

**MUSLIM RULE IN ORISSA :
A CASE STUDY OF CUTTACK
(1568-1751A.D.)**

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Award of the Degree of
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in History

by

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CERTIFICATE

This is to Certify that **Sri Abhijit Sahoo** has done research work on the topic entitled "**MUSLIM RULE IN ORISSA : A CASE STUDY OF CUTTACK (1568-1751 A.D.)**" which is being submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Utkal University is a record of bonafide research work carried out under my guidance and supervision. No part of this work has been submitted to any other University or Institution for the award of any Degree or Diploma.

Harihar Panda
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled "MUSLIM RULE IN ORISSA : A CASE STUDY OF CUTTACK (1568-1751 A.D.)" has been carried out under the direct supervision of Dr. Harihar Panda, Department of History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. No part of this work has been submitted to any University or Institution for the award of any Degree or Diploma.

Place : Bhubaneswar

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PREFACE

The territorial expansion of Kalinga or Utkal of the ancient and medieval times had its frontiers extending upto the river Hughli in the north and rivers Godavari and Kaveri in the south. The Orissan empire under the Gangas and Suryavamsi Gajapatis reached the pinnacle of celebrity during medieval age. It sustained decline prematurely in 1568 A.D., with the aggression of the Muslims. The Muslims had their complete sway over the administration of Orissa till it was overthrown in 1751 A.D. by the Marathas. This period of Muslim rule spanning about two centuries presented a unique picture of Hindu-Muslim unity in the annals of Orissan history. During the Muslim rule in Orissa, Cuttack became the center of political and cultural activities. The Muslims not only brought a new administrative system but also a new way of life to Orissa represented by their ideas and thoughts and the impact it generated on the traditions and institutions of Orissa, is quite a challenging topic for deep and analytical study. Although, attempts have been made by scholars to highlight the significant contribution of the Muslims to Orissan culture in general, some of the important facets of the topic are still to be explored. Cuttack, the centre of political activities during Muslim rule, was not attached proper importance by the scholars of our state. Hence, it is a small effort on the part of this researcher to unravel and discuss the ignored aspects in a new light.

The changes brought by the Muslims in this pretext are significant. The first chapter deals with the dynastic rule in Cuttack on the eve of the Muslim conquest.

The second chapter deals with the Muslim conquest of Orissa. It analyses some of the prominent causes that were responsible for the downfall of Orissa. This chapter also gives a vivid description of some of the early Muslim invasions of Orissa and the prolonged Afghan-Mughal hostility resulting in the final conquest of the province by the Mughals in 1595 A.D. that made Cuttack the centre of their political activities.

The third chapter deals with the genesis of Muslim administration which was carried out from Cuttack. The provincial government formed the basis of it. The Muslims brought a systematic administrative set-up. The revenue and judicial system constituted important elements and were largely responsible for the sustenance of the Muslim administration in Orissa. As stated earlier, Cuttack was the epicentre of Muslim administration. The Qazi Bazar, Diwan Bazar, Lal Bagh Palace, Buxi Bazar all these places exhibit the memory of Muslim administration which was concentrated in Cuttack.

The fourth chapter deals with the economic condition of Orissa. Raja Todar Mal brought a new change in the economic scenario of the province by introducing his new land revenue system. Inland and foreign trade also received impetus during this period. The foreign traders like Thomas Bowery, Alexander. Hamilton, William Bruton, Maddox, Thomas Colley etc. have left copious accounts regarding Cuttack which have been extensively used while discussing the trade and commerce with which medieval Cuttack was so intimately associated. Cowrie was the currency which was generally used in the province for small transactions. The Dutch, Danes, Portuguese and British East India Company traded extensively in the province. The most effective

and lasting legacy of the Mughals was their revenue system. It clearly shows that they were very much advanced in their thought at that time. The Mughals maintained many features of the revenue system that was prevalent during the native Hindu rulers. They also employed many Hindu officials in their revenue machinery. The chief features of the revenue system of the Mughals were the measurement of land, its classification and fixation of rent. But as the revenue of the Mughals was closely related with their administrative set-up, it was subject to change at times due to readjustment in the field of administration. The revenue of Orissa *Subah*, sent to Mughal Court from Cuttack from time to time as reflected in the table, throw light on the economic condition of the people of this land.

The fifth chapter delves into the impact of the Muslims on socio-religious and cultural life of Orissa in general and Cuttack in particular. In the field of language and literature, the infiltration of Perso-Arabic words and other literary works immensely contributed to the Hindu-Islamic culture. Since Cuttack formed the royal court during the Muslim administration, such Perso-Arabic words were immensely used in recording the proceeding of the court. The glossary clearly shows how much words were used extensively not in the administration but in other fields too. The Hindus and Muslims used these words and became friendly to each other. The synthesis of the two communities is quite apparent even today from the communal harmony which still exists in the province. This chapter also gives a detailed picture of the religious institutions and practices in Orissan society during the Muslim rule in Cuttack. The attitude of Muslim Governors of Cuttack towards the institution

of Jagannath and the religion of Orissa from time to time have also been discussed in this chapter. The property of the Jagannath temple and income from the pilgrims who visited Puri formed a great part of the royal Mughal exchequer. For that, the Muslim Governors took proper care in dealing with the temple as per the changing need of time. The worship of *Satyapir*, a symbol of Hindu-Muslim assimilation is one of such glowing examples of Hindu-Muslim unity which has been dealt in this chapter.

The sixth chapter deals with the Muslim monuments of Cuttack. Since temple building activities had come to a close right from the days of the Gangas and more particularly from the time of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, no Hindu temple in Cuttack of the stature of earlier period was constructed in this period. The Muslim *Subahdar* of Cuttack took interest in building Muslim monuments. Among those monuments, the Zuma Masjid, Qadam Rasul, Lal Bagh Palace etc. were very famous which have been described vividly in this chapter.

In the last chapter, concluding remarks have been given. It critically analyses the theme described in the previous six chapters. It highlights how Cuttack was the nerve centre of Muslim rule in Orissa like the dynastic rule in medieval Orissa. All the flourishing trends which had emerged there during the Muslim rule of Orissa have been preserved by this silver city even to-day.

The method adopted for the present research work is basically analytical with an emphasis on the hermeneutical approach as a prelude to any valid generalisation. The work advanced in specific methodological strategies and practical application of qualitative research through structural and critical interpretations.

In preparing this topic the researcher had to face certain problems. Materials were scarce. Records preserved in the Waqup Board were rendered unusable because of the extreme antiquity of the materials, their general verbosity and over all, lack of historical objectivity for the purposes of thesis of this type. The State Library, the State Archives and the Museum Library, were immensely helpful to me by providing required materials for my work. I could also get immense help from the National Library, Calcutta, Parija Library, Utkal University and Kanika Library of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. In spite of these difficulties the materials which were available, have rendered me an immense help in bringing about the present work of research.

ABBREVIATION

- A.R.* - Asiatic Researches.
- E. I.* - Epigraphia Indica.
- I. A.* - Indian Antiquary.
- I.H.Q.* - Indian Historical Quarterly.
- J.A.S.B.* - Journal of Asiatic Socceity of Bengal.
- J. B. H. R.S.* - Journal of Bihar Historical Research Society.
- J. B.O.R.S.* - Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- J.I.H.* - Journal of Indian History.
- J.P.A.S.B.* - Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- J.R.A.S.B.* - Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- J.O.H.* - Journal of Orissan History.
- O.H.R.J.* - Orissa Historical Research Journal.
- P.I.H.C.* - Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
- P.I.H.R.C.* - Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission.
- P.O.H.C.* - Proceedings of Orissa History Congress.

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CHAPTER - I

CUTTACK UNDER THE DYNASTIC RULE ON THE EVE OF MUSLIM CONQUEST

CUTTACK UNDER THE DYNASTIC RULE ON THE EVE OF MUSLIM CONQUEST

Orissa, famous in the name of Kalinga and Utkal in ancient and medieval times, occupies a distinct position in the Indian sub-continent with a unique political and cultural heritage. The veil of darkness, which pervaded the history of this land, is lifted after Asoka's Kalinga war of 261 B.C. After that the glorious rule of the Chedis, Bhauma-Karas, Somavamsis, Gangas and Suryavamsi Gajapatis shaped the political history of this land. Right from the days of the Bhauma-karas, Cuttack gained prominence and with the gradual march of time, it became the center of political and cultural activities. On the eve of the Afghan conquest of Orissa in 1568 A.D. Cuttack had reached the pinnacle of celebrity in every sphere.

Cuttack is one such ancient city of India situated in a commanding geographical position on the bifurcation of the river Mahanadi which along with its tributary Kathajori provided natural protection and water ways to many parts of Orissa. Cuttack as a town at the bifurcation of a big river is unique in India. The geographical situation of the city is such that in ancient and medieval period, it served as the only narrow strip of the land route of the country and as such people coming from the north to south had no other alternative but to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack.¹

In the analogy of the ancient fortified cities and towns of India, Cuttack, due to its strategic location, must have flourished as a fortified town from the ancient times. Its military significance can be well understood from the connotation of the word "Kataka", which means military camp and the fort or capital or the seat of the Government protected by the army. One important thing in this connection is that a town or a fort or a religious edifice is generally installed in a place which had already earned name and fame from the past period. As for example, the present temples of Lingaraj (at Bhubaneswar) and Jagannath (at Puri) evidently were erected on the earlier ruins in fact, taking into account, the sanctity of the places.²

Such an ancient city is certainly connected with the history of the State right from the time of invasion of Asoka (in the 3rd century B.C.) till the present day. Though it does not have a recorded history before 989 A.D, the place on account of its sacredness and strategic situation must have flourished under Asoka, Mahameghavahana Kharavela, the Manas, the Sailodbhavas and the Bhauma-karas. The Buddhistic remains of Cuttack and Choudwar (on the other side of Mahanadi) give a definite clue of its emergence under the Buddhist Bhauma kara dynasty (736 - 940 A.D.), which was not only responsible for extension of the vast kingdom but also caused construction of several forts and strongholds, temples and monasteries.

Cuttack under the Somavamsis :

The rule of the Soma or Keshari dynasty for about 200 years (from the first part of 10th century A.D. till the beginning of 12th century A.D.), ushered

a new era of development in Orissa, politically, socially and culturally. The Somavamsis originally established at Sirpura (M.P.) shifted in course of time to Sambalpur - Sonepur region and finally to coastal Orissa. The present districts of Puri, Cuttack, Keonjhar, Balasore, Dhenkanal, Midnapore and Boud-Phulbani which formed the Utkal kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas came under the possession of the Somavamsi rulers, who through conquests added Kalinga region to their earlier kingdom comprising Sambalpur - Sonepur and Raipur (now in M.P), thus unifying a vast kingdom. It was Mahasivagupta Yayati I (936 - 991 A.D.) who extended his power to the coastal region at the cost of the Bhauma-Karas, who were fast declining. His Nivina Copper plate³ grant records the donation of a village in the Gandhatapati Mandala and the Patna Museum plate⁴ indicates his victory over Ajapala.

Yayati I was a great warrior and had many successful encounters with the Kalachuris and many of the rulers. He was responsible for the extension of the Somavamsi power in Orissa. He stands as the head of the dynastic list of the Somavamsi kings of Orissa in the *Madalapanji*, because the peaceful administration of the country began with Yayati I and not with Janmejaya, the first ruler. In the Patna Museum plates, he is praised as one, whose glory was sung in all the three worlds, who defeated his enemies with contempt and whose sword had its sharp edge made rugged with pearls coming out of the foreheads of the elephants⁵.

Chandihara Yayati II (1023 - 1060 A.D.) was nominated as the king of Utkal by the ministers and warriors at a time when anarchy and political trouble prevailed in the country. His Jatesinga and Dungri Copper plate grants⁶

reveal that, he effectively defeated his enemies and consolidated the paternal empire in a systematic way. His achievements have been nicely described in his charters :

"who had conquered karnata, Lata, Gujrat, who is the conqueror of the Dravida country, who is the paramount of the world, who had denuded the Kanchi country of its glory, who has raised victorious assaults against the noted countries of Gauda and Radha, who is the full moon in the sky of Vanga and who has become the lord of Trikalinga by having conquered it with his own arms and that he is the Maharajadhiraja and overlord at whose feet rajanyas worship by bowing themselves down"⁷.

Paramamahesvara, Paramabhattaraka, Paramesvara Sri Mahasivagupta Yayati has one charter⁸ to indicate his glorious achievements. He resided at Suvarnapura (Sonpur) and goddess Bhagavati Bhadrabika (may be identified with Suresvari in the form of eight armed Chamunda at Sonpur) was his tutelary goddess. He conquered many countries. No stone or copper plate inscription has yet been discovered to tell the love of this monarch for art and architecture, although traditions connect his name with some of the greatest monuments of Orissan architecture. In the beginning of the East India Company's rule, many Englishmen made it their habit to take away some inscriptions and other valuable historical materials to preserve them in their museums simply as articles of curiosity. Thus, the credit goes to Yayati,

who with the glorious deeds and erection of monuments, became famous in the annals of Orissan history.

Yayati Keshari performed an *Asvamedha Yajna* on the bank of the river Vaitarani. The name of the place where the *Yajna* was performed became Yajnapura which later corrupted into Jajpur. The remains of the altar or the sacrificial pit that was erected for the purpose of *Yajna* are still to be found at Jajpur. The huge and broad stone steps on the bank of the Vaitarani, known as the Dasasvamedha Ghata are said to have been built under the patronage of Yayati Keshari. It is interesting to note that just as Buddha Gaya, once a citadel of Buddhists, became a center of ancestor-worship, so also Jajpur, once a famous Buddhist center became a sacred place, for the Hindus for ancestor-worship and began to be known as Nabhi Gaya in imitation of Buddha Gaya. During the rule of the Kesharis, Jajpur became a very prominent center of Saivism and many Siva temples were built there. But in course of time, most of these temples have gone into ruins and Jajpur today has lost much of its former glory.⁹

Revival of Brahmanism at the cost of Buddhism became a trend of the time. It was during this time, the Muhammadans raised their heads in the northern and eastern India resulting in downfall of some Hindu kingdoms. Being a shrewed statesman, Yayati not only conquered and consolidated the kingdoms, he vigorously attempted to reinstall the religious efflorescence by causing construction of temples particularly for Siva and Sakti. Thus, Jajpur and Bhubaneswar rose to eminence as great Saiva centers. The credit goes to him for construction of the stupendous temple of Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar.

The Maranja Mura charter¹⁰ relates that he caused many men to build many temples for various gods and the *Mandapas* (royal pavilion) in the *Arama* or park for *Vihara* (pleasurable recreation) together with *Udyana* or garden. His successors built many temples at Bhubaneswar and Jajpur, further enhancing the importance of these places. Construction of Brahmesvar temple at Siddhatirtha of Ekamra by his queen Kolavati and the Rajarani temple by the king Indraratha and Dakra Bhimesvara are some of the significant achievements of the Somavamsis. Situated in the strategic and commanding geographical position, Cuttack must not have escaped the notice of the illustrious monarch. Being a famous builder, he must have reconstructed the new capital here and caused the construction of temple, which to our misfortune did not survive till the present day.

The *Madalapanji* records that Raja Nrupa Keshari first implanted a city on the site of the modern Cuttack in about 989 A.D. It is pertinent to mention that the *Madalapanji* though is replete with legends in a historical perspective is definitely a historical treatise of great importance. The *Katakarajavamsavali* a Sanskrit work, compiled in the early 19th century from old records in the Jagannath temple and in the private collection of *Chadhaukarana* and *Deulakarana*, is a part of the *Madalapanji* and is of great use in reconstructing the history of Orissa. The British Administrators in charge of Orissa apprised the East India Company regarding the history of Jagannath temple alongwith its attendant festivals. Different versions of the *Madalapanji* available in different places and published by both foreign and Indian scholars highlight the historicity and significance of the text¹¹.

Thus, the date of establishment of the city of Cuttack noted in all the versions of *Madalapanji* is a historical fact accepted universally. The reign of Markata Keshari was distinguished for the construction of a stone reventment or embankment faced with the material to protect the new capital from inundation in 1006 A.D.¹². The rule of two Somavamsi kings Dharmaratha (980 - 1005 A.D.) and Nahusa (1005 - 1021 A.D.) is synchronic with the events of establishment of capital city at Cuttack and construction of revetment for protection of the city from natural calamity. During the reign of the former (Dharmaratha), Indraratha (most likely a son) was practically incharge of administration probably to check the inroads of contemporary neighbouring powers. Indraratha came in conflict with the Chola army and the Paramara Bhoja of Malwa. Being envious of the prosperity and power of the Somavamsis, the Cholas and the Paramaras made sustained effort to attack Utkal.¹³ For the purpose of defence, he (Indraratha) made an alliance with the Kalachuris of Ratnapur. Yayatinagar, the then seat of administration was not centrally located in the vast kingdom of Utkal. Hence, the shrewd statesman of great determination and military genius, though it prudent to establish a capital city at Cuttack which was protected by river in three sides and geographically suitable to check the inroads of enemies from all quarters.

He was also a great builder and patron of learning as is gleaned from his Copper Plate grant of Banapur. He is credited with the construction of Rajarani temple (original name is Indresvara after the king Indraratha) at Bhubaneswar. In view of the Contemporary political and archaeological evidence, Indraratha may be identified with Nrupa Keshari of *Madalapanji*.

Nrupa (King) might be another name of the king Indraratha. Thus, the establishment of the new capital by Nrupa Keshari in fact was political necessity. So a new city and a strong fort were constructed on the main land between the rivers Mahanadi and Kathajori and the capital was transferred from Bhubaneswar to this new city. Nrupa Keshari named his new capital as Baranasi Kataka or Benares Cuttack. The transfer of capital from Bhubaneswar by no means reduced the importance of that place, because Bhubaneswar by this time had already become the acknowledge center of Brahmanism in India and a place of Pilgrimage for millions. The future kings of Keshari dynasty or of other dynasties went on adding new temples to the number of existing many and the fame of Bhubaneswar increased day by day as the time proceeded. The transfer of the secular activities of the state from Bhubaneswar therefore by no means affected its well established religious importance, while on the other hand, a new capital city of an outstanding importance and fame came into existence at the strategic corner of Cuttack. From the time of Nrupa Keshari onward the city of Cuttack remained as an unrivalled political center of Kalinga and through innumerable political storms, rise and decay, national prosperities and foreign dominations, Cuttack has never lost its position as the political stronghold of Orissa. Though the city of Benaras Cuttack founded by Nrupa Keshari is no more in existence, yet the modern city of Cuttack can boast of its origin from that capital city of Nrupa Keshari.¹⁴ It was not sure whether Nrupa Keshari transferred the capital from Yayatinagar or Bhubaneswar, but the fact remains that he established the capital at Cuttack in 989 A.D. for better administration and offence and defence of the vast empire.

As regards to the identification of Markata Keshari, K.C. Panigrahi ¹⁵ is of the view that he (Markata) was the abbreviation of Unmata who was progenitor of the Bhaumas (known from their copper plate grants). He ruled in the 8th century A.D. and as such based on the tradition, Cuttack city must have been established in the eighth century A.D. He further substantiates his viewpoint by referring to the antiquarian remains of Cuttack and its vicinity. His statement with regard to the establishment of Cuttack city before 8th century A.D. may be tenable. Markata Keshari, the builder of the stone revetment may safely be identified with Nahusa (1005 - 1021 A.D.) or Mahabhavagupta III who issued his copper plate grants from Vijaya Katak¹⁶ (identified with Cuttack). The Narasimhapur charter¹⁷ refers to Nahusa as overlord of the country and celebrated ornament of the earth. He was a powerful monarch had to face three adversaries, the Paramaras, the Cholas and the Kalachuris.¹⁸

In order to save the political stronghold of Orissa from natural calamities and from the enemies in the south, west and north, Markata Keshari caused construction of the stone embankment. The new capital Cuttack founded by Nrupa Keshari was soon discovered to be under a grave and constant peril. The capital was exposed to a severe type of high flood both from the river Mahanadi on one side and the river Kathajori on the other. Situated on a low land between the two biggest rivers of Kalinga, Cuttack could not guarantee a security of life to her teeming population. But the Keshari King was too great an engineer to save his capital from the threat of flood. Strong and huge stone embankments were raised on either side of Cuttack, facing river

Mahanadi on the right and Kathajori on the left. The stone embankments of Cuttack are really a unique feature of the ancient engineering skill of Kalinga. Defying the fury of flood year in and year out for hundred of years, these embankments have protected the city of Cuttack from utter demolition up till now. Standing from the depth of water the gigantic embankments present a fort like massive appearance to an observer from the opposite side of the river or to one who looks towards Cuttack from the incoming or outgoing trains of the South Eastern Railway while on the Mahanadi or the Kathajori bridge. Undoubtedly, as it is, if the city of Cuttack has flourished through the ages, it is for an undying success in stone achieved by the public works departments of Markata Keshari¹⁹. The stone revetment of Markata Keshari was repaired, renovated and reconstructed from time to time, thus blurring the original structure. Early European travellers and the British Engineers have left behind short accounts of the revetment which shed further light on the condition of the structure and the steps taken during the British period for its repair. The stone revetment of Cuttack, a unique engineering work second to none in India, attracted the attention of the British Government. The revetment may be described as an irregular line of masonry. Constructed of large blocks of laterite and sandstone set in mud-cement and painted with lime plaster, the weight of its crest varies from 17 to 36 feet above the low waterline and width at top and bottom respectively from 3 to 4 and 5 to 8 feet.

Thus the Somavamsi rule in Orissa for about 200 years (from 919 to 1118 A.D.) was quite eventful in various fields. The thirteen rulers of the

dynasty were reputed warriors and capable administrators of a vast kingdom covering the present districts of Sambalpur, Bolangir, Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, parts of Ganjam, Mayurbhanj and Midnapore. The Somavamsis heralded a new era of development in consolidation of empire, in religion, particularly, Saivism, in art and architecture and in literature²⁰.

In fact, the Somavamsis laid the foundation of Kalinga empire which was further extended in the south and the north under the Gangas and Gajapatis. Saivism reached the pinnacle of glory under their royal patronage. This popular faith was widely reflected in the society through construction of many Saivite temples and installation of deities with introduction of regular worship pattern and donation of land grants to the Brahmanas and Saiva ascetics for practice and popularisation of the faith. The period is a great land mark in Orissan as well as in Indian art. A large number of monuments were constructed during this period which represent the finest specimens of Orissan art and architecture. Advanced techniques were employed in the field of architecture, which surpassed all other previous ages. From epigraphic and literary sources it is known that the temple of Brahmeswara, Lingaraj, Rajarani and Muktesvara were constructed during this period which represent the finest specimens of Orissan art and architecture. It has rightly been remarked that an artistic skill attained after centuries of experiences and liberal incentive given to the artists by the Somavamsis provided necessary foundations for raising such magnificent edifices as Lingaraj, Rajarani, Brahmeswara and Muktesvara. A considerable progress was made in the development of temple architecture of Orissa. The first stage of development

being started in the Sailodbhava period, which introduced almost all the new architectural features and decorative motifs to the early Orissan art. Truly it has been remarked that the Orissan temple reached its complete form towards the close of the Somavamsi period. The architectural activities in the later period though by no means scarce were more concerned with elaboration than with any introduction of new features or forms indicating new directions of development.²¹

Thus the Somavamsi period forms an important landmark both in the political and cultural history of Orissa. The rulers were great conquerors, who revived the martial traditions of Orissa created by Kharavela. They gave Orissa a geographical unity and a homogeneous culture for the first time which became a united centralised and a strong empire under one sceptre. They are regarded as the makers of modern Orissa or Utkala. Although their political achievements did not survive their rule, their cultural activity formed a lasting legacy for the people of Orissa, which will ever remain a golden chapter in the history of India²².

Under the efficient administration of the illustrious Somavamsis, Cuttack, the centrally located capital of Utkal must have been a great metropolis and one of the greatest centers of culture. Due to constant attack by the iconoclast Muslims, the city faced the same fate as Jajpur. Over and above, the inundation in the river Mahanadi and Kathajori carved away a vast chunk of the city into its bed bringing down to oblivion the cultural sequence of the past.

Cuttack under the illustrious Gangas:

The Ganga rule in the Kalingan empire for more than three hundred and fifty years is depicted as the Golden Age in the annals of Kalinga. What the Gupta Age is in the annals of India, the Ganga is in the annals of Kalinga. A well- founded empire and a number of powerful rulers, internal peace and security against foreign invasions, benevolent administration and state patronisation of art and literature, contact with the outside world and import of new ideas, all these important factors which make an age great, operated successfully during the three hundred and fifty years of the Ganga rule. From the time of Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva, who built the empire of united Kalinga till the time of Bhanu Deva IV with whom ended the Ganga dynasty there ruled not less than fifteen kings of whom at least three Chodaganga, Anangabhima III and Narasimha I were men of exceptional ability and all the rest were powerful enough to protect the extensive Ganga empire from grave foreign invasions. After three hundred and fifty years of glorious rule, the Ganga dynasty did not throw its empire into dissolution and chaos but bequeathed it peacefully into the hands of another remarkable dynasty, the Suryavamsi dynasty. Chodaganga Deva built his empire and gave it two natural frontiers in the Ganges and the Godavari²³.

In the entire *Aryavarta* the Hindu religious- architecture was buried beneath the heaps of ruin and out of those heaps rose the mosques of the Muslims. Soon after these acts had been completed in the north, the energy of Islam moved into south. In 1294A.D., Allauddin Khilji entered into the Deccan, plundered the city of Devgiri, and with an immense amount of gold,

silver, pearls returned back. Once the roads was open towards the south, the process of further invasions began. Malik Kafur ravaged the south and plundered the cities of Warangal, Dwarasamudra and Madurai. Religious shrines in the south were desecrated by that renegade. Kafur advanced as far as Rameswaram and destroyed that holy city. The great temple of Rameswaram was razed to the ground and a mosque was built at its site. Thus, Kalinga was fortunate to have escaped the early rule of Islam which was more or less tested by almost every other part of India. Such an escape was possible for the strong protection given by the Ganga emperors to Kalinga²⁴.

With the rise of the Gangas, the art and architecture, religion and literature reached the highest watermark. The temple of Jagannath at Puri, Sun temple at Konark, Ananta Vasudeva, Meghesvara, Bhaskaresvara temples at Bhubaneswar are some of the best specimens of the Ganga age bespeaking supreme engineering skill of the architects and rich art tradition of the period. With the construction of Jagannath temple, Puri became the prime religious metropolis of Kalinga and India. The commercial relation of the Ganga empire with the rest of India and also with the oversea lands was in a very thriving and prosperous condition. Though by the time of the Gangas, the Kalingans had already lost their political hold over the Malayasian islands, yet the commercial contact with the part of the world was still intact. It was only towards the closing days of the Ganga rule that Kalinga lost her naval supremacy in the Indian ocean. But for the most part of the Ganga age, the maritime activity and oversea trade of Kalinga remained prosperous. Kalinga

continued to export her iron products, silver, gold and diamond ornaments, fine cloth, stone and wooden engravings, copper and brass articles, various types of cereals, barley, wheat and rice and many other commodities to outside. Foreign travellers to India during this age observed the export of the said products in shiploads from the ports of Kalinga. Inside India, the trade of Kalinga was equally successful. A flourishing trade guaranteed a sound economy to the people and this sound economy was one of the main springs of the Ganga prosperity²⁵.

Chodaganga Deva (1078-1150A.D.) the founder-father of imperial dynasty laid the foundation of the Kalinga empire at a critical juncture of the history of India when the north had fallen piece by piece before the Muhammadan invasion. The dynasty left by the emperor gave birth to a series of strong emperors like Narasimha Deva and Anangabhima III, who successfully maintained and consolidated it and finally left the empire peacefully in the hands of another powerful dynasty named as the Suryavamsi Gajapatis. The empire of Chodaganga came into existence when the north had proved herself to be utterly incapable of maintaining a Hindu empire. He built the empire and made it formidable for the noble purpose of defending the south against the coming invasion of Islam from the north. Within a short time, the entire northern India was bound to come under the Muslim conquest, bit by bit from Hindukush to Ganges. However, the empire of Chodaganga stood there as an invincible Hindu power to check the progress of Islam into the south on the bank of the Ganges. For centuries together, under the Gangas and the Suryavamsis, the empire of Kalinga, built by Chodaganga, struggled

against Islam and kept the Turkish power at respectable distance even when the Turks were at the zenith of their power. He ruled for seventy-two years. Such a long reign of almost three quarters of a century is rare in the annals of kings. His ancestral capital was at Kalinganagara identified with Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, but after occupation of Orissa in 1112 A.D, he shifted his capital to more centrally located Sarangagarh near Baranga of the present Cuttack district²⁶.

It was about the time of Chodaganga that Jagannath definitely came to be regarded as the veritable incarnation of Vishnu. The great temple, erected for Jagannath, came to be regarded as an abode of Vaishnavism. Thus Vaishnavism centred around the cult of Jagannath, and the cult of Jagannath, patronised and championed by Chodaganga Deva, became the mass religion in Kalinga. Most probably sometimes after 1135 A.D, Chodaganga began the building of the Puri temple. Though it could not be completed during the remaining twelve years of his reign, yet the work was completed by his worthy descendant Anangabhimha Deva. The religious movement started by Chodaganga never died out in this land. Vaishnavism manifesting itself through the worship of Jagannath received more and more encouragement from the illustrious Ganga and Suryavamsi emperors who succeeded to the throne of Chodaganga. The Cult of Jagannath so successfully championed by Chodaganga is yet the mass religion of Orissa. Jagannath embodies in himself the religion of this land and his temple stands as the symbol of Kalinga's national unity. Thus, Chodaganga Deva through his religious initiatives bound the people of Kalinga in a bond of cultural and religious

sameness. Eventually, he was not only an empire builder, but also the maker of a great nation. From all points of view, the reign of Chodaganga marks a very remarkable epoch in the history of Kalinga. At a critical time in the annals of India, he built a strong and extensive empire. For the evil days that were to overcome the civilisation of the Hindus, he left a strong Hindu power in the south to champion their cause. Kalinga was fortunate to have been ruled by Chodaganga for seventy-two years and more and to have received a long dynasty of successful sovereigns from him. It revolutionised Hinduism for a new strength and vigour. The growing rigidity and seclusion of Brahmanism were challenged and the religion was carried from the monopoly of the classes to the arm of the masses. The Hindu liberalism sponsored from Jagannath Puri, first by Chodaganga Deva and then by his successors was a right movement at a right time, when it was so dearly required in India. It was just in the fitness of things that Chodaganga Deva built the empire of Kalinga and re-oriented her religion²⁷.

Kamarnava Deva (1147-1156 A.D.), Raghava (1156-1170 A.D.), Raja Raja II and Anangabhima II (1190-98 A.D.) successfully utilised the capital Bidanasi Cuttack and other Cuttacks acting as the second line of defence. Saint-poet Sri Jayadeva, the author of *Gitagovinda* flourished during the reign of Raja Raja II. Anangabhima II is credited with the construction of Patalesvara temple. Anangabhima III (1211-1238 A.D.) was one of the greatest warriors and builders of the time. He shifted the capital from Kalinganagar to Cuttack and named it Abhinava Varanasi Cuttack. His achievements in the field of military conquests rendered invaluable service to the nation. Peace and calm

prevailed everywhere. The *Madalapanji* ascribes the fort of Barabati at Cuttack to Anangabhimha Deva III²⁸.

He was a devout devotee of Jagannath and Purusottama. As a builder, Anangabhimha figures very high in the history of Orissa. The building of *Natamandira* and *Bhogamandapa* of Lingaraj temple, the completion of the Jagannath temple at Puri, the grant of a perpetual lamp for the god Kritivasa at Bhubaneswar, provision of milk, butter, rice, and curd, fragrant flowers in the temple of Jagannath, all these activities of Anangabhimha speak of his religious activities. As a great conqueror, versatile statesman and celebrated builder Anangabhimha Deva, unmistakably enhanced the power and prestige of the Kalingan empire exterminating the enemies in the northern, western and the southern frontiers to an extent that for about next one hundred years there was no menace from the enemy quarters.

