of all the existing sources will be made, it will clearly indicate that before the deal of Prataparudra with Hussain Shah, he had not met Sri Chaitanya. Further, when Prataparudra marched towards the South, why Sri Chaitanya could not stop the movement of Prataparudradeva? So, the question of Sri Chaitanya's influence over Prataparudradeva is relegated to the distant background. The causes of the downfall, therefore, might be the weak army of Odisha and Prataparudra's inefficiency arousing out of misfortunes that befall on him. Further, Prataparudradeva had no match with Krishnadevaraya, a valiant warrior of the time that the Vijayanagara empire had ever produced. The weak successors of Prataparudradeva, treachery and confusion, attack of Kalapahada etc. might be other reasons for the downfall of the medieval Odishan empire.

2.1.2.10. Treachery and Confusion after the death of Prataparudradeva

The period that followed the death of Prataparudradeva was one of the situations, full with anarchy and confusion. It was marked with bloodshed, murder and usurption. It is known, how Govinda Vidyadhara had killed the sons of Prataparudradeva. With the death of Govinda Vidyadhara, his son Chakra Pratapa came to the throne who was killed by his own son Narasimha Jena. Mukunda Harichandan killed Narasimha Jena and Raghunatha Jena Chhotaraya, another brother of Narasimha Jena. He also imprisoned Danai Vidyadhara and ascended the throne in 1560 A.D. These murders and bloodshed made the people of Odisha grossly unhappy who remained confused always. This created anarchy and gave scope to the Muslim invasion.

2.1.2.11. Economic bankruptcy

Undoubtedly, by conducting several, war and undertaking various military campaigns, the treasury of the Gajapati kings became empty. Further, the exploits derived from the military campaigns were spent by the Odishan soldiers in luxury. Several wars resulted in heavy expenditure on military front by the Gajapati kings. This gave a death blow to the treasury of the Gajapati kings and no welfare projects could be undertaken by the kings for his subjects. This led to the gross dissatisfaction of the subjects towards the Gajapati rule and made it unpopular in Odisha. That was, perhaps, a great reason for which a good number of people left the Odishan army and concentrated on cultivation as they did not get their salary from the state in time. Thus, the financial bankruptcy paved the way for the downfall of medieval Odisha.

2.1.2.12. Laziness of the Feudatory chiefs

With the accession of Mukundadeva, the chaos and confusion in the post -Gajapati era had come to a halt. When peace was to be restored, it was the apathy of the feudatory chiefs towards Mukundadeva that prepared the way for the downfall of medieval Odisha. Taking advantage of the end of Gajapati rule and beginning of the inauspicious rule of the Bhoi dynasty, the local chieftains asserted their independence. Visvanatha Deo of Nandapur, the Bahuvalendras of Krishnakota and even the Bhanjas declared their independence. The worst example of it can be cited when Ramachandra Bhanja of Sarangagarah declared independence when Mukundadeva was fighting against the Muslim invaders of Bengal. This undoubtedly paved the way for the downfall of medieval Odisha.

2.1.2.13. Lack of unity and harmony

Lack of unity and solidarity among the chieftains after the fall of the Gajapati empire, pave the way for the Muslim invasion. When Bayazid and Kalapahada attacked Odisha, it was the duty of all the feudatory chiefs to ignore the differences among them and to offer unconditional help to Mukundadeva for averting the Muslim menace. Petty interests kept them disunited and weakened the strength of the Odia giving chance to the Muslim army of Bengal to be victorious on this soil. Had it not been so, then the Muslim army would have definitely been defeated by the combined army of Odisha under the redoubtable leadership of Mukundadeva.

2.1.2.14. Attack of Kalapahada

Taking the anarchy and confusion of Odisha into consideration, Sulaiman Karrani, the Afghan ruler of Bengal, dispatched an army under the leadership of his son, Bayazid and General, Kalaphahad. Kalapahada brought a great damage to the temple of Odisha after Mukundadeva was defeated. The death of Mukundadeva and subsequently of Ramachandra Bhanja led Kalapahada to show his barbarism on this soil and to smash the pride of this land. The people of Odisha were frightened so much by the acts of Kalapahada that nobody ventured to go against him. Thus, the invasion of Kalapahada gave a final touch to the downfall of Medieval Odisha. The medieval Odishan empire had reached the historical climax with the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis.

2.1.3. Conclusion

Thus, the above causes were responsible for the decline of medieval Odisha. Besides, the degeneration of the moral conduct of the people of Odisha was no less than other causes which

contributed a lot to the fall of medieval Odisha. In due course of time, Odisha came under the control of the Afghans, Mughals, Marathas and lastly, the British with gradual succession.

2.1.4. Summary

- > Different factors contributed a lot for the decline of medieval Odishan empire.
- The law of nature i.e. each dynasty has its own birth, growth and decline was also applicable in case of the Gajapati empire in medieval Odisha.
- ➤ With the death of Prataparudradeva, the Gajapati empire did not get a good successor.
- The great fratricidal war between Hamvira and Purusottamadeva, the two sons of Kapilendradeva, sowed the seeds of dissension in the Gajapati empire.
- ➤ The Muslim rulers posed great menace to the policy of territorial expansion of the Gajapati rulers.
- ➤ Krishnadevaraya of the Vijayanagara empire became a potent threat to the very existence of the Gajapati kingdom.
- Prataparudradeva was encompassed with insurmountable problems that broke his mental strength.
- ➤ The treachery of Govinda Vidyadhara was a potent factor for the decline of medieval Odisha.
- The medeval Odishan army which was instrumental in building the vast empire of the Gajapati's, became weak during the period of Prataparudradeva.
- Vaishnavism in Odisha under Sri Chaitanya was a great factor for the downfall of medieval Odisha.
- ➤ The period that followed the death of Prataparudradeva was one of the situations, full with anarchy and confusion.
- ➤ Undoubtedly, by conducting several, war and undertaking various military campaigns, the treasury of the Gajapati kings became empty.
- When peace was to be restored, it was the apathy of the feudatory chiefs towards Mukundadeva that prepared the way for the downfall of medieval Odisha.
- Lack of unity and solidarity among the chieftains after the fall of the Gajapati empire, pave the way for the Muslim invasion.

- Taking the anarchy and confusion of Odisha into consideration, Sulaiman Karrani, the Afghan ruler of Bengal, dispatched an army under the leadership of his son, Bayazid and General, Kalaphahad.
- Thus, the above causes were responsible for the decline of medieval Odisha.

2.1.5. Exercise

- Discuss the factors responsible for the decline of medieval kingdom of Odisha.
- "Sri Chaitanya and his Vashnavaism was responsible for the decline of medieval kingdom of Odisha." Explain.
- Discuss how weak successors were responsible for the decline of medieval kingdom in Odisha?
- "External invasion was one of the important factor for the decline of medieval kingdom in Odisha." Justify.
- Highlight the causes that led to the decline and disintegration of medieval kingdom in Odisha.

2.1.6. Further reading

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UNIT-2 Chapter-II

Sri Chaitany faith in Odisha: its impact

Structure	
2.2.0.	Objectives
2.2.1.	Introduction
2.2.2.	Sri Chaitanya faith in Odisha: its Impact
2.2.2. 1	. Early life of Sri Chaitanya
2.2.2. 2	. His Sanyasa and involvement in Bhakti cult
2.2.2. 3	. Impact of Sri Chaitany faith in Odisha
2.2.2. 4	. Jagannath as identical with Krishna
2.2.2. 5	. Panchasakha and Sri Chaitanya
2.2.3.	Conclusion
2.2.4.	Summary
2.2.5.	Exercise
2.2.6.	Further reading

2.2.0.Objectives

This chapter will discuss Sri Chaitanya faith in Odisha and its impact. After studying this lesson the students will be able to:

- know the early life of Sri Chaitanya
- understand his sanyasa life
- know about his coming to Odisha
- identify the Sri Chaitanya faith in Odisha
- recognise the impact of Sri Chaitanya faith in Odisha

2.2.1.Introduction

The coming of Sri Chaitanya to Odisha opened a new chapter in the religious history of Odisha. The Vaishanavite religion which was already in existence had a deep impact in the mind of the people of Odisha. The spell of his teaching and *Sankirtan* influenced so much that the people of Odisha lost their military skill. His *Sankirtan had* spread to every nook and corner of Odisha

2.2.2. Sri Chaitanya faith in Odisha: its Impact

Sri Chaitanya faith in Odisha has a deep impact on the life and culture of the people of this land which can be discussed bellow.

2.2.2. 1. Early life of Sri Chaitanya

Sri Chaitanya (1486-1533 A.D.), who was known as Visvambhara before renouncing family life hailed from Navadvipa of Bengal He was born in a Brahmin family in 1486 A.D. which had migrated from Jaipur to Navadvipa. As a boy, Visvambhara was handsome, prodigious and naughty. He was also known as Gouranga for his fair complexion. Early in the life he became a great Sanskrit scholar and established a *tol* for imparting education. He lost his father at the age of eighteen. Soon after his father's death, he married a girl, named Lakshmidevi. Lakshmidevi died of snake bite within a short time after the marriage. Thereafter Visvambhara took a second wife, named Vishnupriya. After the second marriage, he went to Gaya to offer *pinda* to his ancestors.

2.2.2. 2. His Sanyasa and involvement in Bhakti cult

At this stage he was initiated into the cult of *Bhakti* by a Vaishnava saint, named Isvara Purl. The religious atmosphere of the Vishnu temple of Gaya, where Viswambhara offered *pinda* threw him into trance. He turned a great devotee of Vishnu or Lord Krishna. On his return from Gaya, he gave up his scholastic profession, and started living the life of religious devotion and service. He organized *Sankirtans* and attracted large number of people.

In 1509 A.D., at the age of twenty four, he left home, and taking the vow of *Sanyasa* from Keshav Bharati and the name, Sri Krishna Chaitanya, he proceeded to Puri with some of his associates.

2.2.2. 3. Impact of Sri Chaitany faith in Odisha

In Odisha Sri Chaitanya roused a great deal of religious devotion and enthusiasm. His Sankirtan parties attracted a large number of people at Puri. On his arrival at Purl, he had a religious discussion with the great Vedantic scholar, Vasudeva Sarbabhauma, who enjoyed the patronage of the Gajapati Prataparudra. Defeated in the discussion and impressed by the religious personality of Sri Chaitanya Sarbabhauma embraced Vaishnavism. From Puri, Sri Chaitanya proceeded to south, and in June 1509 A.D., met Roy Ramananda, the governor of Rajamahendri. They had an interesting religious dialogue which is narrated in the Chaitanya Charitamrita of Kaviraj Krishna Das. Both appreciated each other's religious inclination. After the interview with Sri Chaitanya, Ramananda who was already an old man resigned from the royal duty with a view to spending his time with the former at Puri. The Chaitanya Charitamrita tells us that Sri Chaitanya refused to grant interview to Prataparudra, the Gajapati of Odisha on the ground that he wanted to keep aloof from the worldly power and wealth. But at the instruction of Sarbabhaurna, one day the Gajapati stole into the assembly of devotees in Kasi Mishra's house where Sri Chaitanya was staying. As Sri Chaitanya fell into trance on hearing Sankirtana. Prataparudra touched his feet. On coming to senses, Sri Chaitanya remarked, "Woe to me, I have touched one, given to worldly power and wealth". This remarked moved the Gajapati,to tears. Impressed by the true devotion of the Gajapati, Sri Chaitanya embraced him with love.

2.2.2. 4. Jagannath as identical with Krishna

Sri Chaitanya considered Jagannath as identical with Krishna of Kurukshetra. He also popularised Krishna whom he regarded as "the complete manifestation of personal godhead in his perfect form". The Chaitanya faith heightened the importance of Radha, the consort of Krishna. For many devotees Sri Chaitanya was considered as the living embodiment of Jagannath. He was also regarded as the dual incarnation of Radha and Krishna. By personal demonstration, Sri Chaitanya emphasised the importance of devotion. His faith roused religious devotion among all sections of society, undermined the rigours of caste distinctions and reinforced the Vaishnavism of Odisha. Sri Chaitanya died at Puri before the image of Jagannath on 29th June 1533 A,D. He spent six years of his *Sanyasa* in pilgrimage, and the remaining eighteen years of *Sanyasa* at Puri in the company of his devout followers. Here it is necessary to mention the relation of the Panchasakha and Odishan Vaishnavas with Sri Chaitanya. Vaishnavism was already popular in Odisha before the coming of Sri Chaitanya to Puri. Sri Chaitanya had high regards for the Odishan Vaishnava saints like Raya Ramananda with whom he had a dialogue on Radha-Krishna cult, and Jagannath Das and Balaram Das of Panchasakha group.

2.2.2. 5. Panchasakha and Sri Chaitanya

All the Panchasakha poets were the contemporaries of Sri Chaitanya and were initiated by him. Nevertheless the Panchasakha, instead of blindly following Chaitanya faith maintained their distinctiveness by sticking to the concept of void and identifying the same with Lord Krishna. Some scholars are of opinion that the Panchasakha outwardly professed the Chaitanya cult yet in their heart of hearts they were but sincere religion of the Mahayana school." According to Chittaranjan Das the Panchasakha were at once Buddhists, Vaishnavas and Tantriks. As a religious movement the Panchasakha emphasised the concept of void inner purity, *mantra*, *tantra* and *yoga*, instead of being guided by formalities. As social reformers, the Panchasakha sought to pull down "the hegemony of the social bigots" and raise up "the lower strata of society with the means of cultural innovations", they took disciples from all the castes and associated themselves with several lower castes of society and tried for their uplift.

2.2.3. Conclusion

Thus, Sri Chaitanya and Vaishnvaism had a long march in the religious and cultural history of Odisha. During the Ganga period, it flourished receiving royal patronage. During the Gajapati period, it reached the pinnacle of glory. The coming of Sri Chaitanya and his *Sankirtan* made Vaishanavaism more popular in all over Odisha. Sri Chaitanya popularized Radha-Krishna cult through *Kirtan* in the nook and corner of Odisha.

2.2.4. Summary

- ➤ The coming of Sri Chaitanya to Odisha opened a new chapter in the religious history of Odisha.
- ➤ The Vaishanavite religion which was already in existence had a deep impact in the mind of the people of Odisha.
- Sri Chaitanya faith in Odisha has a deep impact on the life and culture of the people of this land.
- ➤ He was born in a Brahmin family in 1486 A.D. which had migrated from Jaipur to Navadvipa. As a boy, Visvambhara was handsome, prodigious and naughty.
- ➤ He was also known as Gouranga for his fair complexion.
- ➤ He lost his father at the age of eighteen. Soon after his father's death, he married a girl, named Lakshmidevi. Lakshmidevi died of snake bite within a short time after the marriage.
- Thereafter Visvambhara took a second wife, named Vishnupriya.
- After the second marriage, he went to Gaya to offer *pinda* to his ancestors.
- At this stage he was initiated into the cult of *Bhakti* by a Vaishnava saint, named Isvara Purl
- > The religious atmosphere of the Vishnu temple of Gaya, where Viswambhara offered panda.
- ➤ In 1509 A.D., at the age of twenty four, he left home, and taking the vow of *Sanyasa* from Keshav Bharati and the name, Sri Krishna Chaitanya, he proceeded to Puri with some of his associates.
- ➤ In Odisha Sri Chaitanya roused a great deal of religious devotion and enthusiasm.

- ➤ His *Sankirtan* parties attracted a large number of people at Puri. On his arrival at Purl, he had a religious discussion with the great Vedantic scholar, Vasudeva Sarbabhauma, who enjoyed the patronage of the Gajapati Prataparudra.
- ➤ Defeated in the discussion and impressed by the religious personality of Sri Chaitanya Sarbabhauma embraced Vaishnavism.
- From Puri, Sri Chaitanya proceeded to south, and in June 1509 A.D., met Roy Ramananda, the governor of Rajamahendri.
- ➤ His faith roused religious devotion among all sections of society, undermined the rigours of caste distinctions and reinforced the Vaishnavism of Odisha.
- > Sri Chaitanya died at Puri before the image of Jagannath on 29th June 1533 A,D.
- ➤ All the Panchasakha poets were the contemporaries of Sri Chaitanya and were initiated by him.
- ➤ Nevertheless the Panchasakha, instead of blindly following Chaitanya faith maintained their distinctiveness by sticking to the concept of void and identifying the same with Lord Krishna.
- ➤ Thus, Sri Chaitanya and Vaishnvaism had a long march in the religious and cultural history of Odisha.

2.2.5. Exercise

- Discuss the life and teaching of Sri Chaitanya.
- **❖** Write a note on the Sri Chaitanya faith in Odisha.
- **❖** Highlight the impact of Sri Chaitanya faith on the people of Odisha.
- Discuss the relation between the *Panchasakhas* and Sri Chaitanya.

2.2.6. Further reading

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UNIT-2 Chapter-III

Panchasakhas and Bhakti movement

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2.3.2. 3.	Atibadi Jagannatha Das
2.3.2. 4.	Yasobanta Das
2.3.2. 5.	Sisu Ananta Das
2.3.2. 6. Bhakti movement in Odisha	
2.3.2.7.	Radha and Krishna Bhakti
2.3.2. 8.	Sri Chaitanya and Panchasakhas
2.3.2. 9.	Panchasakhas and Bhakti movement
2.3.3. Concl	usion
2.3.4. Summary	
2.3.5. Exerci	ise

2.3.6. Further reading

2.3.0.Objectives

This chapter will discuss Panchasakhas and Bhakti movement. After studying this lesson the students will be able to:

- know the Panchasakhas and Bhakti movement
- understand the life and works of Balaram Das
- know about Jagannath Das
- identify the life and works of Achyutananda Das, Yashobanta Das and Sisu Ananta Das
- recognise the Bhakti movement in Odisha under the Panchasakhas.

2.3.1.Introduction

The famous five Saints or five Friends of medieval Odisha were collectively known as Pancha Sakhas. They were Balarama Das, Jagannatha Das, Achyutananda Das, Yasobanta Das and Sisu Ananta Das. They started their own Sampradaya, preaching Bhakti for Radha and Krishna in Odisha before the arrival of Chaitanya, following a tradition that had been established by Jayadeva's Gita Govinda. Such was the popularity of Gita Govinda that, king Purushottama Deva wrote his own imitation, called Abhinava Gita Govinda, hoping to establish it as the new devotional success of his times. Many other Oriya poets such as Dinakrishna, Abhimanyu, Bhakta Charan, Baladeva and Gopala Krishna etc. composed poems about Krishna's romantic storieswhich is famous as Valis.

2.3.2. Pancha Sakhas

The Pancha Sakha have played a great role in the religious and socio-cultural history of Odisha. Towards the 16th century five poets emerged Balaram Das, Jagannath Das, Achyutananda Das, Ananta Das and Jasobanta Das. Although their dates of activity span one hundred years, they are collectively known as "Panchasakhas", since they adhered to the same school of thought, i.e. Utkaliya Vaishnavism.

2.3.2. 1. Balarama Das

He was born between 1472 and 1482 in Erabanga village at Gop (near Konarak). His father was Somanatha Mahapatra and his mother was Mahamaya Devi. Some say that he was

born in the village of Chandrapur, where he also met Chaitanya. Balarama Das became a minister of king Prataparudra Dev, but after meeting Chaitanya he left the Government service and utilized his previous knowledge of Kundalini yoga, vaidhi bhakti in the mood of Ramanuja Acharya, and jnana to propagate the chanting of the Holy Name. He is sometimes called Matta Balarama, because of his disregard for social conventions in favor of ecstatic Bhakti.

He used to participate to the discussions on Vedanta in the Mukti Mandapa in the Jagannatha temple (inspite of the resentment of the Brahmins), and it is said that anyone who touched his head would become instantly able to explain the philosophy of Vedanta. One day a beggar (who was dumb and deaf) approached him, touching his head, and he was not only cured and became able to speak, but he also started to discuss philosophy immediately. This beggar then became Balarama's foremost disciple with the name of Hari Das.

The mula mantra chanted and taught by Balarama Das was the Krishna mantra. His residence in Puri is called Gandharva Matha. Balarama Das wrote the famous Jagamohana or Dandi Ramayana, as well as a number of other works entitled Gita Abakasa, Bhava samudra, Gupta Gita, Vedanta Sara, Mriguni Stuti, Saptanga yogasara tika, Vedanta sara or Brahma tika, Baula gai gita, Kamala locana chotisa, Kanta koili, Bedha parikrama, Brahma gita, Brahmanda bhugola, Vajra kavaca, Jnana chudamani, Virat gita, Ganesh vibhuti, Amarakosha Gita, Lakshmi Purana (which is very popular in Odisha).

In his Bata Abakasa he writes hat Lord Jagannatha is served by 64 yoginis. In his Virata Gita, he describes the nirakara form of Krishna as Sunya. However, his idea of Sunya is quite particular, as it includes form and relationships. He was also a social worker and reformer, and an expert astrologer as well. He disappeared in 1540.

2.3.2. 2. Achyutananda Das

He was born in Tilakana near Nemala, Cuttack, in 1485; his father was Dinabandhu Khuntia and his mother's name was Padmavati. His grandfather Gopinath Mohanty had served in the army of the Gajapati King. As a child, he was named Agani. When he grew older, he had a mystic dream where the Lord taught him the Gita, the Upanishads and the Tantra. Immediately he went to pilgrimage and on the way he met Chaitanya and it is said he received Harinam

initiation from Him. Some other people say that he went to meet Chaitanya together with his father; he was then 18 years old.

At the time of Achyutananda's initiation, Chaitanya asked Sanatana Gosvami to take care of him and coach him in spiritual knowledge. Achyutananda married the daughter of Raghurana Champati Rai and stayed in Dhauligram. He had 12 main disciples, of whom the most prominent was Ramachandra Das. The King gave him some land in Banki Mohana. The mula mantra he chanted and taught was the Radha mantra. Achyutananda is mostly famous for the book of prophecies called Achyutananda Malika, composed of 13 chapters, describing the future destruction of the town of Puri after Jagannatha has moved out, and the appearance of Kalki avatara who will annihilate all the evildoers starting from Odisha. A few summary studies have been published in Oriya language Achyutananda also translated into Oriya and commented Harivamsa, Tattva bodhini, Sunya samhita, Jyoti samhita, Gopala Ujjvala, Baranasi Gita, Anakara Brahma Samhita, Abhayada Kavacha, Astagujari, Sarana panjara stotra, Vipra chalaka, Mana mahima.

He wrote a book about the preaching mission of the Pancha sakhas (five friends) and organized a travelling party of Rahasankirtana, for which he also wrote several bhajan songs. It is said that once he was attacked by some envious Brahmins and he manifested his laghima yoga siddhi by becoming extremely light and floating away in the air. Achyutananda's teachings present a fusion of Saguna and Nirguna worship, uniting the doctrines of Dvaita and Advaita, and knowledge from Upanishads and Kundalini yoga. He left his body on Jyestha sukla Ekadasi.

2.3.2. 3. Atibadi Jagannatha Das

He was born in Kapilesvarapur or Kapilesvar grama (one of the 16 traditional Sasana villages) at 14 kms from Puri towards Brahmagiri, on the day of Radhastami of 1487 (some say in 1490). Because he was born on Radhastami, he is considered to have a close relationship with Srimati Radhika. His mother was Padmavati Devi and his father was Bhagavan Das, from the Kaushiki Gotra. He used to recite the Bhagavata Purana in Lord's Jagannatha temple, and his explanations were so attractive that king Prataparudra gave him the title of "Purana Panda". As son of the Purana Panda, Jagannatha Das used to sit by his father and learn the Bhagavata. One day, while visiting the temple, Chaitanya noticed the 18 years old boy sitting near the Bata Ganesha Deity in Sri Mandira, reciting the Brahma stuti from Gopa lila (10th Canto), and honored him by offering him a cloth and the title of Atibadi ("very great").

Jagannatha Das also used to go to recite the Bhagavatam in the houses of people and made no discrimination on the basis of bodily identification, befriending men and women in the same way. A famous incident regarded such confidential exchanges with Medha and Sumedha, two ladies endowed with great spiritual power and who were said to be going in the night to visit Jagannatha in the temple by their mystic powers after it was closed. Some envious men complained to king Prataparudra accusing Jagannatha Das of immoral behavior (illicit relationships with women) and the King called him for questioning. Jagannatha Das replied that for him there was no difference between men and women; he said that in fact when he was associating with ladies, he actually regarded himself as a woman, too.