With the accession of Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264 A.D.), the illustrious son and successor of the celebrated Anangabhimha, the Ganga empire with his capital at Cuttack attained the zenith of its glory. *Ekavali*, an excellent literary work composed by Narasimha's court poet Vidyadhara depicts the monarch as a great conqueror, a warrior, a mighty builder, a benevolent ruler and a promoter of culture and learning. The war episode of Narasimha was so important event that it is referred to in the Muslim chronicles, in the inscriptions of his successors and in the subsequent literary works. The conquest over the combined army of Muslim Bengal and Delhi is nicely described in the 16th century literary work, *Bhakti Bhagavata Mahakavyam* (1509 A.D.) by kavi Dindadima Jivadeva Acharya. *Ekavali*, in assessment of

Narasimha's valour, bravery and military capabilities, compares him with Narasimha as incarnation of Vishnu, with Rama and other legendary heroes²⁹.

He was the greatest builder of his time. His title of *Silpayjna* is well justified on account of his construction of the lofty and magnificent Sun temple at Konark and a series of forts and strongholds on the *rajapathas* leading to Bengal. The famous forts of Bansoda, Raibania, Amarda, Narayangarh and several others are assigned to him. The fort building activities reached the finality and highest water marks during the Ganga rule. The administration of the vast Ganga empire extending from Ganges to Godavari necessitated the building of forts and strongholds at the places of importance for defensive and offensive administration. These served the purpose of both military and civil administration and checked the inroads of foreigners and internal dissensions³⁰.

The Gangas built up numerous forts in their empire. Abul Fazal, who came to Kalinga with the army of Man Singh in sixteenth century, recorded the names of 129 forts in Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga dandapata and Rajamahendri³¹. The forts and military strongholds of coastal Balasore played a significant role in the military history of Kalinga. By strengthening its military power its economic prosperity through maritime trade carried on in several prosperous ports and diffusing the culture of the land to other parts of India and to far off countries and assimilating the cultural traits of other regions into its own, the Ganga period became unique in the cultural history of Orissa.

The Sun temple was the greatest monument of the time surpassing in workmanship, magnitude and style of all other great temples erected on the soils of Orissa. The Sun temple is symbolically a shrine of war, worship and love. It is significantly a magnificent lyrical epic in stone, of the joys of love and victory dedicated to the light of the universe, the Sun God³². The greatest achievement of the Gangas is that they succeeded in keeping their vast kingdom independent when the Hindu countries one after another were falling victims to Muslim aggression. During the early part of the Ganga supremacy in Orissa, the Muslims conquered the neighbouring Bengal towards the close of the twelfth century and in the later part of their rule, the kingdom of Kakatiyas, which too was a neighbouring Hindu kingdom of Orissa in the south was conquered by the Muslims in 1310 A.D. Orissa was thus surrounded by the Muslim powers both in the north and the south. It reflects no small credit on the Ganga rulers that they succeeded in preserving the independence of their kingdom and its integrity. The Muslim source remarks the exaggerated accounts of the invasions of Orissa by Firuz Shah, Iliyas Shah and Hussain shah, but such invasions were mere raids originating from their lust for procuring some elephants, killing the infidels and destroying their temples. These invaders did not succeed in making Orissa subordinate to Muslim power. The accounts of Firuz Shah's invasion as given in the Muslim sources attest to the prosperity of Orissa even in the declining period of the Ganga supremacy.

The Gangas united Orissa politically and culturally. Their administration was quite efficient which was largely followed by the Suryavamsi Gajapatis³³.

The Gangas built the great temples like those of Jagannath at Puri and of the Sun God at Konark and myriads of other smaller temples in various cultural centers of Orissa and these shrines became the centers of cultural unification. Throughout the Ganga rule, Cuttack remained the center of political and cultural activities. Administrative directions were largely given from this place to other subordinates throughout the Ganga empire. The Ganga rule in Orissa is thus a great land mark of Orissan history.

Cuttack under the Suryavamsi Gajapatis :

The downfall of illustrious imperial Gangas heralded a new dynasty known as the Gajapatis who ruled Orissan empire for a century by extending its limit to the further south. The Gajapati rule in Orissa is quite significant for military conquests over the Muslims and the Hindu monarchs, for consolidation with more systematised form of administration, cultural and literary upheaval particularly in development of Oriya as a regional language and for social and religious transformation.

Kapilendra Deva (1435-1466 A.D.), the founder of the Suryavamsi Gajapati dynasty ascended the throne at a time when the Ganga empire was about to fall. Being a shrewd statesman, Kapilendra rightly assessed the troubled political situation in all quarters and adopted a policy in the name of Lord Jagannath to subdue the revolt of feudatories, to pacify the subjects and to win over their support. In the name of Sri Jagannath he issued several proclamations, which proved to be successful in achieving his mission³⁴.

Kapilendra Deva with an humble start became the greatest emperor of the Gajapati dynasty raising the status of the Kalingan empire to the highest water mark. In view of his wide experience in Kalingan administration he was able to effect a violent change. He has been depicted as a native of Kalinga and not an outsider like the Somavamsis and the Gangas. His military exploits clearly illustrate his farsighted policy of aggrandisement, war mongering spirit, the sense of vengeance against the enemies of the nation, sense of love for the mother and policy of war strategy planned at the right moment and in the right direction and his ambition to open a new geographical horizon. He can rightly be claimed as the greatest emperor of Kalinga³⁵. He also took all possible steps to repair the Hindu monuments of the vanquished territories and to maintain the worship patterns. Purushottama Deva and Prataprudra Deva also played a great role for the spread of their Gajapati dynasty. The famous Kanchi-Kaveri legend of the Gajapati Purushottama widespread in different parts of the state in different forms, connected with different deities, contain a lot of historical truth and also is substantiated by archaeological evidence. Purushottama installed the famous image of Sakhigopala in his state capital at Cuttack and Ganesha in the precinct of Jagannath temple at Puri. During the Muslim's invasion of Orissa in 1568 A.D. the idol of Sakhigopala was shifted from Cuttack and finally installed at the present site at Satyabadi by the Marathas. He himself was a scholar, a writer and a great patron of learning and culture. He figures very prominently in tradition and literature. He however, cannot be taken as strong administrator, a warrior and a statesman like his father.

In 1497 A.D. Prataprudra, the son and successor of Purushottama Deva ascended the throne. It is most unfortunate that Prataprudra did not make any attempt to reinforce his position under such favourable situations. Abul Muzaffar Hussain Shah, the sultan of Bengal took an opportunity of Prataprudra's weakness and marched towards Puri. The invasion was planned when the monarch was engaged in a war in the south. According to *Madalapanji* the Gajapati having been informed of the Muslim expedition from the north returned to the capital and defeated the Muslim army. During Prataprudra Deva, Cuttack bore the burnt of Krishnadeva Raya's invasion. After conquering the Gajapati empire in the south, Krishnadeva Raya, the powerful emperor of Vijayanagara attacked Orissa. Prataparudra tried to check the progress of Krishnadeva Raya, but was defeated at the hands of the latter. At last Prataprudra Deva proceeded back towards his capital Cuttack to assemble fresh army to deal with Krishnadeva Raya. Finding no option, Krishnadeva Raya proceeded towards Orissa and reached Simhachalam. There he planted the pillar of victory. Though he sent news to Prataprudra to meet him, the latter did not turn up. The *Amuktamalyada* and *Manucharita*, inform that Krishnadeva Raya proceeded to Puri, worshipped to Lords, marched towards Cuttack and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Gajapati of Orissa. A Peace treaty was concluded between Krishnadeva Raya and Prataprudra Deva. River Krishna was marked as the line of demarcation between Vijayanagar empire and that of Prataparudra Deva.

The advent of Sri Chaitanya to Orissa in 1509 A.D. was a great event from the view point of religious development. The flow of his popular Vaishnavism overflowed Bengal and Orissa. On his way to Puri, he crossed

Mahanadi and reached Cuttack, the capital of Orissan empire. Sri Chaitanya was astonished to see the charming image of Sakhigopala enshrined in the capital city. The famous Baliyatra held in November in the field (popularly known as Baliyatra Padia) lying between the Barabati fort and the Barabati stadium is stated to have start as a mark of Sri Chaitanya's visit³⁶.

The Gajapati court at Cuttack was embellished with the Princes of royal blood the ministers, writers, astrologers and high dignitaries. The Gajapatis not only maintained vast army but paid keen attention to the training of soldiers and the animals. The above description is adequate to indicate the military significance of Cuttack. During the reign of Kapilendra Deva this total militarisation reached its peak and was based on a stern discipline, an unquestioning obedience to the king and above all, on the single-minded devotion to Lord Jagannath. However, from the time of Prataprudra Deva, diminished the military character of the Oriyas who sank into obscurity after the loss of their independence in 1568 A.D³⁷. The downfall of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis after the death of Prataprudra Deva heralded a period of anarchy for about twenty years. Govinda Vidyadhara, the treacherous minister of Prataprudra established a new dynasty known as Bhoi dynasty. This disgraceful dynasty tarnished the glory of the Gajapati empire. However during this period, Cuttack remained the capital of Orissa witnessing the ignominious rule of the disgraceful Bhoi rulers.

Mukunda Deva Harichandana, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, the first and the last ruler of the last dynasty and the last independent Hindu monarch of Orissa ascended the throne of Orissa at Cuttack in 1559 A.D³⁸.

In his period Kalapahara attacked the temple of Jagannath, took away the images to Bengal and burnt them on the bank of river Ganges what *Madalapanji* speaks. It further stated that Bisara Mohanty a great devotee of Sri Jagannath followed Kalapahara in disguise and managed to recover the *Brahmas* from the balley of the images, put them inside a *mrudanga* and brought them back to Orissa. As a result of this dangerous Muslim invasion and taking away of the images, the Sri Mandira remained vacant for long eight years after which Sri Ramachandra Bhanja of the Bhoi dynasty reinstalled the images in the temple and resumed the temple services. Due to the Muslim iconoclastic attitudes many Hindu monuments were dashed to pieces by the Muslim invaders and on the ruins were raised the Muslim monuments.

The magnificent fort of Barabati, the last greatest citadel of the illustrious monarch of Orissa, was the theatre of political, civil and military administration through centuries. It was perhaps the efflorescence and final culmination of the art and architecture of Orissa. This fort in its ruins slowly crumbled into its primeval dust. So Mukunda Deva rebuilt the defensive walls of the fort and erected a nine storied palace. Since then the fort of Barabati was popularly known as the palace of Mukunda Deva. He is recorded as the greatest builder and greatest warrior of his time³⁹.

The amazing story of the illustrious dynasties that ruled Orissa successively for about seven centuries with their capital at Cuttack has been depicted in literature. Right from the Ganga period and more obviously from the Suryavamsi Gajapati period, Varanasi Cuttack continued to be the seat of the central government of the Orissan empire. It resembled Amaravati,

the city of Indra. The city of Cuttack was like the girdle of the earth Goddess⁴⁰. It was called Cuttack pattana in the Undavalli inscription⁴¹. One of the Jagannath temple inscriptions of Purushottama dated in the 19th Anka tells us that the king was staying at that time at Varanasi Cuttack. This name survives as Bidanasi which is the westernmost part of Cuttack along with the Kathajori river. The contemporary Gaudiya writers, too, refers to the capital of the Gajapatis as Cuttack⁴².

The kings under the Gajapati dynasty enjoyed the supreme power in the state. They subscribed to the theocratic conception that Lord Jagannath was the real king of Orissa and they were their deputies. Kapilendra, Purushottama and Prataprudra, in the beginning of their reign paid homage to this great deity and presented certain objects to him and recognised him as their overlord. When the feudatories became disobedient to him, Kapilendra went to the temple of Lord Jagannath and engraved an order on the Jagmohan invoking the name of Jagannath 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*, *Gajapati*, *Gaudeswara*, *Navakoti*, *Karnata*, *Kalavargeswara*. Kapilendra Deva initiated the assumptions of these titles after his conquests in Bengal, the Bahamani kingdom and the Vijayanagar empire and all these titles were used by his son and grandson and even by the Bhoi dynasty. The titles of *Maharajadhiraja* and *Gajapati* were however commenced from the time of the imperial Gangas in Orissa. The rulers of this dynasty were extremely proficient in leading the army in distant countries. There are numerous references in the accounts of Muslim chronicle inscriptions and the

Madalapanji as to the presence of these kings in the battle field either to assist their blood relations or waging actual wars against formidable foes.

The king was the repository of all military, political and judicial powers and the pivot around which the whole administrative machinery rotated. All the power in the state was concentrated in his hands and he delegated a part of it to his servants who ran the administrative machinery. He was the source of honour and power and distributed titles and favours in recognition of meritorious services. He commanded the armies in person and all the feudatory chiefs were under his control and guidance. Generally princes of the royal blood were appointed as provincial Governors though not to the complete exclusion of other deserving candidates. They all enjoyed the royal prerogatives and were all persons of proved valour. They took part in all military operations of the king or individually led soldiers to the battlefield in exigencies of situations.

The Suryavamsi records project a clear picture of their military organisations. They inherited from the Gangas a well-organised 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 Kapilendra, Orissa 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 seem to have been exempted from compulsory military service but even then some Brahmins entered into the army as big and small officers. In the Gopinathpur stone inscription, Gopinath Mohapatra is represented to have been a Brahmin minister and General of Kapilendra.

He helped the emperor to win his wars against the Sultans of Bengals and Malwa. Both he and his elder brother Narayana, sons of the royal priest, Laksmana Purohita were ministers under Kapilendra. Rajaguru Jivadevacharya, the Purohita of Prataprudra, bore an epithet *Vahinipati*. The epithet literally means, commander. It is not unlikely that Jivadeva may have held the office of a commander in Prataprudra's army. Godavara Mishra became the Rajaguru of Gajapati Prataprudra. According to his family traditions, he was honoured with this title Godavari Vardhana by Gajapati Purushottama Deva because, he could cause a heavy flood in the river Godavari all in a sudden by his miraculous power obtained from *Mantra siddhi* which helped the Gajapati in gaining victory at the time of his expedition against the Raja of Kanchipuram. This tradition is corroborated by the actual use of the title "Godavarivardan" in his *Jayachintamani*. Prataprudra appointed him as his *mantrivara* or minister and also presented Godavara Mishra with a white umbrella called *Meghadambara* having a gifted hand which was ornamented with gold plate and had four lions made of gold on its four sides⁴³. The same Godavara Mishra prepared a very valuable treatise on military science entitled *Harihara Chaturanga*. It contains various rules and regulations for the Government in the time of war and peace, besides furnishing relevant matters on warfare, array of troops and four-fold division, of army.

The ministers were noted for their learning and proficiency in statecraft and also on grounds of their military achievements. Apart from the general trust the ruler reposed in his ministers, some of them were taken into

confidence or became his confidants as indicated by such titles as *Antaranga Mahapatra*. The minister in charge of foreign affairs was known by the name *Sandhivigraha*. The minister assisted the king in matters of foreign policy, entertaining ambassadors and despatching *dutas*. The Gajapatis had several feudatories and neighbours. The minister who had to deal with them had in his service several officers.

The ministers were awarded with several military titles for their distinguished service in the Gajapati army. The *Sarala Mahabharata*, contemporary Muslim accounts, inscriptions, the *Madalapanji* are replete with these titles. Some of these titles have their earlier origin in the Ganga period and some continued even during the rule of the succeeding Bhoi dynasty in Orissa. The titles conferred on the military leaders are *Senapati*, *Chamupati* (champati). *Routray* (the commander of cavalry), *Sahani* (the commander of the elephant force), *Dandapata*, *Dandasena*, *Paschimakavata*, *Uttarakavata* (the guardians of marches), *Samantaraya*, *Vidaydhara*, *Bhramaravara*, *Harichandana*, *Jayadeva*. *Mardaraja*, *Samantasimhara*, *Rayasimha*, *Valiyarasimha*, *Pahodasimha*, *Nayaka*, *Pattanayaka*, *Dandanayaka*, *Gadanayaka*, *Patra*, *Mahapatra*, *Behera*, *Dalabahera*, *Jena*, *Badajena*, *Pradhan*, *Samal*, *Routa*, *Khuntia*, *Paricha*, *Padhiari*, *Dandopani*, etc.⁴⁴ Some military designations under the Gajapatis tended to become hereditary. Such titles were *Mahasenapati*, *Sandhivigrahi*, *Senanarendra*, *Majhi*, *Vahinipati* and *Routraya*, *Pattanayaka*, *Damodara*. *Mahasenapati* was a courtier of Kapilendra. Krishna Mahasenapati probably an impoverished scion of military officer, earned his livelihood as a temple servitor. The Jagannath temple

inscription dated 1436 A.D. refers to a certain Mahapatra Jaleswara Senapati. Jaleswara Bhattacharya, a scholar who knew more of the pen than the sword, was honoured with the title of *Vahinipati* by prataprudra⁴⁵.

Saraladasa's *Mahabharata*, gives information about the different divisions of the Gajapati army on march. The first division was known as the *Hantakaru dala*, i.e., 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 the 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*⁴⁶.

Godavara Mishra, a celebrated minister of the time of Prataprudra, prepared his treatise military science entitled *Harihara Chaturanaga*. On this work, he envisages the four-fold division of the army, gives references of cavalry, elephant corps and infantry soldiers but fails to trace any account of the chariot as a limb of the Gajapati army. Hence, it can well be surmised that the Gajapati army entirely depended on infantry, cavalry and elephant forces of which infantry and elephant corps played the predominant role. Besides participating in military expeditions, the infantry soldiers guarded the forts having strategic importance. The garrison at Udayagiri according to Nuniz consisted of 10,000 infantry. Duarte Barbose agrees with Nuniz and states that "the people of Orissa are very good fighting men. The king of Orissa has a mighty army of foot soldiers"⁴⁷.

In medieval warfare, cavalry occupied a prominent place, as swift and lightening charges on enemy forces were possible only with the help of the cavalry force. This cavalry force of Kapilendra crossed the ditches and attacked Dhara and Kalabargas as revealed from the Velligalani inscription. The march of Kapilendra was indicated by the huge dust raised by the hoofs of his horses and the loud sound of his bugles frightened the enemies and made them fly to the forest⁴⁸. At the sight of the clouds of dust raised by the hoofs of his horses Purushottama's enemies fled terror-stricken into the forests. The approaching raid of the cavalry of Prataprudra made the kings of Karnata, Anga and Vidarbha hid in panic⁴⁹. His gigantic elephant force was the most invincible in India and it was by this force that he terrified his enemies. The Bahamani Sultan, Allauddin Ahmad Shah, calculated the number of those war elephants as two hundred thousand⁵⁰.

The weapons of war used by the Gajapati forces are very much described in the Oriya Puranic literature of the period. The *Mahabharata* and *Chandi Purana* of Sarala Dasa, *Jagamohan Ramayana* of Balaram Dasa and *Harivamsa* of Achyutananda Dasa are replete with numerous references to them. They include *katari*, *Dhanu*, *Tuna Phalakhanda*, *Kunta*, *Naracha*, *Khadga*, *Vasthi asiptra*, *Parasu*, *Krupana*, *Khanda*, *Mudgara*, *Gada Kuthara*, *Kati*, *Chhela*, *Dhala*. Sarala Das and other poets also give information on the movement of an army. In flags and other decorative devices including *Chatra*, *Palanquin* were used and the musical instruments such as *tamaka nisana*, *viraturi*, *dhola*, *bheri*, *mardala*, *kahali*, *vira kahali*, *kada*, *vijighosa*, *telengi*, *dungdunga*, *ghasa*, *turi*, *doundi*, *dampaha*, *nagara*, *dhamasa*, *madaladhapa* *dundubhi* and *ranasinga*⁵¹.

As is apparent from Sarala Das's *Mahabharata* which was composed in the reign of Kapilendra, as observed by K.C Panigrahi⁵², a belief was created in the minds of the Oriyas that dying in the battle field was the surest way to go to 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 in the world. The poet lays great emphasis on the necessity of begetting male children and has nothing to say about the necessity of female ones. The protection of the state and its expansion were the joint responsibilities of the entire population and not 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 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 field⁵³.

The *Rayavachakam*⁵⁴ makes references to the *garidis* or the gymnasiums of the Gajapati in his capital and the kind of physical exercises which men of the infantry and the cavalry underwent to keep themselves fit. It says that the gymnastic feats of the soldiers of the Gajapati was unparalleled any where also. These feats of physical strength and endurance consisted of heavy weight lifting. The training items mentioned are lifting of weighty iron bars and balls, and hanging from a beam with a bag filled with stones and weighing *paddies*, held between the legs. It is said that this weight lifting was practised

on the battlefield, when it becomes necessary, the soldiers might carry away their enemy together with his horse. It has been mentioned that in Vijayanagar, when they commissioned an officer to lead the forces honoured him with mere betel and nut. On the contrary the Gajapatis when they commissioned their officers honoured them by the presentation of an elephant, a horse, ear pendants, a wrestlers short, a cap, a long shirt besides betel and nut⁵⁵.

Elephant is both the emblem and crest of the Gajapatis. It is found engraved on the seal of the Raghudevapur grant of Narendra, a nephew of Kapilendra and his victory over the kingdom of Rajahmundry. On this seal, one finds the figure of a standing caparisoned elephant⁵⁶. The figure of an elephant is also found engraved on a stone bearing an inscription of Purushottama Gajapati from Kavaluru of Krishna district⁵⁷. The conventional representation of a dagger or sword which is generally found at the end of the records of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis observes C.V. Ramachandra Rao⁵⁸ is meant to represent the king's signature on the original document.

Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* which has been regarded as a sort of semi-historical and semi-biographical literature relates in veiled *puranic* settings the notable conquests made by kapilendra. What is however most peculiar is the fact that he treats the pandavas as the princes of Orissa and depicts their life and activities against its historical and geographical backgrounds. In the *Mahabharata* observed by K.C. Panigrahi⁵⁹, the poet shows remarkable knowledge of the historical kingdoms and the historical places of his time, but with the geography of Krishna-Godavari delta he shows a greater acquaintance which he appears to have acquired through his personal

associations. He has mentioned the river Krishna and Godavari frequently and Rajahmundry (which he calls Mahendranagara) Kondavidu, Devarakonda, SriSailam, Vijaya Vada, Mangalagiri of this region. He has recorded the mythological stories which he seems to have heard from the local priests, relating to the origin of the *Sivalinga Mallikarjuna* enshrined on the top of SriSailam, by the side of the Patalaganga flowing near by. The poet has woven out a long narrative of the details of the battle of Devarakonda fought in 1458A.D. Sarala Dasa during his military service under the Gajapati army had heard some stories relating the history of the Bahamani kingdom which he utilised in modified forms in his *Mahabharata*.

The above references, division of the army, forts, weapons of war, instructions issued to soldiers, battle array, war music, costumes and dresses of the armed personnel, military designation etc.⁶⁰, as gleaned from the Sarala *Mahabharata*, were possibly drawn out of his own knowledge and experience gained in actual wars. From the poet's description it also gathered that the gateways and the walls of the forts used to be breached with the help of horses, elephants, crow-bars and shovels.

On the eve of the Muslim conquest of Orissa, the military administration was quite efficiently discharged. It was obvious from the possession of different forts by the kings. Cuttack had several forts. Among those forts, the fort of Barabati occupied a predominant position.

It is necessary here to give a vivid description of the fort of Barabati which played vital role in the administrative and military history of Orissa. The magnificent fort of Barabati, the last greatest citadel of the illustrious

monarch of Orissa, was the theatre of political, civil and military administration through centuries. It was perhaps the efflorescence and final culmination of the art and architecture of Orissa. It was the greatest achievement of the Orissan military architecture and one of the finest and stupendous monuments of the Orissan master mason ever made. It is undoubtedly the last wonderful chapter of a long and varied history of Orissa.

The history of Barabati is interconnected with the history of Cuttack, the capital of Orissan empire over the ages. The notable events of Orissan history are all intertwined with the citadel. Barabati, the seat of administration of such a vast empire occupied the highest rank among the innumerable forts spread from Ganges in the north to Godavari in the south. It is an established fact that the kalinga empire had a long temple and fort building tradition since the 3rd century A.D. During these centuries many a fort rose to eminence, earned name and fame and ultimately collapsed leaving a remarkable history to the prosperity.

The city of Cuttack lies between the two rivers Mahanadi and Kathajori at a distance of about 25kms north of the state capital Bhubaneswar. Tradition attributes the founding of the city of Cuttack to Raja Nrupa Keshari of the Somavamsi dynasty, in 989 A.D. The account of *Madalapanji*, the Puri temple chronicle is perhaps the only evidence mentioning this fact. This evidence is not corroborated by any other source.

Some scholars are of the opinion that king Anangabhim Deva III, (1211-1238A.D.) of the Ganga dynasty founded the city of Abhinav Varanasi Cuttack

and built a fort at the village of Barabati and a temple of Jagannath inside the fort. The deity of the temple was known as Purushottam and was made of stone. The tradition recorded in the *Madalapanji* describes :

"One day the king (Anangabhimha Deva III crossed the Mahanadi and came towards the southern side. Here he noticed in the Barabati village, a heron jumped upon a hawk. Seeing this, the king was very much surprised and on an auspicious day laid the foundation of construction of the fort and this village was named Barabati Kataka; since then he left Choudwar and lived at Cuttack making it his capital"⁶¹.

Anangabhimha Deva III was a great conqueror and military strategist. In the early period of his reign he was residing at Choudwar fort. In the wake of Muslim menace from the north he decided to transfer his seat of administration to a well protected and impregnable place like Barabati. There he constructed a fort and established his new capital. The Mahanadi and the Birupa as well as the fort of Choudwar protected the Barabati fort from the north. In the west there was the Bidanasi fort and the turbulent waters of the Mahanadi and Kathajori. In the south flowed the river Kathajori with the fort of Sarangagarh on its southern bank. Thus, the new capital was encircled by natural barriers and forts. After the Gangas, the Suryavamsis, the Bhois, the Chalukyas, the Pathans, Mughals, Marathas and lastly, the British ruled over Orissa. During their rule the fort must have undergone changes and modifications. The fort contained some ancient temples of the Ganga period.

The Nagari plates of Anangabhimha Deva III ⁶² refers to the erection of a Jagannath temple⁶³. When Firuz Shah invaded Orissa, this temple of Jagannath which contained stone idol was razed to the ground. Due to the lack of geographical knowledge of Orissa, the author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shah* stated that the temple destroyed by Firoz Shah was located on the eastern sea-coast⁶⁴.

After conquering Kanchi, the Gajapati king Purushottam had brought lord Sakhigopala from that place and installed that in the fort of Barabati. From the work *Sri Chaitanya Charita Mruta* it is known that Sri Chitanya came to Cuttack and had a *darshan* of Sakhigopala. Also during the same Gajapati rule, Goddess Chandi of Cuttack was installed inside the Barabati fort but when the fort came into the possession of Muhammadans Sakhigopala and Chandi were removed to other places.

The fort of Barabati is associated with the number of rulers of Orissa and its history is replete with instances of wars and invasions. The army of the Gangas and Gajapatis armies marched out from Barabati, and conquered enemy territories. Poet Radhanath Ray describes in his poem *Darbar* that during the reign of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, the rampart of the fort was resounded with trumpets and horn during the expedition to Kanchi. Sri Chaitanya met Prataprudra Deva in this fort. While Prataprudra was busy in conquering the southern kingdoms, Ismail Beg invaded Orissa and captured Barabati but later on he was defeated and the fort was recovered from him by Gajapati King. The fort was adorned with nine-storeyed palace during the period of Mukunda Deva. Mukunda Deva was killed by ambitious Ramachandra Bhanja who proclaimed himself as the ruler of Orissa. But the

invasion of Kalapahara wiped out the hopes of Ramachandra Bhanja. Orissa passed into the hands of Muhammadans and the Barabati fort witnessed anarchical condition and internecine struggle for power.

According to *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*⁸⁵, Feroz Shah Tughlaq, Sultan of Delhi (1351-1375 A.D.) invaded Cuttack in 1361 A.D. during the reign of Bhanu Deva III, destroyed the temple, disgraced the idol of Purushottam and carried it off to Delhi. The rule of the Gangas lasted till 1434 A.D. and was succeeded by the Suryavamsi Gajapatis who ruled till 1540 A.D. After the fall of the Gajapatis, there was a short rule of the Bhoi dynasty (till 1560A.D.) who were succeeded by Mukunda Deva.

Another fort of this period was Amaravati Kataka, which was situated near Chhatia on the national highway overlooking a hill called *Dhania Pahada*. On the east side of the hill the ruins of this magnificent fort, envisaged in rectangular shape, are to be noticed. The remains of the fort now include massive walls of laterite stone. One gateway on the eastern side, high platforms of residential buildings approached by flights of steps, often indicated as the royal palace, number of broken pillars and their capitals, a newly constructed temple, an old well and the two figures of Indra. The broken pillars and their capitals convey the idea of the buildings once stood there. The two figures of Indra are beautifully carved in chlorite slabs bearing in them the artistic and iconographic features of the Ganga period. Local people associate these figures with the establishment of the fort. However, K.C. Panigrahi regard Amaravati as one of the *Pancha Katakas* established by Chodaganga Deva. The others being Jajpur Kataka, Choudwar Kataka,

Varanasi Kataka and Sarangagarh Kataka. Chodaganga probably arranged its construction after the name of the famous Amaravati of the south. These *Katakas* were strategically located to safeguard the vast Ganga empire which he occupied from the Somavamsi dynasty of Orissa.

The fort was originally envisaged with four gateways on the four cardinal directions, the eastern one being the main entrance. A large-sized *Gajasimha* image which once adorned the main entrance is still lying there. The ruin structure close to the main entrance was regarded as the *Khajanakhana* or revenue collection center of the ancient rulers. It can safely be visualised that it was a military camp, strategically located to strengthen the military operations against formidable enemies. The vast stretch of land surrounding the fort were often used for camping the imperial army consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephant corps. The adjacent hillock is excavated with a cave with verandah on its western side.

Choudwar Kataka was still another great fort on the eve of the Muslim conquest Choudwar located on the other side of the river Mahanadi near Cuttack, was another seat of ancient Hindu rulers of Orissa. It is situated to the close proximity of the river Birupa which originates here from the great Mahanadi. The original fortification complex was once extended two miles on each side. A place called *Paravadi*, located at the center of the fortified area, is still regarded by some as the actual site of the royal residence. The four directions at a distance of four miles have four Siva temples dedicated in the name of Uttaresvara, Dakhinesvara, Purvesvara and Paschimesvara. The stones of these temples were fixed through the help of iron clamps. A

place near Agrahat is still regarded as the site where Janmejaya performed a *Yajna*. The villages of Jaj Bhairava, Agrahat, Kedareswar, Mundamala, Choudwar, Govinda Jew Patna, Kapaleswar, Chatisa, and Bandalo are studded with archaeological relics of the medieval period. A small hillock known as *Indrani Pahada* contains ruins of three caves, the largest one of which has the floor fashioned in the line of the caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri. A number of Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical statues have been collected from these areas. There are a number of rock cut tanks often provided with steps, silted up wells and loose stone pieces containing decorative designs, of this place. Traditionally this place is also associated with kichaka of the *Mahabharata* fame⁶⁶.

Chudanga Garh was also another great fort right from the time of the Gangas. It otherwise described as Sarangagarh by the Muslim and British historians, is located 5 miles south-west of Cuttack city near the present Baranga railway station. The Chandaka reserve forest, its hills and hillocks surround the fort in its northern, southern and western sides. Towards the south and south-eastern side of the fort, there once existed a large pool of water connecting the present Kiakani jhil and Kanjia jhil with the Baranga river. Like Barabati fort, this fort also played very significant part in the medieval history of Orissa by attracting the attention of outside invaders. It functioned as a second line of defence being strategically situated in a dense forest surrounded by lofty hills and natural water barriers⁶⁷.

Chodaganga Deva selected this site and built the fort for effective safeguard of his empire. It finds a place in the list of *Pancha Katakas*⁶⁸

established by him. The Muslim army under Firoz Shah Tughlaq invaded this fort during the time of Bhanu Deva III of the Ganga dynasty⁶⁹. Govinda Vidyadhara, the commander of the Gajapati army had taken shelter at this place during the invasion of Ismail Ghazi, the commander of the Sultan of Bengal, who proceeded to Puri unopposed. The fort has now lost its past glory. The establishment of the Baranga industrial complex, the state botanical garden and a number of private buildings reduced the importance of this great historical fort.

Jajpur Katak (Jajpur in the undivided Cuttack district) was also another great fort right from the time of the Gangas. It contained the military stronghold of the ancient and medieval rulers of Orissa. There were repeated Muslim incursions to this place during Ganga and Gajapati periods. Chodaganga Deva seems to have included it within his *Pancha Katakas* in view of his strategic importance⁷⁰. Besides, there were other forts like Kotisamigarh, Raibania and Devlagaon, Koka Kalagarh, Kedarakhand, Medinapur, Vijayanagara, Hajipur, Vanarasa, Kotarava, Humma, Chikiti, Palur, Khallikote, Athagarh, Rajahmundry, Kondapalli, Vinukonda, Devarkonda, Udayagiri etc⁷¹. under the control of the Gajapatis on the eve of the Muslim conquest.

Besides military administration and maintenance of forts, the Ganga and Gajapati rulers paid attention towards revenue system. 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 land⁷². The crown lands were divided into *Khanda* or *Bisi* under two hereditary officers

like *Khandadhipati* or *Bisoyee*, respectively. To facilitate revenue collection from the villages, the king appointed its headman like *Pradhan* or *Bhoi*. 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 carry on their cultivation.

The judicial system of that time was quite efficient in discharging its function. The criminal justice was harsh. Gopinath Badajena, a revenue officer was tried and put on the *Chang* (an instrument give torturing death by putting a man under two swords). Thus condime punishments were awarded to the criminals for committing crimes⁷³.

The provinces of Gajapati empire were largely known as *Dandapata* or *Rajya*. The Governors of such provinces were designated *Parikshas* or *Rajas*. Provinces were divided into *Simas* which were further sub-divided into *Sthalas* or *Muthas* that consisted of some villages and the lowest unit of the provincial administration was village (grama). The provincial and district officers maintained law and order. They were entrusted with the collection of revenue out of which they paid a percentage to the kings. 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 Addadi, the Suryavamsis of Nandapur, the chiefs of Panchadharala, Palkonda, Narasapur etc⁷⁴. Thus feudalism, as an ugly feature of medieval period, contributed a lot for the downfall of the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule in Orissa.

The Gajapati empire marked the culmination of medieval administrative set up. Shortness of time had never diminished the greatness of glory of the Gajapati period. They were not only great patrons of the men of letters, 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 preceeding or succeeding the Gajapati era till the British conquest of India as is evidenced from the vast treasure of literature of that period. The Oriya literature which virtually began with the *Sarala Mahabharata*⁷⁵ during the reign period of Kapilendra Deva progressed tremendously during the time of subsequent rulers of that dynasty. From that stand point, the literature of the Gajapati period deserves special treatment.

The Sanskrit literature⁷⁶, made its progress during the reign period of Kapilendra Deva. He was an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit. His play *Parsuramvijaya* describes how Parasurama killed Kartaviryarjuna. During his reign period, Nrusimha Vajapayee composed *Kasimimamsa* and wrote a commentary named *Samkshepa Saririka Vartika* on Sankaracharya's work *Samkshepa Saririka*.

Purushottama Deva's monumental work *Abhinava Gitagovinda* that contained 800 *Slokas* was a *Kavya* of no mean order. He also composed dramas entitled *Abhinava Veni Samharam*, *Anandavilasa*, *Janaki pramoda* and *Kuvalayasvaçharita*. He is also credited with the composition of other workers such as the *Mukti Chintamani*, *Dasagriva Vadha*, *Durgotsava*, *Dipika Chhanda* and *Vishnu bhakti Kalpadruma*. He also wrote two Sanskrit lexicons-

the *Haravali* and *Trikandsesam*. During his reign period Ananta Guru composed the *Sahitya Kalpavali* a work on poetries⁷⁷.

Prataprudra Deva, the last Gajapati king of Orissa was great poet and writer. His *Sarasvativilasam*, *Kautuka Chintamani*, *Nirnya Samgraha*, and *Praudha Pratap Martanda* were flamboyant literary creations of that period. Lolla Laxmidhar pandit was another important luminary of the court of Prataprudra, who composed several works such as *Vachaspativilasa*, *Yogadipika*, *Karnavatamsa*. Divakar, a grammarian and poet who wrote *Lakshnadarsa*, *Dhurtacharta*, *Parijataharana Nataka* and *Rasamanjari*, Jivadeva's *Bhakti Bhagavata* was a milestone in Sanskrit literature during that period⁷⁸. Ramananda Raya wrote *Jagannatha Vallabha Natakam*. Paramananda wrote a kavya entitled *Chaitanya Charitamrita* and a play entitled *Chaitanya Chandrodaya*.

The keen interest of the Gajapati kings, Patronisation of poets and the influence of Vaisnavism prepared the ground for the progress of vernacular language and literature. The contribution of Sarala Dasa was so illuminating that the literary works produced during that time were known as the literature of 'Sarala Yuga'. Sarala's *Mahabharata* is not only an epic but also a mirror of political, social, historical and cultural tradition of Orissa. Prof . K.C. Panigrahi has given a vivid description about it in his monumental work *Sarala Sahitya Aitihasika Chitra* written in Oriya. The war of Kapilendra Deva with Bahamani kingdom has been reflected in it in a very indirect way.

Not only Sarala Dasa depicts contemporary geographical 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. and several festivals like *Ganesh Puja*, *Kartika Vrata*, *Siva Ratri*, *Kumara Purnima*, *Akshaya Trutiya*. Besides, the epic also contains description of gods, goddesses and places of pilgrimage in Orissa. He also composed *Chandi Purana* and *Vilanka Ramayana*. *Chaininka Chakada Pustaka* was another Oriya work composed during Purusottama Deva's reign period by Fakira Chaini. Another famous poet of the Sarala age was Arjuna Dasa who was famous for his works *Kalpalata* and *Rama Vibaha*, Sisusankara Dasa's *Ushabhilasa*, Markanda Dasa's *Kesaba koili*. Damodara's *Rasakoili Chautisa* etc⁷⁹. were other creations of that time.

The age that immediately followed Sarala Dasa, is famous as the '*Pancha Sakha Yuga*'. The age has been so called after the name of five celebrities like Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Das, Anata Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa and Yasobanta Dasa who flourished during the reign period of Prataprudra Deva. Among the creations of Balaram Dasa, the *Dandi Ramayana*, *Bata Abakasa*, *Laxmi Purana*, *Baula Adhyaya*, *Amarakosa*, *Gita*, *Brahmanda Bhugola*, *Bedha Parikrama*, *Panasa Chori*, *Gupta Tika* etc ⁸⁰ were very important.

Jagannatha Dasa's immortal creations included Oriya *Bhagavata*, *Tulabhina*, *Brahma Gita*, *Gupta Bhagavata*, *Rasakrida Mruguni stuti*, *Gaja Stuti*, *Gundicha Vije*, *Dutibodha*, *Rukmani Malika*, *Pramoda Chintamani* etc⁸¹. Achyutananda composed *Harivamsa*, *Sunya Samhita*, *Gopala Ugala*, *Anakara Samhita*, *Bipra Chalaka*, *Chaurasi Yantra*, *Bhavana Bara*, *Tattvabodhini*,

Gurubhukti Gita, Amara-Jumara Samhita, Nitya Rahasa, Varuna Charita etc. were very important of that time. The writings of Yasobanta Dasa included *Siva Svarodaya, Premabhaktibrahma Gita, Tika Govindachandra, Chaurasi Ajna, Atma Parache Gita, Mantraboli, Yantraboli, Bagha Leela, Dhana Chori* etc.⁸².

The last among the *Pancha Sakhas* was Anata Dasa famous for his works like *Hetu Udaya Bhagavata, Garuda Kesaba Chautisa and Vaisnava purana*. Among other poets of the *Pancha Sakha* age Chaitanya Dasa's *Vishnugarbha purana* and *Chaitanya Vilasa*, Partha Srichandana's *Kalavati*, Banamali Dasa's *Chata Icchavati*, Purusottama Dasa's *Ganga Mahatmya* and *Kanchi-Kaveri* etc.⁸³ were some of the immortal creations of Oriya literature. The flow in Oriya literature that started from the age of Sarala Dasa was kept in tact with progressive trends during the *Pancha-Sakha* age and it opened the way for a rich literary creation in the forthcoming age.

Thus, Cuttack played a vital role in the history of Orissa before it was conquered by the Afghans during Mukunda Deva, the glory of Cuttack was enhanced when it formed the court of the Gangas and Suryavamsis and the Barabati fort became the symbol of royalty during their glorious rule. The administration of the empire was controlled from this capital city of Cuttack. Besides being the center of Political activities Cuttack also played a vital role in the process of amalgamation among different religious sects. It created a synthetic culture and was responsible for maintaining fraternity among the people. Situated around the middle of the Orissan empire, it had the privilege to flourish. The Ganga and Gajapati rule gave it a new tinge to bloom and later on it became able to assert its magnificence in due course of time.

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CHAPTER - II

MUSLIM CONQUEST OF ORISSA : CUTTACK DURING AFGHANS, MUGHALS AND NAIB NAZIMS

MUSLIM CONQUEST OF ORISSA : CUTTACK DURING AFGHANS, MUGHALS AND NAIB NAZIMS

It was in the saga of Orissan history one thousand years old illustrious city of Cuttack has occupied an important place for numerous events revolving around it through ages. It has witnessed the rise and fall of several emperors and empires, the invasion and occupation by some Indian and external powers. Of those powers, the Muslims, Mughals, the Marathas and finally the British figured prominently. During their rule, Cuttack being their capital became the bee-hive of political activities, nerve center of many sensational episodes and main stage of numerous scene which took place one after another. The Muslim invasion and occupation of Cuttack undoubtedly forms a sensational story in the chequered annals of Orissan history.

Muslim invasion of Cuttack during Ganga Rule (1211- 1435 A.D.) :

It was during the Ganga rule that the Afghan Muslims of Bengal for the first time invaded Orissa. Rajaraja III (1198 - 1211 A.D.) was then the Ganga king. But Cuttack was not in picture then.¹ It came to figure during the rule of Sultan Firoz Tughluq of Tughluq dynasty in Delhi. In November 1360 A.D. he invaded Jajnagar(Orissa) and entered into its capital Cuttack which was then under the rule of the Ganga king Bhanu Deva III². At first Firoz arrived at Sarangagarh, five miles south west of Cuttack. He occupied the fort. Then he marched towards Cuttack³. Having heard this news the king Bhanu Deva

III escaped with his family to an island in a river and took shelter there. This island was possibly Dhabalesvara and the river was Mahanadi⁴. Two officers of Bhanu Deva III stationed at Cuttack were known to have played treachery and helped Firoz's army in its occupation. They were Bali Patra, an Oriya and Khaqar - i - Muazam Ahamed Khan, a Muslim general. This Muslim general had expelled from Bengal by its Sultan Shamsuddin. Coming over to Cuttack he allied with Bhanu Deva III⁵. Having known about their treachery, one hundred thousand men of Bhanu Deva III in order to escape from seizure and occupation left Cuttack with their women, children and relations and took refuge in the same island. Firoz Shah then destroyed the temple of Jagannath, perforated and disgraced the stone idol installed therein. He was known to have carried off this perforated idol to Delhi⁶. This temple of Jagannath was possibly built by Anangabhim Deva III in the fort of Barabati at Cuttack⁷.

However it was after the destruction of the temple that Firoz Shah Tughlaq made vigorous preparation at Cuttack to pursue the Raja and his men who had taken refuge in the island. Considering the discretion as the better part of valour, the Raja Bhanu Deva III instead of challenging Firoz sent 5 *patras* (ministers) to meet him and inform him of his willingness to give twenty mighty elephants as an offering, besides a heavy amount to be paid yearly as revenue. The Sultan was satisfied with their promise. He sent robes and insignia to the Raja and allowed him to come back to Cuttack to rule over his kingdom and enjoyed paramountcy as before. Firoz Shah returned to Delhi with a large number of elephants that the Raja had

presented. Firoz himself also had captured a few elephant at padamtola, located some where near Baramba⁸. Thus, it is evident that Firoz Shah Tughluq's invasion of Orissa or Cuttack did not aim at its occupation. He was chiefly interested in elephant hunting. So he did not appoint a Governor for Orissa. Of course, Cuttack did not hear the footsteps of any other Muslim invader during the remaining period of the Ganga rule.

**Muslim invasion of Cuttack and the final conquest
after the Suryavamsi Gajpati Rule (1436-1568A.D.) :**

It was during the Suryavamsi rule that the Cuttack city had the misfortune of witnessing the wanton treachery and conspiracy which facilitated the Muslim invasion and final conquest of Orissa by them. This time the Muslims came from Bengal. When the Bahamanis were ruling over Bengal with Hussain Shah as the Sultan, the Muslims invaded Cuttack. Prataprudra Deva was then the Suryavamsi king. In this context *Madalapanji* mentions that in the 17th *Anka* of this king Pataprudra Deva, the Mughals (Muslims) invaded Orissa from Bengal and occupied Cuttack. The protector of Cuttack was Bhoi Vidyadhar. He fled away to Sarangagarh. King Prataprudra was not in the capital. He was on his southern expedition. When he heard about the news, in anger he covered one month's path in ten days⁹ and reached Orissa. On arriving at Cuttack, Prataprudra Deva drove the Muslims out of Cuttack. Meanwhile, Hussain Shah of Bengal died in 1519 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Qutab Shah. He also led an invasion to Cuttack for taking revenge of his father's defeat. But fortune did not smile on him. Prataprudra Deva inflicted on him a crushing defeat. A treaty of friendship was then signed between the

two. It was after this defeat, that the Muslims of Bengals did not dare to invade Orissa not only during the reign of Prataprudra Deva, but also till the time of Mukunda Deva¹⁰.

The period following the death of Prataprudra Deva in 1540 A.D. was one of court-intrigue and family feud in the history of Cuttack. A new dynasty known as the Bhoi dynasty named after one Bhoi Govinda Vidyadhar ushered in with Cuttack as its capital. The reign of this Govind Vidyadhar was not that eventful. He died in 1549 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Chakra Pratap with Mukunda Deva as his general and his rule lasted for eight years. He was murdered by one Narasimha Jena. But he was paid back by his own coins. A plot was woven against him after a short time with Mukunda Deva as its author. It culminated in the murder of Narasimha Jena. Mukunda Deva then wore the crown in 1559 A.D.¹¹

With the accession of Mukunda Deva, Cuttack entered into a period of disaster and defeat. To him, the throne could not become a bed of roses. Akbar was then the Mughal emperor. But Bengal was beyond his sway. With Sulaiman karrani as its ruler, Bengal grew strong. So Akbar wished to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Mukunda Deva, so that simultaneously the Afghan ruler of Bengal could be attacked from both the sides. For this purpose, Akbar in 1565 A.D. sent two persons from his court as envoys to that of Mukunda Deva to enlist his support in the event of a battle with the Sultan of Bengal. Those envoys were Hasan khan Khanganchi and Bhatta Mahapatra, a noted Oriya musician in Akbar's court ¹². Both the envoys were given flowery welcome by Mukunda Deva. He housed them in

his court at Cuttack for four months. Then as a mark of his alliance, he sent them back to Delhi with costly gifts and some elephants. He also sent an ambassador named Paramananda to the imperial court of Akbar.¹³ However, this alliance did not bring any boon for Mukunda Deva. Rather, it set the stage for his precipitous fall. That was because Sulaiman Karrani, for Mukunda Deva's alliance with the Mughals, boiled in the fury against him and waited for an opportunity to take revenge. The opportunity came when Akbar was found busy in besieging the fort of Chittor. Sulaiman Karrani choose this time as most propitious to invade Orissa. He invaded Orissa in 1568 A.D. Before the commencement of the invasion, he divided his army into two groups, one to be led by himself and another by his son Bayazid to be assisted by his general Kalapahara.

At this critical hour, Mukunda Deva received no help from Akbar. Finding himself helpless he sent two of his officers namely, Chhotrai and Raghu Bhanja to chastise the invaders¹⁴. But the master-traitor Mukunda Deva fell a victim to the treachery of these two officers. They turned to be traitors and fought against Mukunda Deva. Thus being left alone, Mukunda Deva failed to withstand the attack of the Afghan army. So he fled away and took shelter in the fort of Kotasima located in the western bank of river Damodar in the Hoogly district of West Bengal. There remain non in Cuttack except Konhi Samanta Singhar, a general of Mukunda Deva. Taking this advantage Kalapahara with the Bengal army reached Cuttack and launched an attack on the fort of Barabati. Konhi Smanta Singhar after a heroic resistance had to surrender. The fort of Barabati thus came under the occupation of the Afghans of Bengal. To the great misfortune of Mukunda Deva, at this critical

time, the commander of Sarangagarh. Ramachandra Bhanja declared himself as the king of Orissa. This news upset Mukunda Deva, so much so that he had no other alternative than to sign a peace treaty with Sulaiman Karrani, and return to Cuttack.¹⁵

The misfortune of Mukunda Deva did not end there. The worst was yet to come. In course of time, Mukunda Deva was defeated and killed. Regarding his defeat and death there are two views, one furnished in *Madalapanji*, another in *Akbarnamah*. According to *Madalapanji*, Mukunda Deva was killed by Ramachandra Bhanja in a battle that took place after the peace treaty was signed with Sulaiman Karrani. On the same day, Ramachandra Bhanja was also killed by the Afghan army. After this pathetic episode, Raghu Bhanja declared himself the king of Orissa. He too was killed by Sulaiman Karrani.¹⁶ On the other hand *Akbarnamah* makes a mention that Mukunda Deva was killed in a battle with Durga Bhanja¹⁷. Possibly this Durga Bhanja was none else than Raghu Bhanja¹⁸. Be that as it may, it is most unfortunate that Mukunda Deva was killed by his own men. Orissa including Cuttack thus passed into the hands of the Afghan Muslims of Bengal in 1568 A.D. One Qutlu Lohani was appointed as the Afghan Governor of Orissa. He stayed at Cuttack.

Cuttack during the Mughal-Afghan Contest (1568-1605 A.D.) :

It was after 1568 A.D. that great changes took place in the political scenario of Bengal. In October 1572 A.D. Sulaiman Karrani died. His son Bayazid succeeded him and soon he was murdered by Daud Karrani, his own brother and younger son of Sulaiman Karrani. He then ascended the

Bengal throne. Taking the advantage of this political instability, Akbar launched an attack on Bengal. Consequently Daud Karrani fled to Orissa¹⁹. Akbar was not prepared to leave Daud unpunished. So he sent Todarmal with some *Amirs* to Orissa for chastising him. A fierce battle between Todar Mal and Daud took place at Tukaroi, two miles from the left bank of the river Subarnarekha. Daud was defeated. He then fled from Tukaroi to Cuttack²⁰. He was followed by Todar Mal and Munim Khan, a general of Akbar. They confined Daud and other Afghans, their wives and children inside the fort of Barabati. So Daud had no other alternative than to sue for peace with Munim Khan. From the fort, he intimated his desire to sign a treaty and accept any term to be declared by Munim Khan himself for this purpose. On 12 April, 1575 A.D. Munim Khan arranged a grand *Durbar* at Cuttack. Many nobles and attendants were present. Then Daud came out of the fort, surrendered to Munim Khan and signed a humiliating treaty²¹.

Ambitious by nature, Daud planned to overthrow such a humiliating treaty at the earliest opportunity. He rose in rebellion against Akbar. To start with, he killed at Bhadrak Akbar's Governor, Nazar Bahadur²². So a battle was ensued between Daud and Akbar at Rajmahal. Daud was lamentably defeated and killed. Orissa was then nominally annexed with Akbar's empire. She became a Mughal Province along with Bengal.²³ As such Cuttack came under the administrative orbit of the Mughals. It was after the death of Daud Karrani that Todar Mal returned to Delhi with a large number of elephants for the emperor. But no sooner had he left for Delhi, then the Afghan became rebellious in Bengal. One Afghan, Massom Khan was appointed the

administrator of Orissa. In this circumstance, Raja Todar Mal was sent again to suppress the Afghan rebellion. He succeeded in his mission.²⁴ But Cuttack remained still under the Afghan administrator.

Akbar then sent Raja Man Singh to Cuttack in 1592 A.D. to root out completely the Afghan rule in Orissa and settle the disturbed situation. He chased the Afghans left and right. Then, Cuttack, the capital of the Afghans fell into the hands of the Mughals. Yet the Afghans were not completely rooted out from Orissa. Meanwhile Man Singh proceeded from Cuttack to Puri on a pilgrimage, keeping one Yusuf Khan Chau in charge of Cuttack. With him, there was a small army at Cuttack. The Afghans took the chance to create troubles. With great difficulty he suppressed them²⁵.

When all these Kaleidoscopic changes were taking place at Cuttack, one Ramai Routray, the son of Janardan Vidyadhar, the Prime Minister of Bhoi Govinda Vidyadhar occupied Orissa in 1568 A.D. Establishing his capital at Khurda, he ruled independently in the name of Ramachandra Deva. Claiming himself as the successor of the previous Gajapati rulers of Orissa, he took up the tittle 'Gajapati' and introduced his own *Anka*. He also established a fort at the foot of the Barunai hill. He made several attempts to recover the fort of Barabati at Cuttack from the hands of the Afghans. But he did not succeed²⁶. Even then Ramachandra Deva remained unsubdued. So Man Singh sent his own son Jagat Singh to chastise Raja Ramachandra Deva. The Raja could not stand before the Mughal army. Many of his forts fell into the hands of Jagat Singh²⁷. Man Singh then left for Delhi. Orissa thus

remained as a part of the Bengal *Subah*. There was not separate Mughal *Subahdar* for Orissa.

Cuttack during Jahangir's rule (1605-1628A.D.) :

Akbar died in 1605 A.D. and he was succeeded by his son Jahangir on 24 October, 1605 A.D. During his rule the importance of Cuttack increased enormously. For the first time, Orissa became a separate province (*Subah*) with Cuttack as the capital. The historic fort of Barabati became the residence of the Mughal *Subahdar*. Hashim Khan was appointed the first Mughal *Subahdar* of Orissa. He assumed the charge at Cuttack on 26 September 1607 A.D.²⁸ With him, there were other officers and *Mansabdars*. They were Raja Kalyan, son of Todar Mal, Mirza Tahir, Mirza Nur, Mirza Qasim, Mirza Abdullah, Mirza Yusuf and others.²⁹

It was by this time that the Gajapati Ramachandra Deva of Khurda died. He was succeeded by his son Purushottama Deva in 1607 A.D. His reign witnessed some remarkable events somewhat connected with Cuttack. When Hashim Khan was the Mughal *Subahdar* of Orissa, one Rajput namely Raja Keshodas Maru was a *Jagirdar* in Cuttack. Being extraordinary ambitious, this Keshodas Maru decided to undertake an invasion of Khurda. Thus a contest between him and Purushottama Deva became inevitable. In this contest, the defeat and victory were evenly shared by the both. At one stage the position of Keshodas became critical. He was put into a sea of dangers and difficulties. This news reached Islam Khan, the Governor of Bengal. So he sent immediately orders to Hashim Khan and other Mughal officers at

Cuttack urging them to proceed hurriedly for giving aid to Keshodas. Simultaneously, he sent one Khwaja Tahir Muhammad Bakshi to Cuttack to ensure Hashim Khan and other imperial officers for their negligence in assisting Keshodas. They were reprimanded as directed. However with the approach of the Mughal army at Khurda, Purushottama Deva being disheartened sued for peace. This peace treaty being dictated by Keshodas contained humiliating terms such as Raja's daughter to be sent to imperial *harem* at Delhi, Raja's sister to be given in marriage to Keshodas Maru, three lakhs of rupees to be paid to Keshodas and his men as presents³⁰.

It was after hearing everything from Keshodas Maru that the emperor Jahangir transferred Hashim Khan from Cuttack. He was sent to Kashmir as the Governor and in his place, Raja Kalyan Singh, the son of Todar Mal was appointed as the Governor of Orissa in 1611 A.D. with Cuttack as his headquarters. He remained there in this charge till 1617 A.D.³¹. Then Raja Kalyan Singh, in order to please his emperor followed the foot prints of Keshodas Maru in raiding and devastating the kingdom of Khurda. With a large army proceeded from Cuttack in 1611 A.D. and launched several attacks on the territory of the Gajapati Raja, Purushottama Deva. This time Purushottama Deva without any fight offered his submission. He also promised to give his daughter as a present for the service of the emperor, three thousand rupees as *Peshkash* to the imperial exchequer and the best of his elephant named Sesha Naga for the use of the emperor. So, Raja Kalyan Singh returned to Cuttack with the bride along with elephant Sesha Naga and all the *Peshkash* in cash and kind to hand over to Jahangir at Delhi³².

In the meantime Gajapati Raja Purushottama Deva died in 1621 AD. He was succeeded by his son Narasimha Deva who remained in power till 1647 A.D. A young man as he was, Narasimha Deva was in need of an efficient Prime Minister. And he was fortunate to find one in Dharmadeva Rajguru Mohapatra, energetic and courageous, as his Prime Minister. He incited the people to invade Cuttack, so as to drive out the Mughals from their capital. Having heard of this preparation, the Mughal Governor Mirza Ahmed Beg Khan wrote threatening letter to Raja Narasimha Deva, stating that he should send his families to Cuttack as hostage as a mark of allegiance and good behaviour³³. But the Raja paid no heed to such a letter. Consequently Mirza Ahmed Beg invaded Khurda in 1623 A.D. It also finds mention in *Madalapanji*³⁴.

When Mirza Ahmed Beg was busy in his invasion of Khurda, Khurram, the rebellious prince of Jahangir and future Shah Jahan proceeded to Orissa and arrived at the Mughal capital Cuttack in October 1623 A.D. for taking its possession. Hearing the news of Khuram's arrival at Cuttack. Mirza Ahmed Beg out of fear hastily withdrew himself to Pipli. From there he moved to Cuttack. Although Ahmed Beg had with him nearly five to six thousand cavalry, he did not venture to face Prince Khurram, rather he fled away from Cuttack. Thus Cuttack came under the possession of Khurram without any resistance whatsoever. From Cuttack, Khurram proceeded to Khurda where the Raja Narasimha Deva tendered his submission³⁵. Thus adding a feather to his glorious cap, Khurram made a victorious march to Cuttack in early part of December, 1623 A.D. He decided to stay here for some time to make administrative arrangement of the area which had come under his

possession³⁶. He appointed Muhammad Taqi Khan, one of his devoted servants as the Governor of Orissa with Cuttack as his headquarters and honoured him with the title Shah Quli Khan³⁷. After three days stay in Cuttack, Prince Khurram left for Bengal. Raja Narasimha Deva of Khurda was known to have escorted him upto Jajpur. Meanwhile Shah Quli Khan died. Once more Mirza Ahmed Beg became the Mughal Governor and worked as such till 1627 A.D. After him, came Baquir Khan Nazim Sani as the Governor and he happened to be the last Mughal *Subahdar* during the reign of Jahangir³⁸.

Cuttack during the rule of Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.) :

It was in 1628 A.D. that Jahangir died and Prince Khurram ascended the Mughal throne in the name of Shah Jahan. Baquir Khan continued as the Mughal Governor. Cruel and oppressive to the tips of his finger as Baquir Khan was, several complaints against him reached Shah Jahan. So he was removed and in his place Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki was appointed the Governor in 1632 A.D.³⁹. The tenure of Mutaqad Khan (1632-1641 A.D.) as the Mughal *Subahdar* was significant in the history of Cuttack.

In 1633 A.D., the Mughal *Subahdar* of Orissa granted permission to the English merchants to carry on their trade in the province. This was the first advent of Englishmen in Orissa. In March 1633, William Bruton (an English merchant of the East India Company), along with captain Ralph Cartwright and eight others arrived at the mouth of the Mahanadi river in an Indian ship. They cast anchor at the Mughal customs house at Harispur. From there they came to Cuttack and paid a visit to the Mughal *Subahdar* inside the fort of Barabati. On the 5th May 1633 A.D., the *Subahdar* granted a *Farman* (official

order) permitting the English to trade, free of duty, establish factories and build or repair ships in Orissa⁴⁰. Cartwright, almost immediately established a factory at Hariharpur in Cuttack district, where there was a large colony of weavers. He also established another factory at Balasore next month. Balasore gradually developed into a great trade center and a harbour for the sea going ships of all the European nations on account of its favourable position as a half way halting station between Madras and Bengal. William Bruton recorded a vivid account of his visit to Cuttack and Puri in 1633 A.D.. His account was first published by J. Okes in 1638⁴¹.

There has been a controversy and a good deal of confusion as to the identity of the stately palace of Malcandy at Cuttack described by William Bruton. There is also some doubt about the name of the Governor who granted *Farman* to the English to trade in Orissa. In this connection, R.D. Banerji writes, 'Bruton mentions one Agha Muhammad Zaman Tehrani as the Governor in may 1633 A.D. who issued a *Farman* authorising the English to trade in Orissa. Mutaqad Khan was sent back in 1634 A.D.'⁴²

C.R. Wilson had identified Malcandy with Mukunda Deo relying perhaps on the account of the fort remarked by Abul Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari*⁴³. But G.S. Das resorted to a new method and on palaeographic grounds suggested that Malcandy stands for Mahanadi. In his article *History of the Lal Bagh Palace*⁴⁴. Prof. Das tried to identify "Lal Bagh palace" with old Raj Bhavan at present Sishu Bhavan at Cuttack and the present stately palace of Malcandy described by William Bruton with the Barabati palace. After a critical and analytical examination of the contemporary sources, he rejected the opinion held by a number of scholars that Lal Bagh palace was the Mahanadi palace. He tried

to prove that Malcandy palace cannot be identified with Lal Bagh palace. He equated it with Barabati palace or fort which was named by Bruton as Mahanadi palace on account of its being situated on the bank of river Mahanadi. According to him, the construction of Lal Bagh palace was undertaken in 1633 A.D. by Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki, who was the Mughal Governor of Orissa during 1632 - 1641 A.D.⁴⁵.

Jahangir had appointed Hashim Khan as the first *Subahdar* of Orissa in 1607 A.D. after that Mughal rule in Orissa began. Thus, by the time of Bruton's visit in 1633 A.D. hardly twenty five years had elapsed during which period the Mughal *Subahdars* were busy in consolidating their position and had little time left to build a new palace as the seat of the court. It was natural for them to hold the court in the Barabati palace and to utilise it as a garrison. But with the passage of years the need for a new palace was felt, and Bruton by his reference to the "abomination of the Nawab" has brought out the urgency of the need. So he has mentioned the name of the reigning Nawab of Orissa excepting a reference to the predecessors of Nawab such as one Backarcauna (Baquir Khan) who founded two stately tombs. Wilson however, notes that the ruling *Subahdar* was one Agha Muhammad Zaman Tehrani⁴⁶, R.D. Banerji accepted Wilson's view and suggested that Mutaqad alias Mirza Maki took over the charge of the province from Baquir Khan in 1632 A.D., yet he was probably recalled for a year during which (*i.e.* in 1633A.D.). Agha Muhammad Tehrani was the *Subahdar* of Orissa. From other sources, R.D. Banerji remarks that Mutaqad Khan was sent back in 1634 A.D.⁴⁷ From *Padshanamah* as well as from J.N. Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*, it is clear that Baquir

Khan was succeeded in 1632 A.D. by Mutaqad Khan who continued as the Mughal *Subahdar* of Orissa till 1641 A.D. Wilson recorded another name of Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki and he was *Subahdar* who granted the *Farman* to the English traders in May 1633 A.D.⁴⁸. Mirza Maki who had a long tenure of office (1632-1641A.D.) at Cuttack had enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan and he built a palace which he proposed should be a fabric of rest and future remembrance of his glory. Thus, it was Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki, the Mughul Governor of Orissa, who undertook the construction of this palace at Cuttack in 1633 A.D. This new palace became famous later on as the Lal Bagh palace and acquired official status, recognition and honour with the succession of years and regimes⁴⁹.