The King did not believe him but when Jagannatha Das was put in jail he actually manifested himself in the form of a woman and the guards, impressed, called the King to witness such an extraordinary feat. King Prataparudra realized he had committed an offense to a great devotee, so not only he released him/her from prison, but he also asked that s/he gave initiation to his chief Queen into Bhakti yoga. The Queen invited Jagannatha Das within the royal palace, where he could open his own Matha, called Bada Odiya Matha.

It is said that by the order of Narada Muni, Jagannatha Das translated Srimad Bhagavatam into Oriya. This work gave him the reputation of the best spiritual teacher in Odisha in his times, and is still extremely popular even today, being worshiped and recited in all households. In fact in Odisha this text is considered on the same level of Tulasi Das' Rama charita manasa.

Jagannatha Das wrote also Gupta Bhagavat, Tula vina, Sola chapadi, Chari chapadi, Tola bena, Daru brahma gita, Diksa samyad, Artha koili, Muguni stuti, Annamaya kundali, Goloka sarodhara, Bhakti chandrika, Kali malika, Indra malika, Niladri vilasa, Nitya gupta chintamani, Sri Krishna bhakti kalpa lata and other books. The mula mantra he chanted and taught was the Rama mantra. He established two Mathas in Puri, the Bada Odiya Matha and the Satalahari Matha. His main disciple was Baliga Das. Jagannatha Das passed away on Sukla Magha saptami (the day of Chandrabhaga Mela in Konarak) in 1557, and his Samadhi Mandira is on the beach. His main disciples were Uddhava, Ramachandra, Gopinatha, Hari Das, Nandani Acharya, Vamani Mahapatra, Srimati Gaura, Gopala Das, Akhandala Mekapa, Janardana Pati, Krishna Das, Vanamali Das, Govardhana Das, Kanai Khuntia, Jagannatha Das and Madhusudana Das.

2.3.2. 4. Yasobanta Das

He was born in 1482 near Aranga Nandi village, district of Cuttack, in a kshatriya family. His father was Balabhadra Mala, his mother was Rekha Devi. He married Anjana Devi, the sister of king Raghunath Champatti of Aranga. Later on, he took sannyasa and traveled to many holy places in India, he attained mystic powers and was able to change his form at will. The mula mantra he chanted and taught was the Shyama mantra.

He wrote Govinda chandra, Shiva sarodaya, Sasti mala, Prema bhakti, Brahma gita, Atma pariche gita, a Malika and several bhajans. The Govinda chandra became very famous in Assam, Bengal and north India; it is basically related with traditional dance and teaching of dance, connected with the Vaishnava tradition. His best disciple was Lohi Das. It is said that also the famous saint Salabega was his disciple. He left his body on Margasira sukla Sasti.

2.3.2. 5. Sisu Ananta Das

He was born in Balipatna village, near Bhubaneswara, in 1488. His father's name was Kapila, and his mother's Gaura Devi. In a dream he received from Surya Narayana in Konarak the order to go and meet Chaitanya, so he approached the party and took diksha initiation from Nityananda Prabhu. Sisu Ananta Das resided in Khandagiri, in what is today called Gadi Tapovana Ashram; through his Sadhana he attained mystic powers, and he was able to change his form at will. Usually he would take the form of a little child, hence his name as Sisu. In this form, he became the adopted son of the wife of king Prataparudra, who nursed him.

He personally found a Patita pavana (Jagannatha) murti in the Matha in Balia patana. His main disciples were Barang Das, Hamsa Das, and Sisu Das. He wrote the Bhakti mukti daya gita, one of the oldest and most important popular scriptures of Odisha, and other texts like Sisu Deva gita, Artha tarani, Udebhakara, Tirabhakana, a Malika and several bhajan songs. In Udaya bhagavata he describes Lord Jagannatha as the combined form of Radha and Krishna. However, due to general lack of interest, these books are not properly valued at present.

2.3.2. 6. Bhakti movement in Odisha

Bhakti movements had played a significant role in the religious history of ancient and medieval Odisha. Historians have subjected them to extensive scholarly scrutiny. As a result, we

know a great deal about various *bhakti* movements like the Alvar and Nayanar movements of Tamilnadu, the Virasaiva and HariDas movements of Karnataka, and the Varkari movement of Maharashtra. We also know about individual saints like Tulsidas, Kabir, Surdas, Vallabha, Ramananda, Mira, Lal Ded, Annamacharya and many others. However, *bhakti* movements in some parts of India have not received adequate attention from historians. The great *panchasakha* movement of sixteenth century Odisha is one of them.

2.3.2. 7. Radha and Krishna Bhakti

Songs on Radha and Krishna written by Vidyapati of Mithila (in north Bihar) had also become famous in Odisha, and in fact both Jayadeva's and Vidyapati's songs were deeply appreciated by Chaitanya, who had them sung again and again to him by his companions. Before meeting Chaitanya, Ramananda Raya had written the Mahabhava prakasa, in which Kanhai (Krishna) describes Radha as the embodiment of mahabhava, and the Jagannatha vallabha nataka. Another work on Krishna Bhakti that enjoyed great popularity before the arrival of Chaitanya was Markanda Das's Kesava koili.

2.3.2. 8.Sri Chaitanya and Panchasakhas

The five Friends all came in contact with Chaitanya, who arrived in Sri Kshetra in 1510, and often associated with him and his followers. Chaitanya Bhagavata mentions Nityananda and Ramananda Raya celebrating Sankirtana together with Balarama and Achyutananda. They found Chaitanya's preaching very near to their own ideas, because Chaitanya introduced the Nagara Sankirtana where there were no discriminations based on caste or social class, and the songs of the kirtanas were not only in classical Sanskrit but also in the popular languages such as Bengali and Oriya, encouraging ordinary and low-caste people to participate more directly. Chaitanya also accepted low-caste people as his followers, embraced fishermen and honored "ex-Muslim" devotees such as HariDas, Rupa and Sanatana etc.

2.3.2. 9.Panchasakhas and Bhakti movement

The liberality of the Pancha sakhas antagonized the Brahmins, who disparaged the Oryia translations of the Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavata and Harivamsa compiled by Sarala, Balarama, Jagannatha and Achyutananda. The Oriya Bhagavatam of Jagannatha Das was even called "teli bhagavata", the "Bhagavata of the low-caste oil-maker". However, the literary work

of the Pancha sakhas was vital to the development of the Oriya language and cultural identity, uniting the people and creating a feeling of solidarity that protected the region for a long time.

The five Friends preached the Vaishnava dharma or ninefold process of Bhakti and chanting the Holy Names (Harinama), giving more importance to the realization of the soul rather than worship of the Deities. The most important aspect of their preaching was the abolition of all discriminations among Vaishnavas, no matter from which caste or background they came; Achyutananda, Yasovanta, Balarama and Ananta met a strong opposition from the casteconscious Brahmins, who even disparagingly called Jagannatha Das's Oriya Bhagavata as "teli bhagavata" ("the Bhagavata of the oil-maker"). However, this Oriya Bhagavatam became so popular that every village had a Tunga, a hall where the villagers regularly gathered to listen to its reading.

As a reaction against the excessive ritualism of the caste Brahmins and their monopoly and control over the temples and Deity worship, the Pancha Sakhas preached that Lord Krishna/Jagannatha could be worshiped as Sunya, "void", a particular "non-shape" that transcended the Deity in the temple and therefore could be accessible by everyone at all times. It is important to understand that such "void" is not an impersonal emptiness devoid of sentiments, qualities and relationships — in fact quite the opposite, as Jagannatha Das preached the Rasa krida, Acyutananda preached the Nitya Rasa, Yasovanta preached the Prema bhakti brahma gita and Ananta the Tula sunya rasa.

They accepted Radha Krishna as Paramatma and Jagannatha as Radha Krishna yugala murti or bhava murti, and taught that Guru is the manifestation of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara. According to their doctrine (that is also shared by many other groups, including the Natha yogis and several traditions of Bhakti in Bengal), the human body is a microcosm where the Supreme Lord resides and manifests His pastimes, including the most intimate lilas of Radha Krishna, where Radha is the pure devoted soul and Krishna is Paramatma. The Pancha sakhas followed the path of Bhakti adopting mantra, tantra and yantra in their sadhana; they manifested mystic power and could change their body into different forms.

For many generations, there has been a serious rift between the followers of the Atibadi Sampradaya and the Bengali followers of Chaitanya, and especially the Sarasvata Gaudiyas, sometimes with excessive emphasis on marginal details such as the order of the two verses of the Maha mantra sloka:

"Hare Krishna Hare Krishna, Krishna Krishna Hare Hare Hare Rama Hare Rama, Rama Rama Hare Hare,"

While the Atibadi Sampradaya and several other ancient Gaudiya Mathas in Puri chant the mantra starting with the "Rama line", the Sarasvata Gaudiya insist that the mantra should start with the "Krishna line" in order "not to be offensive by reversing the lines". It is not clear how sincere followers of Chaitanya could find "offensive" the recitation of the Holy Names simply because one verse is put before the other - also considering that by continued recitation, neither of the two verses appears to come first, but they form a circle.

In fact, we have heard that Narada Muni tricked Valmiki into chanting the name of Lord Rama by instructing him to chant the name of Death (Mara); the constant chanting "in circles" of the syllables Ra and Ma was nevertheless so powerful that it turned a highway robber into the greatest devotee of Sri Ramachandra. Besides, we should remember the clear teaching of a verse of the Sikshastakam, the short ideological summary considered the only text actually written by Chaitanya:

"namnam akari bahu-dha nijasarva-saktis tatrarpita niyamitah smarane na kalah"

"O my Lord, Your holy name alone can render all benedictions to living beings, and thus You have hundreds and millions of names. In these transcendental names You have invested all Your transcendental energies. There are not even hard and fast rules for chanting these names."

The Jagannatha charitamrita, a biography of Jagannatha Das written by Divakara Das, states that the difference between the Oriya (Utkali) and the Bengali (Gaudiya) Vaishnavas is that the Oriyas consider Jagannatha as the avatari, the source of all avataras, while the Bengalis say that Krishna is the avatari.

Such distinction could be easily overcome by considering that Jagannatha is Krishna Himself, and especially in the light of the acintya bhedabheda tattva taught by Chaitanya. The rift between the Bengali and Oriya Vaishnavas has lasted long enough, and is based on very flimsy grounds, more emotional than philosophical or theological. Divakar Das wrote that the Bengali devotees were jealous of the Oriya devotees, and in fact still today we find people from the Sarasvata Gaudiya line writing that the title "Atibadi" given by Chaitanya to Jagannatha Das was meant in an offensive and sarcastic way, while we know that Chaitanya strictly taught and demonstrated the utmost humility towards all groups of people.

Some also say that the powerful influence of the Atibadi Sampradaya, challenging the excessive ritualism and casteism of the orthodox society, was carried to the extreme consequences by the antibrahminic and iconoclastic movement called Mahima Dharma in more recent times. However, this would be an exaggeration considering that the Mahima Dharma actively opposed the worship of Jagannatha, to the point of attacking the Puri temple with the intent of destroying the Deities. This seems to be quite far fetched, as all the Atibadi Mathas worship the form of Jagannatha as well as other divine forms, and uphold the sacredness of the Shastra, which the Mahima sect do not recognize.

The Acharya in the sixth generation of the disciplic succession from the Atibadi Sampradaya, Purushottama Das, had five prominent disciples, the first of which, Mukunda Das, became the Mahanta of the Bodo Oriya Matha, and the other four established new branches of the Matha in Puri, called Sana Oriya Matha, Rama-Hari Das Matha, Vanamali Das matha and Bhagavata Das Matha.

2.3.3. Conclusion

The five great Oriya saints (*panchasakhas*) from the sixteenth century, Balarama Das, Jagannatha Das, Achyutananda Das, Yasovanta Das and Sisu Ananta Das, were contemporaries and associates of Chaitanya. They were devotees of Lord Jagannatha and lived in the town of Puri. The role played by them in the socio-religious developments of sixteenth century Odisha had a lasting impression on the subsequent religious and literary history of the region. As a result of their close association with the Suryavamsi Gajapati state, they were successful in bringing about several reforms in the Jagannatha cult. The *panchasakhas* also developed a unique philosophy of their own and produced some of the greatest masterpieces of literature in Oriya. The popularity of these works is attested by the fact that some of their works, like Jagannatha Das's *Bhagavata* and Balarama Das's *Lakshmi Purana* have survived in hundreds of manuscripts in different parts of Odisha.

2.3.4. Summary

- The famous five Saints or five Friends of medieval Odisha were collectively known as Pancha Sakhas.
- ➤ They were Balarama Das, Jagannatha Das, Achyutananda Das, Yasobanta Das and Sisu Ananta Das.

- ➤ They started their own Sampradaya, preaching Bhakti for Radha and Krishna in Odisha before the arrival of Chaitanya, following a tradition that had been established by Jayadeva's Gita Govinda.
- ➤ The Pancha Sakha have played a great role in the religious and socio-cultural history of Odisha.
- ➤ Balaram Das was born between 1472 and 1482 in Erabanga village at Gop (near Konarak).
- ➤ His father was Somanatha Mahapatra and his mother was Mahamaya Devi.
- ➤ He is sometimes called Matta Balarama, because of his disregard for social conventions in favor of ecstatic Bhakti.
- ➤ He used to participate to the discussions on Vedanta in the Mukti Mandapa in the Jagannatha temple (inspite of the resentment of the Brahmins), and it is said that anyone who touched his head would become instantly able to explain the philosophy of Vedanta.
- ➤ Balarama Das wrote the famous Jagamohana or Dandi Ramayana.
- ➤ He had also written Gita Abakasa, Bhava samudra, Gupta Gita, Vedanta Sara, Mriguni Stuti, Saptanga yogasara tika, Vedanta sara or Brahma tika, Baula gai gita, Kamala locana chotisa, Kanta koili, Bedha parikrama, Brahma gita, Brahmanda bhugola, Vajra kavaca, Jnana chudamani, Virat gita, Ganesh vibhuti, Amarakosha Gita, Lakshmi Purana (which is very popular in Odisha).
- Achyutananda Das was born in Tilakana near Nemala, Cuttack, in 1485; his father was Dinabandhu Khuntia and his mother's name was Padmavati.
- Achyutananda also translated into Oriya and commented Harivamsa, Tattva bodhini, Sunya samhita, Jyoti samhita, Gopala Ujjvala, Baranasi Gita, Anakara Brahma Samhita, Abhayada Kavacha, Astagujari, Sarana panjara stotra, Vipra chalaka, Mana mahima.
- ➤ Jagannath Das was born in Kapilesvarapur or Kapilesvar grama (one of the 16 traditional Sasana villages) at 14 kms from Puri towards Brahmagiri, on the day of Radhastami of 1487 (some say in 1490).
- ➤ Jagannatha Das wrote also Gupta Bhagavat, Tula vina, Sola chapadi, Chari chapadi, Tola bena, Daru brahma gita, Diksa samyad, Artha koili, Muguni stuti, Annamaya kundali, Goloka sarodhara, Bhakti chandrika, Kali malika, Indra malika, Niladri vilasa, Nitya gupta chintamani, Sri Krishna bhakti kalpa lata and other books.

- ➤ His main disciples were Uddhava, Ramachandra, Gopinatha, Hari Das, Nandani Acharya, Vamani Mahapatra, Srimati Gaura, Gopala Das, Akhandala Mekapa, Janardana Pati, Krishna Das, Vanamali Das, Govardhana Das, Kanai Khuntia, Jagannatha Das and Madhusudana Das.
- ➤ Yashobanta Das was born in 1482 near Aranga Nandi village, district of Cuttack, in a kshatriya family.
- ➤ He wrote Govinda chandra, Shiva sarodaya, Sasti mala, Prema bhakti, Brahma gita, Atma pariche gita, a Malika and several bhajans.
- ➤ Sisu Ananta Das was born in Balipatna village, near Bhubaneswara, in 1488. His father's name was Kapila, and his mother's Gaura Devi.
- ➤ He wrote the Bhakti mukti daya gita, one of the oldest and most important popular scriptures of Odisha, and other texts like Sisu Deva gita, Artha tarani, Udebhakara, Tirabhakana, a Malika and several bhajan songs.
- ➤ Bhakti movements had played a significant role in the religious history of ancient and medieval Odisha.
- ➤ The five Friends all came in contact with Chaitanya, who arrived in Sri Kshetra in 1510, and often associated with him and his followers.
- ➤ The liberality of the Pancha sakhas antagonized the Brahmins, who disparaged the Oryia translations of the Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavata and Harivamsa compiled by Sarala, Balarama, Jagannatha and Achyutananda.
- ➤ The five Friends preached the Vaishnava dharma or ninefold process of Bhakti and chanting the Holy Names (Harinama), giving more importance to the realization of the soul rather than worship of the Deities.
- ➤ The most important aspect of their preaching was the abolition of all discriminations among Vaishnavas, no matter from which caste or background they came.
- Achyutananda, Yasovanta, Balarama and Ananta met a strong opposition from the casteconscious Brahmins.
- ➤ The Pancha Sakhas preached that Lord Krishna/Jagannatha could be worshiped as Sunya, "void", a particular "non-shape" that transcended the Deity in the temple and therefore could be accessible by everyone at all times.
- Thus, the Panchasakhas and Bhakti movement had a great impact on the socio-religious and cultural life of the people of Odisha.

2.3.5. Exercise

- ❖ Write a note on the *Panchasakhas* and *Bhakti* movement in Odisha.
- **Discuss the life and works of Jagannath Das.**
- **❖** Make an analysis on the life and literary works of Balaram Das.
- ❖ Give an account on the works of Achyutananda Das.
- **!** Give a note on the works of Sisu Ananta Das and Yashobanta Das.
- * Write a note on the *Bhakti* movement in Odisha under the *Panchasakhas*.

2.3.6. Further reading

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Unit-3 Chapter-I

Muslim conquest of Odisha: Mughal -Afghan Conflict

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3.1.0.Objectives

In this lesson, students investigate about the Muslim conquest of Odisha and Mughal-Afghan conflict. After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- to learn the Muslim conquest of Odisha
- to analyze Mughal-Afghan conflict
- to investigate the beginning of Mughal rule in Odisha
- to trace the steps taken by Akbar to crush the Afghan rebells

3.1.1. Introduction

The Muslim conquest of Odisha created a new chapter in the medieval history of Odisha. The treachery and murder which was the order of the day came to a close down when Mukundar Harichandana took the charge of administration. In the mean while the diplomacy of Akbar to ehelp Mukundadeva against any possible attack from Bengal, gave impression to the latter that Bengal would not pose a problem for him. When Akbar was busy in the conquest of Chittor, Sulaiman Karrani dispatched his son Bayazid and General Kalapahada to attack Odisha. Mukundadeva had advanced up to Kotasima to face the enemy, but he had to retreat to deal with Ramachandra Bhanja, the rebellious chief of Sarangagarh. However, Mukundadeva, the last independent Hindu king of Odisha was killed by the Afghans in 1568 A.D. With this the independence of medieval Odisha came to an end. After that the local rulers became mere puppets in the hands of the Afghan Governors of Bengal.

3.1.2. Muslim conquest of Odisha

The Afghan attack on Odisha established a new era in the medieval history of Odisha. It opened the way for the Muslim rule in Odisha. The invasion of Bayazid and Kalapahada in 1568 A.D. established Muslim rule over Odisha for the first time under the Afghans and then under the Mughals. Before consolidation of the Afghan hold over Odisha, Sulaiman Karrani breathed his last in 1572 A.D. He was succeeded by Bayazid who, by his arrogant nature, incurred the displeasure of the Afghan chiefs. This caused his death at the hands of Hansu, the nephew and son-in-law of Sulaiman Karrani. The *Riyazus- Salatin* describes that after the death of Bayazid, his younger brother Daud Karrani, with a big force, marched against Hansu and killed him who had taken shelter with Qutlu and other Lohanis. Daud defied the authority of Akbar and ordered *Khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in his name. Further, instigated by Qutlu Lohani, the Governor of Odisha, Daud killed other Afghan veterans whom he thought a rival to the throne of Bengal.

3.1.3. Mughal-Afghans conflict

Emperor Akbar took a note of it and sent Raja Todarmal to Bihar to join Munim Khan. Though Munim Khan besieged Daud in Patna, he could not defeat him. With the arrival of Akbar, Daud left Bihar and returned to Bengal. Patna fell in the clutch of the Mughals. Munim Khan pursued Daud upto Bengal and occupied it. Daud fled again to Cuttack and remained unsubdued in Odisha. He moved forward and backward between Cuttack and Jaleswar keeping a close watch on the advance of the Mughal army. The combined army of Munim Khan and Todarmal crossed sword with Daud in 1575 A.D. The fight took place on the plain of Tukaroi, six miles west of Jaleswar on the bank of river Suvarnarekha. Munim Khan was wounded by Gujar Khan, an able commander of Daud. After sometime, when Munim Khan returned to the battle field again, Raja Todarmal, Laskar Khan, Mir-bakshi and others discharged showers of arrows upon the soldiers of Daud. An arrow struck Gujar Khan who met his end in the battle field. The battle of Tukaroi decreed in favour of the Mughals and Daud had no alternative but to rush towards Cuttack.

3.1.3. 1. Continuation of Mughal-Afghan conflict

Under the leadership of Todarmal, the Mughal army followed Daud and did not halt on the way until they reached Kaikalghati (Bhadrak) which is described the *Ain-i-Akbari*. In the mean while, Daud and other Afghans gathered inside the fort of Barabati at Cuttack. Munim Khan, being cured fully, came and joined with Todarmal. He, then, held a grand council on the bank of river Mahanadi with his Amirs in chalking out the plan for besieging the fort.

3.1.3.2. Temporary surrender of Daud to the Mughal army

The situation was now crystal clear to Daud. He sent a message to Munim Khan and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* records it as follows: "The striving to crush a party of Musalmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject, but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal sufficient for my support may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel." After this, Munim Khan called Daud to his court on 12 April, 1557 A.D. who went with his Afghan nobles and officers. He submitted before Munim Khan and promised not to take any hostile action against emperor Akbar. He presented his best elephants to Munim Khan and sent his nephew Shaikh Muhammad, son of Bayazid who accompanied Munim Khan to the Mughal court later on. Munim Khan presented a sword with a jeweled belt to Daud and said:

"You have now become a subject of imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have, therefore, requested that the country of Odisha may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition granting this to you as my 'tankhwah' has been granted to me. I now greet you afresh with this war like sword." (Tabaqat-i-Akbari) Akbar approved the deed of Munim Khan. Daud got Odisha. Munim Khan becarne the Governor of Bengal. After this arrangement, Todarmal returned to Delhi. .

3.1.3. 3. Revenge of Daud Karrani

The surrender of Daud Karrani was a mere eye-wash. He was in search of an opportunity to launch a war against the Mughals. The chance came to him with the death of Munim Khan on 23 October, 1575 A.D. Daud ignored the humiliating treaty made with Munim Khan, the *Khan-i-Khanan* and unfurled the banner of revolt against the Mughals. With a lightning march, he proceeded to Bhadrak and killed Nazar Bahadur, the Governor of Akbar, posted there. After bringing Bhadrak under his grip, he marched towards Jaleswar and smelling a scent of it. Murad Khan the Mughal officer of Jaleswar fled away to Tanda. Jaleswar was reoccupied by Daud who immediately proceeded to Bengal. The Mughal officers and army returned to Bhagalpur *en route* to Delhi at the approach of Daud. Now, Daud consolidated his position over Bengal and Odisha.