Mutaqad Khan governed Orissa till 1641 A.D. and the order to remove him was issued from the imperial court on a March 1640 A.D., but he did not reach the court before 29 July 1641 A.D. It is recorded that he died in extreme old age on 17 October 1651 A.D.⁵⁰. His successor was Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, who ruled for a short time. He was removed by an order dated the 8 March 1642 A.D., but remained in charge of the province till the end of that year. It appears that from 1642 A.D. till flight of Shuja from Bengal, Orissa remained an appange of prince Suja's joint viceroyalty with of Bengal and Bihar. Muhammad Shah Shuja Bahadur was the second son of Shah Jahan. He obtained his first viceroyalty of Bengal in 1642 A.D. and towards the close of that year, he got the additional charge of the *Subah* of Orissa. After five years successful administration he was recalled to the court. In 1648 A.D. he was again appointed as viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa which he ruled

uninterruptedly for seventy years⁵¹. Prince Shuja had written two letters to Shah Jahan during this period which throw interesting light on Orissa. The first letter says :

“The *Farman* of my appointment to the *Subah* of Orissa has reached very punctually. Thanks to your majesty, the Qibla of the two worlds, for having exalted, this servant by an increase of 1,000 *sawar*. Probably the news of transfer has reached Shah Nawaz Khan. It is desirable that after transfer he should not stay there any longer because his high handedness may cause disorder in the province and injury to the peasantry. As this humble servant does not like that his Majesty's territory should suffer in any way, I may be permitted to take over the charge of that province before the beginning of the Rabi harvest. I hope that governmental order should be issued to Shah Nawaz khan to the effect that he shall hand over the *Subah* (Orissa) to my officials before the winter harvest, so that I may promptly assume the custody and possession of it. As I have been instructed to recall Muhammad Zaman Tehrani from Dacca and Put him in charge of this *Subah* (Orissa). I have put in his place Mir Abul Qasim as the command of Jahangirnagar and despatched a fresh contingent of 500 horses to strengthen his hands in that quarter⁵²-----”.

The facts, which mentioned above said that Shah Nawaz Khan was oppressor of the peasantry and due to his misrule there was disorder in Orissa. That Shah Nawaz Khan was an oppressor, is also known from the second letter of prince Shuja written to Shah Jahan :

“.... As Promotion of cultivation and the happiness of all people are known to be the particular object of your Majesty's attention, I have during this time made such efforts to improve the cultivation and the reclamation of the country that both the *Subahs* are showing everyday signs of such labour. The condition of the *Subahs* of Orissa was bad owing to the oppression of the previous Governor. As I have tried My utmost to improve the administration of these *Subahs*”⁵³.

Thus Shah Nawaz Khan was responsible for the misgovernment in Orissa. Therefore, he was dismissed and removed from Cuttack by Shah Jahan. In rank and position, he was degraded and as a punishment, he was appointed in a low position. In order to save Orissa from the misrule of Shah Nawaz Khan, Shah Jahan had given special instruction to prince Shuja to recall Muhammad Zaman Tehrani from Dacca to take the charge of Orissa.

Cuttack saw then the quick appointment and dismissal of many Governors. Shah Nawaz Khan was succeeded by Muhammad Zaman Tehrani who governed Orissa from 1642 A.D to 1645 A.D. His order of appointment is dated 8 March 1642 A.D., and that of removal, 21 November 1645 A.D., Mutaqad Khan was again appointed on 21 November 1645 A.D. to be recalled

to court in the twenty second year (July 1648 to June 1649 A.D.) of the reign of Shah Jahan⁵⁴. Thus after Muhammad Zaman, Mutaqad Khan became the *Subahdar* of Cuttack for the second time. A letter of Khan-i-Dauran written to Delhi court in 1661 A.D. reveals that Mutaqad Khan had killed Narasimha Deva, the then ruling king of Khurda. According to this account :

"When the late Mutaqad Khan was *Subahdar* he slew Narasimha Deva and made his nephew Gangadhar Rajah. Balabhadra Deva, the elder brother of the slain, became Rajah after killing Gangadhar with the help of the officers of the state. When he died Mukunda Deva succeeded at the age of four year's only. Before the departure of Mutaqad Khan from Cuttack, Gangadhar ruled for few months, So in 1647 A.D. Narasimha Deva had been slain⁵⁵. This account has been supported by the *Madalapanji*, According to *Madalapanji*, 'on the night of *Mithuna* 7 of 32 Anka of this Maharaja (Narasingha Deva). 'Fateh Khan, the Amra (Ameer or officer) of Matmati Khan (Mutaqad Khan) came to the Dakhin Parush palace along with Anirudha Ray, the grand-father of the king and cut the head of the Rajah Thakur, took all the materials of the palace, looted the Bhandar (store) of parmeswar"⁵⁶.

Poet Dinakrushna Das in his book *Rasabinoda* has also mentioned about the murder of Narasimha Deva by Fateh Khan Pathan. For this murder King's old grand-father was more responsible than Fateh Khan. *Subahdar* Mutaqad

Khan was very peaceful in nature. In his first term of *Subahdarship* he had not done any kind of harm to anybody of Orissa. After killing the king with the help of the domestic enemies, Fateh Khan looted the wealth and property of the royal palace and the store of Lord Jagannath⁵⁷.

After the murder of Narasimha Deva in 1647 A.D., severe struggle had begun to capture the throne of Khurda. From *Madalapanji*⁵⁸, it is known that Gangadhar Deva, the son of Narasimha Deva's brother Gokula Ray, had ruled in Khurda kingdom for some months. But in the *Madalapanji* there is no mention about the relationship of Gangadhar and Balabhadra. But in *Madalapanji* it is mentioned, that Balabhadra Deva, the elder brother of the Slain Narasimha Deva after becoming the king⁵⁹. He with the help of the officers of the state, killed Gangadhar Deva and captured the throne himself. Due to these incidents from 1647A.D. to 1649 A.D. there was no peace and stability in the Khurda Kingdom⁶⁰. Uptill the year 1642 A.D. Orissa was regarded as a separate province of the Mughal empire. But this year Shah Shuja the second son of Shah Jahan, was appointed as viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Governors of Orissa were hereafter appointed from Bengal instead of from Delhi.

After Mutaqad Khan was recalled in July 1648A.D., Jan Beg Haravi was appointed in his place as the Governor of Orissa by Shah Shuja. He was succeeded by Muhammad Hayat on 19th November 1651A.D. at Cuttack. Then followed Mir Samsam-ud-Daulah Anju ⁶¹ the next agent of Prince Shuja.. Then Rashid Khan was probably appointed on 14 April 1658 A.D. The next deputy of Prince Shuja in Cuttack was Tarbiyat Khan. In Shah Jahan's

twentyninth year, Tarbiyat Khan was appointed deputy *Subahdar* of Cuttack as agent of Prince Shuja⁶². He was followed by Khwaja Bakhhardad Ashraf Khan⁶³.

From among these Governors one had invaded neither the Khurda kingdom nor the Jagannath temple of Puri. Perhaps the short tenure as office of each of them may be the reason which confined them only in Cuttack. Shah Jahan fell ill in September 1657 A.D. and the famous war of succession among his four sons followed. Aurangzeb captured the throne and assumed the title of emperor. His coronation took place on 31 July 1658A.D. Shah Jahan's reign thus came to an end.

Cuttack during the rule of Aurangzeb (1658-1707A.D.) :

It was on 31 July 1658A.D., Aurangzeb ascended the Mughal throne. Itishan Khan was the first Mughal Governor during the rule of Aurangzeb. But he could not stay at Cuttack. For little less than a year, Khan-i-Dauran succeeded him in 1660 A.D.⁶⁴. So, the detailed account of Khan-i-Dauran's *Subahdarship* at Cuttack has been described in the *Muraqat-i-Hasan* or letters of Maulana Abul Hassan, who served the *Subahdars* of Orissa as secretary for about twelve years (1656 A.D.-1667A.D.)⁶⁵.

The first part of Khan-i-Dauran's ⁶⁶ viceroyalty was devoted to a task that was practically equivalent to the reconquest of Orissa, for the Mughal government, as imperial authority, had disappeared from the province during the war of succession. The state of anarchy is very graphically described in the letters of this *Subahdar* as mentioned in the *Muraqat-i-Hasan*. All the Zamindars on the further side of the Kathajori, in the jurisdiction of Sayid

Sher Khan, have refused tribute and declared war against him. Krishna Bhanja of Hariharpur⁶⁷, was the leading Zamindar of this province. The fort of Machhara or Bachhara was wrested from Shujas men by Lakshmi Narayan Bhanja, the king of Keonjhar, during the time of disorder. For the last three years, the Zamindars on the further side of Cuttack have been collecting vast forces and getting ready for war⁶⁸. So, Khan-i-Dauran proceeded from Cuttack to crush the rebellious zamindars. Though Khan-i-Dauran crushed Raja Mukunda Deva of Khurda, the opposition from the Hindu chiefs was headed by the and the two branches, of the Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. The Bhanjas were to be attacked and defeated separately⁶⁹.

At the news of his approach, both Bahadur khan and Krishna Bhanja, wrote to him professing submission and promising to wait on him at Jaleswar. The Mughal *Faujdar* of Remuna, on the Mayurbhanj frontier, wrote to the new Governor that the agents of those two Zamindars had met him with the purpose of arranging interviews for their masters. He was ordered in reply to reassure them with kindness and send them back to their masters so that they might come without fear of suspicion and see the *Subahdar* at Jaleswar. Bahadur Khan evidently changed his mind and did not turn up. But Krishna Bhanja came and met with a terrible fate. His offences are thus summed up:

"He kept one thousand horses and ten or twelve thousand foot soldiers and was obeyed and helped by all the Zamindars of the country. During the anarchy he had plundered the tract from Bhadrak to Medinipur. Carried off the ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the imperial dominions".

The fate of Krishna Bhanja is best described in the *Subahdars* own words:

"When I reached Jaleswar which is near his Zamindari, Krishna Bhanja saw me after wasting a month on the pretext of chosing a lucky day and offered false excuses. During the inquiry and discussion for setting the amount of the revenue to be paid by him, he inspired by pride in the largeness of his force, drew his dagger and rushed towards me. His companions, too, unsheathed their swords and made repeated charges. The grace of the emperor saved my life. We slew Krishna Bhanja and many of his men. The rest fled. Some chiefs such as udanda, the Zamindar of Ghatsila and Harichandan, the Zamindar of Nilgiri threw their weapon and delivered themselves up as prisoners"⁷⁰.

Further :

"The relations of the slain Rajah (of Mayurbhanj) raised disturbances, molesting the ryots. So, I started for Hariharpur to punish them and halted at Remuna on the frontier of his dominion. His brother, Jay Bhanja, submitted, begged pardon and brought to me his mother and son and three elephants and some money as a present, and begged the '*tika*' of the Rajaship and Zamindari for the son. I agreed, and then started to Punish the rebels near Cuttack."⁷¹

The next chief attack was upon the Gajpati of Khurda. It appears from the account of Muraqat that by virtue of his being the nominal head of the Hindu chiefs of Orissa, the Khurda chief suffered more from the Mughals than any other power. He was still the fountain head of honour in the country. All other Zamindars regarded him, as nearly divine disobedience to whom was a sin. Nearly half a century after the departure of Raj Man Singh from the country the Rajas of Khurda, instead of being regarded as independent chiefs in alliance with the Mughal emperor, had descended very low in the scale and became feudatories or Zamindars. Raja Mukunda Deva, the son and successor of Balavadra Deva, succeeded him to the throne⁷². The Muraqat describes him as an adult who took leading part in the war with the Khan-i-Dauran. He was accused of remaining absent from the Mughal army sent to punish the refractory Zamindars and having caused lawlessness personally. According to the description :

"When the khan reached Cuttack, Raja Mukunda Deva of Khurda, the leading Zamindar waited him with due humility accompanied by other Zamindars and khandaits of central Orissa. Then owing to the badness of the climate Khan-i-Dauran fell ill. He was confined to bed for two months unable to move about. The rustics (uncultivated local Zamindars) seized the opportunity and caused disorder. Raja Mukunda Deva absented himself from the force sent by me to punish the rebels and himself caused lawlessness. The Mughal troops subdued many of the rebel and took several

forts. After recovering a little Khan-i-Dauran, on 7 February 1661 A.D. set out from Cuttack against the other forts. On 16 February, he arrived near the forts Kalu Parah, Mutri, Karakani, Khuridiha and three others, seven forts close to each other on the side of a high hill. When the troops appeared near the forts, the enemy in a numberless host consisting of *paik* (infantry) and cavalry both the Zamindars of Banki and Ranpur and other bhumiahs and khandaits offered battle. The enemy fought with matchlocks, arrows, khandaha, dhukans, sintis but being unable to resist fled away with their families".

Further :

"On 20 February 1661 A.D. Khan left the conquest of Khurda, the ancestral home of Mukunda Deva situated in the midst of a dense jungles and lofty hills. The Raja had fled from it and seized a vast amount of booty and many prisoners at his capital. During the last 50 years no other *Subahdar* had reached these places. They were all conquered by my army, and the rustics became the food of the pitiless sword"⁷³.

Khan-i-Dauran gave the throne to Bhunarbal, the younger brother of Mukunda Deva. Thus, the path of collecting the revenue had been opened in all places and *Mahals*. During the administration of Md. Haiat, the agent of Shuja, a pretended Gangadhar appeared and created disturbances. He was

slain by a confederacy of the Zamindars near Cuttack⁷⁴. Khan-i-Dauran arrived and successfully capture the king of Khurda. But there is no mention of it in the *Madalapanji*⁷⁵. According to K. N. Mohapatra, *Madalapanji* maintained silence in order to hide the defeat of the Gajapati⁷⁶. The accounts of the *Madalapanji* corroborated by the *Muraqat-i-Hasan* states that when Mukunda Deva fled away, after his defeat Khan-i-Dauran gave the throne of Khurda to his younger brother Bhramarbara. But subsequently Mukunda Deva was able to capture the throne and imprisoned his brother. According to *Madalapanji* his brother Bhramarbara reigned only for some year and seven months. After that Mukunda Deva recaptured the throne.

Then Khan-i-Dauran next turned his attention to the second Bhanja prince, Laxshmi Narayana Bhanja of Keonjhar, who had wrested the fort of Bachhara from the followers of Shuja. The *Subahdar* proceeded from Cuttack, and on 8 march 1661 A.D. ravaged Keonjhar after recovering the fort. At a subsequent date Bahadur Khan of Hijli was defeated and captured with his family. The submission of most other Zamindars followed. The Zamindar khand Narendra of Ranpur and the Zamindars of Malhipara and Dumparah, who had never before waited on any *Subahdar*, submitted to Khan-i-Dauran and agreed to pay tribute. The Zamindars on the further side of the river Kathajori, who had withheld tribute and fought the *Faujdar* Sayid Sher Khan were also defeated. At the same time the Mughal *Faujdar* of Malud was successful in suppressing the rebellion of Pitam, the Zamindar of Andhari and Kumar Guru, the Zamindar of Malud⁷⁷.

The Zamindar of Kanika had taken shelter in an island in sea. He was besieged by *Faujdar* Muhammad Jan, with the help of Gopali, the Zamindar

of Kujang. Finally, the Rawat Rai of Kujila Madhupur and Harichandan of Kulrah were also subdued. Chhot Rai, the Zamindar of Khalikot had dispersed the ryots the *Parganah* of Medinipur and built a fort in the forest with evil intentions But his sons were thrown into prison and he submitted⁷⁸. Raja Nilakantha Deva was loyal servant of the empire. He fought under the Mughal banners with his contingent . *Parganah* Qutbshahi or Chicacole in Ganjam district was his *jagir*, which he administered through his agent Gajadhar. His brothers had been placed in confinement by Ihtishan Khan for default. But Khan- i-Dauran secured their release for the royal servie of Nilakantha Deva⁷⁹.

As a result of suh operations, the imperial authority was restored in Cuttack and people began to enjoy peace and order. The imperial revenue which had entirely dried up during the inter-regnum, began to be realised again. Khan-i-Dauran could legitimately boast of his military successes, which in his own words were "unrivalled by any preceeding *Subahdar*". As, he wrote in his despatches to Aurangzeb :

"I have punished all the usurpers, oppressors and lawlessnessmen 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. And again, a year latter, about April 1662 A.D. he wrote the province is being well administered"⁸⁰.

Khan-i-Dauran, the Mughal Governor died at Cuttack on September 1667 A.D. Then Alivardi was appointed in his place as the *Subahdar*⁸¹. Remaining

for a short time, he was off from the scene⁸². In his place come Tarbiyat Khan continued till 1669 AD⁸³. He was succeeded by Safi Khan⁸⁴. Then came Rashid Khan as the Governor for the second time⁸⁵. His tenure of office came to end in march 1676 A.D. when Shayista Khan, Aurangzeb's maternal uncle and the *Subahdar* of Bengal adorned the post of Mughal Governor till 1678 A.D.⁸⁶. He was succeeded by Salih Khan⁸⁷.

From the two important Persian inscriptions, Shahi Mosque inscription, Jajpur and Juma Mosque inscription, Balu Bazar, Cuttack, it is known that Abu Nasar Khan and Akram Khan were the then *Subahdar* of Cuttack during this period. They remained in power from 1678 AD till 1691 A.D. Both of them built mosques at Jajpur and Cutack during the reign of Aurangzeb. The mosque at Jajpur is still called the Abu Nasar Mosque which was erected in 1686-87 A.D. The Juma Masjid at Balu Bazar in Cuttack, according to the Persian inscription, was built in 1690-91 A.D. by Zaibun Nisa Khanum⁸⁸, when Akram Khan was the Governor during the reign of Aurangzeb. These two corroborative and contemporary inscriptions in Orissa throw light on the history of the reigning Mughal *Subahdars* of Orissa during the reign of Aurangzeb in last quarter of 17th century.

An event during the tenure of Abu Nassar Khan was known to have taken place. In *Madalapanji* it was mentioned that, Nasar Khan try to destroy Jagannath temple of Puri proceeded from Cuttack in 1687 AD. Having known it Mukunda Deva, the Gajapati Raja of Khurda with his family met him at Danda Mukunda Pur with a request not to do so. Nassar Khan was house with all cordiality in one palace of Mukunda Deva at Pipli. Next day at Pipli,

there was terrible thunder storm for which the Mughal *Subahdar* had to return to Cuttack after making friendship with Mukunda Deva⁸⁹. Ikram Khan relinquished his post as Governor in June 1698 A.D. Then Ghaznafar Khan became the *Subahdar* of Cuttack. He died at Cuttack in August 1700 A.D. He was succeeded by Askar Khan who remained till his death in 1702 A.D.⁹⁰. Then Murshid Quli Khan, one of the trusted court nobles of Aurangzeb was appointed the *Subahdar* of Orissa in 1703 A.D.⁹¹. In the year 1707 A.D. Aurangzeb's rule came to an end. Hence the *Subahdar* Murshid Quli Khan declared independence and proclaimed himself as the Nawab of Bengal and enjoyed simultaneously two posts the Nazim of Bengal and *Subahdar* of Cuttack⁹².

Cuttack under the Nazims of Bengal (1707-1751 A.D.) :

Murshid Quli Khan, the Nazim of Bengal remained as *Subahdar* in Cuttack from 1703 A.D. to 1710 A.D. But being the Nazim of Bengal, it was not possible for him to remain in Cuttack in longer period. So he appointed his son-in-law Shujauddin Muhammad Khan as his deputy or Naib-Nazim in 1706 A.D. This date has also been corroborated by *Madalapanji* according to which Shujauddin was the *Subahdar* of Cuttack by 11 September 1707 A.D.⁹³. Meanwhile Shujauddin heard the serious illness of Murshid Quli Khan. So he hurriedly proceeded from Cuttack to Bengal with Alivardi Khan and few other nobles. After the death of Murshid Quli Khan, ambitious Shujauddin became the Nawab of Bengal. He was a Siha Muslim and also was kind hearted man. He followed liberal policy. Due to this, the car festival of Jagannath at Puri was once again revived in 1707 A.D.⁹⁴. According to some, the Cult of Satyapir,

that is to be found in Orissa today was introduced by Shujauddin. The famous octagonal building of Qadam-i-Rasul at Cuttack was constructed by Shujauddin in 1715 A.D with a specific purpose of sheltering the sacred relics of prophet Mohammad. Apart from this, he had also constructed a sarai, a mosque and a reservoir in the compound of Qadam-i-Rasul monument. He also built a fort at Puri and had named it Shujagarh. During his period, Cuttack enjoyed complete peace and there was no interference in the religious affairs of the state.

During the rule of Shujauddin in Cuttack, his contemporary Khurda kings were Divyasingha Deva, Harekrushna Deva and Gopinath Deva. Gopinath Deva for the first time had appointed Mirza Sayed Baig, a Mughal, as his Diwan. This Gopinath Deva was a man of civil character and his hobby was to enjoy beautiful girls by force. Once the king of Banpur Krushna Chandra Narendra was coming with his family and others to visit the temple of Jagannath at Puri. Gopinath Deva along with his associates attacked the *palinki* of the princess Ranpur and tried to took her out. He was counter-attacked by the king of Ranpur and Gopinath Deva fled away. After this incident Krushna Chandra Narendra met the Diwan, Mirza Sayed Baig and Bakshi Benu Bhamarbar Raj. The three consulted among themselves and finally killed the king Gopinath Deva inside his Khurda palace before dawn⁹⁵. After his murder, his younger brother Kesab Rai Goswain succeeded to the throne with the title of Ramachandra Deva II.

In Cuttack, Shujauddin had appointed his son Muhammad Taqi Khan as Naib Nazim. He had constructed the Qadam-i-Rasul building at Balasore

which is known from a *sanad* issued by him in 1730 A.D.⁹⁶. He is also said to have had a hunting palace at Remuna. Taqi Khan is well remembered in Balasore and his character for piety stands high⁹⁷. From Thomas Motte's description, Taqi Khan had also built some Muslim monuments at Jajpur⁹⁸. Though the capital was at Cuttack⁹⁹. Taqi Khan stayed for most of the time at Jajpur. He also built a 'Dargha' at Pipli¹⁰⁰. Taqi Khan is known as extremely greedy, oppressive and cruel in nature. He was unpopular in Cuttack because he plundered the temple of Jagannath at Puri for its wealth and attacked the kingdom of Khurda. The contemporary king of Khurda was Ramachandra II. His reign, covering nearly a decade, was very much turbulent due to the repeated invasion and subjugation of the Khurda territory by Taqi Khan. At this critical juncture the Nizam of Hyderabad attacked Khurda. So Ramchandra Deva II in consultation with his young Prime Minister Paramlakshmi Rajguru Mohapatra, declared war against the Nizam. He also appealed Taqi Khan for help but he declined. But he was given help by Mir Habib, the Deputy of Murshid Quli Khan II. He had established friendship with the Raja of Khurda due to enmity with Taqi Khan¹⁰¹. But unfortunately they were defeated by the Nizam. The Nizam combined the whole of Chicacola and Ganjam district and continued to rule it as 'Southern *Sarkar*'¹⁰².

According to *Madalapanji*, Taqi Khan had invaded Khurda in 1731 A.D. He first destroyed the fort of Sisupalgarh which was situated near Bhubaneswar and also captured the fort Dhauligarh and Rathipur. *Bakshi* Benu Bhamarbar and his son *Diwan* Nilambar Harichandan were in charge of Rathipur. The Paika soldiers revolted against them and refused to fight¹⁰³.

One Damodar Purohita and Jiban Dash, a Brahmin, who were the anti-party of Ramachandra Deva II, instigated the Paika soldiers not to fight¹⁰⁴. However, due to this rebellion the *Bakshi* and *Diwan* fled away from Rathipur, leaving it in the hands of the enemy. Ramachandra Deva II was in Khurda at that time. He became very much displeased with the *Bakshi* and the *Diwan*. So, Ramachandra Deva II went to Rathipur and met Taqi Khan. A peace treaty was concluded between them. He demanded the heads of Bakshi Benu Bhamarbara Rai and Diwan Nilambar Harichandana, who were the main strength of Rama Chandra Deva II¹⁰⁵. However, Rama Chandra Deva II agreed to hand over them to Taqi Khan, he returned to Khurda¹⁰⁶. After this Murad Khan was appointed as *Bakshi* by Ramachandra Deva II¹⁰⁷.

In the meantime, Paramlakshmi, the Prime Minister of Rama Chandra Deva II went to Cuttack and hatched a political intrigue against Taqi Khan. He got the secret support of a large number of people of Cuttack. Specially, he got the support of Kurup Jena, the Khandaiyat Sardar of Jajpur's Panikoili village. With this help, the Prime minister was able to get success in his plot¹⁰⁸. Two young boys of Cuttack got the training from the Prime minister in Persian language and Muslim way of life. Then they went to meet Taqi Khan in the Barabati fort at Cuttack to seek employment. Taqi was impressed and appointed them as his personal attendant. After sometime Taqi Khan was found dead in the night. He was actually killed by those two young boys¹⁰⁹. According to an inscription Taqi Khan was buried in Qadam Rasul Compound at Cuttack¹¹⁰.

After the death of Taqi Khan, Shujauddin appointed his son-in-law, Murshid Quli Khan II as Naib Nazim of Cuttack in 1734A.D¹¹¹. He had a

personal adherent named Mir Habib, who was a native of Shiraz in Persia and was one of the notable figures in the history of Bengal and Orissa. Within a short span of his appointment, he established a friendly relationship with Ramachandra Deva II. A fact was mentioned in the *Madalapanji* that :

“During the reign of this king (Ramachandra Deva II) the Cuttack *Subahdar* Suja Khan with his army fought against the Raja and kept him as a prisoner at Cuttack. After sometime this Raja fell in love with the daughter of the Nawab. He lost his religion and established relationship with the Muslims”¹¹².

But it was wrongly mentioned in *Madalpanji*. Actually Ramachandra Deva II was imprisoned by Shujauddin's Deputy *Subahdar*, Taqi Khan.

Murshid Quli khan II was not destined to rule over Cuttack for a long period. Meanwhile Shujauddin died in 1739 A.D. He was succeeded by Sharfaraz. But a weak ruler as he was, Alivardi Khan took the opportunity of fighting with him. In the battle of Giria, he defeated and killed Sharfaraz on April 1740 A.D. This battle made Alivardi the undisputed master of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa¹¹³. Therefore, after establishing his authority firmly, he seriously thought of the dispossession of Murshid Quli Khan from Cuttack. So, Alivardi Khan with 120 elephants, 400 cavalry and one lakh infantry set out from Murshidabad in expedition against Orissa¹¹⁴. He got himself fully equipped with all requisite for an expedition against Murshid Quli Khan II¹¹⁵ and marched with his troops. The news caused horror in the court of Cuttack¹¹⁶.

So, Murshid Quli Khan II, at first exchanged negotiations with Alivardi for a compromise¹¹⁷. In that respect Ghulam Husain remarks that Murshid Quli sent one Agha Muhammad Taqi of Surat as an Ambassador to Alivardi¹¹⁸. But the *Riyaz* mentions one Mukhlis Ali Khan, a son-in-law of Haji Ahmed, and Paymaster of Rustam Jang's army as ambassador¹¹⁹. Instead of negotiating for an amicable settlement, Mukhlis Ali was sent back as the agent of Alivardi to seduce the troops of Murshid Quli II¹²⁰. Mukhlis Ali was successful in his attempt of treachery and sent messages to Murshidabad all about this. So in utter despair, leaving his wife, Dardanah Begum and his son Yahya Khan with all treasures in the fort of Barabati, he marched from Cuttack, with his two son-in-law namely Mirza Baquir and Allauddin Muhammad Khan and a strong army¹²¹. A fierce battle took place between Murshid Quli and Alivardi. Murshid Quli Khan and his officers were defeated. Then Alivardi reached Cuttack and seized two lakhs of rupees in cash besides precious articles which were treasured in Barabati fort. Then he stayed in Cuttack for about a month in order to establish his sway¹²².

He appointed Saulat Jang as the Naib Nazim of Cuttack. It is known that one Shah Yahya a close friend of the Naib Nazim, became the main adviser of Saulat Jang. Throughly a bad man, he posed himself as a saint and instituted a sort of reign of terror in Cuttack. Thus, his action bred discontent. So one day the people of Cuttack along with Murad Khan, the general of Raja Birakishora Deva rose against Saulat Jang¹²³. Shah Yahya was killed in broad day light. Then Saulat Jang was captured along with the members of his family. His treasures were also plunderd. Meanwhile Mirza

Baquir, the son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan II entered Cuttack and put Saulat Jang under strict confinement in Lal Bagh palace. His wife, children and other relatives were kept as prisoners in the fort of Barabati. Mirza Baquir wanted to put an end to the life of Saulat Jang. But his wife refrained him from doing this unholy act¹²⁴. In the mean time the distress of Saulat Jang hunted Alivardi Khan day and night. He became worried. Specially the imprisonment of his nephew with his entire family pained him most. Over and above the return of Mirza Baquir into Cuttack and his seizure of the post of Naib-Nazim amounted to a great blow to the prestige and authority of Alivardi Khan¹²⁵. So, he decided to launch another expedition to Orissa, so as to restore his prestige and authority. This time 20,000 cavalry and with a strong artillery¹²⁶, he marched to cuttack and encamped at the northern bank of the river Mahanadi opposite to the Cuttack city¹²⁷. On the other side, Mirza Baquir had encamped at Jobra Ghat. It was a wintry drawn, Alivardi launched a formidable

attack on the camp of Mirza Baquir¹²⁸. Then the rescue of Saulat Jang kept Alivardi Khan engaged. However with the help of Mir Jafar Khan, his general, Saulat Jang and the members of his family were rescued. Alivardi Khan's joys knew no bound then. He was found to have prostrated before god to express his gratitude¹²⁹.

After rescuing Saulat Jang's family, Alivardi Khan took steps to rescue his relations confined in the fort of Barabati. He succeeded as Mirza Baquir's Soldiers offered feeble resistance. Cuttack was thus recovered. Then, Alivardi sent away Saulat Jang to Murshidabad along with a part of his army. He retained in Cuttack only 5000 cavalry and some of his choicest officers. Then

the friends of Mirza Baquir were punished. Their properties along with horses were also seized¹³⁰. It was after re-occupation of cuttack that Alivardi Khan stayed for about three months in order to restore order and make necessary changes in the administration of Orissa. Appointing one Mukhlis Ali Khan as Naib Nazim of Orissa, Alivardi set out for Bengal, but at Bhadrak on the advice of Mustafa Khan, he changed his mind and appointed Shaikh Mausam Panipati, one of his trusted generals as Naib Nazim in place of Mukhlis Ali Khan. One Durlabhram, son of Janakiram, was appointed *peshkar* to assist the Naib Nazim¹³¹.

Meanwhile, Raghuji Bhonsle, the Maratha ruler of Nagpur desired to occupy Orissa. Mir Habib, the deposed *Diwan* was believed to have instigated the Maratha Raja for the invasion. So he sent his Prime Minister Bhaskar Pandit for the propose¹³². Proceeding through Barmul Pass on the ill-defended Western Frontier, he reached Cuttack and captured the fort of Barabati on April 19, 1742 A.D.¹³³. The Naib Nazim Masum fled away. Having heard of this news Alivardi marched towards Orissa. Bhaskar Pandit in fear marched to Balasore. He was treacherously massacred with 23 of his captains¹³⁴. Alivardi reoccupied Cuttack and stayed for about two months. Yet the Maratha danger did not end there. The struggle between the Marathas and Alivardi Khan over the possession of Orissa continued for ten years. And in the struggle, Mir Habib, the deposed Diwan of Murshid Quli II helped the Marathas. Thus, in 1751 A.D., Alivardi concluded peace with Raghuji Bhonsle ceding him the *Subah* of Orissa¹³⁵, Cuttack thus passed into the hands of the Marathas.

Barabati Fort during the Muslim Rule :

As stated earlier, Barabati fort had occupied prominence during the Hindu rulers of medieval Orissa¹³⁶. After the death of Mukunda Deva, the Afghans had their sway over it¹³⁷. From Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal and his successor Daud, the Barabati fort passed into the hands of the Mughals, in 1595 A.D. During the regime of Akbar, it gained importance as a centre of political activities, about this fort, Abul Fazl remarks :

"Kataka : The city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus and the Kathajori. It is the residence of the Governor and contain some fine buildings for five to six kos round the fort during the rains, the country is under water. Raja Mukunda Deo built a place here nine storeys (*asianah*) in height; the first storey was taken up for the elephants and stables; the second one was occupied by artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants, the third by the patrol and gatekeepers; the fourth by the workshops; the fifth by the kitchen; the sixth contained the public reception rooms; the seventh the private apartment; the eighth, the women's apartments; and the ninth the sleeping chamber of the Governor"¹³⁸.

The above description of Barabati fort has been taken with a pinch of salt by several historians. R. L. Mitra suggests that the existence of a nine-

storeyed palace at Barabati must have been "dwellings ravaged side by side and not in storeys"¹³⁹. In a similar vein, M. M. Chakrabarti, opines that the persian word *asianah* means quarters or residential wards¹⁴⁰. Jadunath Sarkar suggests that Mukunda Deva's palace consisted of nine storeys which were probably made of bamboos on a stone foundation¹⁴¹.

Right from the time of Akbar, the fort of Barabati was used for the residence of the Muslim Governors. Munim Khan, prince Khurram (Shah Jahan), Mutaqad Khan, Raja Kalyan Singh, Baquir Khan and many others stayed inside the fort of Barabati. Saulat Jang, the son-in-law of Alivardi Khan, was captured by his enemies and confined to the fort of Barabati with his family as captive of course, they were rescued by Nawab Alivardi Khan. During the Muslim rule over Orissa, William Bruton and Ralph Cartwright visited the Barabati fort. About these English merchants reached the fort of Barabati (Malcandy fort)" From the east, over a long narrow causeway and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the court of public audience¹⁴².

Regarding the identification of 'Malcandy fort' historians differ in opinion. C.R. Wilson and S.C. De have indentified this Malcandy fort with Mukunda Deva's fort and G.S. Das takes it for granted that 'Malcandy' stood for Mahanadi¹⁴³. A. Stirling has identified the court of Malcandy with the Lal Bag palace on the bank of river Kathajori and this view has been rejected by Paramananda Acharya¹⁴⁴. Considered from every angel, it will not be unsound if the fort of Malcandy will be identified with the fort (Barabati) of Mukunda Deva.

Barabati fort was situated on the right bank of river Mahanadi, in the western part of cuttack city. The fort roughly square on plan, having an area of over 102 acres is surrounded on all sides by a stone lined moat having a width of 10 metres on its northern and western sides and 20 metres on the eastern and southern sides. In the centre of the fort exists a high mound to the west of which is a tank. The area covering the high mound and some flat area around, it measures about 15 acres. Part of high mound on its northern side is encroached by kitchen, gardens belonging to the inhabitants residing in government quarters. Towards the east of the high mounds stands a mosque known as Shahi mosque while to the west of the tank is the *Mazar* of Hazrat Ali Bukhari. The high mound, inside the Barabati fort presented a strong or rather curious appearance. From the surrounding flat, plain a steep rise of about 7 metres leads to an area which has a flat appearance on top, barring, the ravines created by downrushing rain waters. In the south, western corner of this flat area, there was again a steep rise from three sides, *i.e.*, east west and south of about 10 metres while on the northern side, existed a gentle slope, suggestive of a ramp leading to the highest point where in sites a Bench mark recording 40.6 metres.

The foundations of the structure all round, revealed that the structure was built over an area which was carefully prepared by filling upto about 5 metres, the earlier remains at the site, with sand and Malba and thus preparing a fairly big flat area. Dressed stone paving and traces of lime flooring were found on all sides of the structure hinting at the possibility of the structure being a samadhi or a memorial of some sort, around which the paved area and the lime floorings were meant for congregations.

On the eastern and southern side of the mound revealed the existence of a citadel wall built of laterite blocks. Four building phases in the citadel wall have been identified. In the earlier phase the wall appears to have a basal width of around 8 metres while in the last phase the width is reduced to 4.25 metres. The wall has been traced upto a length of 50 metres on the southern side running east-west. South-eastern inner corner has been found and on the eastern side it has been traced upto a length of 20 metres. The fort of Barabati, in its ruins witness march of events through the centuries, it lives in our memories with hallowed tradition and chequered history, one time it was the bee-hive of political activity of medieval rulers, a symbol of medieval Orissa's power and pelf.

The Barabati fort had a rectangular area measuring 2, 150 by 1, 800 feet. The walls were defended by square slopping bastions. There were small bastions at three angles and round bastion on the north-east angle which was added in 1750 A.D. : From the centre of the fort rose a huge tower supporting a flagstaff. The fort had double stone walls built of laterite and sandstones. These walls were each 18 inches thick, built perpendicular two feet from each other, which distance was filled by rubbish. Behind the main gateway, there were two other gate ways with a narrow and winding passage between them. The main gateway was flanked by two lofty towers. The ditch round the fort is rased with masonry. It is twenty yards by wide and seven feet deep.

Thus, Barabati fort, which for centuries was the residence of the ruling dynasties became with the occupation of the Muslims, the citadel of their administration. It was here the Mughal *Subahdars* held their periodical court sittings. William Bruton who visited the place, remarks :

"To the north of the city at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and the Kathajori stood the citadel of Cuttack. Fort Barabati, a spacious area a mile and a half in circumference defended by square slopping bastions which clearly speak its indigenous origin. The only remnants of the Barabati fort extent area massive heap of earth supposed to be the site of the nine-storey palace in the centre, an arched gateway on the east. The moat which is entirely under pisciculture, now measures about 100 feet wide and 12 feet deep. The stone facing has disappeared everywhere except on the east and south sides. The gate-way consists of an arched opening 9 feet 3 inches wide and 16 feet high, flanked by two square slopping towers to the right and the left. A large banyan tree has taken root on the southern tower. The moat is crossed by a solid cause way flanked by short masonry walls. Internally, the gate was provided with a suit of three chambers on each side, which were apparently added at a later date and are now blocked up. The rooms on the left or south side had arched entrances, those on the north lintel headed doors with a paved verandah in front. The position of the huge bastion of cavalier which according to Stirling supported a flag staff in the centre of the fort is probably marked by the large mount of earth. The fort walls were about 90 feet back from the moat and their site is marked by a low ridge of earth and stones running parallel to the moat. They appear to

have been about 12 feet in thickness. The fort area including the moat measures about 2,300 feet, but the later figure 1, 800 would appear to be a misprint for 1,300"¹⁴⁵.

After the Mughals and Naib Nazims, the Marathas of Nagpur ruled Orissa. After protracted struggle with the Muslims, the Marathas were able to establish their sway over Orissa. By 1750A.D., the fort of Barabati was the citadel of Maratha administration, Rajaram Pandit, the Maratha Governor had imprisoned the king of Khurda in this fort. During the Maratha rule, a *Qiladar* in charge of the Barabati fort with a force that comprised of musketeers, cavalry and infantry. As per Lackie's description, the force incharge of the protection of the fort of Barabati consisted of 1,000 Marathas, 150 Sikh Horsemen and 500 irregular infantry¹⁴⁶. Thus, the fort of Barabati continued as a garrison during the Maratha rule in Orissa. After that the British conquered it in 1803 A.D.

Thus conceived, Orissa became a chessboard of Politics among the Afghans, Mughals and Nazims with the extinction of the Gajapati empire. The epicenter of this drama was undoubtedly Cuttack which witnessed every scene of this political development. It witnessed the galloping march of horses mounted by soldiers, the sanguinary battles fought between two contending parties and the possession of this city by the powerful one. It was the base of Afghan, Mughal and Nazim administration of Orissa. With the passage of time, it also emerged with vigour and nourished many flourishing trends which, later on shaped the destiny of this land.

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CHAPTER - III

CUTTACK UNDER MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION

CUTTACK UNDER MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION

The Afghan occupation of Orissa was short lived. It gave way to the Mughal rule and during that period, Cuttack emerged as the nerve centre of gross political activities. The early Mughal generals like Todar Mal and Man Singh consolidated the Mughal rule in this land. Todar Mal's *Bandobast* created a milestone in the administrative history of Orissa. For quite a long time, Barabati fort of Cuttack served as the centre for discharging Mughal administration in this land. However, with the construction of Lal Bagh palace at Cuttack, the Mughal Governors administered this land from that palace. During the Naib Nazims, both Barabati fort and Lal Bagh palace at Cuttack were equally important for discharging administration. Through out the Muslim rule, Cuttack remained as the nerve centre of politics and controlled the administration throughout Orissa.

The Muslim administration in Orissa was in conformity with the general policies adhered to by them in other provinces. Since the Afghan rule was of short duration, no system of regular administration seems to have been established. But it appears certain that the people of Orissa had been extorted to the maximum extent to supply money and grains for the army of the Afghans. From 1568 A.D. to 1575 A.D. the Afghans were in possession of the border disputes to the north of the river Mahanadi. Thereafter, the Mughal-Afghan hostility for supremacy in Orissa started.

During the hey day of the Mughal rule, the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, Gujrat or north-west were seed beds of revolt. The distant parts of the empire were not held so firmly as the centrally situated ones. It naturally hindered strict supervision and uniformity of control. In order to counteract the disadvantage of the distances and ensure better government the central authority resorted to the device of grouping together more than one Governorship into a single large province in charge of a *Subahdar*, such as for instance, the Deccan provinces or Bengal and Orissa¹. It is fairly certain that these *Subahdar* were given greater discretion and latitude in the administration. It may also be pointed out that the cause of repeated revolts in Bengal and the persistent turbulence of the Afghan chiefs in Orissa nearly upto the end of Akbar's reign is to be found mainly in their physical isolation and not in mere remoteness from the capital².

From the geographical point of view, the kingdom of Orissa which after its conquest by Raja Man Singh was joined to Bengal, was part of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga. On its north-east was Bengal and on the south-west the kingdom of Golkonda. On the western side it was bounded by the table land of Chhota Nagpur and Gondwana which stretched right into central India³. The Mughal emperors were keen on conquering Orissa because it remained a buffer state for better communication between Bengal and southern territories.

"The final conquest of Orissa by the Mughals under Man Singh" says Prof. R. D. Banerjee, "inaugurated a new era in the history of the country by the establishment of the new dynasty of Hindu kings in that country under

the suzerainty of the Mughal emperors". The same writer remarks that there were seven feudatory chiefs in 1592, A.D., paying tribute to Akbar. Some of them were very powerful and the Raja of Khurda had a command of 3500 horse and 200 forts and 31 smaller Zamindars paid him tribute. The chief of Mayurbhanj had 12 Zamindars under him and 42 forts. There is sufficient evidence to prove that the chiefs of Orissa did not pay homage to the provincial Governors either of Orissa or even Bengal. Nor did they care to obey their orders. They had direct dealings with the imperial government. They enjoyed thorough immunity from any undue interference with their authority or encroachment on their rights, which were secured by special *Farmans* of the emperor.⁴

As regards the administrative set up during the Mughals, Orissa consisted of five *Sarkars*. Those were Jalesar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga Dandapat and Rajamahendri. Among those *Sarkars*, Cuttack occupied a prominent place. It became the capital of the Mughal administration and also of the Naib Nazims of Bengal. The Muslim Governors stayed at Cuttack and looked after the administration of other *Sarkars*.

The administrative pattern of the feudal set up are normally urban originating from the main city. During the Mughal period, the administration was concentrated in the provincial capital. It was city government, not in the Greek sense of the term, but rather as a government living and working in cities and mainly concerning itself with the inhabitants of the cities and their immediate neighbourhood⁵. Cuttack, thus gained importance of being the

capital city of Orissa. From this place were carried on several administrative functions. During the Mughals, the emperor occupied the highest position in the realm of administration. He issued several instructions to the provincial Governors. During the Mughal rule, the Governors for Orissa who stayed at Cuttack carried on the instructions of the Mughal emperor and implemented it for the province⁶.

Under the Mughals, the head of the province was officially styled as *Subahdar*. Later on he was called *Nazim*. He was vicergent of the sovereign. Next to him was the *Diwan*. These two officers practically shared the responsibility of the whole administrative machinery in the province or *Subah*. They were directly responsible to the emperor. The *Subahdar* was responsible for the executive, defence, criminal justice and general supervision. The *Diwan* was responsible primarily for revenue administration and civil justice. This system was in nature an administrative hierarchy and its purpose was to create a most potent and reliable check on the highest officials of the province. But although, the *Diwan* in his office was practically independent of the *Subahdar's* authority, he was not his equal in status or rank.⁷

Both the *Diwan* and the *Subahdar* always kept a strict watch over each other. This check and balance brought a smooth administration in Orissa. The Mughal Governor stayed at Cuttack and carried administration smoothly. Whenever they became partial and oppressive, complain was sent against them to the Mughal emperor. The son of Mukunda Deva had lodged complain against Man Singh before Akbar and Man Singh was called to the court of

the emperor. Akbar finally settled the issue by giving Aul and Patia to the two sons of Mukunda Deva.⁸

Each *Subah* was also divided into a number of *Sarkars* and each *Sarkar* in turn to *Parganah* and *Mahals*. The *Parganah* was the lowest official unit of administration, and below the *Parganah* was the village *Panchayat*, which was popular in origin but recognised by the government.⁹

In the maintenance of peace and discharge of executive functions in the *Sarkars* the *Subahdar's* assistants were the *Faujdars*. They were placed in charge of suitable *Sarkars* provided that they were sufficiently civilised or important on account of the presence of *Zamindars* or large sources of state revenue in them¹⁰. The *Faujdar* was also the commander of a military force stationed in the country to establish law and order make demonstrations of force to overcome opposition to the revenue authorities. He also assisted the *Amalguzar* in his collection of revenue. Besides the *Faujdar* and *Amalguzar* there were two more officials in the *Sarkar* who were incharge of justice and religious department. These were the *Qazi* and *Kotwal*.¹¹

The *Kotwal* was appointed by the imperial government on the recommendation and by an order bearing the seal of the imperial commander of artillery. He acted as the watch and ward of the town, controlled the market, cared for the legitimate disposal of heirless property and people's conduct and prevention of crime, prevented social abuses such as *Sati* and regulated the cemeteries, burials and slaughter houses.

The *Qazi* helped the *Subahdar* in administering justice. In Orissa, the *Qazi* for Cuttack *Sarkar* stayed at Cuttack and carried on judicial activities and helped the *Subahdar* in imparting justice to the people. That is why, perhaps a segment of Cuttack town has been named as Qazi Bazar which is to-day a Muslim settlement.¹²

Next to the *Sarkars*, were the *Parganahs*. The officers of the *Parganahs* were *Chaudhuries* and *Viliaity Qanungos*. The *Parganahs* enjoyed full sovereignty in both internal and external affairs. They seldom paid any regular tribute. They neither contribute any military levies, nor render any personal service. Their succession was never controlled by the emperor and they did not hold any ranks in the imperial army.¹³ Thus, the *Subahdar* from Cuttack, regulated the *Chaudhuries* and *Viliaity Qanungos*. When those officers of the *Parganahs* helped the Zamindars who revolted against the *Subahdars*, they were dealt with scorn and contempt. The fate of many Zamindars during the Governorship of Khan-i-Dauran became fatal as discussed earlier¹⁴.

There were three other important officers in the *Parganahs* namely *Shiqdar*, *Amil* and *Qanungo*. The *Shiqdar* was in charge of law and order as well as criminal justice in the *Parganah* and looked after the general administration by virtue of being the executive officer of the *Parganah*. The *Amil* had the same duties as the *Amalguzar* in the *Sarkar* as stated earlier. But he had to deal directly with the peasantry in his work of assessment and realisation of revenue. He also assisted the *Shiqdar* and the village headmen in maintaining law and order. In the revenue department the *Shiqdar* was to assist the *Amil* in the collection of revenue¹⁵. All the revenues collected from

different *Sarkars* were deposited with the Governor of Orissa at Cuttack who sent those revenues to the emperor at Delhi.

In Cuttack, the provincial government kept in touch with the villages by means of the *Faujdars* posted to the sub-divisions, the lower officials of the revenue department, who did the actual collection from the peasantry the visits of *Zamindars* to the *Subahdars* court at cuttack. The contact however was not very intimate and the villagers were left pretty much to their own devices, uninfluenced by and indifferent to the government, at the chief town of the province of Cuttack, so long as they paid the land tax and did not disturb the peace¹⁶. The village community was left absolutely undisturbed to carry on its work smoothly. The old village council was the most characteristic feature of the government. The village functioned through the *Panchayat* and settled all kinds of disputes in revenue and judicial matters within its jurisdictions¹⁶. Some conventional administrative duties the Muslim rulers used to perform as a mark of their charity and generosity on their behalf. The Muslim Governors from Cuttack made grants of rent free land (*Madad-i-Mash*) to the holy men and several instances of this system are given in the *Muraqat-i-Hasan*¹⁷.

The Mughals introduced a series of checks to supervise the activities of the officers. They were frequently transferred, so that none could consider himself permanent master of one place. In this context the *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions that the aim of the Mughal ruler was to be continually attentive to the health of the body politic and to remedy its diseases and evils, so as to bring about perfection of life, and assure its happiness, strength and

prosperity¹⁸. But in addition to the duties and checks laid down, the administration of the *Subahs* also depended to a great degree in the character of the man in office. These administrative and demographic variables were indeed laudable. Cuttack witnessed the frequent transfer of many Muslim Governors in quick succession particularly during the Mughal rule¹⁹.

The most significant change in the administration of the Mughals was the conversion of the Oriya designation of officers into Persian terms. Under the Mughal revenue system the *Dandapat* came to be known as *Sarkar*²⁰, the *Bisi* became *Mahal* or *Parganah*. The village was called *Mauja*²¹. Like-wise the officer in charge of *Dandapat* was designated as *Faujdar*. The head of the *Parganah* came to be known as *Chaudhury*²². The head of the *Taluq* was given the designation of *Taluqdar*. The *Bhoimul* was called *Qanungo-Villiaity*²³. The *Bhoi* of the grama was called *Qanungo*²⁴. The head of the *Mauja* which was the lowest unit was called *Muqaddam*. In general, the administrative stratification along the old occupational-functional model was persisted with. The *Subahdar* stationed at Cuttack had to exercise control over their officers.

Cuttack, thus provided a well organised Muslim administration to Orissa. The *Subahdar* or the *Nazim* who stayed at Cuttack was the head of the province. Under him the *Faujdar* held the first place as the sub-ordinate and assistant. Kotwal ²⁵ was the next to the *Faujdar* in rank. For the police administration the rural area under the *Faujdar* was divided into two parts i.e the area under the direct supervision of the *Faujdar* and the area under the charge of *Zamindars*. The *Fauzdar* had police out posts or thanas in different parts each under a *Thanedar* who carried out their police duties with the help

of armed men under him. *Jamadar* was the head of the police in his area under the control of the *Faujdar*. The *Jamadar* for the exercise of his powers had several staff under him. They included village staff containing village watchmen, frontier police of a military character for resisting external aggression, regular police for external disorders and personal guards or *Burqandazes*²⁶. The Muslim Governors carried on the administration of Orissa from Cuttack. Thus Cuttack, emerged as a great political centre during the Muslim rule as before.

The *Subahdars* for the governance of the occupied portion of Orissa were stationed at the Barabati fort of Cuttack in the earlier stages. Subsequently they built the Lal Bagh palace ²⁷ close to the river Kathajori. Pipli located midway between Cuttack and Puri also became a secondary seat of the Mughal authorities in Orissa in order to check the movements of the Raja of Khurda. From the location of the villages still inhabited by the Muslim in Puri district, it is evident that military experts of Mughal Orissa had made vast preparation to guard against this dangerous route.

Cuttack, during the Muslim rule became the garrison of army. The Mughal army had Turkish in its origin. The army was divided into distinct groups each under its separate commander, holding its allotted place in a duly graded series of rank from a Company to an army division²⁸. They are rightly credited with several inventions in the Indian mode of fighting. Following the central Asian nomads the Mughals relied more upon their stirruped cavalry than on the war elephants. Artillery entered the scene during this period. Weapons of the Mughal army generally consisted of swords, shields, bows, arrows, mace, battle axes, flint guns, light and heavy guns²⁹.

It is apparent that for the smooth continuity of the Mughal rule in Orissa, the Muslim Governors would have recruited local people as soldiers. Cuttack must have played the recruiting ground for this selection. A vast field before Barabati even exists today in cuttack which must have been utilised for recruiting ground and garrison at times. This is also famous as *Quila Padia*³⁰ even to-day. Undoubtedly this bears the reminiscences of the military administration of the Muslims in Cuttack.

For their long associations in Orissa, several Muslim personnel entered into military services under the local *Rajas* or Zamindars. Besides the Maratha and British authorities during their occupation of Orissa engaged several of them in their armed contingents³¹. During the stay of Muhammad Taqi Khan at Cuttack, much attention was given for the improvement of the city. As he led army very often to crush the revolted Zamindars, he definitely had made elaborate preparation for the stationing of army at Cuttack.

Coming to the judicial administration, in Mughal India, the general charge of judicial administration was vested normally in three agencies. The emperor and his agents, the *Subahdar*³² in the province and the *Faujdar* in the *Sarkar*. The *Kotwal* usually administered political cases. The sacred law or *Shari* was administered by the *Qazi*³³. His jurisdiction went beyond issues connected with religion and included disputes concerning family law, marriage, inheritance and criminal cases. The *Qazi* had to carry on judicial activities remaining at Cuttack. That is why, perhaps a segment of Cuttack town as stated earlier, has been named as Qazi Bazar. For the rural non-Muslim people existed the courts of Brahmin pandits and the caste elders who

administered the common (unwritten law). They were not sub-ordinate to the *Qazi* nor had anything to do with the *Shari* law.

The revenue administration under the Muslims was carried on vigorously. During the early part of the Muslim rule, Orissa suffered to a great extent from wars, insurrections and internal disturbances. Initially, the conflict between the Afghans and the Mughals shook the foundation of the economic system of Orissa which was based on a sound revenue administration³⁴. The Afghan rule brought no change practically in the traditional revenue system so far prevalent in Orissa. They were supposed to be contented with the revenue without bothering how the system stood. But from the accounts of Stirling, it is evident that the Afghans were quite harsh on the people of Orissa so far as the extracting of revenue was concerned. The period between 1568 A.D. and 1595 A.D. was marked by turbulence particularly on account of the intermittent clash between the Afghans and the Mughals for a hold over the province of Orissa³⁵. This left the Afghans totally incapable of setting to a particular pattern in the field of revenue administration in view of the imminent threat of a Mughal invasion. Besides, the Afghans were also engaged in accumulating huge wealth in the form of revenue through extortion and torture which would help them in their clashes with the Mughal³⁶. Thus, during Afghan rule stability in revenue system was not marked because the accumulated revenue at Cuttack was taken a way to Bengal for preservation which would enable them to carry a protracted struggle with the Mughals.

The Mughals brought in their train a healthy revenue system to Orissa. In the modification of the then prevalent revenue system was inaugurated with

Akbar's rule in Orissa. One of the problems which the Muslims faced was that all the Oriyas or local officers of the previous regime had to be entrusted with the duties of the state. It was considered proper that to superintend those local officers of the old regime and to keep the new settlement intact, some officers other than from Orissa should be appointed. Therefore, the offices of *Sadar Qanungos* and *Sadar Chaudhuries* were created. Their establishments were different from those of the local *Chaudhuries* and *Qanungos*. Such higher posts in the revenue accounts were reserved for Muslims or some times for Hindus mostly from Bengal, who had perhaps some experience about the Mughal type of administration. One of the results of such arrangement was that the four *Sadar Qanungos* of Cuttack and many of their *Gumastas*³⁷ contrived in process of time to obtain the management of a great number of *Taluks* and became *Talukdars* and then latter on they turned out to be influential Zamindars of the locality. Even some of their *Gumastas* in course of time managed to acquire some of the *Taluks* and became men of wealth and status in the society³⁸.

Under the Mughals, the revenue system affected the feudal military character of the society in the sense that during Hindu period there were a number of military officers who had their own stations and *Jagirs*. In these *Jagirs* were maintained the *Paiks* or the landed militia. The military stations along with *Jagirs* were called *Garhs*³⁹. Many such officers who enjoyed the *Jagir* in lieu of the service they rendered to the Hindu Rajas, were now with the introduction of Mughal rule⁴⁰, subjected to full assessment or were altogether dispossessed of the *Jagirs*, while others who were either more

powerful or clever enough to win over their new master could be allowed to retain their privileges⁴¹. So, in that case they were at the time of need asked to supply soldier to the Mughal government.

The Mughals did not depend solely on the military service of such military officers of the days of the Hindu Rajas. The Mughal government recruited its own soldiers and maintained their own army. The *Zamindars* or the officers now appointed were asked to keep up a good police and to pay a certain fixed amount⁴².

During the Mughal period certain changes took place, in the arrangement of revenue units in Orissa from time to time. This was done for the administrative convenience under the rule of different Governors. After the conquest of Orissa in 1592 A.D. under Akbar, the entire territory was divided into five *Sarkars* Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga dandapat and Rajamahendri composed of 99 *Paraganahs* and united with other 19 *Sarkars* of Bengal⁴³. The administrative divisions which was made by Akbar also continued by Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. But this administrative division of Orissa underwent different changes from time to time. Land revenue, formed the major source of income to the imperial government from Orissa. Under the Hindu kings of medieval period the land of Orissa was divided into two categories *i.e*, military fiefs and crown lands. The military fiefs were held by the military chiefs who paid a certain amount to the king. As regards to the crown lands a portion was assigned as grants to the ministers, servants of the king and priests while in the remaining areas, the king made a detailed arrangement for the realisation of revenue⁴⁴.

During the Mughal period two major settlements were made in Orissa. One was called *Tankha* ⁴⁵ *Raqmi* and the other one was *Jamma Kamal*. *Tankha Raqmi* was also known as Todar Mal's settlement. Its assessment was very high. It was registered assessment, computed in rupees⁴⁶. According to Stirling, the fixed and regular assessment of the Mughal was heavier than that of the Hindu Rajas or the indigenous princes of Orissa. According to Maddox, this assessment was started by Todar Mal in 1582 A.D.⁴⁷. After the complete conquest of Orissa in 1592 A.D. by Raja Man Singh, the settlement got a final shape. A Stirling remarks that the *Tankha Raqmi* was the imaginary over-rated valuation at which the lands were formerly made over in *Jagir* or assignment to the officers of the Mughal government⁴⁸. J. Grant, a reputed authority of Indian finance has the same view and stated '*Moquerri Tankha Raqmi*' or enrolled standard of assignment "always for the most part bestowed in *Jagir*". Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari* stated that when Asif Khan was *Wazir* the *Jamma* of the country was *Raqmi* or computed and he went on increasing the *Tankha* just as he thought fit⁴⁹.

Jamma Kamal was the second major settlement which was made in the year 1722A.D.⁵⁰. It is a subsequent revised assessment during the Governorship of Murshid Quli Khan who was also known as Jafar Khan. J. Grant calls it "Jafar Khan's settlement" and also calls it '*Jamma Toomar Kamil*'. It is also stated that it was known as *Jamma Kamal* according to the name of an officer, called as Kamal Mohammad. But others however, explain the terms to signify the real and actual *Jamma*. The *Amils* under order from Mushid Quli Khan sent *Shiqdars* and *Amins* to every village of the *Parganahs* for

measuring both the cultivated and waste lands village by village, plot by plot, *ryot* by *ryot*. For the increase in the production *Taqavi* (agricultural loan) was granted to the poor tenants. So far as the assessment is concerned the rate was specified in *Kauri* which was then the common currency of Orissa. Though Murshid Quli Khan's settlement was a *Ryotwari* one, he did not altogether do away with the *Zamindars*. The loyal and trustworthy *Zamindaris* were permitted to collect revenue for the state in their respective *Zamindars*⁵¹. He himself considered *Zamindari* property to be the most secure investment.

In regard to the land settlement, A. Stirling and J. Grant emphasised that *Tankha Raqmi* did not show actual *Jamma* while *Jamma Kaml* indicated the actual *Jamma*. Further the reduction in the size of the *Subah* of Orissa from time to time and the conversion of rupee economy to *Kauri* economy augmented the fall of revenue in the later period. Regarding the revenue settlement of the areas which were assigned to the ministers and servants of the king's court during the Hindu rule was based on Todar Mal's settlement⁵². The method of assessment in these areas was the same as was in the case of crown lands and *Khalsa* lands because these assignment were nothing but *Jagirs* and the assignees were to realise only the prescribed state demand⁵³. It is likely that the assignees were free to collect the revenue through their own agents⁵⁴.

The archaeological and inscriptional records of the Pre-Muslim period marks the various categories of lands. They are *Sasya-Bhumi* (corn land), *Jalakshetra* (wet land), *Vastu Bhumi* (chouse plot), *Go Patha*, (cattle-tracks),

Go Pracara (pasture lands) *Joda Tavi* (jungles), *Tala-Vana* (palm groves) and *Nisadhi-Bhumi*⁵⁵. *Nisadhi Bhumi* is translated as forbidden land ⁵⁶ and may be referred to the burial ground for the purpose of taxation, arable land during the medieval period was classified under three categories, wet, dry and garden land.

Since revenue from the land in the medieval period, was the sheet anchor of state economy, land appears to have been properly measured and assessed for a proper and regular realisation of land revenue. Orissa under the Hindu kings had developed an elaborate system of land measurement. The various kinds of measured land units known for the land grants of the early period are *Timpira* (equal to gocharman i.e. 150 square cubit)⁵⁷, *Mala*, *Hala*, *Vati* or *Vatika*⁵⁸. The measurement of the land was carried out with rods called *Nala* and *Padika*. Both of these are the same standard of linear measurement⁵⁹. Four *Nalas* or *Padikas* make one *Kahan*. The length of the *Nala* or *Padika* varied in different regions Orissa. With the advent of Muslim administration, the land measurement was based on a new method. As a mark of break with the past, the uniform measurement of Akbar or *Jarib*, termed as *Barah Dasti Padika* was introduced. The *Rakba* accounts in the offices of *Sadar Qunungos* and *Gumastas* in the *Sarkars* of Cuttack have been based on this measurement⁶⁰. The assessment was also made through the introduction of this new measurement of Akbar.

During the Mughal rule in Orissa, land revenue was collected in rupee, *Kauri* as well as in the form of rice⁶¹. The shortage of currency seems to be one of the important factors for which revenue was collected in the form of

rice. The rice thus collected was brought to the port to be shipped to its destination in the sailing season⁶². The revenue collection of Orissa mainly depended on the autumn harvest. Khan-i-Dauran, remarks that the realisation of the land revenue of the whole year depends on the three months of autumn⁶³.

The collection of revenue in kind had both good and bad sides. It was sometimes advantageous to the government because government's income increased when the price of grain rose. But it was also very expensive as it was necessary to appoint a large number of watchmen to eliminate chances of misappropriation by the peasants. The collectors faced difficulties in paying the revenue to the government in cash as the conversion of the crops into rupees meant heavy loss to them⁶⁴. The demand of the state was fixed at one third of the production. But often there were deviations in the revenue collection. Abul Hasan, who was the secretary to the *Subahdars* of Orissa (1655A.D. - 1667A.D.) stated that the Mughals demanded half of the produce as land revenue⁶⁵.