3.1.3. 4. Akbar's step to crush the rebels

Having heard this news, Akbar appointed Husain Quli Beg entitled *Khen-i-Jenen*, to lead an expedition against the Afghans assisted by Todarmal. He proceeded with a grand Mughal army towards Bengal via Bihar. At Bhagalpur, *Khen-i-Jenen* waited. He talked with the Amirs of Bengal who met him there. Then marching ahead, the imperial army easily recovered the Teligarhi pass. Daud Karrani, supported by his uncle Junaid and other Afghan chiefs, offered strong resistance to the imperial army at Rajmahal. In the mean while, Muzaffar Khan was sent by Akbar who collected forces from Bihar, Hajipur and Patna and joined the imperial army led by *Khen-i-Jehet*: on 10 July, 1576 AD. A fierce battle took place between the Mughals and Afghans on 12 July, 1576 AD. The Afghans were utterly defeated and almost all their great leaders met their end. A Cannon-ball wounded Junaid and his leg was broken. Daud was captured and imprisoned for his disloyalty to emperor Akbar. Kalapahada and Qutlu Lohani could survive by flight, though the former was severely wounded.

3.1.3. 5. The beginning of the Mughal rule in Odisha

From 1576 A.D. to 1605 AD., nearly thirty years were spent by the Mughal officers of Bengal to drive away the Afghans from Odisha but they were very much unsuccessful in their mission. Though, after the fall of Daud, Odisha was annexed to Akbar's empire but Mughal administration could not be implemented effectively in the province till the death of Akbar. With the death of Hussain Quli Khan in 1578 AD. Muzaffar Khan Turbati was appointed as the Governor of Bengal and Mausum Khan Afghan was appointed as the Governor of Odisha. The Mughal government now appointed some Afghan *Jagirdars* in Odisha who were constantly being harassed by Muzaffar Khan. Masum Khan, the administrator of Odisha now got a chance to organise the Afghans of Odisha and became ready to have a show down with Mughals.

3.1.3. 6. Akbar and the Afghan rebels

After regularizing the administration of Odisha, Todarmal returned to Delhi in 1582 AD. In the meanwhile, *Khen-i-Azetn* was appointed as the Governor of Bengal. Qutlu Lohani, another great supporter of Daud Karrani, now appeared in the political scene and established his authority over Odisha supported by Masum Khan. He advanced towards Hoogly and defeated Muhammad Nizat Khan, the Mughal Fauzdar of the place at Salimabad. On hearing this, Akbar dispatched a vast army at the command of *Ktien-i-Azem* who proceeded to Katigang to teach a lesson to the Afghan rebels.

3.1.3. 7. Preparation for the war

The Afghan rebels, led by Masum Khan and Qutlu Lohani, met the Mughal army on 27 March, 1583. The Afghans were defeated at the hands of the Mughals. The Afghans now had no alternative but to conclude peace with the Mughals. At this juncture, *Khani- Azem* was transferred from Bengal as its climate did not suit him and Shahbaz Khan was appointed as his successor. Qutlu Lohani broke the peace treaty with the Mughals and as a natural corollary, a fight took place between Qutlu and the Mughals on 15 July, 1583 A.D. near Burdwan. In this battle, the Afghan commander Bahadur Kuruh was defeated. After that, the Afghans rushed towards Odisha.

3.1.3. 8. Submission of Lohani

In the meanwhile, Akbar sent an army to keep an eye on the frontier of Odisha. Qutlu Lohani organised the Pathans and met the Mughals of Burdwan. Wazir khan led the Mughal army and defeated the Afghan chief. Being defeated, Qutlu Lohani marched towards Jaleswar

and there, he surrendered himself before the Mughal army by presenting sixty elephants to the Mughals. Tiat situational surrender was diplomatic strategy by Qutlu Lohani. After regaining strength, the Afghans renewed their attack and plunder over Burdwan. By pursuation of the Mughals, Isa Khan, Masum Khan and other Afghan leaders left the companion of Qutlu Lohani and surrendered to Akbar. Qutlu Lohani enjoyed his days in Odisha unperturbed by Mughal attacks. No doubt, the Mughals had their sway over Bengal but Odisha remained the stronghold of the Afghan Chiefs until it was finally conquered by Man Singh in 1593 A.D.

3.1.3. 9. The Mughal-Afghan Treaty

When Qutlu Khan Lohani was enjoying his days in Odisha, Akbar sent one of his ablest general Raja Man Singh to deal with the Afghans. The march of the imperial army prompted Qutlu Khan to make himself ready for the fight with the Mughals. To that effect, he sent Bahadur Kuruh, an Afghan General. Assisted by Umar Khan, Khwaja Isa and others Bahadur Kuruh inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mughal army led by Jagat Singh, the son of Man Singh at Raipur. In the meanwhile, Qutlu Khan Lohani breathed his last and his son succeeded him. As he was a weak ruler, his *Wazir* Khwaja Isa sued for peace with the Mughals which was accepted by Man Singh. The treaty between the Afghans and Mughals was signed on 15 August, 1590 A.D. The terms of the treaty were as follows:

- > The name of the emperor should be used on the coins and the Khutba is to be read in his name.
- ➤ The Afghan ruler of Odisha should be both obedient and loyal vassal of the emperor.
- > Jagannath (at Puri) and its surrounding districts would be ceded to the emperor.

3.1.3. 10. Condition of Raja Ramachandradeva

From the treaty, it appears that it neither satisfied the Afghans nor Ramachandradeva, the then king of Odisha. Very cunningly by influencing Akbar, Man Singh had inserted a clause in the treaty for the protection of the principal Hindu religious institution of Jagannath against any Afghan oppression. This was a diplomatic trick to encourage the support of the Hindus of Odisha towards the benevolent Mughal rule based on the principle of toleration. Then, why Ramachandradeva was not satisfied? It was only because his power and position as the custodian of God Jagannath had not been at all reflected in the treaty. On the other hand, the Mughals became the custodian of God. Of course, the conquest of Odisha by Man Singh never put an end to the Afghan hostility. Now, Khwaja Isa, the *Wazir* of Nasir Khan, paid allegience to emperor

Akbar and ruled for two years according to the terms of the treaty. With his death in 1592 A.D., Nasir Khan, with his followers, captured the temple of God Jagannath defying Mughal authority and seized the crown land of Puri. Undoubtedly, Raja Ramachandradeva backed the Afghans. Again, Man Singh marched with a grand Mughal army to deal with the Afghans. On 10 April,J 592 A.D., a stiff resistance the Mughal army faced from the Afghans on the bank of river Suvarnarekha. However, a determined Mughal army defeated the Afghans and chased them towards Cuttack via Jaleswar and Bhadrak.

3.1.3. 11. Fall of Sarangagarh fort in the hands of the Mughal army

Being hard pressed by the Mughal army, the Afghans could not maintain their stand at Cuttack. Their stronghold, Cuttack fell into the hands of the Mughals. The Afghans fled away to the fort of Sarangagarh. At this juncture, Man Singh first started towards Khurda and Raja Ramachandradeva shut himself at the fort. It was difficult on his part to send any help to the Afghans at Sarangagarh. After a weak resistance, the Afghans surrendered and Sarangagarh fell. Man Singh besieged Khurda Ramachandradeva showed his loyalty at Akbar and made peace with Man Singh in 1593. He was recognised as the ruler of Khurda by Akbar and the protector of the Jagannath temple at Puri. He was offered a rank of a *Mansabdar* of three thousands and five hundreds. With the surrender of Ramachandradeva in 1593, the Mughal conquest of Odisha was complete and that put an end to the Afghan rule in Odisha. Hence, Odisha permanently formed a part of the Mughal empire till it was conquered by the Marathas.

3.1.4. Conclusion

Thus, the Muslim conquest of Odisha created a new chapter in the medieval history of Odisha. Mukundadeva, the last independent Hindu king of Odisha was killed by the Afghans in 1568 A.D. With this the independence of medieval Odisha came to an end. After that the local rulers became mere puppets in the hands of the Afghan Governors of Bengal. However, it was Akbar who defeated these Afghan rulers and established Mughal rule in Odisha.

3.1.5. Summary

- The Muslim conquest of Odisha created a new chapter in the medieval history of Odisha.
- Mukundadeva, the last independent Hindu king of Odisha was killed by the Afghans in 1568 A.D.
- ➤ With this the independence of medieval Odisha came to an end. After that the local rulers became mere puppets in the hands of the Afghan Governors of Bengal.

- ➤ The invasion of Bayazid and Kalapahada in 1568 A.D. established Muslim rule over Odisha for the first time under the Afghans and then under the Mughals.
- ➤ With the arrival of Akbar, Daud left Bihar and returned to Bengal.
- > Patna fell in the clutch of the Mughals. Munim Khan pursued Daud upto Bengal and occupied it. Daud fled again to Cuttack and remained unsubdued in Odisha.
- ➤ Under the leadership of Todarmal, the Mughal army followed Daud and did not halt on the way until they reached Kaikalghati (Bhadrak) which is described the *Ain-i-Akbari*.
- ➤ In the mean while, Daud and other Afghans gathered inside the fort of Barabati at Cuttack.
- ➤ The surrender of Daud Karrani was a mere eye-wash. He was in search of an opportunity to launch a war against the Mughals.
- The chance came to him with the death of Munim Khan on 23 October, 1575 A.D.
- ➤ The Mughal officers and army returned to Bhagalpur *en route* to Delhi at the approach of Daud. Now, Daud consolidated his position over Bengal and Odisha.
- ➤ Having heard this news, Akbar appointed Husain Quli Beg entitled *Khen-i-Jenen*, to lead an expedition against the Afghans assisted by Todarmal.
- ➤ From 1576 A.D. to 1605 AD., nearly thirty years were spent by the Mughal officers of Bengal to drive away the Afghans from Odisha but they were very much unsuccessful in their mission.
- After the fall of Daud, Odisha was annexed to Akbar's empire.
- After regularizing the administration of Odisha, Todarmal returned to Delhi in 1582 AD.
- ➤ The Mughals had their sway over Bengal but Odisha remained the stronghold of the Afghan Chiefs until it was finally conquered by Man Singh in 1593 A.D.
- The treaty between the Afghans and Mughals was signed on 15 August, 1590 A.D.
- ➤ Being hard pressed by the Mughal army, the Afghans could not maintain their stand at Cuttack.
- Their stronghold, Cuttack fell into the hands of the Mughals.
- The Afghans fled away to the fort of Sarangagarh.
- After a weak resistance, the Afghans surrendered and Sarangagarh fell.

- Man Singh besieged Khurda Ramachandradeva showed his loyalty at Akbar and made peace with Man Singh in 1593.
- ➤ With the surrender of Ramachandradeva in 1593, the Mughal conquest of Odisha was complete and that put an end to the Afghan rule in Odisha.
- ➤ Hence, Odisha permanently formed a part of the Mughal empire till it was conquered by the Marathas.

3.1.6. Exercise

- **❖** Write a note on the Muslim conquest of Odisha.
- ❖ Give an account on the Mughal-Afghan conflict in Odisha.
- ❖ Discuss the steps taken by Akbar to crush the Afghan rebels in Odisha.
- **❖** Make an analysis on the Mughal victory over the Afghans in Odisha.

3.1.7. Further reading

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Unit-3

Chapter-II

Odisha under the Mughal rulers: Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb

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3.2.9. Further Reading

3.2.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students explore the Odisha under the Mughal rulers: Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

- *trace* Odisha under the Mughal rulers
- *identify* Odisha under the rule of Akbar
- recognize Odisha under the rule of Jahangir
- know Odisha under the rule of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb

3.2.1. Introduction

The prolonged fight between the Afghans and Mughals came to an end in 1593 A.D. by Man Singh, one of the ablest General of Akbar. This brought a complete subjugation of the Afghans. Of course, prior to it, Akbar had taken steps to implement Mughal administration in Odisha.

3.2.2. Odisha under Akbar's rule

With the death of Daud Karrani, Raja Todarmal had arranged peaceful administration in Odisha. By the will of Akbar, peace with Ramachandradeva was made. Man Singh recognised him as the true successors of the Gajapatis of Odisha. Due to this recognition, the position of Ramachandradeva was asserted on Odishan soil who took up the title 'Gajapati'. In a diplomatic way, Man Singh also satisfied two sons of Mukundadeva by giving them the *zamindari* of Aul and Patia, as stated earlier. Normalcy was restored to this land with active intervention of Raja Man Singh. He implemented Todarmal's revenue system 'in Odisha. There was no intervention in the temple administration of Puri during Akbar's time. Odisha was attached to Bengal *Suba* and ruled from Head Quarters located in Bengal.

3.2.3. Odisha under Jahangir's rule

With the death of Akbar, Jahangir ascended the throne in 1605 A.D. He did not follow the liberal policy pursued by Akbar. He intervened in the internal administration of Khurda and the temple of God Jagannath. Odisha became a separate *Suba*. Hasim Khan was appointed as the Governor of Odisha. He prepared a plan to march against Purusottamadeva, the Raja of Khurda. Before he implemented this plan, his subordinate Raja Keso Das Maru Marched against Purusottamadeva for materialising the dream of his master.

3.2.3.1. Occupation of Puri

At the time of Car festival, when the images of God Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra were in the *Gundicha* house, Keso Das Maru entered into the Jagannath temple with his Rajput

soldiers having a plea to visit the temple. He tortured the priests of the temple and seized property estimated more than two crores of rupees. At this shocking news, Purusottamadeva of Khurda marched with his grand army consisting of infantry, cavalry and chariots. Though, the temple was besieged by the soldiers of Purusottamadeva, the Rajput soldiers of Keso Das Maru threw rags soaked with oil and ghee setting fire in these materials. All in a sudden, the chariots of Purusottam caught fire and soldiers on their top were burnt alive.

3.2.3.2. Conditions of the Treaty

At last, the King of Khurda surrendered before Keso Das Maru with the following humiliating conditions:

- 1. To send his daughter to the imperial *harem*.
- 2. To pay three lakhs of rupees as *Peshkash* to the imperial exchequer.
- 3. To give his own sister in marriage to Keso Das Maru.
- 4. To pay one lakh rupees as *Nal Bandi* (light tribute or present) to the Raja and his followers.

Purusottamadeva had no alternative but to agree to these proposals. Accordingly, Keso Das married the sister of Purusottamadeva and went to Puri. From that place he sent news to Khurda to send other articles of demand which Purusottam fulfilled immediately. This exalted his position before emperor Jahangir who prompted Keso Das to the rank of four thousand horses and offered a robe of honour, a jewelled sword with belt, a horse etc.

3.2.3.3. Kalyanmal's Khurda occupation

With the termination of the governorship of Hasim Khan, Raja Kalyanmal was appointed by Jahangir as the Governor of Odisha in 1611 A.D. He cast his glances over the kingdom of Khurda which was ruled by Purusottamadeva who was guided by Rajaguru Vidyadhara. With diplomacy, Kalyanmal invited Vidyadhara to Ghantasila Tangi and made him a captive. All in a sudden, he attacked Khurda. Hard pressed by the situation, Raja Purusottama sued for peace.

3.2.3.4. Terms of the Treaty

The terms of the treaty were as follows:

- 1. The Raja would surrender to him.
- 2. The daughter of the Raja would be sent to the imperial harem.
- 3. The king should agree to pay three lakhs of rupees as *Peshkash* to the imperial treasury along with Sesha Naga, the renowned elephant for the use of the emperor.

4. The king must attend the emperor in person.

Purusottamadeva agreed to all these proposals. However, Raja Kalyanmal was removed from his service in 1617 A.D. by Jahangir.

3.2.3.5. Khurda occupation by Mukarram Khan

After kalyanmal, Mukarram Khan was appointed by Jahangir as Governor of Odisha in 1617 A.D. After the assumption of charges, he was grossly indulged in iconoclastic activities. He injured the statue of Sakhi Gopal. At his approach, the *Sevakas* removed the idols from the temple of Puri and took them to Gobapadar. Purusottamadeva, the king of Khurda became furious and wanted to deal with this whimscal Governor. The attack of Mukarram Khan was so vigorous and fatal that the king fled away from Khurda and sought asylum with the king of Rajahmundry. It appears that Khurda was termporarily annexed to the Mughal empire. His conquest of Khudra was highly appreciated in the Mughal court and emperor Jahangir rewarded him by sending valuable gifts.

3.2.3.6. Death of Purusottamadeva

With his removal in 1620 A.D. Husain Ali Khan became the Governor of Odisha for a short while. After him, Ahmad Beg was appointed in the same post in 1621 A.D. Purusottamadeva gathered support from the local chiefs of Banapur, Ranapur and ruler of Rajahmundry. At this, Ahmad Beg proceeded up to Banapur via Khurda. While holding a camp near Banapur, Purusottamadeva breathed his last. He was succeeded by his son Narasimhadeva.

3.2.3.7. Khurram's visit to Odisha

When Narasimhadeva proceeded towards Garah Manitri for the safety of royal family, Ahmad Beg invaded Khurda. By this time Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) revolted against Jahangir and from the Deccan he came to Odisha via Golkunda. At his approach, Ahmad Beg fled to Burdwan and then to Akbar Nagar. Narasimhadeva and his supporters greeted Shah Jahan with humility. Being overpleased at the behaviour of the king, Shah Jahan left for Bengal. His plan to conquer Allahabad and Oudh was foiled due to the alertness of Mahabbat Khan. So, suddenly he returned to Golkunda via Odisha. After his return, Ahmad Beg again became the Governor of Odisha and remained in that charge till 1628 A.D. Jahangir's rule is important for two reasons so far as Odisha is concerned. Firstly, Odisha became a separate administrative unit free from Bengal. Secondly, the king of Khurda lost the sympathy of the Mughal emperor and thus, was under the direct rule of the Mughal authority.

3.2.4. Odisha under Shah Jahan

After the accession of Shah Jahan to the Mughal throne in 1628 AD. Muhmmad Baqar Khan was appointed as the Governor of Odisha. In the meanwhile, Qutb Shahi soldiers had invaded Khurda. After assuming his charge as Governor, Baqar Khan marched with his soldiers to Khira Pahar, four miles from Chhattarduar on the frontier of the Mughal province of Odisha in the winter and invaded Qutb Shahi empire in 1629-30 AD. However, his plundering of the Qutb Shahi territory took a halt at the advent of the rainy season that compelled him to return Cuttack.

3.2.4.1. Bagar Khan's occupation of Mansurgarh

With the end of rainy season, Baqar Khan again marched to the Deccan with his soldiers and reached the fort of Mansurgarh. The Qutb Shahi soldiers gave a toe fight but were defeated by the Mughal soldiers and the fort fell in the hands of Baqar Khan who returned to Cuttack with a smile. After his return, the Qutb Shahi soldiers reassembled themselves and tried to reassert their hold over the fort. This act forced an aggressive Baqar who returned with vengeance and defeated the Golkunda soldiers, thereby annexing some Qutb Shahi territories to the Mughal empire of Odisha. For his act of bravery, he received a letter of appreciation from the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. However, his atrocities over the zamindars of Odisha was viewed adversely and the emperor recalled him from Odisha in 1632 AD. He was forced by the emperor to expiain about the realization of forty lakhs of rupees which he had collected forcibly from the zamindars of Odisha.

3.2.4.2. Mutagad Khan as Governor

Baqar Khan was succeeded by Mutaqad Khan as Governor of Odisha in 1632 AD. He granted permission to Captain Ralph Cartwright to establish English factory at Hariharpur where there was a colony of weavers. From the accounts of William Burton, it is known that the British East India Company had its factories in Balasore and undivided Cuttack districts during this time. Mutaqad Khan constructed Lalbagh palace at Cuttack. His rule as *Subahdar* in Odisha was marked with peace and glory. He remained in this charge upto 1641 AD.

3.2.4.3. Other Governors of Odisha

After him, there were seven Governors of Odisha among whom' the rule of Muhammad Zaman Teherani from 1642-1645 A.D. was significant. Prince Shuja had sent him as a Deputy to Odisha on his own behalf. During his governorship, the factories of the English East India Company were established in Odisha at Balasore. A notable achievement during his regime was

that he dealt with Bhadur Khan, the Zamindar of Hijli who held power over an extensive coastal district stretching from Rupnarayan to the river Suvarnarekha of Odisha. He ruled like an independent Sultan as if his empire was "unsubdued and uncared for *Subah* of Odisha." Muhammad Zaman led an expedition against Bahadur Khan who was defeated and imprisoned at Dacca in 1657 A.D., Shah Jahan fell ill and was imprisoned by Aurangzeb who ascended the Mughal throne in 1658 A.D. The period of Shah Jahan was remarkable in Odisha mainly for three reasons. Firstly, there was no invasion on Khurda on behalf of the Mughal Governor of Odisha. Secondly, the Mughal army never invaded the Jagannath temple at Puri. Lastly, factories were established by English in Odisha facilitating commercial prosperity of this land.

3.2.5. Odisha under Aurangzeb

The chaos and confusion that prevailed in Odisha during the rule of Prince Shujah, came to drastic end with the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658 A.D. During his initial years of administration, Mir Jumal established law and order in Bengal and sent Ihtishan Khan to assume the authority of Odisha. After taking over the charge as the *Subahdar* of Odisha, he issued a proclamation that *Khutba* should be read in the name or Aurangzeb in all the mosques of Odisha. Next, he intimated, by order, to all the *Mansabdars, Choudhuries, Quanungoes* and *Zamindars* ragarding his own appointment. Further, he ordered the officers and Zamindars to meet him at Narayangarh. Of course, as it appears, this order fell in deaf ears. Within a very short span of time, he was replaced by Khan-i-Dauran as *Subahdar* of Odisha.

3.2.5.1. Murder of Krushna Chandra Bhanja

The rule of Khan-i-Dauran in Odisha began with a dismal note. The refractory Zamindars of Odisha had ceased to pay revenues to the Mughals. Coming to Jaleswar via Narayanagarh, he sent order to zamindar Bahadur Khan of Hijli and Krushna Chandra Bhanja of Hariharpur to pay him homage. When Krushna Chandra Bhanja talked defiantly to the *Subahdar*, the former was put to death by the latter. All the followers of Krushna Chandra Bhanja suffered the same fate by the order of Khan-i-Dauran.

3.2.5.2. Supression of Zamindars

Then began the drama of supression of the local zamindars. The *Subahdar* marched against zamindars like Uddanda of Narasimhapur, Chhatreswar Dhal of Ghatasila and Harichandan Krishna Bhanja of Nilgiri and subdued them. He proceeded to Remuna to look into the chaotic condition that had taken place at Mayurbhanj after the death of Krushna Chandra

Bhanja. However, the surrender of Jayachandra Bhanja, the brother of deceased Rama Chandra Bhanja led the *Subahdar* to recognize him as the Raja of Hariharapur and to offer his son the title of *Tikayat*.

3.2.5.3. Rebellion of Mukundadeva

The next target of Khan-i-Dauran was Khurda. Raja Mukundadeva had turned rebellious against the Mughals by joining his hands with the zamindars of Banki, Ranapur, Sarangagarh, Damapara and the nearby locality. After reaching Cuttack, Khan-i-Dauran fell ill for two months. Being recovered, he marched ahead to settle score with Mukundadeva of Khurda in February 1661 A.D. He first captured the seven hill forts and ravaged Khurda. Out of fear, Mukundadeva fled away and his younger brother Kapila Bhramaravara Raya surrendered to the *Subahdar* without any resistance. Other zamindars, mentioned above, followed the same path. At last, Mukundadeva, surrendered himself before Khan-i-Dauran.

3.2.5.4. Khan-I-Dauran's harsh steps

Without halting a little, Khan-i-Dauran proceeded to Keonjhar, defeated Raja Laxminarayana Bhanja and snatched away from him the fort or Panchira which he had occupied during the misrule of Prince Sujah. With gradual succession, the *Subahdar* suppressed the zamindars of Ranapur, Damapara, Sarangagarh, Patia, Kanika, Kujanga, Maluda and other smaller ones. By such rash activities on the part of the *Subahdar*, the imperial authority in Odisha was thoroughly reasserted restoring peace and stability in the land once again. After accomplishing the task, he wrote a letter to Aurangzeb thus: "I have punished all the usurpers, oppressors of the province and made them obedient. The revenue is being collected by our officers. The people are enjoying peace and happiness and playing their trades." Within a short span of time, he collected and remitted revenue amounting fifteen lakhs of rupees alongwith many valuable Jewells to the court of Aurangzeb that made him happy.

3.2.5.5. Other Governors

Khan-i-Dauran breathed his last in September 1667 A.D. He was succeeded by Tarbiyat Khan who remained in this charge till 1669 A.D. He was succeeded by Safi Khan known as 'Ruffee Ckanna Naboob,' of Odisha by the English writers. Safi Khan gave way to Rashid Khan who was replaced by Shayista Khan, the maternal uncle of Aurangzeb. Then Governors like Salih Khan, Abu Nasar Khan, Akrarn Khan, Ghaznafar Khan, Askar Khan, Kamgar Khan, Azim-us-Shan, the grand-son of Aurangzeb ruled Odisha in gradual succession till 1704 A.D.

After that, Murshid Ouli Khan was appointed as *Subahdar* of Odisha who remained in the post till 1707 A.D., when Aurangzab breathed his last. After that Odisha came under the rule of the Nizams of Bengal.

3.2.5.6. Junaid's bigotry

Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Musim and a religious bigot out and out. He appointed Junaid as the *Muhtasib* for the propagation of Islam in Odisha. Several Hindu temples including goddess Sarala at Jhankada in the present Jagatsinghpur district and a good number of temples at Jajpur were demolished by his order. In 1662 A.D., Aurangzab issued order for the destruction of Jagannath temple at Puri. However, Raja Divyasimhadeva of Khurda bribed the *Subahdar* who not only reported a pretended destruction of the Jagannath temple at Puri before Aurangzeb but also sent a fake image of Lord Jagannath to him. By these iconoclastic activities of Junaid, Aurangzeb was elated. Anyway, the rule of Aurangzeb in Odisha was marked for four distinct features. Firstly, the recalcitrant zamindars were dealt with iron hands. Secondly, law and order were restored. Thirdly, Hindu religion was not allowed to spread due to massive iconoclastic activities which brought ruin to many important temples of Odisha. Lastly, the Naib Nizams of Bengal played a dominant role in discharging the administration of Odisha.

3.2.6. Conclusion

Thus, with the defeat of the Afghans in 1593 *A.D.*, the Mughals under the rule of Akbar, Jahangir, Sahajahan and Aurangzeb created a new history in the history of medieval Odisha. Prior to that Akbar had taken steps to implement Mughal rule in Odisha. With the death of Daud Karrani, Raja Todarmal had arranged peaceful administration in Odisha. With the death of Akbar, Jahangir ascended the throne in 1605 A.D. He did not follow the liberal policy pursued by Akbar. After the accession of Shah Jahan to the Mughal throne in 1628 AD. Muhmmad Baqar Khan was appointed as the Governor of Odisha. The chaos and confusion that prevailed in Odisha during the rule of Prince Shujah, came to drastic end with the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658 A.D. However, except Akbar, the rule of other Mughal sultans witnessed chaos, confusion and destruction of temples in Odisha.

3.2.7. Summary

- The Mughals established their rule in Odisha in 1593 A.D.
- ➤ Prior to it, Akbar had taken steps to implement Mughal administration in Odisha.

- > With the death of Daud Karrani, Raja Todarmal had arranged peaceful administration in Odisha.
- > By the will of Akbar, peace with Ramachandradeva was made.
- ➤ With the death of Akbar, Jahangir ascended the throne in 1605 A.D. He did not follow the liberal policy pursued by Akbar.
- ➤ He intervened in the internal administration of Khurda and the temple of God Jagannath. Odisha became a separate *Suba*.
- At the time of Car festival, when the images of God Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra were in the *Gundicha* house, Keso Das Maru entered into the Jagannath temple with his Rajput soldiers having a plea to visit the temple.
- > He tortured the priests of the temple and seized property estimated more than two crores of rupees.
- ➤ With the termination of the governorship of Hasim Khan, Raja Kalyanmal was appointed by Jahangir as the Governor of Odisha in 1611 A.D.
- ➤ After kalyanmal, Mukarram Khan was appointed by Jahangir as Governor of Odisha in 1617 A.D.
- ➤ After the assumption of charges, he was grossly indulged in iconoclastic activities.
- > By this time Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) revolted against Jahangir and from the Deccan he came to Odisha via Golkunda.
- ➤ After the acession of Shah Jahan to the Mughal throne in 1628 AD. Muhmmad Baqar Khan was appointed as the Governor of Odisha.
- ➤ Bagar Khan was succeeded by Mutagad Khan as Governor of Odisha in 1632 AD.
- ➤ Bagar Khan was succeeded by Mutagad Khan as Governor of Odisha in 1632 AD.
- ➤ He granted permission to Captain Ralph Cartwright to establish English factory at Hariharpur where there was a colony of weavers.
- > From the accounts of William Burton, it is known that the British East India Company had its factories in Balasore and undivided Cuttack districts during this time. Mutaqad Khan constructed Lalbagh palace at Cuttack.
- After him, there were seven Governors of Odisha among whom' the rule of Muhammad Zaman Teherani from 1642-1645 A.D. was significant.

- > The chaos and confusion that prevailed in Odisha during the rule of Prince Shujah, came to drastic end with the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658 A.D.
- > During his initial years of administration, Mir Jumal established law and order in Bengal and sent Ihtishan Khan to assume the authority of Odisha.
- After taking over the charge as the *Subahdar* of Odisha, he issued a proclamation that *Khutba* should be read in the name or Aurangzeb in all the mosques of Odisha.
- ➤ Khan-i-Dauran breathed his last in September 1667 A.D. He was succeeded by Tarbiyat Khan who remained in this charge till 1669 A.D.
- ➤ He was succeeded by Safi Khan known as 'Ruffee Ckanna Naboob,' of Odisha by the English writers.
- Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Musim and a religious bigot out and out.
- ➤ He appointed Junaid as the *Muhtasib* for the propagation of Islam in Odisha. Several Hindu temples including goddess Sarala at Jhankada in the present Jagatsinghpur district and a good number of temples at Jajpur were demolished by his order.
- ➤ In 1662 A.D., Aurangzab issued order for the destruction of Jagannath temple at Puri.
- ➤ However, Raja Divyasimhadeva of Khurda bribed the *Subahdar* who not only reported a pretended destruction of the Jagannath temple at Puri before Aurangzeb but also sent a fake image of Lord Jagannath to him.
- ➤ Lastly, the Naib Nizams of Bengal played a dominant role in discharging the administration of Odisha.

3.2.8. Exercise

Write a note on the Mughal rule in Odisha.

Give an account on the rule of Akbar and Jahangir in Odisha.

Make an analysis on the administration of Jahangir in Odisha.

Discuss the Mughal administration in Odisha under Aurangzeb.

3.2.9. Further Reading

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Unit-3 Chapter-III Odisha under the Naib-Nizams

Structure

- 3.3.0. Objectives
- 3.3.1. Introduction
- 3.3.2. Odisha under the Naib-Nizams
- 3.3.2. 1. Naib Nizam Murshid Quli Khan-I
- 3.3.2. 2. Naib Nizam Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan of Bengal
- 3.3.2. 3.Naib Nizam Muhammad Taqi Khan
- 3.3.2. 4. Naib Nizam Murshid Quli Khan II of Bengal
- 3.3.2. 5. Naib Nizam Alivardi Khan of Bengal
- 3.3.2. 6.Administration of the Naib Nizams of Bengal
- 3.3.3. Conclusion
- **3.3.4. Summary**
- **3.3.5.** Exercise
- 3.3.6. Further Reading

3.3.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students investigate about Odisha under the Naib-Nizams. After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- to learn about the rule of Naib-Nizams in Odisha
- to analyze the rule under Murshid Quli Khan I
- to investigate administration under Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan
- to trace the rule of other Naib-Nizams of Bengal

3.3.1. Introduction

During the early rule of the Mughals, *Subahdars* from Delhi came to rule over Odisha. Todarmal, Man Singh, Mukram Khan, Muhammad Baqar Khan, Muhammad Zaman, Khan-i-Dauran etc. took the charge as the Governor of Odisha. However, during Aurangzeb's reign period, the Mughal empire passed through many threatening circumstances caused by the Qutb Shahis and Adil Shah is of Deccan, Sikhs, Rajputs and several other local chiefs. So, it was not possible on his part to sent Governors from Delhi to maintain the administration in Odisha. When Murshid Quli Khan took over the charge of the administration of Odisha, virtually, passed into the hands of the Naib Nizams of Bengal.

3.3.2. Odisha under the Naib-Nizams

With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., his weak successors could not pay attention towards the administration of Odisha. They existed by name but could not exert their influence over the Nizams of Bengal. At that juncture, it was but natural that Odisha was governed by the Naib Nizams of Bengal until the Marathas established their sway over it.

3.3.2. 1. Naib Nizam Murshid Quli Khan-I

Emperor Aurangzeb was quite aware of the ability of Murshid Quli Khan. The former had appointed the latter as the *Diwan* of Bengal and Odisha. The *Subahdar* of Bengal by that time, was Prince Muhammad Azim-us-Shah (son of Bahadur Shah-I and grandson of Aurangzeb). He did not pull well with Murshid Quli and hatched a plot to kill the latter. Murshid Quli foiled the attempt of the prince and wrote a letter to Aurangzeb. With the death of Askar Khan, Murshid Quli was entrusted with the charge of *Naib Subahdar* and *Faujdar* of Odisha and finally in 1703 A.D., he was given the independent charge as *Subahdar* of Odisha. However, his governorship in Odisha was not a smooth sailing one. After the death of Aurangzeb, when Bahadur Shah I became the Mughal emperor, Prince Azim-us-Shah was successful in taking revenge on Murshid

Quli. As per the order of the emperor, Murshid Quli's position was degraded and he was sent as *Diwan* to look after the Deccan affair in 1708 A.D. He swallowed this bitter pill. In 1712 A.D., Azim-us-Shah was killed. Bahadur Shah also breathed his last. After the war of succession that continued among his sons, Jahandar Shah became the emperor of Delhi. His claim was challenged by Farrukh Shiyar who ascended the throne in 1713 A.D. He could not take Murshid Quli into confidence at first. When the latter sent presents and provincial tribute to the former, it prompted Farrukh Shiyar to appoint Murshid Quli as deputy *Subahdar* of Bengal in 1731 A.D. and finally, as *Subahdar* of Odisha in 1714 A.D.

The long cherished desire of Murshid Quli Khan was fulfilled. In 1717 AD., another feather to the crowned cap of Murshid Quli was added when he was declared as the *Subahdar* of Bengal in addition to his usual charge of Odisha. Owing to the pressure of work, he appointed his son-in-law, Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan as deputy Governor of Odisha. However, Murshid Quli had to change his mind when he found that Suja-ud-din as not pulling well with his daughter Zynat-un-Nisa (wife of Suja-Uddin). He appealed to the emperor of Delhi to replace Suja-ud-din from Odisha and to appoint his grand-son Sarfaraz Khan (the son of Suja-Uddin) in his place. By that time, Suja-ud-din had exerted his influence in the royal court at Delhi and the proposal of Murshid Quli was turned down. Out of frustration, he died in 1727 AD. His revenue reform (discussed in foregoing pages) in Odisha was a notable step in the field of financial reform.

3.3.2. 2. Naib Nizam Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan of Bengal

With the death of Murshid Quli Khan, the throne of Bengal was occupied by his sonin-law Sujaud-din Muhammad Khan. As he was very apt in dealing with the Mughals, immediately after his accession to the throne of Bengal in 1727 AD., he sent valuable presents along with forty lakhs of rupees, which was a part of the private property of his father-in-law Murshid Quli to the court of Muhammad Shah, the new Mughal emperor. This stabilized the position of Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan as the *Subahdar* of Bengal and Odisha. He appointed his son Sarfaraz Khan as the *Diwan* of Bengal. His other son, Muhammed Taqi Khan and after him his son-in-law, Murshid Quli Khan-II were appointed as Deputy Governors of Odisha to rule the land on his own behalf.He was a hard task master in collecting revenue from the people of Odisha. The revenue collection from the people of Odisha was an exploitative measure of Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan, who sent a large chunk of it to the Delhi Court for securing his position. During the governorship of Suja-Uddin, the territorial extent of Odisha shrinked. On the north, Jeleswar division was annexed to Bengal and on the south, the Nizam of Hyderabad occupied Odishan territory upto Tekkali-Raghunathpur and the adjoining villages. Suja-ud-din always looked after the interests of mechant community. Thomas Motte, in his monumental book, *Early European Travellers in Nagpur Territories* states that Suja-ud-din advised the merchants to leave Pipli and to establish their factories in Balasore because a greater part of Pipli was being washed away by the water. To facilitate the merchants, he built bridges over the rivers on the way that connected Cuttack with Murshidabad. He built Qadam Rasul Mosque, a beautiful Muslim shrine at Cuttack. Besides the burden of tax over the people of Odisha, his reign period was marked with peace and tranquility.

3.3.2. 3. Naib Nizam Muhammad Taqi Khan

It has been stated that Suja-ud-din remained busy in the affairs of Bengal and sent Taqi Khan, his son to look after the administration of Odisha. Taqi Khan became the deputy Governor of Odisha and he dealt with Raja Ramachandradeva of Khurda scorn and contempt. During his deputy governorship, Raja Ramachandradeva was converted to Islam faith and was also kept captive in the fort' of Barabati. His longing towards God Jagannath and desire to perform the festivals of the God, led Taqi Khan to invade Khurda time and again. During his period, the images of the Lords were transferred from the grand temple of Puri and secretly taken to Banapur and to Tekkali to save them from the wrath of Taqi Khan. The visit of Pilgrims to the temple of God Jagannath decreased considerably during this period as fear dominated their mind regarding their safety and security from the clutches of the Muslim officers. Taqi Khan was instrumental in building a Qadam Rasul at Balasore having a pond and a garden attached to it. He was an anti-Hindu out and out. The Hindus of Odisha took revenge on him. It has been stated, how by the instruction of Ramachandradeva, Taqi Khan was poisoned inside the fort of Barabati.

3.3.2. 4. Naib Nizam Murshid Quli Khan II of Bengal

At the death of Taqi Khan in 1735 A.D., Murshid Quli Khan II was sent immediately by Sujaud-din as deputy *Subahdar* to look after the administration of Odisha. He was the son-in-law of Suja-Uddin. With the death of Taqi Khan, Odisha was relieved from the clutches of his oppressive rule. The coming of Murshid Quli Khan II offered a soothing balm to the maladies faced by the people of Odisha during Taqi Khan's rule. With his arrival, Murshid Quli Khan II wanted to be popular among the people of Odisha.

He revived the worship of Lords in the grand temple at Puri under the leadership of the king of Khurda. Now, there was influx of pilgrims from all corners of India to Puri. By this nobel acts, he incurred the good will of the people of this land. However, his rule was very short in Odisha. He fell a prey to the internal squabble of the royal family at Murshidabad and left Odisha for good. The circumstances have been described below. The death of Nawab Suja-ud-din in 1739 A.D. led his son Sarfaraz Khan to succeed his father. In 1740 A.D., he was defeated and killed in the battle of Giria by Alivardi Khan, one of the trusted officers of Suja-Uddin. To secure tus position, Alivardi wanted to put an end to all the followers and supporters of Sarfaraz among whom the name of Murshid Quli Khan II figured prominently.

To subdue him, Alivardi raised a grand army. Aided and advised by Mirza Baqar, (son-in-law of Murshid Quli II) Murshid Quli proceeded to combat with the army of Alivardi. In 1741, the battle took place between the two groups near Phulwari beyond the river Budhabalanga. Victory was to kiss the feet of Murshid Quli II but at this juncture, his miltary officers like Mukhail Ali Khan and Muqarrab Khan made treachery and went to the side of Alivardi. Though Mirza Baqar, with his trusted soldiers fought valiantly, he fell wounded in the battle field. Murshid Quli acted promptly and with his wounded son-in-law and trusted friends, he rushed towards Balasore. In the ship of his merchant friend Haji Moshin, Murshid Quli and his party reached Masulipatam. Birakishoredeva, the king of Khurda rescued the family of Murshid Quli Khan II and sent all of them to Icchapuram. There Anwar-ud-din Khan received that family and Mirza Baqar brought them to Masulipatam. Now, Odisha passed into the hands of Alivardi Khan.

3.3.2. 5. Naib Nizam Alivardi Khan of Bengal

With the victory at Phulwari, Odisha was virtually under the grip of Alivardi. Without following Murshid Quli Khan II, Alivardi proceeded towards Cuttack to capture the family of Murshid Quli. However, that family had been rescued by the Raja of Khurda. The fort of Barabati and the wealth abandoned by the family or Murshid Quli fell in his hands. Alivardi appointed Sayyid Ahmad as the Governor of Odisha and left Gujar Khan, one of his trusted generals to assist the

Governor in discharging the administration. Sayyid Ahmad was never a good ruler. He extracted money from the local zamindars and curtailed the salary of his soldiers. By his indulgence in wine and women, he earned a bad name in Odisha. At this juncture, Mirza Baqar, the son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan II invaded Odisha with his soldiers and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Sayyid Ahmad. The people of Cuttack supported Mirza Baqar so also some soldiers in the army of Ahmad who were loyal to Murshid Quli II. Sayyid Ahmad with his family was confined inside the fort of Barabati.

By this, the unpopularity of Alivardi increased to a greater extent. With revengeful mind, he stepped towards Cuttack to deal with Mirza Baqar and rescue Sayyid Ahmad. A toe fight took place between them in Cuttack and Mirza Baqar fled away from the battle field towards the Deccan. Sayyid Ahmad was rescued. Alivardi punished the local chiefs who had rendered their help to Mirza Baqar. He appointed Shaikh Masum as deputy Governor of Odisha and left for Murshidabad. However, his administrative arrangement in Odisha failed utterly with the invasion of the Marathas. At last, Alivardi failed to check the Maratha inroad and Odisha passed into the hands of the Marathas in 1751 A.D.

3.3.2. 6.Administration of the Naib Nizams of Bengal

The Mughal system of revenue administration under went a change in Odisha during Murshid Quli Khan's *Subahdarship*. For the administrative point of view, he separated Midnapur from the *Subah* of Odisha. He made revenue settlement in six *Sarkars* namely. Jaleswar, Remuna, Basta, Golapara, Malghetia and Mazkuri. He appointed honest and efficient revenue officers to collect revenue. He measured waste lands and offered them to the farmers. He also advanced *taqavi* (agriculture) loans to farmers for the improvement of lands. He imposed two new imports (*abwabs*) namely, *Abwab Jaffar Khan and Abwab Khasnawisi*, Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan imposed four kinds of *abwabs* upon the people of Odisha *Viz.Nazar Pooniah* (Annual presents from the zamindars), *Baha-i-Khilat* (price for robes offered to zamindars), *Pustabandi* (For upholding the river banks near Lalbagh and the fort of Murshidabad) and *Russom Nazarat* (realisation from rural area). All these above four *abwabs* came under the main head *Zar Mathaut*.

He also collected three other *abwabs* like *Nazrana Mokurrari* (fixed amount paid by zamindar for the privileges he enjoyed), *Mathut-Fil-Khana* (contribution to meet the feeding expense of elephants of *Nizam* and *Diwan* of Murshidabad). Murshid Quli II was very liberal in collecting revenue. He exempted many *abwabs* to the zamindars and earned good name. During the rule of the Naib Nizams of Bengal, the administration of God Jagannath also received attention. During Taqi Khan, a great disturbance took place in the management of temple administration. The idols of the Gods were removed from the temple and were taken to Banapur and subsequently to Tekkali. However, during Murshid Quli Khan II's period, the idols were brought back to the temple and the pilgrims visited the temple in large number.

After Taqi Khan, others did not pay much attention to it. During the rule of the Naib Nizams, the Muslim monuments were built in Cuttack and Balasore. Local zamindars were instructed to look after the festivals of the Hindus and Muslims as well. This clearly shows that religious harmony was maintained perfectly in Odisha during the Naib Nizams of Odisha. Balasore, Jajpur and Cuttack were the main centres of the Islamic faith and their improvement was made during the Naib Nizams of Odisha.

The local participation in the administration was a general feature during this period. In military administration, the soldires were recruited from this land. The local officers were chosen on the basis of their efficiency who collected revenue and maintained peace in the locality. Very often the local zamindars were empowered to look after the local problems and to solve the crisis in their own locality. In toto, in discharging the administration efficiently, the Naib Nizams of Bengal depended, to a greater extent, upon the people of this land.

3.3.3. Conclusion

Thus, the incapability on the part of the Mughal rulers led the Naib Nizams of Bengal to look after the administration of Odisha. Close to the boarder of Odisha, from Bengal, they could pay close attention towards the administration that prevailed in this land. At times, they suppressed the rebellion and warned the local chiefs of Odisha for dire consequences. The people of Odisha wanted to be free from the clutch of Alivardi Khan. At that time, the appearance of the Marathas in the political scenario of Odisha fulfilled their desire and Odisha passed into the hands of the Marathas.

3.3.4. Summary

- ➤ During Aurangzeb's reign period, the Mughal Empire passed through many threatening circumstances caused by the Qutb Shahis and Adil Shah is of Deccan, Sikhs, Rajputs and several other local chiefs.
- ➤ So, it was not possible on his part to sent Governors from Delhi to maintain the administration in Odisha.
- ➤ When Murshid Quli Khan took over the charge of the administration of Odisha, virtually, passed into the hands of the Naib Nizams of Bengal until the Marathas established their sway over it.
- Emperor Aurangzeb was quite aware of the ability of Murshid Quli Khan. The former had appointed the latter as the *Diwan* of Bengal and Odisha.
- ➤ The *Subahdar* of Bengal by that time, was Prince Muhammad Azim-us-Shah (son of Bahadur Shah-I and grandson of Aurangzeb).
- > The long cherished desire of Murshid Quli Khan was fulfilled.
- ➤ In 1717 AD., another feather to the crowned cap of Murshid Quli was added when he was declared as the *Subahdar* of Bengal in addition to his usual charge of Odisha.
- ➤ With the death of Murshid Quli Khan, the throne of Bengal was occupied by his soninlaw Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan.
- As he was very apt in dealing with the Mughals, immediately after his accession to the throne of Bengal in 1727 AD.
- ➤ It has been stated that Suja-ud-din remained busy in the affairs of Bengal and sent Taqi Khan, his son to look after the administration of Odisha.
- > Taqi Khan became the deputy Governor of Odisha and he dealt with Raja Ramachandradeva of Khurda scorn and contempt.
- > During his deputy governorship, Raja Ramachandradeva was converted to Islam faith and was also kept captive in the fort' of Barabati.

- ➤ His longing towards God Jagannath and desire to perform the festivals of the God, led Taqi Khan to invade Khurda.
- At the death of Taqi Khan in 1735 A.D., Murshid Quli Khan II was sent immediately by Suja-ud-din as deputy *Subahdar* to look after the administration of Odisha.
- With the victory at Phulwari, Odisha was virtually under the grip of Alivardi.
- ➤ Without following Murshid Quli Khan II, Alivardi proceeded towards Cuttack to capture the family of Murshid Quli.
- ➤ However, that family had been rescued by the Raja of Khurda. The fort of Barabati and the wealth abandoned by the family or Murshid Quli fell in his hands.
- Alivardi appointed Sayyid Ahmad as the Governor of Odisha and left Gujar Khan, one of his trusted generals to assist the Governor in discharging the administration. Sayyid Ahmad was never a good ruler.
- > The Mughal system of revenue administration under went a change in Odisha during Murshid Quli Khan's *Subahdarship*.
- For the administrative point of view, he separated Midnapur from the *Subah* of Odisha.
- > During the rule of the Naib Nizams of Bengal, the administration of God Jagannath also received attention.
- > During Taqi Khan, a great disturbance took place in the management of temple administration.
- > During the rule of the Naib Nizams, the Muslim monuments were built in Cuttack and Balasore.
- Local zamindars were instructed to look after the festivals of the Hindus and Muslims as well.
- The local participation in the administration was a general feature during this period. In military administration, the soldires were recruited from this land.

> Thus, the incapability on the part of the Mughal rulers led the Naib Nizams of Bengal to look after the administration of Odisha.