Collection of revenue annually, as per the *Jamma* in rent roll, was not easy for them⁶⁶. Collections therefore, fell into arrears. It is often found that the arrears could not be cleared up and accumulated to a huge amount. This happened due to two things first the indifference and oppression of the revenue officers and secondly due to misappropriation and exaction of government servants that aimed to demand more what the cultivator could pay⁶⁷. The annual revenue which was collected by the Mughal government is

difficult to ascertain. At different times various authorities have mentioned different figures as revenue of Orissa. So a table is furnished from which one can form an idea on the land revenue of Orissa sent to the Mughal court from Cuttack at different times.

PERIODICAL LAND REVENUE OF ORISSA (1593A.D. - 1786 A.D.) :

Years	In dams	Rupees equivalent	Source
1593	1,36,00,00,000	34,00,000	<i>Haft Iqlim</i> ⁶⁸
1594	12,57,29,638	31,43,316	<i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> ⁶⁹
1628-36	20,00,45,000	50,13,625	<i>Riyaz-i-Khusbui</i>
1646-47	28,02,40,000	70,06,000	Add 16863 ⁷⁰ ff120a-121a
1648	20,00,00,000	50,00,000	Lahori, Abdul Hamid, <i>Padashahnama</i> , Vol. II, 711 MS (Published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, B.I. Edition)
1654-1655	22,55,80,000	56,39,500	<i>Dastur-al-Amal</i> used by Thomas ⁷¹ .
1638-56	18,02,00,000	45,05,000	<i>Farhang-i-Kardani</i> , Edinburg, 83, ff, 15b-17a.
1638-56	40,41,05,000	11,02,625	Sujan Rai (<i>Passim</i>)
1656	12,55,80,000	31,39,500	<i>Dastur-al-Amal-i-Alamgiri</i> , ff, 109a-120b ⁷²

1658	-	35,71,025	James Grant ⁷³
1665	29,08,00,000	72,70,000	F. Bernier ⁷⁴
1666-67	-	90,00,000	M.D. Thevenot ⁷⁵
1687-1691	14,28,21,000	35,70,525	<i>Zawabit-i-Alamgiri</i> , Add 6598 ff 130b- 132a, Or, 1641, ff 4a- 6b.
1690	14,28,20,000	35,70,500	<i>Dastur-ul-amal</i> , Br. Mus. Or 1641 f 5b ⁷⁶
1695-99	40,41,05,000	1,01,02,625	<i>Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh</i> ⁷⁷
1697-1707	22,83,00,000	57,07,500	N. Manucci ⁷⁸
1707	14,28,20,000	35,70,500	J. Fraser and W. Bolta ⁷⁹
1706-7	-	36,07,245	James Grant ⁸⁰
1707	14,28,20,000	35,70,500	Ramusio ⁸¹
1709	14,28,11,000	35,70,275	<i>Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh</i> by Jagjibin Das, India Office MS,1799, p.5 ⁸²
1743-1786	14,28,21,000	35,70,525	J. Tieffenthaler ⁸³

However, the revenues sent from Orissa from time to time to suggests that sometimes they were sent together for more, than one year. So no information about the revenue of Orissa is available for consecutive years. It can well be inferred that almost all the figures in any way do not refer to the annual standard revenue but only the intermixture of the heavy arrears of some past years as well as current revenue.

In Pre-Muslim Orissa, the ownership of land was vested in the sovereign and the right of occupancy was vested in the village community or in the individual tiller of the soil⁸⁴. The proprietary rights were not allowed to grow up between the Hindu rulers and the actual cultivator. The kingdom was administered by means of land bailiffs and great staff of subordinate officers⁸⁵. The Muslims modified the native system to suit the basic principles of their revenue system and applied in other parts of the empire. They appointed a body of officials on whom the efficiency of the administration had to depend for the collection of revenue. Various types of officers like *Chaudhuries*, *Viliaty Qanungos* or *Talukdars* etc⁸⁶, were in charge of different fiscal divisions. These officers had the right of selling their office by portion. *Muqaddams* had to right to sell the *Muqaddami*. Also a *Talukdar* could dispose of his *Talukdari* or a part of it. They were unquestionable offices connected with land of different degrees of authority and importance each having its distinct duties and perquisites. Sales of land were confirmed to a particular description of land called *Arazi Banjar*, *Kharij*, *Jamma* or ground, waste, unoccupied and unassessed (confirming to *Polaj*, *Parauti*, *Chachar*, and *Banjar* of the general Mughal revenue system)⁸⁷ in the disposal of which the *Talukdars* and *Muqaddams* were allowed by prescription to exercise considerable privileges. A *Muqaddam* or a *Talukdar* could sell his own village or any part of the village land. The *Patta* system was also introduced by which the rent-payer or the cultivator could know what amount he should pay for the land he was cultivating to the Muslim Governor of Orissa.

For revenue purposes, the Mughals divided the villages into two categories. The first category was people by resident cultivators protected

by their village headman or *Muqaddams*. The other category was people by non-resident husbandmen. The villages in Cuttack under Muslim administration definitely underwent through this process. Land tax was fixed on resident cultivators through the representative, the village head. The collection gathered by revenue officer from the migratory husbandmen was regarded as his own private property⁸⁸. Apart from this, the Mughals collected a succession fee from the tributary chiefs. The Raja of Sarangagarh used to pay Rs. 10,000/- as succession fee. Similarly the Raja of Khurda was also required to pay this fee for succeeding his brother⁸⁹.

The absence of mercantilism also led to the imposition of various inland duties in Mughal times. Commodities were taxed by the Muslim *Subadars* in the course of transit from place to place and when these duties proved to be burdensome to trade and industries, they were replaced by the emperor. Thus, Aurangzeb abolished most of these duties but they were continued by *Faujders* and *Zamindars* in the far off provinces in secret defiance of the emperor's orders⁹⁰. With the gradual weakening of the Mughal power after Aurangzeb's death, the provincial rulers imposed any duty they liked. Even petty Rajas and *Zamindars* levied duties on their own account. The result was that at the beginning of the British rule, a great variety of tolls and duties were exacted, obstructing the progress of trade and industry. This ugly feature must have prevailed in Cuttack like other parts of Orissa during the Muslim rule.

To add to this, the revenue authorities also faced problems in their collection of revenue. Collection often fell into arrears and accumulated to a

huge amount. Misappropriation of public money was also rampant in Orissa. Collection of revenue very much depended on the efficiency of the Governor. The revenue collected from Orissa was sent to the imperial court at Delhi⁹¹. The peasants had only occupancy rights over the land provided they paid state revenue regularly as per the deeds they were conferred by the state. If a peasant did not pay the revenue, his land was attached and given to any other cultivator who would be willing to pay the stipulated rent as demanded by the state. The land belonged to the state. Neither the revenue officer nor the peasant had any right to the property of land.

Famines were not unknown in medieval Orissa. Famine in medieval times was caused by drought, inundation, failure of crop, ravages of war and devastation of rural areas. References to such calamities are found in the works of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Amir Hasan Sijzi's *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* and Amir Khurd's *Siyar-ul-Auliya*. From an analysis of the stands of Jamali and Namatullah, one gleans that rainfall was the central regulator of agricultural activity. Barani and Ibn Batuta speak of gifts to poor, distribution for six months provisions and rationing as measures during the early medieval period. The peril of famine assumes grave proportions in predominantly agrarian economy. Crude methods of food production and inadequate transportation must have increased the intensity of distress due to drought. A distinct pattern of famine policy can be found in the general administrative patterns of medieval times. Among the measures suggested to relieve the sufferings of the famine stricken people, the administration can alleviate the plight by reducing the tribute (*Khiraj*) and the taxes or by advancing loans

(*Taqavi*) from the treasury or making gifts of what there can be to the poor and the needy. Merchants could get cash loans to import grain from other countries for sale to the *Raiyat* at cheapest rate. Total remittance of the tribute and taxes depending upon the severity of the famine as well as issue of a general order to the rich to look after the poor and destitute of their localities were also general practices. However, the period under review affords no evidence of an acute famine in Orissa or of any general agrarian discontent in normal times, though petty peasants, agricultural workers and poverty-stricken town people might have felt the pinch in times of crop-failure. Since one does not have any information about the revenue of Orissa for consecutive years it can be well inferred that almost all the figures or most of the figures in any way do not refer to the annual standard revenue but only the intermixture of the heavy arrears with the actual revenue. These high returns must have included the arrears of some past years as well as current revenue⁹².

Agriculture was the principal profession of most of the people. The cultivator depended more on the bounties of the state. Some developmental steps were also taken by the Mughals for agriculture. For the benefit of the migrating cultivators which included Brahmins, Muslims or small traders and outsiders. The Mughals established a number of *Patnas* on the unassessed lands. This resulted in cultivation of more lands which brought more income to the state. This not only brought the mobility of the population but also increased the number of cultivating class subsequently leading to the acquisition of more forest lands for productive agricultural purposes. The

Chaudhuries or *Zamindars* were instructed to see that peasants would not be oppressed. In this medieval period when the major portion of the revenue of the state was dependent on the cultivating class, the only wise policy of the government was to be vigilant to the improvement of the agrarian class. The Muslim Governors of Orissa paid great attention to this.

As regards the acts of charities of the Muslim in Orissa. M. A. Haque remarks on the basis of the Persian inscription at Vidyadharpur that "a well had been dug in 1609 A. D. by Muhammad Taqi Bakshi at Vidyadharpur (near Cuttack town) on the side of old Jagannath road for those of the pilgrims who were coming in a large number to Puri during the "Ratha Yatra" (car festival)"⁹³. Further charitable activities were galvanised in Orissa by the Mughal Governors of Cuttack. They granted different varieties of lands of *Khairat*, *Amrit- Manohi*, *Madad-i-Mash*, maintenance of *Sadabarat* etc⁹⁴.

The Muslim government granted a good deal of lands to the poor, destitute, holy men, *Ulemas*, *Maulavis*, Saints and to the different Muslim religious institutions for their maintenance. Ten Batis of land were granted by the Mughal government to the holy men like Abdul Hamid and others for their maintenance and for praying to God for the longevity of the throne. In the 1686 A.D. the Nawab of Bengal and Orissa granted five *Batis* of land to Musabat Aisa Bibi of Jajpur for her maintenance. Aurangzeb in the year 1704 A.D.-1705A.D. gave a grant of 2 Batis of land to Shaikh Abdus Salam for his maintenance⁹⁵.

Land grants have been found to have been made by the government to the students as *Madad-i-Mash*. Sometimes, provisions were made for the maintenance of such persons who performed pious deeds through the payment of money. In other cases, it is noticed that government generously helped in restoration of some *Madad-i-Mash*, land to *Darvishes* who were deputed for their spiritual power or pious deeds⁹⁶.

It is not only the government which conferred lands on the religious minded people and religious institutions but individual rich and pious people also did so. To cite an example, one Muhammad Shah Ghazi gave five *Batis* of land to the mosque of Jajpur through a priest named Alauddin. The same person granted 8 *Manas* of land to a mosque through Sayyid Asranullah in the village of Bireran, *Parganah* of Sungara for lightening the mosque⁹⁷.

It is clear that, the Muslim government extended help not only to patronise the Muslim monuments, Muslim saints and Muslim religious minded persons, but also maintain the traditions started by the previous government and preserve the established Hindu institutions. The Muslim government was found to confirm the lands already enjoyed by the Hindu gods or to grant new lands for the Hindu religious purposes, with a view to winning the popularity of the Hindus. In that respect, Ali Vardi Khan granted one *Bati* of land to Sham Mohapatra in Usuna village in Kadinda *Parganah* for the purpose of *Khairat*⁹⁸. Some times eminent Muhammadan noble men or provincial Governors granted certain lands to the Hindus or Hindu institutions as charity. It is stated that once some Guljari Husain granted the entire *Mauza* of Baghua to Sri Jagannath Thakur(God) through Mohan Das for *Amrit Manhoi*⁹⁹.

Shujauddin Muhammad Khan granted one *Bati* and two *Manas* of land to Purusottam Bharati in Suasahi village for the maintenance of *Sadabart*. To add to this, it may be stated that Sarf-Uddin Husain granted the entire village of Jagannathpur to *Adhikari* Gopinath Das for the expenses of travellers and beggars. *Chodhury* Fateh Khan and others granted 7 *Batis*, 7 *Manas* and 15 *Gunthas* of land to Radhakanta *Thakur* through Balki Das in Kandarpur as *Khairat* in 1748 A.D.¹⁰⁰

The Muslim *Subahdars* stationed at Cuttack had sometimes to deal with the administration of Jagannath temple at Puri. The Afghans dealt with the temple with scorn and contempt. Kalapahara, who accompanied Bayazid in the conquest of Orissa sent by Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal brought devastation in the temple and removed the idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra¹⁰¹. Such Afghan campaigns must have left the impression in the minds of the Oriyas that Muslims as a class of people, had no regard for other faiths and would continue to interfere in the free worship of Hindus, more particularly, in the famous temple of Jagannath.

The Mughal conquest of Orissa brought a drastic change in the temple administration. Akbar's rule in Orissa was based on the principle of tolerance and non interference, in the administration of Puri Jagannath temple¹⁰². Raja Man Singh, the Mughal general became generous towards the people of Orissa and recognised Raja Ramachandra Deva, of Bhoi dynasty as the superintendent of the temple of Jagannath¹⁰³. Raja Man Singh's wife constructed the *Mukti Mandap* of the temple of Jagannath.¹⁰⁴

During the reign of Jahangir, Hashim Khan, the Governor of Orissa proceeded from Cuttack to Puri to bring damage to the idols of the temple. The priests of the temple were so much frightened that they took away the idols of the temple to the temple of Gopalji in Khurda¹⁰⁵. Another Muslim Governor Mukarram Khan proceeded from Cuttack and injured the idol of Sakhigopala. Therefore, the *Sevaks* of the temple of Jagannath in fear could not perform the festivals and apprehending the desecration of the idol of Jagannath they took it away to a place known as Gurubai and then from that place it was brought to *Gobapadara* and there the *Chapa* festival was celebrated¹⁰⁶. But *Gobapadara* was no longer found safe for the worship of Jagannath. Therefore, the *Salagram* of the idol was taken away by the *Sevakas* on their cloth and was kept in a *Manitri*. It appears the idol of Jagannath was to be kept there for a long time, as after the death of Purushottama Deva his son and successor Narasimha Deva was to take care of the idol in that particular palace¹⁰. when the period of panic was over, the idol was brought back to Puri.

During the reign of Shah Jahan the Muslim Governor of Cuttack dealt harshly with the administration of Puri Jagannatha temple. During that period, Mutaqad Khan proceeded from Cuttack with the Muslim troops and entered into the Jagannath temple at Puri. He plundered the store of Jagannath and slew Narasimha Deva, the Raja of Khurda. *Madalapanji* says that Narasimha Deva offered his head for the security of Brahmins and Gods¹⁰⁸.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the worship of Jagannath at Puri was largely hampered. He appointed Shaikh Junaid as *Mujatahib* at Cuttack. Rahamatullah and Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus were appointed as *Qazis*¹⁰⁹,

who performed their duty at Cuttack. Aurangzeb issued the temple destruction order of the Hindus as such :

*"To all Faujdars, Thanedars and Mutasaddis agents of Jagirdars, Kroris and Amlas from Cuttack to Medinapur on the frontier of Orissa. The imperial paymaster Asad Khan has sent a letter written by order of the emperor to say that emperor learning from news letters of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkuti in Medinapur, a temple has been a newly built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all the temples built anywhere in this province by 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 to 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 Qazis and attested by pious Shaiks"*¹¹⁰.

During Aurangzeb's time Ekram Khan and his brothers Jamal Khan and Abdullah Khan put obstruction on the worship of Lord Jagannath. But Divyasingha Deva, the Raja of Khurda and superintendent of the Jagannath

temple offered a bribe of ruppes thirty thousand to the Governor of Orissa, the Muslim interference in the worship of Lord Jagannath or the threat to break the idol was withdrawn. *Madalapanji* ¹¹¹ furnishes account regarding Maharaja Divyasimha Deva in relation to the *Nawab* Ekram Khan, it states :

“On the 18th day of *Rasabha* in the 7th *Anka* or regnal year the Mughals appeared at Puri. The images of the temple were concealed in a place behind the temple Bimala.”

Further :

“On the 18th day of *Rasabha* and the *Harana Ekadsai* Nawab Ekram Khan was appointed by *Padshah* Aurnagshah came to Puri. His brother Marmast Khan Jamula and Jaman Koli accompanied by 50 cavalry came also with him. They and Raja Divyasimha Deva broke the “*Gumuta*” (the small closed room with a small door) of the lion gate of the temple. They also removed the disc of the *Bhogamandapa*. The Mughals also took the wooden image of Jagannath. The brother of Nawab went upto the *Simhasana* of the temple¹¹².

This account of *Madalapanji* has also mentioned in the *Chakada Pothi* in the following manner :

“On the 7th *Anka* 18th day of *Rasabha* Thursday Ekram's brother Jamal and Abdullah entered

into Purushottama(Puri) along with the Raja. The Raja broke the main gate of the temple and closed the lion gate. He built three images a like the image of Jagannath and handed over to *Jamal*. He took them to Cuttack and sent them to Badshah"¹¹³.

These accounts are corroborated by the Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin which contains the following :

"He (Mir Sayyid Mahmud of Bilgram) was a man held in great respect and served under Nawab Ekram in Orissa. When Aurangzeb had sent orders to the Nawab to destroy the temple of Jagannath, Raja Durup Singh Deo who had the temple under him asked the Mir to introduce him to the Nawab. The Raja promised to break the temple and to send the big idol to the emperor. He actually did break the statue of *Rakas* which stood over the entrance of the temple and also two battlements over the door. The idol which was made of *Sandal* wood and which had two valuable jewels set in the eyes, was carried off and sent to Aurangzeb at Bijapur when it was thrown by order in the steps of the mosque"¹¹⁴.

Of course, Raja Divyasimha Deva bribed the Mughal Governor of Cuttack for the safety idols at Puri Jagannath temple. So fake broken images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra were sent to Aurangzeb.

In the post-Aurangzeb period, the Muslim Governors from Cuttack also interfered in the administration of the Jagannath temple at Puri. Serious dislocations took place in the worship of the images of that temple. Very often Taqi Khan marched from Cutack and attacked Khurda, which was the capital of the superintendent of the temple of Jagannath. Under this circumstance, the *Sevakas* of the temple apprehended desecration of the idols and took away the images from the temples, sometimes through the Chilika lake towards Banapur or Bolagada and at other times to Tikali on the border of Khalikot or to Athagarh. Thus, due to the fear from Taqi Khan, the Governor of Cuttack, and his deployment of troops at various points of the land route, the *Sevakas* of Jagganath temple preferred to take away the idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra through Chilika or any other river¹¹⁵. However, during the period of Murshid Quli Khan II, Mir Habib, the Governor of Orissa took measures for the reinstatement of the idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra in the temple of Puri. He proceeded from Cuttack to make friendly relation with the Raja of Khurda and showed generous attitude to him. He did not interfere in the general administration of the temple at Jagannath of Puri¹¹⁶. The people of Orissa got a big relief from the Muslim hands so far as the worship of Jagannath was concerned.

During the Muslim rule, pilgrim tax was imposed on the pilgrims who came to visit the temple of Jagannath at Orissa. It is not definitely known who introduced this tax in Orissa. B. C. Ray apprehends that this pilgrim tax might have been introduced during the rule of Aurangzeb ¹¹⁷ and Junaid the Governor of Orissa must have carried on the activity of the collection of pilgrim

tax from different points from the pilgrims who were on their way to Puri for visiting Jagannath.

During the Governorship of Taqi Khan the worship of Jagannath was greatly disturbed. As a result of which the Muslim government was deprived of revenue amounting to Nine lakhs of rupees per annum collected from pilgrim tax. This shows that the income from the pilgrim tax amounted to Nine lakhs at least in a year¹¹⁸. Thus, the Muslim Governors stationed at Cuttack regulated the administration of Puri Jagannath temple.

The Muslim administration in Orissa was vigorously carried on from Cuttack. Out and out it is noticed that collection of revenue from the people of Orissa was the major task of the Muslim Governor, who stayed at Cuttack. The fate of the Governor depended on the sending of a huge amount of revenue to the Nawabs during the rule of the Naib Nazims. Besides, revenue collection, the Governor had to pay attention for the maintenance of law and order in the land. It has already been stated that how the *Qazis* stayed at Cuttack and helped the *Subahdar* in judicial administration. The administration of Puri Jagannath temple was also another responsibility of the Governor of Orissa. He regulated it well from Cuttack and if necessary marched from Cuttack to Khurda or Puri for dealing with the Raja of Khurda, scorn and contempt. Sometimes the drastic steps taken by the Muslim Governor of Orissa in dealing with the administration of the Jagannath temple brought financial loss to the government as has been discussed during the Governorship of Junaid and Taqi Khan. The Muslim Governors stationed at

Cuttack also took steps for the improvement of agriculture and helped the farmers during natural calamities. It was also the responsibility of the Muslim Governors to look after the poor, destitute and the down-troddens. From Cuttack they well discharged their duties and responsibilities. Thus, Cuttack became the administrative centre during the Muslim rule in Orissa.

Notes and References :

1. P. Saran - *The Provincial government of the Mughals (1526-1658)*. Bombay. 1973. p. 18.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.
5. J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* Calcutta. 1935. p. 55.
6. Akbar had ordered to Mansingh to grant Aul and Patia to the two sons of Mukunda Deva which was implemented immediately. *Madalapanji* p. 64.

Aurangzeb sent order to destroy the Hindu temples of Orissa which was carried on by the Governor of Orissa stationed at Cuttack immediately.

J. N. Sarkar. *History of Aurangzeb*. Calcutta. 1919, Vol. II, p. 227.
7. M. A. Haque, *Muslim Administration in Orissa*, Calcutta. 1980. p. 236.
8. *Madalapanji*, p. 64.
9. P. Saran. *Op. cit.*, Bombay, 1973, p. 192.
10. J. N. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.
11. P. Saran, *Op. cit.*, pp. 194-195.
12. Vide *Infra*, Ch. VIII., p. 267.
13. P. Saran, *Op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.
14. M. A. Haque, *Op. cit.*, p. 237.
15. P. Saran, *Op. cit.*, pp. 196, 197.

16. J. N. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.,
17. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. II, p. 347. Also see Appendix - A (Glossary).
18. Abul Fazl, Allami, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. pp. 4F, English Tr. by H. Blockmenn, oriental Books Reprint coroporation, New Delhi, 3rd Ed. 1977.
19. Abul Fazl, Allami, *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
20. M. A Haque, *Op. cit.*, p. 233.
21. B. C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 107.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. M. A. Haque, *Op. cit.*, pp. 235-236.
25. *Ibid*, p. 236.
26. R. P. Mahapatra, *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
27. For more detail see Infra Chapter, VII, p. 232.
28. R. P. Mahapatra *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
29. B. C. Ray, *Op. cit.* p. 107.
30. The big field infront of the Barabati fort, several festivals including Bali Yatra, associated with the culture of Cuttack take place in this field.
31. R. P. Mahapatra, *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
32. M. A. Haque, *Op. cit.* pp. 230-237.
33. *Ibid*, p. 237.
34. B. C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

35. W. W. Hunter *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, London, 1872, p. 275.
36. B. C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, pp. 105-106
37. A. Stirling, *Op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.
38. *Ibid*, p. 50
39. *Ibid*.
40. L. N. Rout, *Op. cit.*, p. 113.
41. *Ibid*.
42. A. Stirling, *Op. cit.*, p. 51.
43. Abul Fazl, Allami, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 157.
44. L. N. Rout, *Op. cit.*, p. 116.
45. The word *Tankha* means a Persian ordinary means assignments.
46. A Stirling *Op. cit.* p. 33.
47. *Ibid*, p. 33.
48. *Ibid*, pp 33-35.
49. *Ibid*.
50. In 1722, Murshid Quli made a fresh settlement of Bengal and Orissa. Six northern most *Sarkars* put under two *chaklas viz*, Bandare, Balasore and Hijili were dismembered from Orissa and added to Bengal.
51. B. C. Ray *Op. cit.*, p. 110
52. S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration* Bombay, 1951, pp. 72, 73.

53. I. H. Quraishi, *The administration of the Mughal Empire*, Patna, P. 172.
54. P. Saran *Op cit.*, p. 321.
55. *E. I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 183, 195, 235, 238.
56. *Ibid*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 188.
57. Timpira was a typical land measurement of Orissa. A. P Shah, *Life in medieval Orissa*, Varanasi, 1976, p. 85. S. N. Rajguru *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, IV, Bhubaneswar, 1966, p. 210n. A. P. Shah, *Op. cit*, pp. 86-87.
58. According to Wilson's Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms a *Vati* of land in Orissa is equal to twenty *Manas*. A *Mana* seems to be equal to a *Bigha* and is said to be equal to twenty five *Gunthas* at Cuttack. A *Guntha* (measuring 121 yards or the fortieth part of an acre in some places) is regarded as sixteen *Biswas* while a *Biswa* is said to be one twentieth of *Bigha*.

D.C, Sircar points out a *vati* is sometimes regarded as equal to 12 acres of land. But the *vati* varies in area in different parts of the country. The *Pramod Abhidhan* and Oriya dictionary published in 1942 regards as *mana* as equal to one acre of land and a *vatli* as equal to twenty acres.

E. I Vol. XXVIII, Part, VI, P. 244.
59. N. K. Sahu, *History of Orissa* Vol. II. Calcutta, 1950, P. 236.
60. A. Stirling. *Op. cit.*, p. 32.
61. That the revenue of Orissa was collected in the form of rice is corroborated by the following fact. Khan-i-Dauran the *Subahdar* or Orissa

wrote to Muhammad Jan that in case he found the *Zamindars* carrying away the crops, he should instruct the amils to collect the dues and at the same time appoint men to guard the grain. Khan-i-Dauran in his letter to Mansingh, *Faujdar* of Remuna urged him to send selected men to hasten the gathering in and guarding of the crops and the collection of government dues".

Abul Hasan , *Muraqat-i-Hasan* Ms. J. Sarkar collections. National library, Calcutta, 1916, pp. 163-164, 182, J. N. Sarkar *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

62. J. N. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 215; B. C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, pp. 113-115.
63. Abul Hasan, *Op. cit.*, p. 65; J. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 217.
64. J. N. Sarkar *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, Patna 1973, p. 218.
65. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, 1934, p. 465, M. A Haque, *Op. cit.*, p. 239.
66. J. N. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, orient p. 51.
67. B. C. Ray *Op. cit.*, p. 112.
68. Amin Ahmed Razi, *Haft Iqlim* Eng. Tr. in Vol. II, Sept. 1953 and Jan. 1954. p. 81. The work was completed in 1593.
69. Abul Fazl, Allami. *Op.cit.*, Vol. II. pp. 155-158.
70. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707)*. Bombay, 1963. p. 400.
71. E. Thomas, *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India*, London 1871, pp. 35-51.
72. Irfan Habin, *Op.cit.*, pp. 400-401.

73. J. Grant's, *Analysis in Firminger*, Vol. II, p. 186.
74. F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Oxford, 1914, p. 457.
75. S.N. Sen, *Indian Travels of M.D., Thevenot and J. Careri*, Delhi, 1949, p. 97.
76. J.N. Sarkar, *Op.cit.*, p.220.
77. Sujan Rai., *Khulasat-ut, Tawarikh*, English Trans. by J.N. Sarkar *The India of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 48.
78. N. Manucei, *Storia do mogor*, Vols. IV, Tr. by William Irvine, London, 1907, 1908, Vol. II, p. 414.
79. W. Bolts., *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, pp. 16 - 17.
80. J. Grants, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.
81. J. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 220.
82. Irfan Habib, *Op. cit.*, p. 401.
83. Joseph, Tieffenthaler, *Account of Orissa*, in *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. II, July, 1953, No. 2, pp. 22 - 23.
84. L. N. Rout, *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
85. W.W., Hunter, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 222.
86. *Ibid*, p. 219, pp. 232-233.
87. B. C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 119.
88. W.W. Hunter, *Op. cit.*, pp. 232 - 233.
89. B.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, pp. 113 - 114.

90. J.C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, London, 1927, p. 154.
91. B.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 119.
92. L.N. Rout, *Op. cit.*, pp. 124 - 125.
93. M.A. Haque, *Op. cit.*, p. 242.
94. B.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 244.
95. B.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 130. For more details see Appendix - A (Glossary)
96. J.N. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 226.
97. B.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 130.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Madalapanji*, p. 61.
102. B.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, pp. 123 - 124.
103. *Madalapanji*, p. 64.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 68, R.D. Banerjee, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 42, Mutaqad Khan was Governor of Orissa from 1632 - 1641, *Madalapanji* Calls him "Matamatikhān".

109. J.N. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

110. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangazeb*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1919, p. 322, J. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

111. Sudhakar Patnaik Ed., *Chakada Pothi*, Cuttack, 1959, p. 28.

It is stated that during the rule of Ekram Khan in Orissa sayyid Muhammad (of Bilgram) Served under his administration. He was ordered by the government nor to destroy the idol of Lord Jagannath. At that time Durup Singh (Divya Simha Deva) was the Raja of Khurda and was incharge of the temple of Jagannath on hearing this he went to Cuttack to meet the Nawab and Promised to bring him th broken idol and would sent it to the emperor, who was residing at Bijapur on his return from Cuttack, he was in convinance with the Sevakas of the temple. What he actually did was to break the statue of the Rakhyasa kept in the entrance of the temple and got prepared and idol of Sandal wood with jewels set in the eys and sent it to the emperor at Bijapur R.L. Mitra, *Op.cit.*, p. 112.

112. *Madalapanji*, p. 70 f.

113. K.N.Mohapatra, *Khurda Itihasa*, Bhubaneswar, 1969, pp. 129f. M.A. Haque, *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

114. R.L. Mitra, *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

The Sevakas took away the idol of Jagannath from the temple through chilika towards the Banpur river and kept in the *Mandap* of Harispur. But as Khurda proper was brought under the possession of Taqi,

therefore, the idol of Jagannath was taken away from that place and was placed in Khandipara Bolagada. Thereafter for greater safety the idol was taken in a *Chandola*, on a boat through the river to Tikeli on the border of Khalikote. When Bhagirathi Kumar was made of the Raja of Khurda, he managed to bring back the idol for worship at the temple of Jagannath, while again some Rasun Khan invaded Khurda there was dislocation of the worship of Jagannath and the idol of Jagannath was again taken to the border of Athagarh through the river.

115. *Madalapanji*, pp. 76-77.

116. *Madalapanji*, p. 77

117. B.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

118. B.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

CHAPTER - IV

ECONOMIC CONDITION UNDER THE MUSLIM RULE

ECONOMIC CONDITION UNDER THE MUSLIM RULE

The economic condition of Orissa in general and Cuttack in particular remained almost same as was in previous period. The Gangas had taken due steps for the economic development of the people of Orissa. During the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, agriculture progressed a lot because the Orissan army, being disinterested for military activities, resorted largely to agriculture. The Muslim conquest of Orissa galvanised the process. The *Subahdars* who remained in Cuttack took steps for the improvement of agriculture. By their supervision orchards grew around the city of Cuttack. Since revenue collection was their prime task they looked after the development of agriculture. The coming of European traders also improved the lot of the Oriyas. Their persuasion to the Muslim Governors at Cuttack bore fruit and factories grew in many parts of coastal Orissa including Cuttack. The general economic condition in Orissa was good and Cuttack was not an exception to it.

Agriculture played a dominant role in the economy of medieval Orissa. Several factors favourable for agriculture existed here. The fertile soil of Orissa encouraged production. F.S.Manrique remarks "Bengal was composed of twelve kingdoms of which one was Orissa and all of them were most fertile and fecund¹. William Bruton, the English factor found in 1633 A.D. at the market of Cuttack many products of the country (Orissa) which according to

him was very fertile². M.D.Thevenot (1666-67 A.D.) mentioned Orissa to be a fruitful province³, T. Bowery gives a glowing testimony about the fertility of land at Gingelly coast which extended from Puri to Godavari delta⁴. In his opinion, it was one of the most fertile lands in the universe⁵. Agriculture mostly depended on rainfall. Abul Fazl observes that rainy season lasted for eight months in Orissa⁶. It was also supported by Sujan Rai⁷. Although it seems exaggerated there is no denying of the fact that rainfall in Orissa was heavy, at least quite adequate. Further, rivers that flowed through Orissa inundated the fields seasonally every year and served to irrigate and fertilise the country, as the river water carried a layer of sub-soil which increased the fertility of the land. In 1708 A. D., Alexander Hamilton remarks that the river of Cuttack (Mahanadi), flowing through Orissa, increased the fertility of its soil⁸. Naturally in such a country agriculture was in a flourishing condition.