3.3.5. Exercise

- ❖ Give an account on Odisha under the Naib-Nizams.
- ❖ Write a note on Odisha under Naib Nizam Murshid Quli Khan II of Bengal.
- ❖ Discuss the administration of Odisha under Naib Nizam Muhammad Taqi Khan.
- ❖ Highlight the administration of Odisha Naib Nizam Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan of Bengal.
- Write a note on the administration of Odisha Naib Nizam Murshid Quli Khan-I

3.3.6. Further Reading

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Unit-3 Chapter-IV Muslim Administration in Odisha

Structure

3.1.6. Further Reading

3.4.0. Objectives		
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3.1.2.1.	Sarkars in Mughal administration	
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3.4.2.7.	Attitude towards the religions of Odisha	
3.4.3. Conclusion		
3.4.4. Summary		
3.4.5. Exercise		

3.4.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students investigate about the Muslim administration in Odisha. After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- to learn the division of Muslim administration
- to analyze the revenue administration
- to investigate administration in the Garjat states of Odisha
- to trace the attitude towards the religions of Odisha

3.4.1. Introduction

During the Afghan period no change in the administration took place as they were always busy in fighting with the Mughals. They only confined themselves in collecting revenue. But the Mughals introduced some changes in the administration, particularly revenue administration. Under them Odisha was divided into two political zones. The princely states, mostly hilly, which were ruled by the tributary chiefs and Rajas were called Garjats. Besides that the areas in coastal belt under the direct administration of the Mughals were called as Moghulbandi area.

3.4.2. Muslim Administration in Odisha

The Mughals introduced an efficient administrative system. The Mughal officers discharged their duties and responsibilities according to the Mughal administrative system.

3.1.2.1. Sarkars in Mughal administration

The Mughals introduced an elaborate system of administration in Odisha. Todarmal divided Odisha into *five Sarkars* in 1582 A.D. namely- Jaleswar *Sarkar* (extending from river Rupnarayan to Budhabalanga), Bhadrak *Sarkar* (extending from river Budhabalanga to Brahmani), Cuttack *Sarkar* (extending from river Brahmani to Chilika lake), Kalingadandapat (South Odisha) and Rajahmundry (North Andhra).

3.4.2.2. Revenue Administration of the Mughals

The prime *motive* of the Mughals was to get a huge amount of revenue from Odishan soil. Keeping that end in *view*, Todarmal, the great revenue minister of Akbar introduced his *bandobast* (settlement) in Odisha which was famous as *Tankhwah Raqmi*. Accordingly, Odisha was divided into two parts- the *Mughalbandi* and *Garjat*. The area which remained under the direct administration of the Mughals was called *Mughalbandi*. The *Garjats* were the area which remained under the direct administration of the native kings, who submitted to the Mughals by paying a fixed annual Peshkash. This settlement acknowledged the hereditary chiefs of the Garjats as hereditary *fiefs* in zamindari tenure. Raja Man Singh *gave* a final shape to this system of Todarmal in 1593 A.D. The Raja of Khurda held a key position among the zamindars of

Odisha. Under him were thirty small zamindars. Very famous among them were the zamindars of Banki, Damapada, Badamba, Tigiria, Narasinghpur, Athgarh, Angul, Talcher, Khandapada, Ranapur, Dasapalla, Ghumsar etc.

3.4.2.3. Revenue administration by Aurangzeb

A change in the *revenue* administration of Odisha drastically took place during the reign period of Aurangzeb. In 1728 A.D. Murshid Quli Khan introduced a new system in Odisha known as *Jamma Kamal*. In this settlement, the rate was specified in terms of cowrie currency During his time, Odisha was divided into 12 *Sarkars* ~aving 258 *Mahals*.

3.4.2.4. Revenue Officers of the Mughals

Among the *revenue* officers of the Mughals, the *Choudhuries, Muqaddams*, and *Quanungoes* played dominant role in revenue collection. Misappropriation of the revenue was rampant. As the Mughals remained at Delhi, far away from Odisha, they could not cast their eyes on the *revenues* collected. Under this circumstance, it was quite natural of being misappropriated.

3.4.2.5. Other Officers in Mughal administration

The Mughal revenue administration divided Odisha into *Sarkars* which were again divided into *Mahals*. The *Mahals* were again subdivided into *Taluqs* and *Mauja* was the last unit of revenue division under the Mughals. The head of the *Sarkar* was *Faujdar*. *Choudhury* became the head of *Mahal*, *Taluqdar* became the head of the *Taluq* and the head of the *Mauji* was *Muquddam*.

3.4.2.6. Administration in Garjat states

In the *Garjat* administration, however, very little changes were made. The feudatory kings were called zamindars. The head of the *Garh* was conferred with the title of *Quilladar*. By frequent transfer of governors, the Mughals put a check on the officers associated with the administration of Odisha. This Mughal model of administration was followed subsequently by others, to a greater extent, in Odisha.

3.4.2.7. Attitude towards the religions of Odisha

Though, in the field of religion, Mughal administration had taken a tolerant view during Akbar and Shah Jahan's period, this was not the same during Aurangzeb's regime. He was a hardcore Sunni Muslim and he wanted to deal with the Hindu subjects of Odisha scorn and contempt. He imposed pilgrim tax upon the Hindus who visited the temple of God Jagannath.

Jadunath Sarkar in his book, *History of Aurangzeb*, mentions about the temple destruction order of Aurangzeb to be implemented in Odisha as such: ".... the Emperor learning from news letters of the province of Odisha that at the village of Tilkuti at Medinapura temple has been newly built, he issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all the temples built anywhere in this province by the worthless infidels.

Therefore you are commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on the receipt of this letter you should destroy the above mentioned temples. Every idol house built during the last 10 or 12 years whether with brick or clay should be demolished without delay. Also do not allow the crushed Hindus and the infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of the temples should be sent to the court under the seal of the quzis and attested by pious Shaikhs." This clearly shows that Aurangzeb ordered for the destruction of newly built temples. It further suggests that the building of new temples should be stopped in Odisha.

During his reign period, the administration of the temple of God Jagannath at Puri got a set back and some festivals of the temple could not be performed in proper time. Aurangzeb championed the cause of the Muslims in Odisha. During his reign huge lands were granted to the *Ulemas, Maulavis*, holy men and downtrodden Muslims in Odisha. During his reign period, Shaikh Abul Khair of Golpara and Shaikh Barkhudar of Cuttack received *Madad-i-mash* (grant of land for religious purposes) lands.

3.4.3. Conclusion

Thus, the Muslim administration in Odisha was not marked with much worth. No doubt, Odisha was well divided into different *Sarkars;* however, the administration was not smoothly discharged due to frequent change of governors. A peaceful co-existence of both Hindus and Muslims was effected during this phase of the Mughal rule in Odisha. Economically, Odisha was not prosperous in comparison to the Hindu period, still then it was better than the Maratha period. However, Odisha came under the orbit of a uniform Mughal administration which prevailed throughout the country. After Mughals, the Nizams of Bengal ruled Odisha till it was occupied by the Marathas.

3.4.4. Summary

> During the Afghan period no change in the administration took place as they were always busy in fighting with the Mughals.

- > They only confined themselves in collecting revenue. But the Mughals introduced some changes in the administration, particularly revenue administration.
- ➤ Under them Odisha was divided into two political zones.
- ➤ The princely states, mostly hilly, which were ruled by the tributary chiefs and Rajas were called Garjats.
- > Besides that the areas in coastal belt under the direct administration of the Mughals were called as Moghulbandi area.
- > The Mughals introduced an efficient administrative system.
- Todarmal divided Odisha into *five Sarkars* in 1582 A.D.
- The prime *motive* of the Mughals was to get a huge amount of revenue from Odishan soil.
- ➤ Keeping that end in *view*, Todarmal, the great revenue minister of Akbar introduced his *bandobast* (settlement) in Odisha which was famous as *Tankhwah Raqmi*.
- Accordingly, Odisha was divided into two parts- the *Mughalbandi* and *Garjat*.
- The area which remained under the direct administration of the Mughals was called *Mughalbandi*.
- The *Garjats* were the area which remained under the direct administration of the native kings, who submitted to the Mughals by paying a fixed annual Peshkash.
- ➤ In 1728 A.D. Murshid Quli Khan introduced a new system in Odisha known as *Jamma Kamal*.
- Among the *revenue* officers of the Mughals, the *Choudhuries, Muqaddams*, and *Quanungoes* played dominant role in revenue collection.
- ➤ In the *Garjat* administration, however, very little changes were made. The feudatory kings were called zamindars.
- Though, in the field of religion, Mughal administration had taken a tolerant view during Akbar and Shah Jahan's period, this was not the same during Aurangzeb's regime.
- ➤ During his reign period, the administration of the temple of God Jagannath at Puri got a set back and some festivals of the temple could not be performed in proper time. Aurangzeb championed the cause of the Muslims in Odisha.
- Thus, the Muslim administration in Odisha was not marked with much worth.

3.4.5. Exercise

- **\$** Give an account on the Muslim administration in Odisha.
- **❖** Write a note on the revenue administration in Odisha during the Muslim period.
- **Discuss the attitude of the Muslim administrators towards the Garjat states.**
- **❖** Highlight the attitude of the Muslim rulers towards the religions of Odisha.

3.1.6. Further Reading

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Unit-3 Chapter-V Muslim-Maratha Conflict Maratha Occupation of Odisha

Structure

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J.J.U.	ODICCUYCS

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3.5.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students investigate about the Muslim-Maratha conflict and Maratha occupation of Odisha. After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- to learn the Muslim-Maratha conflict
- to analyze the Maratha occupation of Odisha
- to investigate administration in the Garjat states of Odisha
- to trace the attitude towards the religions of Odisha

3.5.1.Introduction

The disintegration of the Mughal empire cast an evil shadow upon Odisha. The Muslims failed to enjoy any political peace during 18th century. The aggressive Marathas used this as a springboard to launch repeated attacks against the rich Bengal in their quest for wealth. Such predatory incursions were mostly designed and executed by the Bhonsles of Nagpur.

3.5.2. Muslim-Maratha conflict

With the decline of the Mughal administration in India, the Nizams of Bengal built up their rule in Odisha. On the otherhand, the Marathas became powerful and wanted to assert their power all over the country. The Bhonsles of Nagpur under Raghuji gave a new guidance to the Marathas over Odisha thereby directly bringing a rift with Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal. In the long run, the Marathas became successful in establishing their sway over Odisha. However, their rule in this land from 1751 A.D. to 1803 A.D. made people of Odisha dissatisfied.

3.5.3. Maratha occupation of Odisha

The causes of the Maratha invasion of Odisha were not too far to seek. Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur failed to dominate over Sahu due to the superior strength of Baji Rao and contemplated plunder in the direction of north-east of his dominion. His desire was strengthened when Mir Habib, being expelled by Nawab Alivardi Khan of Odisha, stepped towards Nagpur and extended his help to Raghuji thereby encouraging him to invade Odisha. At last, the willingness of his Prime Minister Bhaskar Pandit prompted him to launch an attack on Odisha.

3.5.3.1. Capture of Barabati fort

By that time, Odisha was under the control of Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal. Bhaskar Pandit, with the help oi Mir Habib, crossed Baramula Pass and entered into Odisha with a grand Maratha army. The galloping march of the Maratha cavalry stuck terror in the minds of Nawab's army. Within no time, on 19 April 1742, Barabati fort fell in the clutch of the Marathas. Mir Habib, through Midnapur, marched to Burdwan and then to Murshidabad to settle the score with

Alivardi. Though Murshidabad was saved from the plunder of the Marathas by the payment of a huge amount of money to Bhaskar Pandit by Alivardi Khan, the fate had reserved certain misfortunes for it in near future.

3.5.3.2. Reoccupation of Cuttack by Alivardi Khan

With the return of Bhaskar Pandit, Alivardi Khan appealed to the shadowy Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah to render him possible help for meeting the Maratha menace. The emperor intimated the plights of Alivardi to the Nawab of Oudh and Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao of Poona who helped Alivardi to recapture Cuttack by defeating the Maratha contingents when Bhaskar Pandit had left for Nagpur via Chilika with the huge booty which he had obtained from plunder.

3.5.3.3. Alliverdi's betrayal

When Alivardi came back to Murshidabad, Raghuji Bhonsle fell upon Odisha like a meteor and proceeded towards Bengal to realise *Chauth* from Alivardi after plundering Cuttack. At this juncture, Alivardi was forced to form an alliance with Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao by paying him twenty-two lakhs of rupees to save him from the clutch of Raghuji which compelled Raghuji to retreat his steps towards Nagpur. However, a treaty between the Bhonsles and the Peshwas again brought back the Maratha troops to Odisha under the leadership of Bhaskar Pandit who was invited by Alivardi to a meeting at Mankora with his twenty-two generals and all of them were treacherously killed with their leader. This made the Marathas fearful who returned back to Nagpur immediately.

3.5.3.4. Recapture of Cuttack by the Marathas

This treacherous deed of Alivardi Khan made Raghuji furious who led his vigorous campaign against Odisha. On 12 May, 1745, the fort of Barabati fell in the hands of Raghuji. Of course, Raghuji was defeated at the hands of Alivardi. While retreating towards Nagpur, he instructed Mir Habib to bring the possession of Odisha under the Maratha control. As a loyal servant, Mir Habib proceeded towards Bengal with his troops and occupied Midnapur. Alivardi appointed Sayyid Ahmad Khan as the Governor of Odisha who defeated the Marathas at Midnapur. At this critical juncture Januji, the son of Raghuji came to the aid of Mir Habib. The rebellious Afghan chiefs supported Januji. Alivardi could not recover Midnapur from the Marathas. In March 1749, Alivardi took the final decision to oust the Marathas from Odisha. Being unopposed by Mir Habib, Alivardi proceeded upto Cuttack and captured it. He then appointed Shaikh Abdul

Subhan as the Governor of Odisha. Only after one week of his departure, Mir Habib came out from the hidings and reoccupied Cuttack.

3.5.3.5. The peace treaty of 1751

This shocking news made Alivardi more fragile. By that time, Alivardi was old, weak and feeble. Taking a grand army of 40,000 soldiers, Mir Habib proceeded towards Bengal. Alivardi gathered his army to oust the Marathas from Bengal. The Marathas resorted to the guerilla warfare. In order to teach them a lesson, Alivardi established a permanent military outpost at Midnapur under the command of Ali Quli Khan. He sent his grandson Siraj-ud- Daullah to deal with the Marathas and he chased them as far as Balasore. The Marathas left Alivardi in a cross-road of puzzle. When Alivardi was at Midnapur, the Marathas attacked upon Murshidabad. When Alivardi marched towards Burdwan, the Marathas fell upon Midnapur. Owing to the old age, Alivardi needed respite from warfare. Mirjafar and Mirza Saleh negotiated from the side of the Nawab and Mir Habib respectively and at last, peace was concluded in 1751. The terms of the treaty were as such: Mir Habib was to be regarded as a servant of Alivardi Khan (the Naib Nizam) to rule over Odisha on his behalf. He would pay the surplus revenue of the province as arrears to Raghuji's troops. Twelve lakhs of rupees should annually be paid to Raghuji on condition that "the Marathas would not set their foot within the dominions of Alivardi." River Sonamukhi (Suvarnarekha) which runs near Balasore was to form the demarcating line between the boundaries of Odisha and Bengal. The treaty between Mir Habib and Alivardi was highly politically motivated. Highlighting its importance, prof. B.C. Ray writes:

"The treaty was a triangular compromise amongest three sets of forces in the name of Raghuji, Mir Habib and Alivardi, Raghuji for money, Mir Habib for honour and revenge, and Alivardi for rest without being unmindful for retaining his nominal overlordship over Odisha." The treaty, as it appears, established the authority of the Marathas over Odisha. Alivardi, though appeared as the overlord of Odisha, he was not so in actual practice. He remained under the clutch of the Marathas who, with the gradual march of time, established their authority over Odisha independent of the Nawabs of Bengal.

The Maratha governors of Odisha

The Maratha governors of Odisha are as follows:

3.5.3.6. Mir Habib (1751-1752)

Mir Habib met Raghuji when Alivardi Khan killed Murshid Quli Khan II. Right from that time, he determined to avenge the death of his master Murshid Quli. Keeping that end in view, he sided with Raghuji till the treaty was concluded between him and Alivardi Khan in 1751. The treaty was concluded in such a manner that Mir Habib was indispensable for both the parties who recognised him as the Governor of Odisha. On the one hand, the Marathas choose him to get back their arrear revenue and on the other, Alivardi got a respite from the turbulent politics of Odisha. Mir Habib was stable man and as Subahdar, he took prudent decision whenever required. For example, after the death of Ramachandradeva II of Khurda, Padmanavadeva of Patia appealed Mir Habib who decided to place him on the throne of Khurda. However, when the courtiers convinced him regarding the legitimacy of Bhagirathi Kumar who termed himself as Birakishoradeva, later on, Mir Habib ungrudgingly accepted it. As an administrator, Mir Habib always enforced strict discipline in the field of administration. For successful implementation of his plan, he kept an Afghan force and a Maratha force ready under his command. He had promised to pay the Marathas an annual tribute of rupees four lakhs. He also received twelve lakhs of rupees from Bengal. Unfortunately, he fell into the wrath of Januji who could not get satisfactory explanation from him regarding the alleged misappropriation of a certain amount of rupees that led to the death of Mir Habib.

3.5.3.7. Mirza Saleh (1752-1759)

Mirza Saleh, the nephew of Mir Habib, was instrumental in the treaty that took place in 1751 between his uncle and Alivardi. When he succeeded Mir Habib as the Governor of Odisha in 1752, he found himself between two giant masters, Alivardi, on the one hand and Raghuji, on the other. However, he was not a man to be sandwitched between the two contending forces, rather, he wanted to outwit both the parties. When Raghuji demanded more money from him, he committed to pay four laks rupees more and demanded the same from Alivardi who denied to pay that amount. This led Saleh to coerce the people of Odisha occasionally for realisation of more money and to collect some money from the British merchants who had estabiished their factories at Hariharpur, Pipli and Balasore. The Britishers also offered suitable presentations to Mirza Saleh for the prosperity in their business.

With the death of Alivardi, his grandson Siraj-ud-daulah ascended the throne of Bengal in 1756. The new Nawab instructed Saleh not to render any help to the British people. Though Saleh

showed his allegiance to Siraj, he secretly helped the British. When British factories in Bengal fell one after another, their factories in Odisha grew more and more by the blessings of Saleh. Further, defying the order of Siraj, he helped the Britishers secretely in raising 1,000 gunmen that made their position secure in Odisha. He not only helped them but conspired with them to oust Siraj from the throne of Bengal. When that was detected, he took refuge with Raghuji at Nagpur who did not recommend his cowardice activities. During the absence of Saleh, his son Dadar Ali remained in charge of the administration of Odisha.

In the meanwhile, Siraj was killed in 1757 after his defeat in the battle of Plassey. Dadar Ali, failing to discharge his duty, was imprisoned by the Marathas. Mirza Saleh returned to Cuttack and resumed his charge. Now, Mirzafar, the new Nawab, stopped the payment of *Chauth* to the Marathas and this brqught discredit to Saleh. So he was forced to resign in 1759. He was the last Muslim *Subahdar* of Odisha to serve the cause of both the Marathas of Nagpur and Nawab of Bengal. After him, Odisha was under the direct control of the Maratha administration.

3.5.3.8. Sheo Bhatt Sathe (1760-1764)

Sheo Bhatt Sathe was the first Maratha Subahdar in Odisha. With the death of Raghuji Bhonsle, his son Januji ascended the throne of Nagpur. He appointed Shea Bhatt Sathe as the Subahdar of Odisha. Shea took over the charge of the province from Chimna Sau. After the assumption of power as the Governor of Odisha, the first task before Shea Bhatt Sathe was to collect Chauth from the Nawab of Bengal. By that time, Mirjafar had been replaced by Mir Qasim as the Nawab of Bengal. Shea Bhatt demanded Chauth from him and Mir Qasim, could not pay any heed to that. At this Shea attacked Bengal and plundered Burdwan. He further claimed that Midnapur and Burdwan were under the Marathas as parts of Odisha. In 1761, his attack to plunder Bengal was foiled by the British garrison. The Britishers took precautionary measure by stationing British troops in Midnapur and Bengal. For that reason, the Marathas could not succeed in their mission. This enraged Sheo Bhatt who kept Kushal Chand, the British agent at Cuttack, under custody. Now the Britishers persuaded Mir Qasim to drive out the Marathas from Odisha. Mir Qasim kept mum and started negotiation with Sheo Bhatt assuring him the payment of *Chauth* if Sheo extended his cooperation to the former. To this end, Qasim sent a sanad of Jaleswar and Midnapur to Sheo Bhat who sent his own younger brother Bhaskar Pandit and Butl Khan to march to Jaleswar for assisting Mir Qasim. This alarmed the British East India Company which sent its agent Aga Muhammad AIi, an inhabitant of Balasore and Ghulam Mustafa, the

company's *gumastah* at Balasore to meet the Maratha governor for not going against the Britishers. Vansittart, the British governor of Bengal confirmed that the arrears of *Chauth* would be given to the Marathas if they would side with the company against Mir Qasim. This led to Shea Bhatt to discontinue his allegiance to Mir Quasim. In the battle of Buxar, Mir Qasim was defeated in 1764. After victory in that battle, the Britishers befooled Shea Bhatt not paying any arrear of *Chauth*. As Sheo Bhatt failed to pay his arrear to Januji, he was dismissed in 1764. Januji appointed Chimna Sau as the Governor of Odisha. Shea Bhatt was imprisoned on 12 April, 1764 and sent to Nagpur. After being pardoned, Shea tried his best to regain the governorship of Odisha but he failed stupendously in his mission. He played the game of double dealing with Mir Qasim and so, he was paid back in his own coins.

3.5.3.9. Bhawani Pandit (1764-1768)

The authority of Chimna Sau was challenged by Shea Bhatt Sathe. So, the former sought the help from Nagpur to quell the uprising of the zamindars instigated by Shea Bhatt. Accordingly, Bhawani Pandit reached Odisha with a grand army of five thousand cavalry in July, 1764 and took over the charge as the Governor of Odisha. He took drastic action against the refractory zamindars of Dhenkanal, Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj. Being subdued, they submitted to Bhawani Pandit and paid handsomely for the maintenance of the Maratha troops in Odisha.

The threat of Shea Bhatt invade Odisha prompted the Britishers to ask Bhawani Pandit to send some troops for suppressing Shea. Shea helped them in this matter. He entered into a treaty with Lord clive by which he promised to hand over the salt produced from the salt lands won by the zamindars of Balasore and neighbouring districts to the British merchants only. Through him, negotiation took place between the British and Januji for the payment of *Chauth*. Finally, when Mir Zainul Abadin reached the court of Jaunji at Nagpur on behalf of the British, he expressed his resertment against the government of Bhawani Pandit. At this, Januji became angry and dismissed Bhawani Pandit for his inefficiency in the realisation of *Chauth*.

3.5.3.10. Shambhaji Ganesh (1768-1770)

The motive behind the appointment of Shambhaji Ganesh as the *Subahdar* of Odisha was only to collect *Chauth* from Bengal. He strengthened his friendship with the British with a hope to realise *Chauth*. He offered 50,000 Maratha horses to the British, if the latter wanted to utilise them. Further, he allowed the British troops under the command of Major Achmuty to march through Odisha. The negotiation for *Chauth* which had started in a very congenial atmosphere

between Shambhaji and the British ended in a failure because the latter did not help Januji in his conflict with the Peshwa. During his period, there was news of the arrival of alleged French ships of the coast of Ganjam for which the British authority misunderstood him. The purpose for which Shambhaji Ganesh was sent, could never be fulfilled. However, Shambhaji had taken keen interest in encouraging the pilgrims from all parts of India to visit the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri. He also took steps to remove the oppression of the *amla* over the *mutassadis*. He died in September, 1770.

3.5.3.11. Babuji Naik (1771-1773)

After the death of Shambhaji Ganesh, Rajaram Pandit remained in the charge of Governor of Odisha for a short while. Babuji Naik was sent as the *Subahdar* of Odisha in 1770. He continued his friendly relation with the British. Allyn, a servant of the company and in charge of a factory at Cuttack had lent money to many persons. He appealed Babuji for the realisation of the same and was helped by the latter in that matter. Further, as there was shortage of grains at Calcutta, he instructed Abdullah Khan, the *faujdar* of Balasore to sell rice for the company when he was requested by the Englishmen. The Britishers also showed their cordial gesture by providing the assistance of an English battalion to Babuji Naik for suppressing the border zamindars who created distrubance. His tenure as the *Subahdar* of Odisha was peaceful.

3.5.3.12. Madhoji Hari (1773-1777)

The governorship of Madhoji Hari witnessed a new kind of development in the coastal strips of Balasore and Cuttack. During his period, there were many ship-wrecks, particularly in the middle part of the coastal Odisha like Kujang, Kanika and Ali (Aul). The people of these area were plundering the wrecked ships with the full support of the local kings who ill-treated and sometimes, imprisoned the ship-wrecked persons. Keeping this in view, the British authorities appealed to the Raja of Nagpur to provide safety and security to the merchants, travellers and wayfarers and award punishment to the king of Kujang who was very notorious. As a remedial measure, the British authority wanted a *sanad* from the Maratha chief of Nagpur granting them "a perpetual possession of a strip of land which lies between the river Kanika and Mc1hanadi running in line with the sea coast." Further, the power vested on the king of Kujang was to be taken away and delegated to the British. The Maratha chief of Nagpur did not agree to the first proposal of the Britishers. However, he ordered Madhoji Hari to enquire the matter relating to the king of Kujang. When summoned by the *Subahdar*, the king expressed his sorrow for the acts

done in the past and thus, was pardoned by Madhoji. This act of Madhoji was grossly disliked by the Raja of Nagpur and he was recalled from Odisha.

3.5.3.13. Rajaram Pandit (1778-1793)

The governorship of Rajaram Pandit in Odisha witnessed the Anglo-Maratha conflict during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings. The Raja of Nagpur had joined with Poona, Hyderabad and Mysore, forming an anti-British confederacy. The conflict with these four powers demanded the movement of British army to Madras via Odisha to deal with Hyder Ali of Mysore. The Bhonsle chief of Nagpur thought it prudent not to have a clash with the British power. Accordingly he instructed Rajaram Pandit to extract *Chauth* from the British authorities, if the Governor-General asked for the passage of the British troops through Odisha. Warren Hastings dispatched a detachment under Colonel Pearse upto Balasore in 1781 and sent Anderson to obtain necessary permission from the Maratha Governor of Odisha for the same purpose through the payment of twelve lakhs of rupees. Rajaram Pandit went personally to Calcutta to settle the amount with the Governor-General and demanded twenty-five lakhs of rupees as loan with the immediate payment of twelve lakhs. After due negotiation, a sum of rupees thirteen lakhs along with a loan of rupees ten lakhs was handed over to him. With the help of some Maratha officers like Harihar Mahadeo and Magun Choudhury, Colonel Pearse marched with his army through Odisha and crossed the border of Ganjam, receiving an assistance of 2,000 horses from the Marathas. This act of Rajaram brought British closer to the Bhonsles of Nagpur. Rajaram Pandit was very firm in his action. After receiving information from Wilkinson, the British resident at Balasore regarding the oppression of the Maratha faujdar Bhawani Das Choudhury over a merchant of Barabati named Gangadhar, Rajaram dismissed him. In his place, Murar Pandit was sent as the *fauidar* of Balasore. Further, he took steps to crush the recalcitrant zamindars. Snodgrass, the British Chief of Ganjam, informed Rajaram Pandit that Balarama Maharatha a refractory land-holder of the British company at Ganjam absconded and entered into the territory of King Divyasimhadeva, who gave asylum to him Rajaram Pandit seized him and his followers in the neigh bourhood of Cuttack. Divyasimhadeva, then, was handed over to Snodgrass. Of course, Balarama Maharatha tried to escape from the hands of Snodgrass and was killed. However, Rajaram Pandit chastised the king of Khurda who humbly submitted before him. Not only Rajaram Pandit was shrewd diplomat but he was equally a good administrator. He brought all the refractory forces under his control. He also showed a great deal of interest for the

influx of pilgrims to Puri from all parts of India. The prior practice of collecting revenues through hereditary *talukdars* was disbanded and he appointed his own men for the same purpose. He discharged his duty very well as the *Subahdar* of Odisha and breathed his last in 1793.

3.5.3.14. Sadashiv Rao (1793-1803)

The death of Rajaram Pandit led his son Sadashiv Rao to be the Naib Subahdar of Odisha. He was quite friendly to the British like his father. With abolition of the British Residency at Balasore, Barabati slipped away from the clutch of British East India Company. However, Sadashiv Rao showed his cordial gesture to the company and offered Barabati to them which was attached to the British factory. Sadashiv also suppressed the local Rajas who acted against the British. In 1795, a mutinous British battalion refused to lay down their arms and were attacked by another battalion which imprisoned some sepoys of the former battalion. Other sepoys of the mutinous battalion took shelter with the king of Mayurbhanj, who did not deliver them to the British when demanded. At this stage, the British authorities approached Sadashiv Rao. Sadashiv wrote a letter to the king of Mayurbhanj who obeyed the order and drove out the rebellious sepoys from his territory. Sadashiv Rao also facilitated the march of British troops from Bengal to Madras. His cordial gesture encouraged the British to improve thier postal system in Odisha. The British correspondence from Calcutta to Puri increased considerably. However, his friendly relation with the English people never marred his spirit to fight for a lust cause. When Divyasimhadeva II, the king or Khurda 'died, there was contest for the throne of Khurda between Mukundadeva, the son of Divyasimhadeva and Shyamsundar, the second son of Birakishoradeva. Though the Britishers helped Shyamsundar, Sadashiv opposed it tooth and nail. At last, Mukundadeva asserted his legitimate claim over the throne of Khurda.

3.5.4. Conclusion

Thus, the British people betrayed the friendship of Sadashiv. Lord Wellesley was an imperialist out and out. He wanted to engulf the coastal strip of Odisha under the British hegemony. Taking the absence of Sadashiv Rao from Cuttack in October 1803, the British General Harcourt occupied coastal Odisha. Thus, ended the rule of the Marathas over this land.

3.5.5. Summary

- ➤ The disintegration of the Mughal empire cast an evil shadow upon Odisha.
- ➤ On the otherhand, the Marathas became powerful and wanted to assert their power all over the country.

- ➤ The Bhonsles of Nagpur under Raghuji gave a new guidance to the Marathas over Odisha thereby directly bringing a rift with Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal.
- The causes of the Maratha invasion of Odisha were not too far to seek.
- Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur failed to dominate over Sahu due to the superior strength of Baji Rao and contemplated plunder in the direction of north-east of his dominion.
- ➤ On 19 April 1742, Barabati fort fell in the clutch of the Marathas.
- ➤ When Alivardi came back to Murshidabad, Raghuji Bhonsle fell upon Odisha like a meteor and proceeded towards Bengal to realise *Chauth* from Alivardi after plundering Cuttack.
- ➤ This treacherous deed of Alivardi Khan made Raghuji furious who led his vigorous campaign against Odisha.
- > On 12 May, 1745, the fort of Barabati fell in the hands of Raghuji.
- ➤ The peace treaty was concluded in 1751 between the Marathas and Muslims.
- Mir Habib met Raghuji when Alivardi Khan killed Murshid Quli Khan II.
- Right from that time, he determined to avenge the death of his master Murshid Quli.
- Mirza Saleh, the nephew of Mir Habib, was instrumental in the treaty that took place in 1751 between his uncle and Alivardi.
- > Sheo Bhatt Sathe was the first Maratha *Subahdar* in Odisha.
- ➤ With the death of Raghuji Bhonsle, his son Januji ascended the throne of Nagpur. He appointed Shea Bhatt Sathe as the *Subahdar* of Odisha.
- ➤ Bhawani Pandit reached Odisha with a grand army of five thousand cavalry in July, 1764 and took over the charge as the Governor of Odisha.
- ➤ The motive behind the appointment of Shambhaji Ganesh as the *Subahdar* of Odisha was only to collect *Chauth* from Bengal.
- ➤ He strengthened his friendship with the British with a hope to realise *Chauth*.
- ➤ After the death of Shambhaji Ganesh, Rajaram Pandit remained in the charge of Governor of Odisha for a short while.
- ➤ Babuji Naik was sent as the *Subahdar* of Odisha in 1770. He continued his friendly relation with the British.

- > The governorship of Madhoji Hari witnessed a new kind of development in the coastal strips of Balasore and Cuttack.
- > During his period, there were many ship-wrecks, particularly in the middle part of the coastal Odisha like Kujang, Kanika and Ali (Aul).
- ➤ The governorship of Rajaram Pandit in Odisha witnessed the Anglo-Maratha conflict during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings.
- ➤ The death of Rajaram Pandit led his son Sadashiv Rao to be the *Naib Subahdar* of Odisha.
- ➤ He was quite friendly to the British like his father.
- ➤ With abolition of the British Residency at Balasore, Barabati slipped away from the clutch of British East India Company.
- > Thus, the British people betrayed the friendship of Sadashiv. Lord Wellesley was an imperialist out and out.
- ➤ Taking the absence of Sadashiv Rao from Cuttack in October 1803, the British General Harcourt occupied coastal Odisha.

3.5.6. Exercise

- **❖** Write a note on the Muslim-Maratha conflict in Odisha.
- **\$** Give an account on the Maratha occupation of Odisha.
- **❖** Make an analysis on the rule of Maratha governers in Odisha.
- **❖** Highlight the achievements of Maratha governers of Odisha.

3.5.7. Further Reading

- ▶ B.C. Ray, *Orissa under the Marathas (1751-1803)*, Allahabad, 1960.
- A.C. Pradhan, A Study of History of Odisha, 2006.
- ▶ B.C. Ray, New Light on Maratha Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1963.
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- ➤ J.G. Duff, *A History of the Marathas*, Voll. III, Calcutta, 1912.

Unit-3

Chapter-VI Maratha Administration in Odisha

Structure

- 3.6.0. Objectives
- 3.6.1. Introduction
- 3.6.2. Maratha administration in Odisha
- 3.6.2.1. Division of the Maratha Empire in Odisha
- 3.6.2.2. Maratha Administration in Garjat states
- 3.6.2.3. Administration in Mughalbandi areas of Odisha
- 3.6.2.4. Civil and Millitary administration of the Marathas
- 3.6.2.5. Export of Paddy
- 3.6.2.6. Trade connection with other parts of India
- 3.6.2.7. Policy towards Jagannath temple of Puri
- 3.6.3. Conclusion
- **3.6.4. Summary**
- **3.6.5.** Exercise
- 3.6.6. Further Reading

3.6.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students explore the Maratha administration in Odisha. After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

- trace the history of the Maratha administration
- *identify the division of the empire*
- recognize the Maratha administration in Garjat states
- judge the administration in Moghulbandi areas
- know the Maratha policy towards Jagannath temple of Puri

3.6.1. Introduction

During the Maratha period, as in the Mughal period, there were Garjat states who paid tribute to the Raja of Nagpur. The rest of Odisha i.e. the coastal plain areas from Suvarnarekha in the North to Chilika in the South popularly known as Moghulbandi were ruled by the Marathas.

3.6.2. Maratha administration in Odisha

The Maratha administration in Odisha was a replica of the Mughal administration. They wanted to retain the fabric of Mughal pattern. However, massive exploitation by the Maratha Governors made their rule unpopular in Odisha.

3.6.2.1. Division of the Maratha Empire in Odisha

The Maratha administration in Odisha was a legacy of the Mughal rule. The Maratha possessions in Odisha were bounded by sea on the east, the province of Chhatisgarh on the west, the Chilka lake and undivided Ganjam district on the south and Jaleswar, Midnapur and Birbhum on the north. Odisha was divided into two political division-viz, the *Garjat* consisting of twenty-four' tributary chieftains and *Mughalbandi*, the coastal tract extending from Suvarnarekha in the north to the Chilka lake in the south.

3.6.2.2. Maratha Administration in Garjat states

Among the twenty-four feudatories, the most powerful was. the king of Khurda, the Rajas of Kanika, Dhenkanal,Ranapur, Baramba, Athagarh, Kujang, Aul (Ali) and Mayurbhanj had also retained their relative importance during the regime of the Marathas. The Maratha governors did not poke their nose in the internal administration of those chiefs. The feudatories were also not regular in their payment to the Maratha *Subenders*.

3.6.2.3. Administration in Mughalbandi areas of Odisha

.The *Mughalbandi* was divided into 150 *Paraganas* under the management of 32 *Amils*. Each *Paragana* was subdivided into two, three, four or more *Mahalas* or allotments. The *Amil* or Revenue Commissioner was responsible for the assessment of revenue and entrusting charge to

different officers for the collection of revenue. The hereditary revenue collectors under him were termed as *Chaudhuries, Kanungoes*, or *Talukdars* each in charge of a *taluk* or sub-division. These officers were given rent-free lands known as *Nankar*. Their duty was not only to collect revenue from the subjects but to keep them happy andcontended. The settlement known as *Hustabud* was prevalent. The demand of the government was based on the amount of land actually under cultivation.

3.6.2.4. Civil and Millitary administration of the Marathas

The *Subahdar* was the head of both civil and military administration of this land. The *Kiladar* served under him who was in charge of the fort of Barabati at Cuttack. Under the control of the *Subahdar*, there were some *faujdars* who controlled some *chaukis* (outposts). A *thanadar* was the head of a *cneuk:* The *Amil* was empowered to investigate and try both civil and criminal cases.

3.6.2.5. Export of Paddy

Like the present day, paddy was produced in huge amount and was a great item of export to Bengal and Madras through small ports of Golrah, Harishpur, Bishenpur and Manikpatna. Salt was plentily manufactured along the sea coast of Odisha.

3.6.2.6. Trade connection with other parts of India

During the Maratha rule, Odisha was well connected through roads with Bengal, Madras and Nagpur. From Cuttack, a well-known road connected Bengal through Bhadrak, Balasore, Jaleswar and Midnapur. There were two roads from Nagpur to Sambalpur. Madras was connected through a road from Cuttack passing through Puri, Ganjam, Burgun, Tekkali, Kalingapatanam, Chicacole and Visakhapatanam.

3.6.2.7. Policy towards Jagannath temple of Puri

In the field of religion, the Marathas brought regeneration. The worship of God Jagannath and the maintenance of the grand temple at Puri was the prime duty of the Maratha *Subahdars*. Puri, a deserted place during the rule of the Mughals was studded with pilgrims from all over India who came to pay homage to the God of Gods. The Marathas managed the temple efficiently and the pilgrims faced no difficulty at Puri. No doubt, pilgrim tax was collected by the Marathas but a large' slice of that income was spent in different festivals of the temple. Under Mar.atha patronage, the fame of God Jagannath spread in the nook and corner of India. Ttie Marathas opened *Annachhatras* (free food-distribution camps) and granted rent-free lands to the Brahmins.

They offered money to monks and offered suitable grants to the *mathas* for the performance of various festivals.

3.6.3. Conclusion

Thus, the Maratha rule in Odisha was, by and large, military in nature. The one and single aim of the Bhonsles of Nagpur was to treat this land as a milch cow and to extract much more revenue from the people. The frequent change of governors made the administration of this land precarious and ustable. Anarchy prevailed and people gradually became disinterested towards the Maratha rule. The frequent march of the British troops through Odisha germinated a fear psychosis in the minds of the people. Further, the extraction of more and more revenue by the Maratha governors enraged them who hated the Maratha rule over this land. That was perhaps, one of the chief reasons for which the people welcomed British hegemony over this land and wanted to expell the Marathas. One thing made the Maratha rule unique in Odisha and that was the maintenance of the temple of God Jagannath at Puri, which was so ruthlessly ignored by the Mughals in the past.

3.6.4. Summary

- ➤ During the Maratha period, as in the Mughal period, there were 30 Garjat states who paid tribute to the Raja of Nagpur.
- The rest of Odisha i.e. the coastal plain areas from Suvarnarekha in the North to Chilika in the South popularly known as Moghulbandi were ruled by the Marathas.
- The Maratha administration in Odisha was a replica of the Mughal administration.
- Among the twenty-four feudatories, the most powerful was. the king of Khurda, the Rajas of Kanika, Dhenkanal, Ranapur, Baramba, Athagarh, Kujang, Aul (Ali) and Mayurbhanj had also retained their relative importance during the regime of the Marathas.
- ➤ The Mughalbandi was divided into 150 Paraganas under the management of 32 Amils.
- Each *Paragana* was subdivided into two, three, four or more *Mahalas* or allotments.
- The *Amil* or Revenue Commissioner was responsible for the assessment of revenue and entrusting charge to different officers for the collection of revenue.
- The hereditary revenue collectors under him were termed as *Chaudhuries*, *Kanungoes*, or *Talukdars* each in charge of a *taluk* or sub-division.
- The Subahdar was the head of both civil and military administration of this land.
- > The *Kiladar* served under him who was in charge of the fort of Barabati at Cuttack.

- ➤ Like the present day, paddy was produced in huge amount and was a great item of export to Bengal and Madras through small ports of Golrah, Harishpur, Bishenpur and Manikpatna.
- ➤ During the Maratha rule, Odisha was well connected through roads with Bengal, Madras and Nagpur.
- ➤ In the field of religion, the Marathas brought regeneration. The worship of God Jagannath and the maintenance of the grand temple at Puri was the prime duty of the Maratha *Subahdars*. Puri, a deserted place during the rule of the Mughals was studded with pilgrims from all over India who came to pay homage to the God of Gods.
- Thus, the Maratha rule in Odisha was, by and large, military in nature. The one and single aim of the Bhonsles of Nagpur was to treat this land as a milch cow and to extract much more revenue from the people.

3.6.5. Exercise

- ❖ Give an account on the Maratha administration in Odisha.
- **❖** Make a note on the division of the Maratha empire in Odisha.
- **❖** Make an analysis on the civil and military administration of the Marathas in Odisha.
- **❖** Discuss the attitude of the Marathas towards the Jagannath temple of Puri.

3.6.6. Further Reading

- ▶ B.C. Ray, *Orissa under the Marathas (1751-1803)*, Allahabad, 1960.
- A.C. Pradhan, A Study of History of Odisha, 2006.
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- ➤ J.G. Duff, *A History of the Marathas*, Voll. III, Calcutta, 1912.

Unit-3 Chapter-VII Anglo-Maratha Conflicts

Structure

- 3.7.0. Objectives
- 3.7.1.Introduction
- 3.7.2.Anglo-Maratha conflict
- 3.7.2.1. Causes of the Anglo-Maratha Conflict in Odisha
- 3.7.2.2. British diplomacy to occupy Odisha
- 3.7.2.3. Anglo-Maratha conflict during the governorship of Rajaram Pandit
- 3.7.2.4. Anglo-Maratha Conflict during Sadashiv Rao
- 3.7.3. Conclusion
- **3.7.4. Summary**
- **3.7.5.** Exercise
- 3.7.6. Further Reading

3.7.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students investigate about the Anglo-Maratha conflicts. After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- to learn the history of Anglo-Maratha conflict
- to analyze the causes of the Anglo-Maratha conflict
- to investigate relation between the Marathas and the British
- to trace the course of the Anglo-Maratha conflict

3.7.1.Introduction

The decline of Mughal Empire led to the rise of many small powers like the Marathas to declare themselves as independent powers. Some of them also started establishing themselves as important power in the political horizon of India by subduing the some states of India including Odisha either through war or diplomacy. In meanwhile, the Marathas had to struggle with the English.

3.7.2.Anglo-Maratha conflict

The Anglo-Maratha conflicts constitute an important chapter in the history of Odisha which can be discussed bellow.

3.7.2.1. Causes of the Anglo-Maratha Conflict in Odisha

The most important reason for the Anglo-Maratha conflict was the strategic location of Odisha. Odisha lay between the already occupied British territories of Bengal and Madras Presidencies. The line of communication ran through Odisha. It is irksome, expensive and sometimes difficult to get a safe passage through Odisha from the Maratha authorities. Secondly, Odisha had been considered as a part of Bengal from the day of Muslim conquest in 1568 A.D. The fertile land was a revenue earning proposition. Thirdly, the right of obtaining revenue collection by the British after the Battle of Buxar made them covetous of establishing political authority. Fourthly, the Matarha incursions into outlying British districts in the Northern as well as the Southern Sarkars of the Mughalbandi region caused harassment. Last but not the least was the British objective of extending their dominion over the whole of India. In addition to those, trade interest particularly that of salt of the two dashed with each other's. So to achieve the manifold interests the British East India Company decided to occupy Odisha. Spadework for the conquest started, properly speaking since 1633 when they established their first factory at Hariharpur (Jatsinghpur district) and a second at Balasore sometime after.

3.7.2.2. British diplomacy to occupy Odisha

The Maratha rule was against the British interest. The British tried to persuade the Bengal Nawab to drive the Marathas out of Odisha but failed. After getting Diwani in J765, Clive wanted the Maratha territories in Odisha through negotiations instead of force. In J767, he sent Thomas Motte to Nagpur with an offer of money to the Bhonsala but it failed. Warren Hastings had to pay 13 lakhs as well as a loan of 12 lakhs of rupees to the Marathas to secure a passage through Odisha for operations against Hyder Ali of Mysore.

Lord Cornwallis's negotiations to get Odisha also failed. Ultimately Lord Wellesley, who had set the goal of extending British dominion as wide as possible in India, succeeded in the attempt. When Bhonsala refused to give away Odisha for a sum of money or accept the subsidiary alliance, preparations were made for the showdown. First of all, the British wanted to win over the Maratha army officials and soldiers. Secondly, they declared that occupation would be followed by conciliation and good administration. Thirdly, they entered into negotiations with native states (Garhjats). Fourthly, they realised the inability of the Marathas to raise the strength of their small army. Finally, there was the necessity to have Odisha at any cost for maintaining a line of communication between the Presidences of Bengal and Madras. In the mean time, they acquired a thorough knowledge of the topography of Odisha

3.7.2.3. Anglo-Maratha conflict during the governorship of Rajaram Pandit

The governorship of Rajaram Pandit in Odisha witnessed the Anglo-Maratha conflict during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings. The Raja of Nagpur had joined with Poona, Hyderabad and Mysore, forming an anti-British confederacy. The conflict with these four powers demanded the movement of British army to Madras via Odisha to deal with Hyder Ali of Mysore.

The Bhonsle chief of Nagpur thought it prudent not to have a clash with the British power. Accordingly he instructed Rajaram Pandit to extract *Chauth* from the British authorities, if the Governor-General asked for the passage of the British troops through Odisha. Warren Hastings dispatched a detachment under Colonel Pearse upto Balasore in 1781 and sent Anderson to obtain necessary permission from the Maratha Governor of Odisha for the same purpose through the payment of twelve lakhs of rupees. Rajaram Pandit went personally to Calcutta to settle the amount with the Governor-General and demanded twenty-five lakhs of rupees as loan with the immediate payment of twelve lakhs.

After due negotiation, a sum of rupees thirteen lakhs along with a loan of rupees ten lakhs was handed over to him. With the help of some Maratha officers like Harihar Mahadeo and Magun Choudhury, Colonel Pearse marched with his army through Odisha and crossed the border of Ganjam, receiving an assistance of 2,000 horses from the Marathas. This act of Rajaram brought British closer to the Bhonsles of Nagpur. Rajaram Pandit was very firm in his action. After receiving information from Wilkinson, the British resident at Balasore regarding the oppression of the Maratha *faujdar* Bhawani Das Choudhury over a merchant of Barabati named Gangadhar, Rajaram dismissed him. In his place, Murar Pandit was sent as the *faujdar* of Balasore.

Further, he took steps to crush the recalcitrant zamindars. Snodgrass, the British Chief of Ganjam, informed Rajaram Pandit that Balarama Maharatha a refractory land-holder of the British company at Ganjam absconded and entered into the territory of King Divyasimhadeva, who gave asylum to him Rajaram Pandit seized him and his followers in the neigh bourhood of Cuttack. Divyasimhadeva, then, was handed over to Snodgrass.

Of course, Balarama Maharatha tried to escape from the hands of Snodgrass and was killed. However, Rajaram Pandit chastised the king ot Khurda who humbly submitted before him. Not only Rajaram Pandit was shrewd diplomat but he was equally a good administrator. He brought all the refractory forces under his control. He also showed a great deal of interest for the influx of pilgrims to Puri from all parts of India. The prior practice of collecting revenues through hereditary *talukdars* was disbanded and he appointed his own men for the same purpose. He discharged his duty very well as the *Subahdar* of Odisha and breathed his last in 1793.