Among the food crops, rice was one of the principal crops of medieval Orissa. Its cultivation extended to the whole of Orissa⁹. Cuttack, the coastal district of Orissa witnessed the production of rice to a great extent. Ralph Fitch and N.Manucci remark that very much rice was produced in Orissa¹⁰. Abul Fazl mentioned that rice was the staple cultivation of Orissa¹¹. Thomas Bowery refers to the cultivation of three crops every year¹². The classification of three crops is made in Orissa according to the season at which they were sown and reaped. The three crops were *biali* or early rice, sown in May and reaped in August and September; *sarad*, or winter rice, sown in May or June and harvested between October and January and *dalua* or spring rice, sown in December or January and harvested in March and April. Of these three the *sarad* or winter rice was the principal crop.

However, wheat, barley and pulses were not cultivated so much like rice. European travellers viz. William Bruton (1633 A.D.), Thomas Bowery (1669-1679 A.D.) and Alexander Hamilton (1708 A.D.) refer to the production of wheat respectively at Jagannath Puri, the coast of Gingelly and Balasore¹³. Yet, there was the production of barley to some extent. Thomas Bowery found it being produced at the Gingelly coast¹⁴. A. Stirling remarks that a small quantity of barley was grown in some *Paraganahs* of Orissa¹⁵. Among the pulses, *mung* or *muga* (black gram) *birhi* (*Phaseolus radiatus*), *kulthi*, *china*, *arhar* and *maize* were cultivated in Orissa. Tiffenthaler remarks that the production of a kind of pulse called *ourd* was produced in Orissa¹⁶.

The contemporary literary works, Persian chronicles and travel accounts furnish a long list of vegetables and fruits which were grown in medieval Orissa. Abul Fazl refers to brinjal or *baigun*¹⁷ (*Solanum melongena*) which was commonly eaten and it was one of the important garden crops of Orissa. Potato, the most popular vegetable was brought by the Portuguese from North America¹⁸ and introduced in Orissa during the medieval period. Papaya (*Carica papaya*) was also brought by the Portuguese and became a popular vegetable of medieval Orissa¹⁹. Plantain, pumpkin, *saru* or *caladium* (*Colocasia antiquorum*) and various other vegetables and herbs were grown in Orissa²⁰. These fruits of various kinds in Orissa are well testified by Abul Fazl and Sujan Rai. John Marshall saw handsome mango gardens in Cuttack²¹. Thomas Bowery found at Cuttack groves of mango, tamarind²², palmito²³ and cocoanut²⁴. The Portuguese brought from Brazil cashewnut (*Anacardium occidentale*) and introduced in Orissa. Another fruit karmanga (*Averrhoa carambola*) grown in Orissa was also brought by the Portuguese²⁵. The fruits

like jam, kendu, jack, bel, kath-bel, khajur, cucumber, banana, pine-apple etc²⁶ were grown plentifully in Orissa.

From Persian documents and travel accounts it is known that gingelly oil and mustard oil were produced in Orissa. A. Stirling remarks that *khranj* from whose fruit an oil was extracted and used for lamp burning²⁷. The people also produced spices of different kinds. A. Hamilton remarks that spices like *anise, cumin, coriander, caraway* and *til*²⁸ were produced in Orissa. Turmeric, chillies, onion, ginger and garlic were other important spices cultivated in Orissa.

Textile industry was one of the premier industries of medieval Orissa. It produced a variety of cotton goods. From the references of the contemporary records, it is known that sugar was exported from Orissa. It is quite probable that the raw material *i.e.* sugarcane for the industry was locally produced. A. Hamilton remarks that the production of sugarcane was mostly seen in Orissa²⁹. Cuttack situated on the river bank of Mahanadi was definitely not an exception to it. The people of medieval Orissa produced various kinds of betel leaves as remarked by Abul Fazl and confirmed by Sujan Rai³⁰.

Tobacco, as an intoxicant was introduced, in Orissa by Portuguese. They brought it from North America³¹. The people of Orissa seems to have started, its cultivation during the medieval period. Since it was of great use of the Governor and other royal members, the market of Cuttack witnessed its sell to a great extent. The people of medieval Orissa also produced *silken* and *tussar* or *tasar* good. This very fact suggests that seri-culture was practised in medieval Orissa. William Bruton refers to the production of silk at Cuttack³².

Cultivation was carried on by the peasants living in the villages. They needed seed, pairs of oxen and tools and implements. Possession of land was not included among the essential prerequisites. Undoubtedly, they were living in a period of land abundance. They tilled the soil in their own way, and paid a portion of the produce to the governing power as revenue.

The tillage implements of the Indian peasant were generally few, simple in construction and indigenous in pattern. There was absence of labour-saving appliances. John Fryer remarks that they tilled the land and dressed the corn with no remarkable difference from other nations³³. Edward Terry described the wooden ploughs they used were similar to the "foot-ploughs" used at that time in England³⁴. The Indian peasant moreover, made use of the seed-drill, a late-comer in European agriculture³⁵. In case of some crops like cotton, even dibbling was employed³⁶. Like to-day the farmers of Cuttack must have used these simple tools in the production of crops.

The rotation of crops³⁷ also gave the peasant an important means to preserve the productivity of the soil. The peasants in Orissa, most likely, were using cow-dung as a fertilizer, to increase the fertility of the soil. The dependence of Indian agriculture on the monsoons is proverbial. Important aspect of Indian agriculture *i.e.* the use of artificial irrigation to supplement rain and flood can hardly be ignored. The principal means employed for this purpose has been the construction of wells (excepting the tube-wells of the modern times), tanks and canals, *Vapi, tataka, sarah, pushkarini*. These words corresponded to ponds, tanks and reservoirs which were constructed for bathing as well as irrigational purposes³⁸. Even to-day big pond of medieval

period are found around Cuttack town and Choudwar which bear witness to artificial irrigation of the period.

Another source of artificial irrigation was well. The different methods of drawing water of the wells now prevalent, except of course the tube-wells. From the records of the contemporary authorities different devices for lifting water from wells into field channels are known. The simplest device as described by Fryer was the wooden scoop or *dhenkli*, working on the lever principle, usable where water was close to the surface³⁹. The second common method was that of *charas* in which water was lifted in a leather bucket attached to a rope drawn over a pulley wheel by a yoke of oxen⁴⁰. The most sophisticated device was the Persian wheel, or *saqiya* described by historians. It was made of wood, rope, earthen pots and belt, the gear wheel being rotated by draught animals going round the circles⁴¹. It is remarked that the cost of the machine, probably put it beyond the means of the poorer cultivators⁴². However, artificial irrigation was the main concern of the cultivators. All these popular methods of irrigation are found even to-day in numerous villages of Orissa including Cuttack district.

Agricultural production in medieval Orissa was not always smooth. On the contrary, there were two factors, one natural and the other human, which created serious interruptions or violent setbacks for agricultural life. The first factor was climatic, essentially, the untimeliness, scarcity or superfluity of rain. In any case it adversely affected cultivation. Failure of crop often brought about famine, causing untold miseries for the people more particularly for the cultivating class. Famines occurred frequently during the reign of

Aurangzeb. In 1671 A.D. as known from the *Madalapanji*, a famine appeared and food material was very dear⁴³. This famine brought about scarcity in food grains⁴⁴ in the coastal districts of Orissa including Cuttack.

The second factor which remained as setback to agricultural production was the political confusion at certain periods like the Mughal-Afghan conflict in second half of the 16th century for establishing supremacy in Orissa and the wars conducted by the Muslim *Subahdars* of Orissa stationed at Cuttack against refractory *Zamindars* under their rule as stated earlier⁴⁵. During the period of political turmoil the people were leaving their villages in fear. Such a situation always affected adversely proper cultivation of land. Another point to consider was the impact of agrarian exploitation. The tax fell heavily on the smaller peasantry⁴⁶. In addition, the system of *Jagir* transfers encouraged and unchecked spoliation of the peasantry by potentates⁴⁷.

Murshid Quli Khan I who was the *Subahdar* of Orissa, who had to increase the revenue under pressures from Aurangzeb. He adopted two-fold administrative measures, viz., to give contract the lands of the fallen landed proprietors for the collection of land revenue, and to turn all the *Jagirs* of officers in Bengal into *khalsa* or crown land directly under the collector and give the dispossessed officers of Bengal in exchange *Jagirs* of the province of Orissa.

This proposal was approved by the Mughal emperor. As a result, the Mughal *Mansabdars* were assigned lands in Orissa. The second administrative measure affected Orissa in two ways. Firstly, it was perhaps one way traffic, therefore many Oriya *Jagirdars* or officers must have been displaced to make

room for the Bengal *Mansabdars*. Secondly, some *Jagirs* taken away partially from one and combined with those of others might have made the Bengal *Jagirdars* to be accommodated in Orissa⁴⁸. Cuttack district was not an exception to it.

Form the above discussion, its is remarked that the natural calamities, political confusion at different periods and agrarian exploitation impeded agricultural production in Orissa⁴⁹. Two important factors which encourage production namely, extension of area under cultivation and adequate relief provisions for the peasants seems to have not received much attention in Orissa under Muslim administration. Thus, agricultural production in Orissa depended largely on the personal enterprise of the cultivator and favourable situation⁵⁰. The Muslim Governors who ruled Orissa from Cuttack took care for the improvement of agriculture. They advanced *Taqavi* loans and discharged their duty. In regard to the material condition, the peasants remained in the bottom. Above them were the officials consisting of *Subahdars*, *Diwans*, *Muqaddams*, *Chaudhuries*, *Qunungo* or *Talukdar*, *Amils* and *Zamindars*. Though land was abundant the peasant could put up with a denial of his right over the land he tilled. However, they had certain things that they could own such as seed, cattle and implements. They also sold their produce in order to pay the land revenue in cash. Since poverty was a regular feature for the peasants in medieval India, Orissa was not an exception to it. The lot of the Orissan peasants compelled them to drank the cup of misery. The Muslim Governors, of course, advanced loans to the peasants.

From this it is known that cultivation was encouraged, uncultivated lands were brought under cultivation and often the peasants received financial assistance. More particularly during the time of natural calamities. When the miseries of the peasants could reach the notice of the imperial government, relief measures in the form of granting agricultural loans (*Taqavi*) and remittance of taxes were taken up. Obviously such measures brought forth material prosperity to some extent. Nevertheless the prosperity of the agriculturists largely depended on other factors. The first was the role of the officials. In the medieval period since the major portion of revenue of the state had to depend on the cultivating class, the government gave instructions to the officials to see that the agrarian classes would not be exploited and measures should be taken for their prosperity.

The officers employed to look to the welfare of the husbandmen were often found not to observe all the instructions from the government. Sometimes they squeezed the cultivators to extract as much money as possible. When the rents rose too high and exploitation went to the full brim, the cultivators fled away into wilderness for the sake of their lives. Thus, the cultivators groaned under the heavy oppression of the officialdom, and had no remedies whatsoever except appealing to the highest authority for redressing their grievances, which at times went unheard or could not be readily attended to because of mischief of bureaucracy or the distance of the capital. Added to this were the natural calamities which were of frequent occurrences and stood on the way of the peasant's prosperity. It is not found from any source that the peasants lodged complain against any officers to

the Muslim *Subahdars* at Cuttack. It is presumed that they tolerated every thing out of fear.

The peasants of medieval Orissa, as well as Cuttack, enjoyed certain privileges, *i.e.* right to fish, right to cut woods in forest for fuel and right to bring under cultivation the uncultivated forest lands. Such privileges did help the peasants to improve their material condition. With limited wants as well as consumable commodities and other minimum necessary materials available at cheap price, peasants could manage themselves without depending much on the state's bounties⁵¹. The officers in charge of *Parganahs*, *Taluks* and province were granted *Jagirs*. They were also allowed to deduct a certain percentage of the revenue ⁵² collected as their remuneration. Some officers were permitted to collect octroi, duties and other taxes⁵³. It is remarked that the revenue officers of various categories, though had no proprietary right on the soil, and were not *Zamindars* in any sense of the term, gradually in course of time, utilised the power given to them for their self-aggrandisement and attempted to acquire certain right. They disposed lands in a way that brought huge advantage to them. As the services of the fiscal officer became more and more necessary for the Muslim Governors of Orissa, they with the march of time grew more and more independent. Although none possessed anything like a full ownership in the land, yet, a new class of landed aristocracy developed out of the bureaucratic administration, which the imperial government never contemplated. This ultimately sat heavily on the shoulder of the common man. As a result, since the time passed on, the cultivator was exploited for the interest of the

bureaucracy. The cultivating class, which was to a great extent dependent on the revenue officers or landholders for their prosperity were utilised by the officials for their own prosperity. In very many ways, the peasants were exploited. They could not be organised to demonstrate their protest against the Muslim Governors of Orissa. The oppressive Governors like Junaid and Taqi Khan led a life of luxury at Cuttack. This obviously shows that such Governors must have exploited the peasants through the revenue officers for their royal maintenance.

Though agriculture formed the main feature of the economic life of the people, yet, there existed several crafts and industries in Orissa during the Muslim period. A considerable portion of Orissa's population earned their livelihood working as manufacturers of various kinds of agricultural and non-agricultural products. The abundance of the products was such that even after the full needs of the people were met, there was left considerable surplus for export.

Textile industry was one of the premier industries of medieval India. The centers of textile industry spread over different areas of the country such as Surat, Gujarat, Chanderi in Malwa, Burhanpur in khandesh, Mysore and northern parts of the Madras presidency, Jaunpore, Banaras and some other localities in the United provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Bengal⁵⁴. Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* mentioned the manufacture of cloth in Orissa⁵⁵. Sujan Rai, a century latter in his *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* refers to the production of good cloth in Orissa⁵⁶. Foreign travellers from Ralph Fitch (eighties of the sixteenth century) to Alexander Hamilton have also remarked regarding the production

of cloth in Orissa. Cloths were manufactured from various kinds of fibres e.g. cotton, silk, *herba* (tussar, tasar) and wool. Cotton goods held the foremost place among the textile products. Ralph Fitch has remarked the production of very much cotton cloth in Orissa in the eighties of sixteenth century⁵⁷. Peter Mundy remarks to the availability at Patna of various kinds of cloths manufactured in Orissa e.g. *hamams*, *ambaries*, *cassas*, *charconnas*⁵⁸. Among the cotton cloths which were manufactured in Orissa were *Sannoe*, *Gurrah*, *Cassa*, *Nillae*, *Mulmul*, *Dimity*, *Hammam*, *Calico*, *Battlili*, *Tschen(sahan)*, *Characonnas*, *Ambari*, *Seerband*, *Lungi*, *Ramal or rumal*, *Do-Suti Gingham*, *Salampores*. The production of cotton goods instead of being confined to certain places was diffused throughout the country. The main centers of production were Cuttack and Hariharpur (present Jagatsinghpur).

Cuttack, the centre for the production of cotton cloth. In 1708 A.D. *Sanno*es and *Seerbands* were available at much cheaper rates than those at Balasore⁵⁹. At Hariharpur twenty five miles from Cuttack were produced cloth of all sorts in 1633 A.D.⁶⁰ In the same year the English intended to purchase *cassas* from there⁶¹. *Cassas* and *Sanno*es available here for export in 1642 A.D.⁶². The English East India Company in its letter dated 18 January, 1659 A.D. authorised the merchants to purchase 1000 pieces of *Adatay Sanno*es⁶³ and 2000 pieces of Hariharpur *Sanno*es every year⁶⁴. The quality of cotton goods were both fine and coarse cloths. Jagannath (Puri) according to Pelsaret was the center for production of fine muslins like *cassa* and *mulmul*, *hammam* and wide cloth of good quality for use as bed-sheet in twenties of the Seventeenth century⁶⁵. In 1708 A.D. Cuttack produced both fine and

coarse cotton cloths⁶⁶. Silk goods were also produced during this period. Among the silk goods were *taffetas*. The word *taffeta* is derived from the Persian *taftan* which means to twist, spin. It was a trade term for silk piece goods introduced into Bengal by the Europeans who found the Persian word *taftan* in use to denote silk piece goods⁶⁷. Sometimes this name was also applied to plain woven silks or light thin silk stuff with considerable lustre or gloss⁶⁸.

Orissa also produced cloths of *herba* which may be identified with *tussa(tasar)*. Both Ralph Fitch and Alexander Hamilton remarks that the *herba* goods were made of grass⁶⁹. In the opinion of Yule, Burnell and sir William Foster these goods were made of *rhea*, (a kind of grass) or some kindred species⁷⁰. But John Irwin called it a synonym for a wild silk known as *tussar (tasar)*. He remarked that the early European travellers had the wrong idea that *tussar (tasar)* was not silk but spun from *herb*. This idea arose from the fact that the *tussar* cocoon looks like an organic part of the plant from which *herba* goods were made⁷¹. Of the *herba* goods manufactured in Orissa made of *taffetas*, *lungies*, *ginghams* and *peniaseoes*. Peniaseoes are fabrics generally made of pineapple fibre⁷². But these were also made of *herba*.

Cloths of silk and cotton mixed together were also manufactured. Peter Mundy in the thirties of the seventeenth century remarked to the production of *linen* striped with white silk⁷³. Hamilton refers to the production of *rumals*, *qurrahs* and *lungies* of silk and cotton mixed at Cuttack. in 1708 A.D.⁷⁴.

Moreland remarked that the artisan system of production prevailed in medieval India. The two chief characteristics of this system were that the

management of business was not separated from the work of manufacture and that artisans carried on the production without any superior capitalist direction⁷⁵. This remark was not entirely true of medieval Orissa. With the growth of European settlements the situation changed to some extent. As the European Companies made advances to the weavers to enable them to buy their raw materials and support themselves while at work, the latter were compelled to sell the finished products to the merchants of those European Companies, who thus came to exercise some sort of capitalist domination over the weavers.

The subsidiary industry for bleaching and dyeing of textile fabrics also developed in medieval Orissa. Bleaching and dyeing of fabrics were also undertaken at Cuttack. The establishment of European factories in Orissa during the medieval period gave a whole-some boost to the textile industry. The European factors, more particularly of the English, became a veritable heaven of refuge for the harassed people. Wherever there was a European factory, the weavers and artisans colonies cropped up around them. The English factories persuaded the interior weavers and artisans to come together into a large village under the protection of the Company's troops. As a result weavers living at different places left their own habitations and took their new abode in the rising new centers of industries. Because of the patronisation and encouragement from the English, there was a regular influx of the illfated and neglected weavers to the industrial areas. The European factors gave *dadnis* (advances) to the weavers and artisans. The merchants and artisans were assured of a regular sale of their products. Further, the individual weaver

also had a wider choice of masters. The increased competition of the factors for the Orissan products brought forth the development of textile industry.

The ship building industry gave employment to many local craftsmen and artisans who earned their livelihood. The question of building ships and boats at a place depends largely on the facilities in assembling the ship and boat building materials like steel, iron, fuel, cloth and timber. In the middle ages timber was the determining factor and ships and boats could be built at places where suitable timber could be procured⁷⁶. Timber came from the jungles of Orissa. Iron and cloth manufactured in various place of Cuttack were also procurable. Moreover many shipwrights lived at different places of Cuttack. The prosperity of trade, availability of cheap articles, the presence of sea shore, the piracy practised by the Arkanese pirates on the coast of Orissa and the need for having adequate naval resources for dealing with any defying foreign power in the harbour and to play a good number of ships from and to Cuttack prompted the Mughal government to open a ship construction and repairing centre with suitable dockyard. From the above discussion, it is seen that ship building and boat building industry flourished in medieval Orissa. The Mughal government open a ship building centers for reasons like to defend the eastern boundary of the Mughal empire against foreign merchants, to make the coast safe and secure against the inroads of Feringees (Assamese pirates) and other raiders, to transport goods in ships from one part of the empire to the other to send ships to distant foreign lands like Ceylon, Burma to bring desired rare articles not available in the Muslim empire.

Coming to the iron industry, it was one of the well developed industries of medieval Orissa. Many people earned their livelihood working in the smelting of iron and preparation of different tools used for various purposes. R. L. Mitra remarks that iron was obtained from Cuttack, where it is smelted to this day and was of excellent quality⁷⁷. Iron procured from several places including Cuttack was smelted with the use of charcoal and the *Kamaras* (Blacksmiths) of medieval Orissa knew the art of manufacturing many articles of iron. Since the people of the period were mostly agriculturists, for the manufacture and repair of agricultural implements the services of blacksmiths seems to be indispensable. Apart from the agricultural implements they manufactured other articles of general use. The Muslim rule has been considered as a great age of temple building. In the temples of medieval Orissa, there was profuse use of iron beams. Further the fine workmanship on stone indicates that iron instruments of great fineness were used. In the construction of the *Raths* (cars) of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra which were used in the *Ratha Yatra* (car festival), lots of iron work was carried out. All these prove that like other parts of Orissa, iron industry was in a flourishing condition in Cuttack.

Besides, various kinds of weapons and armament made of iron were manufactured. Brajanath Badajena in his work *Samara Taranga*⁷⁸ refers to weapons and instruments like *kunta*, *gupti*, *pharasa*, *tangi*, *katari chakra*, *banka chhuri* or *banka katari*, *chhora*, *badi bandhuka*, *bhala balama*, *barchha*, *dampa nagara*, *nagara mahuri*, *nisana* or *dhansa*, *dhalamuli ghasa*, *dhola*, *chadaka nali* (flint gun) *tarabara*, *peta* (peta gaunt let), *dhupa* (one edged

sword), *khadga* (double edged sword), *jajala*, *badav*, *dholaki*, *swara dhala* etc⁷⁹. The manufacture of all these weapons and instruments provide clue to the existence of metallurgy in Orissa which provided employment to many people. From the above discussion, it is remarked that there was profuse use of iron in the construction of temples, buildings, ships, boats in the manufacture of different kinds of weapons and armaments, agricultural implements and various other instruments and tools. A good number of people who were engaged in the different branches of iron industry like iron smelting and manufacture of iron earned their livelihood. There is no denying of the fact that it was a flourishing industry of medieval Orissa.

The inscriptional and literary sources describe about the manufacture of articles of different other metals like gold, silver, bronze, copper and brass. There were different professional classes in the society like *svarnakara*, and *kansari* who manufactured various ornaments and articles of daily use. The inordinate love for ornamentation of both men and women is well understood from the varieties of ornaments, which were in use. All sections of people whether rich or poor were in favour of ornaments. Those who could afford, used ornaments of gold and silver set with diamond and pearls where as, the ornaments of the poor were made of inferior metals like tin, copper and of alloys like bronze and brass. Abul Fazl and Thomas Bowery⁸⁰ remark that, all such ornaments were made out of gold, silver and alloys of some other metals by the *svarnakaras* or goldsmiths. The profuse use of ornaments both by men and women proves the fact that the craft of jewellery must have been very flourishing and it must have given considerable employment to a large

number of people in Cuttack. Since the *Subahdar* and other officers associated with the administration of Orissa were remaining at Cuttack and many eminent and rich persons had settled here right from the days of the Gangas and Suryavamsis, naturally Cuttack had become a center of excellence in producing jewellery of precious metals and stones which had a large demand in those high families. Even to-day Cuttack retains its importance in making high quality of ornaments and filigree works. The forests of Orissa supplied ingredients to various industries and provided opportunities of employment to the people. From the archaeological remains, inscriptional and literary references it is remarked that the wood work industry had developed in Cuttack. Mostly, the carpenters were engaged in this industry. They manufactured the articles of domestic use like bedsteads, stools, lamp stands, *mej* or table introduced by the Portuguese in Orissa etc⁸¹. They also manufactured the articles used in the construction of palaces, forts and temples. The chariots in which the idols of the Jagannath puri were carried in procession during the Car Festival was made of wood with much iron work and showed excellent workmanship. The cars were engraved with figures of different animals⁸². Cuttack was a center for carpentry, logs of wood were sent from this place to Puri for making images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra and Sudarsan and Chariots. That is why a place in Cuttack town is famous even to-day as Purighat on the river bank of Kathajori. Even the name Kathajori, has its significance. It means joining of woods (Katha). Since logs of woods had been joined together to form bridge for crossing the river. Perhaps, its name has become Kathajori right from the Muslim rule in Cuttack.

Lac ⁸³ culture was practised in medieval Orissa. It is used for various purposes e.g. in making sealing wax, lac-dye, varnishes, medicinal oil and also in manufacturing bracelets, rings, beads and other trinkets used as ornaments. Production of gum-lac at Cuttack was seen by William Bruton in 1633 A.D⁸⁴. Alexander Hamilton also remarked that the stick-lac was produced in Cuttack⁸⁵. Like to-day lac might have been used in sealing the royal letters which were despatched from the office of the Governor of Cuttack to different parts of Orissa and out side Orissa.

Bee-wax better known as mom was also produced in Cuttack. It is used as a votive offering of temples and churches, in medicine for preparation of ointment and plaster, by the shoe-makers, silver and goldsmiths, brass and copper foundrymen for various purposes⁸⁶. Alexander Hamilton also remarked the availability of bee-wax in the woods around Cuttack⁸⁷. Honey is used as an article of food as well as for preserving food in preparing medicine. From the reference to the production of bee- wax, it is evident that honey was also produced in Cuttack like other parts of Orissa. The separation of honey from wax was perhaps done in the crude manner by the persons who collected the honey combs.

It can be said without doubt that stone work industry was in a flourishing condition in medieval period, that preceded Muslim rule⁸⁸. However, with the advent of the Muslims there seems a marked decline of this industry. The patronisation which the workers on stone received under the Hindu rulers was no more seen under the Muslim administration . They were ultimately

reduced to village stone-masons, manufacturing the articles of daily use of the people. Though the stone work industry, during the Muslim period was no more prevalent on a large scale, yet apparently to some artisans and masons, it provided means of livelihood. As evidenced, Orissa could also export articles on stone to other provinces. Stone dishes and cups made at Cuttack were greatly prized in the market of Calcutta where duties were levied on these articles in the fifties of the eighteenth century⁸⁹. Ivory industry was also developed in Cuttack. Luxury articles seem to be manufactured from ivory (*hasti danta*) for the wealthier people who largely concentrated in Cuttack and its suburbs during the Muslim rule in Orissa.

Thomas Bowery in the seventies of the seventeenth century referred to the use of bangles made of conch by the people of Orissa⁹⁰. It is very likely that these conch bangles were the local products. The contemporary literature remarked an occupational social group, viz, *Sankhari* (workers in shells). The *Sankharis* were engaged in the shells industry. They produced the shell ornaments for the people and thereby earned their livelihood. The potteries of different types and varieties such as cooking utensils, dishes, cups, saucers, pots, lamps of various designs, bowls, vases and toys were commonly used by the people of Cuttack. For centuries together such potteries are in use in the temples of Orissa. A professional class viz. *Kumbharas* (potters) who were associated with this industry, earned their means of sustenance. Cuttack was not an exception in these regards.

Sugar industry also existed in medieval Orissa. William Bruton remarked the manufacture of sugar at Cuttack in 1633 A.D.⁹¹. Production of pretty

good sugar, both of white and brown at Cuttack was remarked by Alexander Hamilton in 1708 A.D.⁹². By brown sugar he might be referring to an inferior kind of sugar viz, *desi chini* or *bhura*. A considerable portion of raw material of this industry must have been worked up for consumption in the form of *gur* or *jaggery*. So, it can be held that the sugar industry depended on indigenous production of raw materials. Sugar was an article of the investemnt of the English East India Company in Orissa. The English factories purchased sugar from Orissa during the thirties and forties of the seventeenth century. Sugar, is an important item in the daily use and is equally important in functions and ceremonies. Cuttack witnessed its production in abundance during the Muslim rule.

In medieval India, salt was produced from the mines as well as by evaporating sea water. But in Orissa, salt could be obtained only by boiling sea water. Thomas Bowery referred to the manufacture of salt in Orissa by the people, living by the sea side. According to him many people also during the dry season of the year moved to the sea side to manufacture salt⁹³. There is no remarks about the process of manufacture of salt. Presumably, the traditional method was followed. Gernerally saturated brine was poured into the earthen pots placed on an oven and there the brine was boiled till the water evaporated and salt was left in the pots⁹⁴. Cuttack being an important place in the coastal belt of Orissa was not an exception in manufacturing salt during the Muslim rule in medieval period. Manufacturing salt had remained as an inalienable right of the people of Orissa even during the Marathas till the British established their monopoly over it.

Oil industry occupied an important place in the economic life of the people. It was an essential industry in the medieval period. The contemporary records remarked that a professional class called *Teli* or Oilman, was engaged in the oil industry. For the production of oil, the traditional method was adopted by the people. Oil was extracted by means of a large wooden mortar and pestle worked by cattle (*ghani*). The raw material of this industry was grown locally. Cuttack produced various kinds of oil the most important amongst them were gingelly (sesame) and mustard oil⁹⁵. There was great demand of oil for lightening lamps in the temples of Orissa. Castor oil was used for temple lamps which was produced locally. So, it is seen that oil was locally produced and used for various purposes. Oil was used for local consumption like lightening lamps, cooking vegetables and lubricating tools of different industries for ship building. Oil was also produced and exported to foreign countries. All these suggest the flourishing condition of oil industry which provided employment to a good number of people in medieval Orissa. Cuttack being the center of Muslim administration in Orissa, witnessed the flourishing oil industry.

Liquor industry also occupied an important place in the economic life of the people. The posts of the medieval period unilaterally condemned drinking of wine. All these prove that liquor was produced in medieval Orissa. Spirits and fermented liquors were usually prepared from the mahua flower, molasses and other forms of unrefined sugar, sap of the palm tree and rice⁹⁶. The English factories took liquor from Cuttack to their East coast factories. William Bruton refers to the non-availability of strong drink at Cuttack and mentions that the strangers brought it secretly from outside. The very existence of the liquor

industry indicates that people were in the habit of drinking wine. It seems probable that certain sections of the society like Brahmins and Kshatriyas were prohibited from drinking wine. After the arrivals of the Europeans on the coast of Orissa, this industry apparently was encouraged. There was much demand of liquor. As Cuttack became a place of the residence of *Subahdar*, army officers, rich men, merchants and dignitaries and regular meetings took place concerning the administration of the land, liquor consumption must have become high here in comparison to other places of Orissa.

Perfume industry was one of the oldest industries of Orissa⁹⁷. It is remarked that perfume was also used by the people of Cuttack. Use of sandal paste, rose waters, different *atars* (perfumed oils) etc⁹⁸, during the period suggest that some people were engaged in the occupation of perfumery. There was no detailed account on the organisation of the industry. But there were emperors like Akbar who encouraged the development of this industry⁹⁹. Right from his time it developed Orissa also manufactured luxury articles. The local manufactures supplied the perfumed articles as required. Such perfumed articles seems to have been in demand by the rich and fashionable section of society in Cuttack. Thus, industries formed an important aspect of economic life of the people in medieval Orissa. The various industries included textile, ship-building, boat-building, works on iron and other metals, jewellery, wood work, lac, bee-wax, honey, stone-work, ivory-work, shell, pottery, sugar, salt, saltpetre, refining, oil, liquor and perfumery. Amongst them, textile, iron, jewellery, wood work, oil, sugar, salt, saltpetre, refining industries were the

major ones. The presence of the European traders and their trade activities in Orissa, during the Muslim period gave great encouragement to the textile ship-building, boat-building, iron, wood work, saltpetre, refining, oil and liquor industries. Consequently these industries development in medieval Orissa. The Muslim Governor stationed at Cuttack paid attention for the development of these industries like agriculture. Perhaps under his encouragement fashionable items found their way from many parts of Orissa to Cuttack and scattered to the needs of the people.