3.7.2.4. Anglo-Maratha Conflict during Sadashiv Rao

After Rajaram Pandit, his son Sadashiv Rao became the *Naib Subahdar* of Odisha. He was quite friendly to the British like his father. With abolition of the British Residency at Balasore, Barabati slipped away from the clutch of British East India Company. However, Sadashiv Rao showed his cordial gesture to the company and offered Barabati to them which was attached to the British factory. Sadashiv also suppressed the local Rajas who acted against the British. In 1795, a mutinous British battalion refused to lay down their arms and were attacked by another battalion which imprisoned some sepoys of the former battalion. Other sepoys of the mutinous battalion took shelter with the king of Mayurbhanj, who did not deliver them to the British when demanded.

At this stage, the British authorities approached Sadashiv Rao. Sadashiv wrote a letter to the king of Mayurbhanj who obeyed the order and drove out the rebellious sepoys from his territory. Sadashiv Rao also facilitated the march of British troops from Bengal to Madras. His cordial gesture encouraged the British to improve thier postal system in Odisha.

The British correspondence from Calcutta to Puri increased considerably. However, his friendly relation with the English people never marred his spirit to fight for a lust cause. When Divyasimhadeva II, the king or Khurda died, there was contest for the throne of Khurda between Mukundadeva, the son of Divyasimhadeva and Shyamsundar, the second son of Birakishoradeva. Though the Britishers helped Shyamsundar, Sadashiv opposed it tooth and nail. At last, Mukundadeva asserted his legitimate claim over the throne of Khurda. However, the British occupied odisha in 1803 A.D.

3.7.3. Conclusion

Thus, the British people deceived the friendship of the Marathas. Lord Wellesley was imperialist in nature. Taking the absence of Sadashiv Rao from Cuttack in October 1803, the British General Harcourt occupied coastal Odisha. Thus, the Maratha rule came to an end in Odisha.

3.7.4. Summary

- ➤ The Anglo-Maratha conflicts constitute an important chapter in the history of Odisha.
- > The most important reason for the Anglo-Maratha conflict was the strategic location of Odisha. Odisha lay between the already occupied British territories of Bengal and Madras Presidencies.
- ➤ The line of communication ran through Odisha. It is irksome, expensive and sometimes difficult to get a safe passage through Odisha from the Maratha authorities.
- ➤ Secondly, Odisha had been considered as a part of Bengal from the day of Muslim conquest in 1568 A.D. The fertile land was a revenue earning proposition.
- > Thirdly, the right of obtaining revenue collection by the British after the Battle of Buxar made them covetous of establishing political authority.
- ➤ Fourthly, the Matarha incursions into outlying British districts in the Northern as well as the Southern Sarkars of the Mughalbandi region caused harassment.

- ➤ Last but not the least was the British objective of extending their dominion over the whole of India.
- ➤ The Maratha rule was against the British interest.
- ➤ The British tried to persuade the Bengal Nawab to drive the Marathas out of Odisha but failed.
- ➤ After getting Diwani in J765, Clive wanted the Maratha territories in Odisha through negotiations instead of force.
- ➤ The governorship of Rajaram Pandit in Odisha witnessed the Anglo-Maratha conflict during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings.
- ➤ The Raja of Nagpur had joined with Poona, Hyderabad and Mysore, forming an anti-British confederacy.
- ➤ The Bhonsle chief of Nagpur thought it prudent not to have a clash with the British power.
- After Rajaram Pandit, his son Sadashiv Rao became the *Naib Subahdar* of Odisha.
- ➤ He was quite friendly to the British like his father. With abolition of the British Residency at Balasore, Barabati slipped away from the clutch of British East India Company.
- ➤ However, Sadashiv Rao showed his cordial gesture to the company and offered Barabati to them which were attached to the British factory. Sadashiv also suppressed the local Rajas who acted against the British.
- ➤ Taking the absence of Sadashiv Rao from Cuttack in October 1803, the British General Harcourt occupied coastal Odisha.
- > Thus, the Maratha rule came to an end in Odisha.

3.7.5. Exercise

- **❖** Write a note on Anglo-Maratha conflicts in Odisha.
- **❖** Highlight the causes of the Anglo-Maratha conflicts in Odisha.
- ❖ Discuss the Anglo-Maratha conflict during the governorship of Rajaram Pandit in Odisha.

❖ Make an analysis on the Anglo-Maratha Conflict in Odisha during governorship of Sadashiv Rao.

3.7.6. Further Reading

- ▶ B.C. Ray, *Orissa under the Marathas (1751-1803)*, Allahabad, 1960.
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UNIT-4 Chapter-I

Socio-Economic life in Medieval Odisha

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4.1.7. Further Reading

4.1.0.Objectives

This chapter will discuss the Socio-Economic life in Medieval Odisha. After studying this lesson the students will be able to:

- know the social life in medieval Odisha
- understand the economic life in medieval Odisha
- know about the changes in the social structure during medieval Odisha
- identify the position of women in medieval society

4.1.1. Introduction

Change and continuity became the way of social life in medieval Odisha. The glorious rule of the Gajapatis, contributed a lot to preserve the social structure of Odisha. In course of time, besides the four traditional castes, many sub-castes have emerged in the Odishan society. The *agrahara* villages granted to Brahmins by different kings provided path for the progress of education. The villages of Odisha became the centers around which evolved the social life of its people. Their dress, profession, hobby, learning etc. form the main theme of the social life in medieval Odisha.

4.1.2. Social life in medieval Odisha

The social life under went many changes during medieval Odisha. The basic structure of the society has been discussed bellow.

4.1.2. 1. The Social Structure: Caste system

The most remarkable aspect of medieval Odishan society was the caste system. It consisted of numerous castes and sub-castes and the interaction among them brought social harmony bringing peace and tranquility in the medieval Odishan society. The caste structure of the medieval society can be discussed bellow.

4.1.2. 2. The Brahmins

The Suryavamsi Gajapatis accepted the *Varnashrama* system. The Brahmins continued to enjoy ascendancy in social life, administration, religion and learning during their rule. They held

important positions in the government and were liberally patronized by the Gajapatis. Kapilendra wanted to give away the whole world to the Brahmins. The Brahmins enjoyed the highest position in the society of belonging to the first order in the *Varna* system. By their learning, prudence, pious character and other virtuous qualities, they commanded respect from the people in the society. From many inscriptions, particularly of the Bhauma-Karas, Brahmins belonging to several *gotras* like Kashyapa, Atreya, Bharadwaja, Kausika, Visvamitra, Sandilya, Vatsa etc. settled in Odisha.

They settled in the *Shasanas* (*agrahara* villages) as is known from numerous inscriptions belonging to the Ganga and Suryavamsi Gajapati period. They received land-grants from the kings and other landed aristocrats to worship gods and goddesses in different temples. Those lands were tax free lands. Further, they were also indispensable for many important ceremonies like the *Abhiseka* (coronation ceremony) of the king, marriage, *upanayana* (sacred thread ceremony) etc. By their noble works as priests, they commanded respect of the society and were placed in the highest position in the caste structure.

Besides discharging their duties as priests, the Brahmins also got lucrative posts in the court of the king. The Ganga inscriptions show that the Brahmins like Vanapati, Govinda and Vishnu worked under the Ganga kings Raja Rajadeva I, Anangabhimadeva II and Anangabhimadeva III respectively as ministers having high reputation. The inscriptions at Srikurmam and Simhachalam refer to Narahari Tirtha who acted as a regent when Bhanudeva I, was a minor. The Gopinathpur inscription refers to a Brahmin named Gopinath Mohapatra who was a constant adviser fo Kapilendradeva in matters of war and religion. The Ganga inscriptions states that some Brahmins served as military officers using titles like Vahinipati, Chamupati and Senapati. Further, the Brahmins were also appointed in the posts of *Sandhivigrahi* (*Ka*),

Sasanadhikarin, record- keeper etc. The Brahmins during that period were also engaged in several other professions besides the above mentioned works. The inscriptional and literary sources of the period reveal that they resorted the agriculture, trade, temple building activity and so on.

The Brahmins performing higher works like the priests, *guru*, *Mahasandhivigrahika* etc. were known as the *Shasani* Brahmins. The Brahmins who resorted to lower professions like agriculture, trade etc. was known as *Halua* or *Jharua* Brahmins. Whatever the fact might be, learning and imparting education were the main .functions of the Brahmins in the society. They were well-versed in the *Vedas* and other *Sastras*. They grew under the patronage of kings and maintained their educational institutions. The court of the Suryavamsi kings basked with the learned Brahmins. They contributed a lot of *Smriti*, *Vyakarana*, poetry, drama and other branches of knowledge. Due to their high education-they were respected by the people in the Odishan society.

4.1.2. 3. The Kshatriyas

The Kshatriyas occupied their position in the society next to the Brahmins. They were warrior class and shouldered the responsibility to protect the country from internal rebellion and external aggression. Besides fighting they administered the land. As the inscriptions and literary sources of this land refer, they were benevolent rulers not despots or autocrats. They had great veneration towards the Brahmins from whom they sought advice to carry on administration. They were great builders. By receiving their patronage, a good number of temples were - built up in the nook and corner of Odisha. They were famous for their charity. The digging of tanks, establishment of *Shasanas*, educational institutions etc. were also their look out. They also took interest in the promotion of learning in the society. Besides the kings and members of the royal

family, the army chiefs, soldiers and other officials belonged to the Kshatriya *caste*. The *Khandayats* or Paiks were Kshatriyas who resorted, to cultivation at the time of peace and jumped into the battle when the war drums were heard. The ruling families cemented matrimonial alliances with other kings and feudatory chiefs to secure their position. Whenever there was any external aggression they joined hands to oust the army.

4.1.2. 4. The Vaisyas

The Vaisyas belonged to the trading class who resorted to cultivation, cowherdship, trade and commerce. Generally, prosperity of the land depended largely upon the people of this community. They organized *hatas* (local markets) and controlled both inland and maritime trade. The Vaisyas of Odisha carried on oversea trade with the countries like Ceylon, Siam, Burma, Suvarnadvipa etc. and brought wealth to this land. They also helped in spreading the Odishan culture in South-East Asia. The Kshatriyas also paid attention for the growth of the Vaisyas. The kings granted special villages for them known as the *Vaisya agrahara*. Their sound economic condition led them to donate villages to the Brahmins and the temples. Among them were the *Gopalas* (milkmen) who looked after cattle-rearing and they traded in milk, butter, ghee etc.

4.1.2. 5. The Sudras

In the traditional class structure, the Sudras occupy the lowest position in the society of Odisha. The Sudras were drawn from the community that consisted of artisans, craftsmen, petty agriculturists, servants etc. They also changed their professions and absorbed within the fold of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Even, they were attached to the temples to serve the gods and goddesses. They were also not detached from the sphere of education and learning. *Sudra Muni* Sarala Dasa composed the Odia *Mahabharata*, Balarama Dasa, another great poet of *Panchasakha* period composed *Dandi Ramayana*. Besides the above mentioned professions,

However, they served the society in various capacities. Among them were the washerman (rajaka), fisherman, (kaivartta), shoe-maker (charmakara), basket-maker (doma) etc. There were efforts by the -Panchasakhas through their writings to absorb these untouchables within the traditional structure of the caste system. Through their literature, these poets brought a protest against caste system, superstition, corrupt practices and so on and tried to free society from the clutch of rigidity. In due course of time, the Sudras gave up their duties and from among them emerged many Siddhacharyas and tantric gurus who belonged to basket maker, fisherman and leather worker communities. Besides Sudras, other sub-castes in the society were saundikas (brewers), tantuvayas (weavers), kumbhakaras (potters), ma/akaras (gardeners), napita (barber), tambarakara (coppersmith), tathakara (metal worker), kamara (blacksmith) etc. who rendered their habitual service to the medieval society of Odisha.

4.1.2. 6. The Aboriginals

Among the aboriginals of the time, references very often occur in the literary and inscriptional sources. Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* refers to the meeting of God Krishna with a Kandha (Khond) king Bhaskara, who promised to supply the meat of deer, wild-pig etc. for the *Rajasuya yajna* organized by Yudhisthira. With the gradual march of time, efforts were made to bring these aboriginals to the fold of Hindu society. The *Daita Patis*, a group of *Sevakas* of God Jagannath in the majestic temple at Puri can be cited as an example which was the result of such effort.

4.1.2. 7. The Kayasthas or Karanas

The Kayasthas or the Karanas occupied a dominant position in the medieval Odisha. Though, the formation of this sub-caste cannot be traced back to an exact year, still in the 10th-11th century

A.D. references to them were made in the inscriptions. The Kshatriya and Vaisya descent of the Kayastha or Karana is known from inscription. They became hereditary class of writers and became indispensable for maintaining royal records owing to their superior knowledge in accountancy and day to day administration. Not only they were the keeper of the records, but they also occupied high position in revenue department, army and other departments.

4.1.2. 8. Proliferation of castes

Nevertheless, the Brahmanical monopoly in the field of religion and learning was broken during the Suryavamsi rule by the emergence of a reformist religious leadership among the non-Brahmins. The Vaishnavite movement which preached the doctrine of love and equality and the literary awakening in Odia language brought about a transformation in the social life and brought to prominence in religious and literary fields a number of non-Brahmins. Sarala Das, the author of Odia *Mahabharat* was a Sudra. Four Vaishnava saints of Prataparudra's reign - Achyutananda Khuntia, Balaram Mahapatra, Yasovanta Mallik and Ananta Mohanty were non-Brahmins. King Prataparudra extended patronage to Balaram and Achyutananda, for which the Brahmins became jealous. The Vaishnava saints went to the extent of challenging the practice of untouchability. The story of Sriya Chandaluni, depicted in *Lakshmi Purana* of Balaram Das (Mahapatra) shows how goddess Lakshmi came down to accept the worship of Sriya, the Chandal woman Simply because of her devotion.

4.1.2. 9. Position of women

Woman's status in society appeared to have degenerated, as compared to the earlier period. The Suryavamsi monarchs were polygamous. They had a number of queens and concubines. Gajapati Purushottama was born of a concubine. *Purdah* (veil) system was prevailing in the Suryavamsi period. It is written in *Chaitanya Charitamruta*, that when Chaitanya passed through Cuttack on his way to Vrindavana in 1514 A.D, "The king mounted his wives in covered litters on the back of elephants which were drawn up in a line along the route.' Women were expected to be given in

marriage before the age of seven. *Sat;* practice, though not very popular, was prevalent among. the upper class Hindus. *Devadasis* were being employed as before for the purpose of Singing and dancing in the temples. The Gajapati kings and other nobles could keep concubines. A reference can be made in this matter to Gajapati Purusottamadeva who was the son of a concubine of Gajapati Kapilendradeva. Inspite of the high position enjoyed by the women in the society, the practice of *Devadasi* was a veritable stain in this regard. In different Buddhist Viharas and in the Jagannath temple at Puri, this ugly practice was prevalent which undermined the position of women in society. In general, women enjoyed high position in the society. Women were treated as objects of adornment and wore various ornaments.

4.1.2. 10. Dress and ornament

The sculptures and literature of the period give clues to form an idea about the dress and ornaments of the people. The male persons used *dhoti* as lower garment and *Chaddar* as upper garment. Female dress consisted of two garments, upper and lower. They seemed to have worn sarees. The folds of sarees, sometimes, were gathered, carried on to back between the legs and tucked. The garments of the higher class people were ornamented with embroidery showing their status. The *Devadasis* (dancing girls) also used ornamented dress and richly decorated caps. The females took particular care in dressing their hairs. The sculptures of the period show that both male and female used ornaments like *Kundala* (ear-ring), *Keyura* (armlet) and *hara* (neck-lace). Besides, the women used ornaments like *mekhala* (girdle), *Karnafula* (ear-flower), *Kankana* (bracelet), *manjira* (foot ornament). *nupura* (anklet), *Katisutra* or *Katibandha* (waistlet) etc. The female prepared beautiful hair locks and decorated them with flowers.

4.1.2. 11. Food and drink

The inscriptions and literature of the period throw welcome light on the food and drink of the society. The inscriptions narrate how rice, ghee, curd, milk, pulse, curries and *payasa* (rice cooked with milk) etc. were offered as bhoga (offerings) to the deities in the temples. These

descriptions give an idea regarding the vegetarian food pattern in the society. Non-vegetarian meals were also prevalent inside the society. Drinking of wins was not unknown to the people.

4.1.2. 12. Hobby

Nothing definite is known about the hobbies of the people by that time. Sarala Das's *Mahabharata* projects certain hobbies of the time. Among them, hunting and *pa* (chess) formed the pass time resorts of the royal families. The common people might have resorted to certain games, learning, archery and fighting, music, writing etc. as gleaned from the description of literature. Thus conceived, the social structure did not remain the same throughout the period.

4.1.3. Economic Life in Medieval Odisha

Land revenue, paid in kind, was the major source of income for the Gajapatis. Besides this they collected other taxes, such as tax on salt and cowry, tax on squeezing oil out of seed, and tax on marriage. The Brahmins were generally exempted from the payment of taxes and the burden of taxation fell on the peasants and traders. According to the *Madalapanji*, there were a number of famines in Orissa during the Suryavamsi period. Gold, Silver and Cowry coins were used during this period. Contemporary sources indicate that Odisha carried on her overseas trade during the Suryavamsi rule as before.

4.1. 4. Conclusion

Thus, the glorious rule of the Gajapatis, contributed a lot to preserve the social structure of Odisha. In course of time, besides the four traditional castes, many sub-castes have emerged in the Odishan society. The most remarkable aspect of medieval Odishan society was the caste system. The Suryavamsi Gajapatis accepted the *Varnashrama* system. The Brahmins continued to enjoy ascendancy in social life, administration, religion and learning during their rule. Nevertheless, the Brahmanical monopoly in the field of religion and learning was broken during the Suryavamsi rule by the emergence of a reformist religious leadership among the non-Brahmins like the *Panchasakhas* of medieval Odisha. Land revenue, paid in kind, was the major source of income for the Gajapatis. Thus, the social and economic life of the people of Odisha did not remain the same throughout the medieval Odisha.

4.1.5. Summary

➤ Change and continuity became the way of social life in medieval Odisha.

- ➤ The glorious rule of the Gajapatis, contributed a lot to preserve the social structure of Odisha.
- ➤ In course of time, besides the four traditional castes, many sub-castes have emerged in the Odishan society.
- ➤ The most remarkable aspect of medieval Odishan society was the caste system.
- ➤ It consisted of numerous castes and sub-castes and the interaction among them brought social harmony bringing peace and tranquility in the medieval Odishan society.
- ➤ The Suryavamsi Gajapatis accepted the *Varnashrama* system.
- ➤ The Brahmins continued to enjoy ascendancy in social life, administration, religion and learning during their rule.
- > They held important positions in the government and were liberally patronized by the Gajapatis.
- ➤ Kapilendra wanted to give away the whole world to the Brahmins.
- > The Kshatriyas occupied their position in the society next to the Brahmins.
- ➤ The Vaisyas belonged to the trading class who resorted to cultivation, cowherdship, trade and commerce.
- > Generally, prosperity of the land depended largely upon the people of this community.
- ➤ The Vaisyas belonged to the trading class who resorted to cultivation, cowherdship, trade and commerce.
- > Generally, prosperity of the land depended largely upon the people of this community.
- ➤ The Kayasthas or the Karanas occupied a dominant position in the medieval Odisha.
- ➤ Nevertheless, the Brahmanical monopoly in the field of religion and learning was broken during the Suryavamsi rule by the emergence of a reformist religious leadership among the non-Brahmins.
- ➤ The Vaishnavite movement which preached the doctrine of love and equality and the literary awakening in Odia language brought about a transformation in the social life and brought to prominence in religious and literary fields a number of non-Brahmins.
- Woman's status in society appeared to have degenerated, as compared to the earlier period.

- ➤ The Suryavamsi monarchs were polygamous. They had a number of queens and concubines.
- ➤ Gajapati Purushottama was born of a concubine. *Purdah* (veil) system was prevailing in the Suryavamsi period.
- ➤ Inspite of the high position enjoyed by the women in the society, the practice of *Devadasi* was a veritable stain in this regard.
- Land revenue, paid in kind, was the major source of income for the Gajapatis.
- ➤ Besides this they collected other taxes, such as tax on salt and cowry, tax on squeezing oil out of seed, and tax on marriage.
- According to the *Madalapanji*, there were a number of famines in Orissa during the Suryavamsi period.
- ➤ Gold, Silver and Cowry coins were used during this period.
- Contemporary sources indicate that Odisha carried on her overseas trade during the Suryavamsi rule as before.
- > Thus, the social and economic life of the people of Odisha did not remain the same throughout the medieval period.

4.1.6. Exercise

- Give an account on the socio-economic life of the people of Odisha during the medieval period.
- **❖** Highlight the social life of the people of medieval Odisha.
- ***** Write a note on the economic life of the people of medieval Odisha.
- **❖** Make an analysis on the changes in social structure in medieval Odisha.

4.1.7. Further Reading

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UNIT-4 Chapter-II

Cultural life: Religion, Art and Architecture and Literature

Structure

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4.1.5.	. Exercise		

4.1.6. Further Reading

4.1.0.Objectives

This chapter will discuss the Cultural life: Religion, Art and Architecture and Literature. *After studying this lesson the students will be able to:*

- know the cultural life of Odisha during the Gajapati period
- understand the religion during this period
- *know about the art and architecture during Gajapati rulers.*
- identify the development of literature during this period

4.1.1. Introduction

The cultural life of the people of Odisha during this period was rich and glorious. In the field of religion *Vaishanavaism* dominated the religious life of the people. The architectural splendour of Odisha which reached the zenith during the glorious days of the Gangas tended to decline during the Gajapati period. However temple building activities continued unabated. On the other hand, there was a tremendous growth of literature particularly Odia literature.

4.1.2. Cultural life

The Gajapati kings had enriched the cultural life of the people by patronizing religion, art and architecture and literature which can be discussed bellow:

4.1.2.1. Religion

Religion played a great role in the cultural life of the people of Odisha. Odisha has witnessed the growth of various religions like Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Vaishanavaism, Saktism, etc. However, with the gradual march of time, all these faiths have been assimilated in one cult i.e. the Jagannath cult. Vaishnavaism flourished in a more vigorous way during this period along with other religions. During the Gajapati period, Vaishnavism in Odisha had been centred round the worship of Jagannath This cult was gaining popularity because of the efforts of five Odia poets known as the Pancha-Sakhas. They were Jngannath, Balaram, Achyutananda, Yasovanta and Sisu Ananta. Jagannanth Das translated the Bhagavata-Purana before he met Chaitanya. These five Vaishnava poets described Lord Jagannath as personified void (Sunya) which they identified with Krishna. The Krishna cult had already been popular in Odisha through Gita Govlnda of Joyadeva. Even Purusottamadeva, father of king Prataparudradeva composed" Abhinava Gita- Govinda in praise of Krishna. Chitanya therefore, found Odisha very receptive to his teaching of Radha-Krishna creed through Samkritana. His extraordinary religious personality very much impressed the people who came in contact with him. His devotional samkirtan appealed to all. He accepted people of different castes into his group and gave them the massage of love and fraternity. In a short time, he became prominent and popular. Even the Pancha-Sakhas regarded him as their religious leader.

The Suryavamsi rulers were Vaishnavities and professed great devotion to Lord Jagannath as the state deity and called themselves the *Sevaks* or servants of Jagannath. They lavishly endowed the Jagannath temple with gifts of lands, jewels, money and luxurious articles. Besides the religious factor, the first two Suryavamsi rulers- Kapilendra and Purushottama had an ulterior political motive behind the profession of devotion to Jagannath. As both of them had no legitimate claims over the throne, they sought to legitimize their position by invoking the so-called will of Jagannath in their favour with the help of priests. Though primarily Vaishnavites, the Suryavamsi Gajapatis also took interest in the worship of other deities such as Siva and Durga.

4.1.2.2. Art and architecture

The Surya Vamsi rulers of Odisha ruled for hundred and five years only. Yet under this short-lived rule Odisha had reached the pinnacle of its success. They were not only great monarchs but also great lovers and patrons of art, architecture and literature.

4.1.2.2. 1. Art and architecture during Kapilendradeva

The half-ruined temple, near the Papanasini tank in Bhubaneswar, contains an inscription of Kapilendradeva testifying to the fact that it was build during the reign of Kapilendradeva. The elegance, balance and beauty had departed from the Kalingan style of art as the half-ruined Porch of that temple containing decorative female figures represents a curde design in comparison to the finished figures earlier than this. The image of Nataraja carved on the northern wall of the temple present the finest specimen of the Gajapati rule. Another great temple during that time was Kapilesvara temple at Bhubaneswar. The shrine contains an image of Kartikeya who holds a *dambaru* and a trident which is very peculiar during the rule of the Gajapati rulers. Another interesting figure of the temple is the image of Nataraja dancing on the back of the bull.

4.1.2.2. 2 Art and architecture during Purusottamadeva

Purusottamadeva had built the temple of Sundara Madhava at Purusottampur in the Ganjam district. During his reign, it is presumed that one black horse and another white horse with their riders Jagannatha and Balabhadra respectively were placed near the southern gate of the Jagannath temple. Similarly, the figures of these two brothers with their horses with Manika, the milk-maid with her pot were carved in the *Jagamohana* of the Puri Jagannath temple. All these figures definitely have been incorporated in the temple after the expedition of Purusottamadeva to the Chandragiri-rajya. Nothing more distinct or notable aspect in the Odishan architecture took place during the reign of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis.

4.1.2.3. Literature

Shortness of time had never diminished the greatness of glory of the Gajapati period. The Gajapati kings were not only great patrons of learning and literature but they were also accomplished scholars. Their court basked in the sunshine of literary talents whose works were worthy of immortal fame. No such vast literature had been produced in any age preceding or succeeding the Gajapati era till the British conquest of India as is evidenced from the vast treasure of literature of that period. The Odia literature which virtually began with the *Sarala Mahabharata* during the reign of Kapilendradeva progressed tremendously during the time of

subsequent rulers of that dynasty. From that stand point, the literature of the Gajapati period deserves special treatment.

4.1.2.3. 1. Sanskrit Literature during Kapilendradeva

The Sanskrit literature made its progress during the reign of Kapilendradeva. He was an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit. His play *Parasurama Vijaya* describes how Parasurama killed Kartaviryarjuna. During his reign, Nrushimha Vajapayee composed Kasimimamsa and wrote a commentary named *Samkshepa Saririka Vartika* on Sankaracharya's work *Samkshepa Saririka*. Narayana Mishra's commentaries on *Pwvamimamsa* and *Uttaramimamsa* of Sankaracharya and his younger brother Jalesvara's notable work *Jalesvara Paddhati* belonged to this period, However, scholars are not unanimous on the fact that the works of these two celebrated writers belonged to the period of Kapilendradeva.

4.1.2.3. 2. Sanskrit Literature during Purusottamadeva

Purusottamadeva's monumental work *Abhyinava Gitagovinda* that contained 800 *slokas* was a *Kavya* of no mean order. However, some scholars give credit to poet Divakara for the composition of *Abhinava Gitagovinda*. Purusottama also composed *Namamalika Gopalarchanavidhi* and *Bhuvanesvari stotram*. He also composed dramas entitled *Abhinava Veni Samharam*, *Ananda Vilasa*, *Janaki Pramoda* and *Kuvalayasvacharitam*. He is also credited with the composition of other workers such as the *Mukti Chintamani*, *Dasgriva Vadha*, *Durgotsava*, *Dipika Chhanda* and *Vishnubhakti Kalpadruma*. He also wrote two Sanskrit lexicons the *Haravaii* the *Trikandasesam*. During his reign period, Ananta Guru composed the *Sahitya Kalpavali*, a work on poetics.

4.1.2.3. 3. Sanskrit Literature during Prataprudradeva

Prataparudradeva, the last Gajapati king of Odisha was a great poet and writer. His Sarasvativilasam, Kautuka Chintamani, Nirnya Samgraha and Praudha Pratapa Martanda were flamboyant literary creations of that period. An important scholar Sarvabhauma wrote a commentary on Laxmidhara's Advaita-makaranda. Lolla Laxmidhar Pandit was another important luminary of the court of Prataparudra who composed saveral works such as Vachaspativilasa, Yogadipika, Manva Dharmasastra Dipika, Karnavatamsa and Saundaryalahari Vyakhya. Divakara, a grammarian and poet who wrote Lakshnadarsa, Ohurtacarita, Parijataharana Nataka and Rasamanjari. Jivadava's Bhakti Bhagavata was a milestone in Sanskrit literature during that period. Ramananda Raya wrote Jagannatha Vallabha

Natakam Paramananda wrote a Kavya entitled Chaitanya Charitamrita and a play entitled Chaitanya Chandrodaya. Prataparudra's daughter Jagamohini wrote Tukka Panchakam. Besides, Rai Champati, Markandeya, Ramakrishna Bhatta, Balabhadra Mishra etc. were other Sanskrit scholars during the glorious days of the Gajapatis. Further, the inscriptions of that period exhibit high literary expression. in Sanskrit language.

4.1.2.3. 4. Odia Literature during Kapilendradeva

The keen interest of the Gajapati kings, patronization of poets and the influence of Vaisnavism prepared the ground for the progress of Vernacular language and literature.

4.1.2.3. 5. Sarala Das and his literary works

The contribution of Sarala Das was no illuminating that the literary works produced during that time were known as the literature of 'Sarala Yuga'. Sarala Das's Mahabharata is the magnum opus of his creation. Though Sarala accepts the main theme of Vyasa's Mahabharata but at many places, he distorts the original description of the epic by his personal imagination. He excludes many episodes of the original Mahabharata. For example, the killing of two demons, Sova and Kirmira by the pandavas at the first part of their living in the forest, the sermons of Gita preached by Lord Krishna to Arjuna (which Sarala finishes in a few lines), Vyasadeva's solace to the Pandavas after the death of Abhimanyu, Sarasotopakhyana in the context of breaking of thigh of Duryodhana by Bhima etc. have been excluded by Sarala Das. Sarala not only excludes certain original facts of the Mahabharata but inserted new facts too. Among those, the departure of Ganga from Shantanu when the contract is broken and 'Ganga' is addressed as 'Gangi' by Shantanu, marriage of Gandhari to Sahara tree, touching of the feet of an ass by God Krishna for the killing of Jarasandha by Bhima, the curse of mountain Satasringa to Bhima for defeat in a war for the first time, the address of Bhima to Duryadhana as 'Golakaputra' and other facts like the meeting of Arjuna and Hanumana, the worship of Krishna's pinda at Nilagiri (blue hill), the episode of Belalasena, Belavali, Sobhavati, incarnation of Nrusimha, entrance of the Pandavas in Jajpur, Bali-Vamana, swimming of Ouryodhana in the river of Blood, burning of Durdhaksha by opening the cloth from the eyes of Gandhari etc. are the creation of Sarala Das from his own mind that show his genius and creativity. Sarala's Mahabharata is not only an epic but also a mirror of political, social, historical and cultural traditions of Odisha. Prof K. C. Panigrahi has given a vivid description about it in his monumental work Sarala Sahityara Aitihasika Chiltra written in Odia. The war or Kapilendradeva with Bahamani kingdom has been reflected in it in a

very indirect way. In the Digvijaya episode of the Sabha Parva of Mahabharata, Bhima is said to have defeated the king of Kundinagara which is no other name of Kondavidu. Similarly, the war of Kapilendra with Bahaman! kingdom and Bengal have been narrated by him in a round about way. The Kurma Parvata and Krushnabhadra (river Krishna) are described in his Mahabharata as Karana Parvata and Gunabhadra respectively. Examples can be multiplied in this context. Many geographical places like Garjan (Ghazni), Bhutana (Tibet), Matshyadesa (Rajasthan), Malaya (Malua), (Malwa), Kamakshi (Assam), Belabalipura (Dacca and Maimansing region), Gunjara (Kalinjar), Saurastra (Kathiawar), Kasi (Varanasi), Kanyakubja (Kanauj) etc. have been described in his *Mahabharata*. These descriptions leave no room for doubt that Sarala Das definitely served as a military man in the army of Kapilendradeva. Not only Sarala Das depicts contemporary geograpical scene and historical facts but he has also described the life, customs and traditions of the contemporary society in his *Mahabharata* like marriage, post-marriage rites, the position of women in family and society, monogamy, polygamy, tradition relating to widow, education etc. and several festivals like Ganesh Puja, Kartika Vrata, Siva Ratri, Kumara Pumima, Akshaya Trutiya etc. Besides, the epic also contains description of gods, goddesses and places of pilgrimage in Odisha. He describes about Yamanika Tirtha (Puri-Srikshetra), Arka Kshetra (Konarka), Krutivasa Kshetra (Bhubaneswar), Sabarinarayani and Gomukha Hari of Jajpur and even village goddesses of Odisha like Dakesvari, Hingula and many others. Sarala Das also composed *Chandi Purana* and *Vilanka Ramayana*.

4.1.2.3. 6. Odia Literature during Purusottamadeva and Prataprudradeva

Chaininka Chakada Pustaka was another Odia work composed during Purusottamadeva's reign by Fakira Chaini. Another famous poet of the Sarala age was Arjuna Das who was famous for his works *Kalpalata* and *Rama Vibaha*. Sisu Sankara Das's *Ushabhilasa*, Markanda Das's *Kesaba Koili*, Damodara's *Rasakoili Chautisa* etc, were other creations of that time.

4.1.2.3. 7. Odia literature during the age of *Panchasakhas*

The age that immediately followed Sarala Das, is famous as the *Panchasakha Yuga* (Age of the Panchasakhas). The age has been so called after the name of five celebrities like Balarama Das, Jagannatha Das, Ananta Das, Achyutananda Das and Yasobanta Das who flourished during the reign period of Prataparudradeva.

4.1.2.3. 8. Balarama Das's literary works

Among the creations of Balarama Das, the *Dandi Ramayana* or *Jagamohana Ramayana*, *Bata Abakasa*, *Bhava Samudta*, *Laxmi Purana*, *Baula Adhyaya*, *veaemesere Gupta Gita*, *Amarakosa Gita*, *Brahmanda Bhugola*, *Bedha Parikrama*, *Panasa Chon*, *Gupta Tika* etc. were very important.

4.1.2.3. 9. Jagannatha Das's literary creations

Jagannatha Das's immortal creations included Odia *Bhagavata*, *Tulabhina*, *Brahma Gite*, *Gupta Bhagavata*, *Rasakrida*, *Mruguni Stuti*, *Gaja Stuti*, *Bhavisya Malika*, *Gundicha Vije*, *Dutibodha*, *Rukmini Malika*, *Pramoda Chintamani etc*. Achyutananda composed *Harivamsa*, *Sunya Samhita*, *Gopala Ugala*, *Anakara Samhita*, *Bipra Chalaka*, *Chaurasi Yantra*, *Bhavanabara*, *Tattvabodhini*, *Gurubhakti Gite*, *Amara-Jumara Samhita*, *Nitya Rahasa*, *Varuna Charita etc*.

4.1.2.3. 10. Yasobanta Das's literary creations

The writings of Yasobanta Das included Siva Svarodaya, Premabhaktibrahma Gita. Tika Govindachandra, Chaurasi Ajna, Atma Parache Gite, Mantraboli, Yantraboli, Bagha Leela, Dhana Chori etc.

4.1.2.3. 11. Sisu Ananta Das's literary works

The last among the *Pancha Sakhas* was Ananta Das famous for his works like *Hetu Udaya Bhagavata*, *Garuda Kesaba Chautisa*, *Ude Bhaskara*, *Bhavisya Purana*, *Vaisnava Purana* etc. Among other poets of the *Pancha Sakha* age, Chaitanya Das's *Vishnugarbha Purana* and *Nirguna Mahatmya*; Kanhai Khuntia's *Mahabhava Prakasa* and *Chaitanya Vilasa*; Partha Srichandana's Kalavati; Banamali Das's *Chata Icchavati*; Purusottama Das's *Ganga Mahatmya* and *Kanchi- Kaveri* etc. were some of the immortal creations of Odia literature.

The writings of the *Pancha Sakhas* were revolutionary in nature. Through their writings, the *Pancha Sakhas* wanted to abolish caste distinction from the society and bridge the gap between the higher class and lower class. The flow in Odia literature that started from the age of Sarala Das was kept in tact with progressive trends during the *Panchasakha* age. The rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis was a landmark in the history of medieval Odisha. No doubt, the rule of the Gajapati kings was marked for the creation of a vast empire but it also constituted a golden epoch in the field of Odia literature. As already stated, feudalism which became an ugly feature of the Gajapati rule, reached its nadir point of degeneration. The discomfiture of Pratapaparudradeva in several wars due to the weakness of Odishan army and treachery prevailing inside it broke his morale and paved the way for the downfall of medieval Odisha.

4.1.3. Conclusion

The cultural life of the people of Odisha was a glorious during the Somavamsi Gajapati rulers. Although, the architectural splendour of Odisha tended to decline during the Gajapati period but the temple building activities continued unabated. On the other hand, there was a remarkable development of literature particularly Odia literature. The renaissance in Odia literature is traced from this period. The rulers of Gajapati Dynasty encouraged local language and introduced Odia in their stone inscriptions and copper plates. A number of poets, dramatists and erudite scholars flourished under their noble patronage whose contribution to Sanskrit and Odia Literature is great. Thus, the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis was a landmark in the history of medieval Odisha.

4.1.4. Summary

- The cultural life of the people of Odisha during this period was rich and glorious. In the field of religion *Vaishanavaism* dominated the religious life of the people.
- ➤ The Gajapati kings had enriched the cultural life of the people by patronizing religion, art and architecture and literature.
- ➤ Religion played a great role in the cultural life of the people of Odisha.
- ➤ Vaishnavaism flourished in a more vigorous way during this period along with other religions.
- At that time, Vaishnavism in Odisha had been centred round the worship of Jagannath
- ➤ This cult was gaining popularity because of the efforts of five Odia poets known as the Pancha-Sakhas.
- The Surya Vamsi rulers of Odisha ruled for hundred and five years only.
- Yet under this short-lived rule Odisha had reached the pinnacle of its success.
- They were not only great monarchs but also great lovers and patrons of art, architecture and literature.
- ➤ The half-ruined temple, near the Papanasini tank in Bhubaneswar, contains an inscription of Kapilendradeva testifying to the fact that it was build during the reign of Kapilendradeva.
- ➤ Purusottamadeva had built the temple of Sundara Madhava at Purusottampur in the Ganjam district.

- > During his reign, it is presumed that one black horse and another white horse with their riders Jagannatha and Balabhadra respectively were placed near the southern gate of the Jagannath temple.
- ➤ The Odia literature which virtually began with the *Sarala Mahabharata* during the reign of Kapilendradeva progressed tremendously during the time of subsequent rulers of that dynasty.
- ➤ The Sanskrit literature made its progress during the reign of Kapilendradeva. He was an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit.
- ➤ Purusottamadeva's monumental work *Abhyinava Gitagovinda* that contained 800 *slokas* was a *Kavya* of no mean order.
- Prataparudradeva, the last Gajapati king of Odisha was a great poet and writer. His Sarasvativilasam, Kautuka Chintamani, Nirnya Samgraha and Praudha Pratapa Martanda were flamboyant literary creations of that period.
- ➤ The age that immediately followed Sarala Das, is famous as the *Panchasakha Yuga* (Age of the Panchasakhas).
- ➤ The age has been so called after the name of five celebrities like Balarama Das, Jagannatha Das, Ananta Das, Achyutananda Das and Yasobanta Das who flourished during the reign period of Prataparudradeva.
- ➤ The writings of the *Pancha Sakhas* were revolutionary in nature.
- ➤ Through their writings, the *Pancha Sakhas* wanted to abolish caste distinction from the society and bridge the gap between the higher class and lower class.
- ➤ The flow in Odia literature that started from the age of Sarala Das was kept in tact with progressive trends during the *Panchasakha* age.
- > Thus, the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis was a landmark in the history of medieval Odisha.

4.1.5. Exercise

- **Sive** an account on the Cultural life of the people of Odisha during the Suryavamsi Gajapatis.
- ❖ Write a note on the development of art and architecture during the Gajapati rulers of Odisha.
- **❖** Discuss the development of Sanskrit literature during the Gajapati rulers.
- "Gajapati rulers were great patron of art and literature". Justify.

❖ Highlight the development of Odia literature during the Gajapati rulers of Odisha.

4.1.6. Further Reading

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UNIT-4 Chapter-III

Impact of Islam on Odia language and literature

Structure
4.3.0.Objectives
4.3.1. Introduction
4.3.2. Influence of Islam on socio-cultural life of Odisha
4.3.3. Influence of Islam on Odia language and literature
4.3.4. Tamasa and Jatra
4.3.5.Conclusion
4.3.6.Summary
4.3.7. Exercise

4.3.8. Further Reading

4.3.0.Objectives

This chapter will discuss the impact of Islam on Odia language and literature. After studying this lesson the students will be able to:

- know the different causes responsible for the decline of medieval Odishan kingdom
- understand the factors that led to the disintegration of medieval Odishan kingdom
- know about the political causes for the decline
- *identify the socio-economic causes for the decline*
- recognise the other causes for the decline of medieval Odishan kingdom

4.3.1. Introduction

Muslim rule was confined to coastal districts. Odisha was far away from the Muslim Centers of North India. So although Muslims came to Odisha after establishment of their rule, their number was marginal. "Odisha was defeated but not conquered in the sense of Bengal or other parts of North India." Yet it had its effects on the socio-cultural life of Odisha. There were attempts at establishing cordial Hindu-Muslim relation especially in the times from Akbar to Shahjahan.

4.3.2. Influence of Islam on socio-cultural life of Odisha

One Bhatta Mahapatra was a musician in Akbar's court. Another Viswanatha Samantaraya pleased Mansingh, came to Mughal court and received rewards for his poetic talent. Odia language and literature was influenced by Perso-Arabic vocabulary. More than 2,000 words of Islamic languages entered into Odia literature. The Muslims turned their mind toward Odia and poets like Salabaig composed excellent devotional songs for Lord Jagannatha. The harmony and interaction between the Hindu and the Muslim communities resulted in some syncretic religious rituals like Satyapiri cult in 18th century. The Kadam Rasul of Cuttack, tombs of Baba Bukhari in Puri and Bhogakhia Pir of Balasore etc. got equal veneration from both the communities. The popular music show of Bhadrak called Mughal Tamasa were participated and enjoyed by people of both the communities. Not only that in dress, customs and manners they adopted each other's style. Whereas the Hindus wore lungi, kurta, pijjama, took birani, halwa and Muslim delicacies and said Id-mubaraka to Muslims; the Muslim used dhoti, gamuchha, wrapper-cloth, took Hindu foods and visited Hindu neighbours during festivals. An atmosphere of love and affection came to prevail down the times.

4.3.3. Influence of Islam on Odia language and literature

A number of Islamic literatures took shape in Orissa. The original works of Arabic, Parsi, Turkish and even Urdu were translated into Oriya Language. Khwaja Mainuddin- Chisti (Sufi Saint) of Ajmer primarily encouraged the spread of Parsi language in India. During Muslim rule in Orissa Parsi language was spoken and official records maintained in Parsi. Poems of poet Abhimanyu Samant Singhar, Baldev Rath, Upendra Bhanja mark the influence of Parsi, Arabic and Urdu languages. Islam had direct impact on Fakir Mohan. He was named Fakir because his Grand mother symbolically sold him to a Muslim Fakir or Dervishes. In his childhood Fakir Mohan used to collect alms as a Fakir boy and from the begged he used to prepare Sirni and distributed to the poor in the name of Satyapir. 18th Century marks the growth of Satyapir sect. It was manifestation of Hindu-Muslim unity. This century also witnessed the rise of Pala. Kabi Karna was the founder of Pala literature. It had a series of 16 books one of which depicted the miracle of Satyapir. Pala is divided into two types viz. I. Baithaki Pala and II. Thia Pala.

4.3.4. Tamasa and Jatra

In the second quarter of the 18th Century poet Bansiballav Goswami wrote the Tamasa. He synthesized Islamic tenet with Oriya literature. The tradition of Jatra was very much prevalent in Orissa. Historians believed that, Jatra is the sound impact of Islamic literature over Orissa. Poet Salabeg and Uzir Bag wrote hundreds of Bhajana on Jagannath and Radhakrishna Cult in Oriya literature. Parsian poet Saikh Sahdis (1194-1282) Pand Nama was translated into Oriya by Abdul Majid Saheb of Balasore in Prabodha Bakya or Hitapodesh Mala edited and published in 1869. Madhusudan Roy has written a series of books on Muslim Prophet and Saints. Qawali and Ghazal are examples of the impact of Islam in Oriya literature and language. Countless words of Parsian, Arabic, Urdu and Turkish entered into Oriya Vocabulary and were assimilated in the spoken language of the common mass. Oriya poets used the work in their Kavya or poems. Orissan society reflected a sense of hospitality to the strangers which deserves merits. Culturally, Islam had its unique and remarkable contribution. It brought some new idea and some new problems, but left a legacy, that is successfully utilized by the succeeding generation for ever.

4.3.5. Conclusion

Thus, the Muslim rule it had its impact on the socio-cultural life of Odisha. Odia language and literature was influenced by Perso-Arabic vocabulary. More than 2,000 words of Islamic languages entered into Odia literature. The Muslims turned their mind toward Odia and poets

like Salabaig composed excellent devotional songs for Lord Jagannatha. The harmony and interaction between the Hindu and the Muslim communities resulted in some syncretic religious rituals like Satyapiri cult in 18th century. A number of Islamic literatures took shape in Orissa. The original works of Arabic, Parsi, Turkish and even Urdu were translated into Oriya Language. In this way, the there was great influence of Islamism on the Odia language and literature.

4.3.6.Summary

- Muslim rule was confined to coastal districts.
- > Islamism had its effects on the socio-cultural life of Odisha.
- ➤ One Bhatta Mahapatra was a musician in Akbar's court.
- ➤ Odia language and literature was influenced by Perso-Arabic vocabulary.
- More than 2,000 words of Islamic languages entered into Odia literature.
- ➤ The Muslims turned their mind toward Odia and poets like Salabaig composed excellent devotional songs for Lord Jagannatha.
- The harmony and interaction between the Hindu and the Muslim communities resulted in some syncretic religious rituals like Satyapiri cult in 18th century.
- ➤ The Kadam Rasul of Cuttack, tombs of Baba Bukhari in Puri and Bhogakhia Pir of Balasore etc. got equal veneration from both the communities.
- ➤ The popular music show of Bhadrak called Mughal Tamasa were participated and enjoyed by people of both the communities.
- A number of Islamic literatures took shape in Orissa.
- ➤ The original works of Arabic, Parsi, Turkish and even Urdu were translated into Oriya Language.
- ➤ Khwaja Mainuddin- Chisti (Sufi Saint) of Ajmer primarily encouraged the spread of Parsi language in India.
- ➤ During Muslim rule in Orissa Parsi language was spoken and official records maintained in Parsi.
- ➤ Poems of poet Abhimanyu Samant Singhar, Baldev Rath, Upendra Bhanja mark the influence of Parsi, Arabic and Urdu languages.

- ➤ Islam had direct impact on Fakir Mohan. He was named Fakir because his Grand mother symbolically sold him to a Muslim Fakir or Dervishes.
- ➤ Poet Salabeg and Uzir Bag wrote hundreds of Bhajana on Jagannath and Radhakrishna Cult in Oriya literature.
- Parsian poet Saikh Sahdis (1194-1282) Pand Nama was translated into Oriya by Abdul Majid Saheb of Balasore in Prabodha Bakya or Hitapodesh Mala edited and published in 1869.
- ➤ Countless words of Parsian, Arabic, Urdu and Turkish entered into Oriya Vocabulary and were assimilated in the spoken language of the common mass. Oriya poets used the work in their Kavya or poems.
- A number of Islamic literatures took shape in Orissa.
- ➤ The original works of Arabic, Parsi, Turkish and even Urdu were translated into Oriya Language.
- ➤ In this way, the there was great influence of Islamism on the Odia language and literature.

4.3.7. Exercise

- **Sive** an account on the influence of Islam on Odia language and literature.
- Discuss the influence of Islam on society and culture of Odisha.
- . Highlight the impact of Islam on the people of Odisha.
- ❖ Write a note on Mughal Tamasha on the language and literature of Odisha

4.3.8. Further Reading

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