There was a Mughal mint at Cuttack. Coins were manufactured there. The mint began at the time of Aurangzeb. This was the only mint during the Mughal rule in Orissa. Thus, Cuttack played a vital role in the economic activities of medieval Orissa¹⁰⁰.

The industrial activities of the people brought forth a change in their socio economic status. The people of Orissa could produce all the articles necessary for life. Even, there were surplus productions of textile articles, oil, stone dishes, salt which could be exported to other parts of India and foreign countries. Thus, Orissa was a self-sufficient unit so far her industrial requirements were concerned. There must have been an improvement in their economic condition. The various types of textile, jewellery, ivory and perfumery productions of medieval Orissa clearly reflect the taste of the people, which underwent a change. Thus, the industrial life of the people was full of activities. Industries provided them with employment and manifold economic benefits¹⁰¹. Cuttack being the center of Muslim administration in Orissa witnessed all these flourishing trends in her economy.

Orissa is trade and commercial activities during the Muslim period received great encouragement with the establishment of European factories. The seventeenth century, more particularly, remained as an important period in the annals of Orissan history. Externally, it was a period of momentous changes in her relation with the European mercantile nations, marked by the gradual decline of the Portuguese and the increasing commercial penetration by the other Europeans. Internally, it experienced the regular administration and stability of the Mughals. Under these favourable circumstances, Hariharapur of Cuttack district (the present Jagatsinghpur) grew into prominence as important commercial and naval centers on the Orissan coast.

The importance of Orissa as a great trading province is evidenced by the existence of factories by five European nations during the Muslim period. The Europeans who first had their trading settlement on the coast of Orissa were the Portuguese. After the discovery of the sea route to India (1498 A.D.), the Portuguese came to the coast of Madras and had their settlements there. The native people of Madras got so much frightened at the growth of a foreign power that they in a mass rose against the Portuguese and made their position untenable. As a result, the Portuguese were forced to move to the north in search of another place for their settlement and succeeded in establishing a town at Pipli in 1514 A.D.. Pelsaert in the twenties of the seventeenth century referred to the Portuguese carrying on trade at Bipilbande(Pipli), Dacca and Satagaon. In April 1633 A.D. William Bruton an described Pipli as a port town of the Portuguese¹⁰². Thomas Colley remarked Pipli as the ancient rendezvous of the Portuguese¹⁰³. In 1636 A.D. the

Portuguese obtained a permission from Mutaqad Khan, the *Subahdar* of Cuttack, to establish an additional residency at Pipli¹⁰⁴. The Portuguese brought from Mallacca and Maccao spices, wollen cloth, tin, lead, quick silver and vermillion and purchased at Harishpur situated in the extreme south east of the Cuttack district, many kinds of white cotton cloth, muslin, butter, rice, gingelly seed and such other goods. This brought them huge profit.

In Orissa, the trade monopoly of the Portuguese for a century had to be challenged by the Dutch with the help of the native powers. The Dutch managed to enter the Bay of Bengal and handled a considerable amount of commercial transactions in Orissa from their factories located at Gingelly coast, Pipli and Harishpur. It is not certain when the Dutch opened trade relation with Cuttack. J. Beams writing on the basis of some Cuttack records observes that the Dutch obtained a plot of land from *Nawab* Mutaqad Khan who was appointed deputy of Shah Shuja in Orissa in 1645 A.D. So the Dutch could not have obtained the grant prior to 1645 A.D., even if it be taken for granted that they obtained the said grant in the very year of Mutaqad Khan's appointment in Orissa as the *Subahdar* of Orissa¹⁰⁵. Another centre of Dutch trade was Harishpur situated on the mouth of river Patua. From there, the Dutch purchased calicoes of considerable quantity in the seventies of the seventeenth century ¹⁰⁶.

The Dutch carried on extensive trade in Orissa. Textile goods, silk, saltpetre, wax, rice, sugar, butter, opium were the commodities on which the Dutch traded in Orissa¹⁰⁷. From different parts of the land including Cuttack, they collected these commodities. These commodities were exported from Orissa to different Asiatic countries and Europe.

The coming of the English in the Orissan trade opened up a new chapter in the textile, manufactured in Orissa. Regular attempt to open trade with Orissa by the English seems to have commenced with the voyage of *Hopewell*(ship) despatched in July 1631 A.D. under the charge of Thomas Robinson who was sent from Masulipatam to Pipli. At Calapara, they were favourably received by Baquir Khan, *Subahdar* of Orissa, who was then present there¹⁰⁸. Although the enterprise failed of its expected success, yet proved not altogether fruitless. The second adventure by the *Pearl*(ship) in August 1632 A.D. proved no better. The *Pearl* had been sent from Armagaon to exchange lead, quick silver, vermilion and cloth for rice, butter and spice goods but the enterprise failed.

John Norris, English Agent at Masulipatam in the spring of 1633 A.D. sent a party of eight Englishmen, consisting of two merchants (Ralph Cartwright, the leader and Colley) and six sailors (one of them was William Bruton, quarter- master of the ship *Hopewell*) in an expedition towards north in search of trade facilities. They sailed the Orissa coast and anchored at Harsapur situated in the extreme south east of the Cuttack district on the mouth of river Patua on Easter day, i.e., the 21st April 1633 A.D. ¹⁰⁹. When the English landed there a Portuguese master of a frigate and his followers attacked them but they were rescued by Lucklip the rogger or vice king¹¹⁰. From that place, they put their belongings or merchandise in small boats and passed in the river upto a distance of six miles as far as Kosita(Kosida). From there, they took up the high road and passing through the prominent villages of Balikuda., Benahara and the important town Jagatsinghpur arrived at Cuttack.

Ralph Cart Wright and William Bruton and some followers went to meet the Governor of Orissa, residing in Malcandy (Mukunda Deva's Palace) at fort Barabati. They carried some presents for the Governor to obtain permission for custom free trade in Orissa. At that time, Mutaqad Khan (Mirza Maki) was the Governor of Orissa. It appears that the Governor was generous and friendly to the English. The English merchants succeeded in procuring a *Parwana* (5th May 1633 A.D.) from the Mughal Governor to trade free of all customs, to purchase ground erect factories and to build or repair ships in the province of Orissa¹¹¹. Equipped with this *Parwana*, the English left Cuttack (on May 9, 1633 A.D.) and proceeded to Hariharpur (situated close to the modern Jagatsinghpur). William Bruton described Hariharpur as very full of people six or seven miles in compass, containing many merchants and plenty of all things and at least three thousand weavers that are house-keepers, besides all other that do work, being bound or hired¹¹². The English presented *Parwana* to the Governor of the town and offered him some presents. At this he pledged his best assistance and help. The English hired a house there till they could build one and began trading operation. Leaving Colley in charge of Hariharpur, Cartwright and two other Englishmen, Edward Peterford and William Withal left on June 16, 1633 A.D.¹¹³. Further the Governor granted the English 12 *Batis* (a *bati* is 20 *bighas*) of land in the present Barabati area which was then rising into some importance as a port¹¹⁴. Cartwright founded the principal factory in Barabati area. The factory was protected on one side by the river Barabalanga and on the other three sides by moats.

The English factors, initially faced a number of problems in their commercial operation. Firstly, being new-comers, the English factors were

ignorant of the commercial needs of the people of Orissa. Lead and broad cloth brought by the *Swan* remained unsold for years together. These were not in demand among the people¹¹⁵. Secondly, the English could get there generally nothing except of fruits and *arrack* (juice or a spirit from date palm), which they took often excess. As a result, some grew sick and died. Further the deadly Malaria during the rainy season caused much mortality among the English. Thomas Colley died of fever at Hariharpur. A good number of people of the *Swan* also died of sickness. The want of care or the inability to adjust to the new climate brought miseries and for some time, the climate hindered the progress of trade at this initial stage¹¹⁶. Thirdly, lack of honest and dependable servants (factors and writers) stood in the way of their expansion of trade. Further Colley, Chief of Hariharpur factory, wrote to Cartwright that there was no such servant as could be trusted even for seven rupees and be sent to Jagannath(Puri) to procure cloth and so he himself intended to proceed to Puri to dispose of there some goods lying unsold at Hariharpur¹¹⁷. Fourthly, the English factors also indulged in some undesirable activities. Cartwright was detected in an intrigue with the wife of a Muhammedan dwelling next door to the English factory at Hariharpur for which the *Nawab* not only fined him but also ordered to demolish the factory building. Fifthly, the envy of other European settlers on the cost of Orissa and their opposition affected the English trade.

Although, the portuguese met with reverses in 1632A.D. still they retained considerable hold on the trade of the country. They again had found great favour with Shah Jahan and returned to Hughli. The Portugese became too

much envious at the presence of the English factors for the reason that their monopolistic trade would suffer and the profits they derived from such trade would decline in consequence of a competition with another prospective European power like the English. This prompted them to pick up hostilities with the English and if possible to drive them away from the Orissa coast. Therefore, when the English opened a port at Hariharpur, the Portuguese from Pipli launched an attack on the first English 'Junk' and brought the defeat to the English on the coast of Orissa in the year 1633A.D.¹¹⁸. Seventhly difficulty also came from the Arakanese pirates. In 1633A.D. the boat of the *Swan* which was sent ashore to bring water was attacked by the Arakanese pirates,¹¹⁹ who killed three of her men, took the rest as prisoners with them to Pipli where the prisoners were ransomed by a portuguese captain for four hundred rupees¹²⁰. Eighthly, lack of funds for making investments was another hindrance to the early English trade in Orissa. Owing to internal difficulties, the East India Company could not supply required funds to the factors on the Orissa coast. Lastly, sufficient number of ships, pinnaces or coasters (small coastal crafts) were not supplied to the factors. This also hampered the trade operations. So, these were the problems in which English suffered very much in trade.

The early problems, as discussed above, made them to remain content with the factories of Hariharpur (Present Jagatsinghpur) in Cuttack district. But Hariharpur fell into decay because the mouth of the river Alanka where the vessels used to anchor silted up and it became dangerous for the ships to ride there¹²¹. As regards Cuttack, Alexander Hamilton (1708A.D.) remarks that the English had a fine factory at Cuttack and that its walls were still standing during his visit to that place¹²².

The trade of the Danish Company in Orissa did not prosper to the same extent as those of the other European Companies mainly for two reasons. Firstly, it got very little help from its home government which was urgently necessary for its survival¹²³. Secondly, its conflict with the local authorities in Orissa put it in disadvantageous position till the seventies of the seventeenth century and by that time the European Companies having established themselves firmly in Orissa the Danish Company could not compete with them. The trade of the Danes would have been totally wiped out had they not secured some privileges of trade from *Nawab* Shaista Khan¹²⁴. This was possible due to the efforts of Wilke Wygbert (the chief of the Danish factory)¹²⁵. By spending a sum of four or five thousand rupees as presents and bribe he succeeded to procure from *Nawab* Shaista Khan a *Parwana* for custom free trade by the Danes in Orissa¹²⁶. From the correspondence of the English factories in 1676 A.D. it is evident that Shaista Khan issued a *Parwana* to the Danes and its provisions were similar to those of the *Parwana* granted to the English and Rai Nandalal, the *Nawab's* diwan stopped its immediate delivery to the Danes to export presents from them¹²⁷. So, the Danish factory was fortified by a natural moat which connected it with the river and defended it from land attacks. On the north side the merchants had excavated a small dock for shipping¹²⁸.

Notwithstanding the aforesaid efforts, the trade of the Danish Company in Orissa did not prosper to the same extent as those of the other European Companies mainly for two reasons. Firstly, it got very little help from its home government which was urgently necessary for its survival. Secondly, its conflict with local authorities in Orissa put it in disadvantageous position till the

seventies of the seventeenth century and by that time the European Companies having established themselves firmly in Orissa, the Danish Company could not compete with them.

In 1673A.D., the French established commercial contact with Orissa. The main items in which the French traded in Orissa were sugar, linen, silk, wax, saltpetre, *sannoos* etc¹²⁹. The trade of the Ostend Company¹³⁰(of Austria) in Orissa was negligible in comparison with those of the other European companies. The English at once ordered their brokers and servants not to help the Ostenders in any way¹³¹.

Orissa, in the medieval period, with her surplus products of agricultural as well as industrial, carried out inter provincial and foreign trade. Rice being profusely cultivated, formed the major part of export not only to different parts of India but also outside India. Though Cuttack was not a great rice exporting centre, but from there the stored rice was sent to Bengal and different parts of Mughal empire. Rice was taken as share of government from among the people¹³².

Orissa was an excellent and extensive cloth manufacturing area¹³³. Cuttack being the centre for the export of such commodities collected from various parts of Orissa. The cotton and textiles manufactured in Orissa had a wide market in foreign countries. The principal articles of trade for export from Orissa were saltpetre, turmeric, sugar, cotton yarn, taffetas, raw silk, *sannoos*, tincall, *dussuttee* or coarse soil cloth. Saltpetre was most important of them¹³⁴. Gingham and millas were also collected for export. The principal articles of import in Orissa were lead, quick silver, vermilion, copper alum,

brimstone, broad-cloth, cowries, coral, dried fish, tobacco and various articles of luxury¹³⁵. Elephants, elephant-tusks, arecanuts, cinaamon and conch-shells were also imported into Orissa.

The Portuguese from Malacca, Sumatra and Borneo brought to Orissa articles like brocades, brocateles, cloth, velvets, damaskas, satins, taffetas, tafissirias. From Malacca they also brought cloves, nutmegs and mace, and from Borneo the highly prized camphor.

The whole trade of the English East India Company consisted in the sale of broad cloth, perpets, copper, iron, lead and a few other commodities from Europe, and in the purchase of piece-goods, silk, drugs, saltpetre and other articles for the cargoes of their returning ships.

The Dutch carried on a considerable trade on articles like tin, camphor, bengamin, tuthenaigue, sugar, spices, china-ware and arrack¹³⁶. The Dutch Company carried on extensive trade with the Far Eastern countries in the Orissa goods like cotton textiles, provisions such as rice, butter, oil and opium¹³⁷ for textiles trade. Cuttack in those days occupied a prominent position.

Orissa during the Muslim period had extensive trade and commercial relationship with Bengal, Bihar, Northern India, Gujrat, Surat, Dacca, Kerala and the places in the Eastern coast viz Narasapur,¹³⁸ Vizagapatam, Masulipatam. The principal articles of export from Orissa to different places were rice, gram, butter, sugar, textile goods, gingelly seed, salt, iron, stone-plates, *maina* bird, lead and broad-cloth. Orissa imported mainly articles like tobacco, spices and saltpetre. There are also occasional references to

the import of rice and salt into Orissa. The imports of rice and salt might be of superior qualities.

The European factors *viz*, the English, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes and the French controlled the whole of Orissa's external trade by establishing contact with the Orissan merchants and producers of different articles of investment. Among all the European factors the English had a better share in the external trade of Orissa. Ceaser Frederike in the sixties of the sixteenth century remarked that every year in the ports of Orissa about 25 or 30 ships big as well as small were laden with rice, various kinds of bombast cloths¹³⁹ gingelly oil and large quantities of *herba* cloth. So during the Muslim period, Orissa had commercial relationship with Persia, Maldiv islands, Malaysia, Burma, Indonesia, China and Ceylone in Asia. Her trade contact with Europe mainly extended to the Ports of England. The chief articles of export through the European merchants were cloth, sugar and iron.

Orissa had extensive trade contact with Maldives islands. Alexandar Hamilton remarks that the Maldives had to depend on Orissan rice as it was not produced there¹⁴⁰. Abbe Raynal also remarks to the export of rice, coarse cloths and some silk stuffs from Orissa to the Maldives¹⁴¹. Orissa imported cowries and core from the Maldiv islands. Ibn Batuta remarks the import of cowries from the Maldiv islands to Bengal¹⁴². Cowries were very cheap, but in Orissa it was sold at a high profit. The commodities imported to Orissa were broad-cloth of various colours, scarlet, bullion of gold and silver, rial of eight Spanish dollar, copper, quicksilver, lead, vermillion, coral, glasses, knives, bizimstone, spelter, ivory, sallan wood and some articles of luxury¹⁴³. All these articles imported were not demanded in Orissa.

In the seventeenth century rice and muslim remained as important items of export from the ports of Pipli and Cuttack to Pegu and Tenassarim. Orissa's import from Tenassarim consisted of elephants and lead. Elephants in those days were mainly used in the army as means of conveyance and in religious procession. Persian chroniclers like Shams-i-Siraj-Afif, Abul Fazl and others remark to the abundance of elephants in Orissa. Orissa imported elephants from Ceylone and Ceylone also received the supplies of rice from Orissa. Thomas Bowery remarks to the import of elephants from Ceylone to Orissa¹⁴⁴. The Other articles of import from Ceylone were elephant tusks, areca-nuts, cinnamon and conchshells¹⁴⁵. Many of those imported articles reached Cuttack for the use of high class people including the Muslim *Subahdar*.

The exports from Orissa to various parts of Europe were textile products of different varieties, *e.g., gingham, sannoes, rumals, gurrahs, mulmuls, cassas, hammams, nillaes, salampores, calicoes, peniascoes, silk rumals*, cotton yarn, sugar, saltpetre, lac, turmeric, iron, wax and opium. Cowries which were imported to Orissa from Maldiv islands were also exported from Orissa to Europe. With Malacca and Junk Ceylone, Orissa established her trade contact by sending her articles *Viz*, butter, oil and gingelly seed.

The merchants played an important role in Orissan trade. Sometimes they dominated the commercial life of the country and assisted the foreign Companies in their commercial pursuits.

The brokers or otherwise known as local merchants or native entrepreneurs played a significant role in Orissa's trade. They took active part in Orissa's trade and also acted as the middle man between the producers

and the European merchants. The merchants of Orissa belonged to both the Hindu and Muslim communities. The travel accounts mention about some local merchants of Orissa. They were Khemchand (Chimcham), Chintaman Shah (Chintamund), Suraj Shah, Hira Shah, Kalyan Rai, Rajaram and Ram Narayan and Gopal, the principal merchants of Cuttack who played an important part in the Orissan trade¹⁴⁶. They used to send iron, stone plates, rice, tobacco and some other commodities to different parts of Orissa. The merchants of Orissa also carried on trade with Asiatic countries. They played an intermediary role between the local producers and European Companies. The European traders had to depend on them for the supply of articles of investment for export as well as for the sale of the European commodities brought in Orissa. The European merchants competed with one another to have direct access to the original producers through the brokers. The English factors used to give *dadnis* (advances) to the brokers by taking proper security from them, who were bound to make good their contract within the stipulated time and were under the obligation of supplying their goods, exclusively to the English.

Thus, the brokers were obliged to deliver the goods in proper time *i.e.* just prior to shipping season or west-ward monsoon winds. The local merchants in their turn entered into similar engagements with the weavers, manufacturers and artisans, gave them advances in similar conditions and interdicted them from supplying their goods to any body save their respective merchants who gave them *dadnis*.

The brokers of Orissa were not only acting as the link between the Orissa producers and artisans and the English East India Company but also

sometimes between government officials, local Rajas and purchasers. They were subjected to the payment of internal customs duties as well as other exactions, to the government officials. During the *Subahdarship* of Shaista Khan, the merchants of Orissa had to make contributions towards strengthening the naval defence¹⁴⁷.

The merchants belonging to the Hindu community had sometimes to make extra payments. The Hindu merchants, besides paying the usual taxes and duties had to pay many extra taxes that the Muslim officer of the place used to charge from them. Sometimes the merchants evaded internal customs duties by eluding the constant vigilance of the *Faujdari* officers¹⁴⁸. They took the risk of procuring raw materials, sometimes without paying customary duties to the *Nawabs* from the local markets as well as from outside and made them available to the weavers and primary producers. For this attempt at evasion of taxes, they had to pay occasionally heavy fines in the shape of occasional financial extortions by the *Nawabs* and *Faujdars*¹⁴⁹. The *Subahdars* considered the merchants as filled sponges and extorted money from them. Besides being forced to pay large amount of money to the *Subahdars*, the merchants were harassed by the local officials in some other ways. Some of the brokers of Orissa were wealthy and influential. Khemchand appeared to be very rich. He was the accepted leader or Chief and the accredited spokesman and representative of the entire merchantile community of the place. A shrewed and tactful business magnate, he knew his trade well. Thus, the *Subahdar* from Cuttack regulated largely to the merchants, brokers and other associated with trade and commerce of medieval Orissa.

The local merchants of Orissa in the first half of the 18th century faced various difficulties in their trade operations. They were subjected to custom duties and many other financial extortion from the side of the government officials. The Muslim nobility, on their part, made constant endeavours to exclude their Indian associates and the foreigners from the internal trade by enjoying as highest bidders¹⁵⁰, the trade monopoly of particular commodities. There was also heavy competition among the European merchants to reach the primary producers, sometimes-evading internal customs duties under the umbrella of the imperial *Farman* for duty free trade. The increasing volume of private trade, the effect of natural calamities like floods and droughts and the political uncertainty had added to their difficulties. Gradually, the merchants lost foreign trade. Their condition in some cases became so precarious that as evidenced, they had to give up trading activities and take shelter under the religious shrines.

The prosecution of private trade by the Mughal *Subahdars*, factors of the European Companies, interlopers and free merchants were characteristic features of commercial life in those days. Its volume was great, involving considerable loss to the Companies concerned and immense profit to the private traders. Orissa was no exception to this practice. It was rather as known from the factory records, the prospects of private trade which allured the English traders to open trade centers in Orissa.

By private trade, *Sauda-i-khas* of the Mughal officials, meant monopoly of trade not only in many precious articles but also in most of the necessities of life on behalf of the Governor. Monopoly in purchase of the merchandise

was made at the center of production or at the ports of lading and the retail dealers were forced to purchase these goods at increased prices¹⁵¹. They were not allowed to encroach upon the Company's monopoly and could send to Europe only articles like precious stones. The Company also gave legal sanction to protect private trade. For furthering the cause of private trade the servants of the East India Company in Orissa secured an order with a view to suspend the custom of giving large presents to the local Mughal officers, then prevalent¹⁵². To regulate or suppress the excess of private trade, the authorities of the Company framed rules from time to time. It is likely that the Company's servants in Orissa had to abide by these rules. Further, the Muslim Governors from Cuttack regulated trade and commerce having a firm grip over the activities of the merchants.

The internal as well as external trade of Orissa, which received a new strides in the early part of the seventeenth century with the participation of indigenous and foreign merchants, could not continue to flourish for long. With the gradual march of time, many factories were at work, which hindered the prosperity of trade. For the operation of trade and commerce in Orissa, the European leading agencies had to pay customs and transit duties to the Mughal authorities on all transactions *i.e.* on the import and export of various articles. Even though the merchants paid the normal duties their commercial activities were not free from difficulties. To a great extent, the conduct of trade depended on the privileges secured through *Farmans* and *Nishans* granted by the Mughal emperors and princes, respectively. The privilege merchants were to get exemption from the payment of customs and transit

duties (partly or fully), to build factory houses according to their needs, to build or repair ships at the ship building centers on the Orissa coast as per necessity by making payment to the workers at the usual rate and to get rid of other difficulties like opening of the goods of the merchants on the way for forced sale at under rates, realisation of arrears from the merchants, exaction of *cutborrah* (customs on wood) on some occasions and molestation of traders. Again, as the trade privileges were very often infringed by the Mughal *Subahdars* at the provincial level, procurement of confirmations of trade privileges was resorted to by the European Companies. Such an administrative requirement for trade operation was then considered very irksome for certain reasons. Firstly, the merchants had to offer bribes and presents to the Mughal *Subahdars*, for procuring trade privileges¹⁵³. Secondly, a race for procuring more and more trade privileges started amongst the European trading Companies¹⁵⁴. Although the main purpose of granting privileges was to smoothen the trade activities, it could not become so. The merchants with the passage of time, became subjected to harassment by local officers. Further, it indirectly encouraged official corruption and adversely affected the trade. The frequent changes in Governorship of Orissa and their short tenures which became a common feature during the latter part of the Mughal rule in Orissa, also hindered the smooth operation of trade. It was customary for a new Governor to renew the existing trade privileges. But it often became a difficult affair on the part of the merchants to deal with all the local Governors and their subordinate officers. As a result, various exactions of Mughal officials, their interference with the free passage of merchandise, receipt of bribes as well as forced presents in the form of money, guns, horses

and luxury articles became very common. Naturally, such situation could no more be considered as congenial for flourishing trade. The Muslim Governors stationed at Cuttack were largely responsible for this. Had they become scrupulous, the economic condition of Orissa would have increased to a great extent. They spent their life in luxury at Cuttack and extracted money from the merchants and others associated with trade and commerce. This brought the decline of trade and commerce in medieval Orissa in general and Cuttack, in particular.

Thus conceived, the overall picture of the economic condition during Muslim rule in Orissa was satisfactory. The Muslim *Subahdars* of Orissa who carried on their administration from Cuttack were largely responsible for this. During the early rule of these Governors, the condition of the people was prosperous as because they took interest in the improvement of agriculture. However, towards the close of the Muslim rule and with the coming of the European to this land and establishment of factories in the coastal districts, the Governors became greedy. Agriculture in Orissa was not paid due attention. The Governors extracted money from the merchants. Even some merchants, as stated earlier, bribed the Governors at Cuttack for securing his permission to establish factories¹⁵⁵. When trade and commerce grew, the Governors extracted more and more money from the merchants and middlemen. This brought decline in commercial activities. Of course, Cuttack was not largely affected by this as other parts of Orissa, because it was the centre of Muslim administration in medieval Orissa.

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CHAPTER - V

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL IMPACT OF MUSLIM RULE ON CUTTACK

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL IMPACT OF MUSLIM RULE ON CUTTACK

On the eve of the Muslim conquest the society in Orissa had undergone changes due to the proliferation of caste. The Vaishnavism of Sri Chaitnya and *Pancha Sakhas* thrived in assimilation with Jagannath cult which largely shaped the culture of this land. After the consolidation of the Muslim rule in Orissa and the conversion of Hindus to Islamic faith, a new situation emerged in its socio-religious scenario. A synthetic culture emerged in Orissa which absorbed the Hindu and Muslim elements. Thus, marked changes occurred in the socio-religious firmament of medieval Orissa. However, the traditional frame work of Orissan society remained stable and religion, unchanged to a great extent.

In pre-Muslim period, the bulk of population in Orissa were the Hindus. So, the Hindu society was split in the line of Aryan polity into four major classes viz, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. Kautilya remarks that the king, as the promulgator of *dharma*, should protect the four fold caste system¹. The protection of the established order of society was an important aspect of State craft, and the maintenance of the social order based on castes, was a most emphasised function of the head of the state². Among the Hindus, the Brahmins occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy. They, mostly belong to the Utkal class (of Brahmins) and enjoyed a very highest position in the society and they performed duties both religious and secular.

The main distinction recognised among the Brahmins were those of the *Gotras* and *Pravaras*. *Gotras* may roughly be translated as family or lineage and *Pravara* was probably named after some illustrious teacher or ancestor who had contributed to the prestige of the family³. As per the *Smritis* and *Dharmasastras*, since the ancient times the Brahmin class was concerned with the intellectual and spiritual enterprises. The main functions performed by Brahmins were the study and teaching of the Vedas and performance of religious rites⁴. The Persian chronicles, Oriya literature and *Madalapanji* confirm the existence of a host of *Purohits* or Brahmin priests attached to the temples of Orissa⁵. The priests were performing mainly the religious rites⁶. From very ancient times the Brahmins were allowed to adopt the profession of Kshatriya or Vaishya, if they are unable to maintain their livelihood by teaching, officiating as priests or accepting donations⁷.

Next to them in status were the Kshatriyas. The *Dharmasastra* entrusts the Kshatriyas with administrative and military tasks⁸. During the ancient period, political and administrative power was enjoyed by the ruling dynasties who were belonged to the Kshatriya caste. Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* remarks that the Kshatriya must perform three duties *i.e.* pursuing the holy texts, the performance of *Jag* (oblation) and giving presents. He further adds, they must minister to Brahmins, control the administration of worldly government and receive the reward, protect religion, exact fines for delinquency and observe adequate measure therein, punish in proportion to the offence, amass wealth and duly expend it, supervise the management of elephants, horses and cattle and the functions of ministerial subordinates, never ask an alms and favour the meritorious and the like⁹.

The Khandaits and Karanas were two other important social groups who also enjoyed many privileges entering into the charmed circle of administration and held position nearly equal to the Kshatriyas. The word Khandaits in general means swordman (derived from the word *Khanda* a sword). It is generally admitted that the Khandaits are the descendants of the people who performed the peasant militia under the ancient Rajas of Orissa. The armies of these chieftains consisted of various castes and races, the upper ranks being offered by men of good Aryan descent, while the lower ranks were recruited, from the low castes alike of the hills and plains. As members of the militia, the Khandaits had to serve as soldiers in time of war, and in return they were given lands to hold under a strictly military tenure. Their characteristic occupation and the consequent relation with land tended to alienate them from the communities to which they had originally belonged, and eventually led, on the establishment of a well defined caste system, to the formation of the Khandait caste¹⁰. It seems probable that the Khandaits must have been performing military service during the time of war and cultivating land during the time of peace. From *Ain-i-Akbari*, it clearly remarks that the Muslim administrative officers (*Mansabdars*) were required to supply the requisite number of soldiers during the time of necessity¹¹. A. Stirling remarks, "some Khandaits of old regime or landed chiefs of other categories were given a *Sanad* with a provision for their attending on the *Faujdar* or *Nazim* with contingents of *Paik* (Jumeat) when required to do so and bound on all occasions to give their best services in subduing refractory subject"¹². Thus, the Khandaits held dependent tenure or occupied lands, provided the government military services and claimed presumably the status or rank of Kshatriyas in the society.

The Karanas or the writers caste of Orissa emerged as a new and influential social group in the medieval period. In the early epigraphs it has been described that the Karanas seem to be state officials doing clerical works also worked as scribes who wrote charters and documents. In about 10th century they seem to have crystallised into a caste group¹³. The Karanas were a well-educated caste and since education became the door to all grades of advancement in the public service, the Karanas took advantage of it. The Karanas seem to be most favoured class for recruitment into the services of Muslim government or of Zamindars as clerks, accountants and petty officers. As evidenced, *Bhoimuls* under the Muslim administration, who were responsible to look into the collection of revenue, to keep the account of the produce of the cultivation and to maintain all the particulars of the lands belonged to the Karana caste¹⁴. They were admitted to hold a position midway between the Sudras and the Brahmins and themselves claim to belong to great Vaishya or trading caste of India. There is no denying of the fact that owing to their education and better position in the administration they correspondingly improved their social status.

Within the social structure, in the next, come a large number of occupational groups. They were agriculturists, producers of different articles as well as traders. The status of such groups depended on the nature and dignity of their professions and material condition. The *Dharmasastra* entrust the Vaishyas with the agriculture and commercial functions and the Sudras, with servile and menial works of life. The epigraphic and literary sources of medieval Orissa, refer to a host of social groups viz *Chasa* (cultivator), *Kamar*

(blacksmiths), *Sunari* (goldsmith), *Kansari* (worker in brass and bell-metal), *Sankhari* (worker in shells), *Barhei* (carpenter), *Kumhar* (potter), *Baidya* (physician), *Gopala* or *Gauda* (cow-herds and milkmen). *Teli* (oil man) *Bhandari* or *Napita* (barber), *Tanti* (weaver), *Tivara* or *Keut* (fisherman), *Dhoba* (washerman) etc¹⁵. It is difficult to put each group either in Vaisya or in Sudra community because they were never a homogenous group. So from the above remarks, it can be said that these social groups remained as occupational groups in medieval Orissa. They were mostly found as agriculturists, and the rest organised into guilds which dominated trade and industry of the country and were responsible for the production of wealth.

A peep into the social status of these aforesaid groups reveals the fact that, their status mostly depended on their material condition, and the nature, dignity and independence of the profession. In the process of time as land was the chief source of wealth, and was also regarded as sacred, the *Chasas* or the cultivating caste, who obtained or held land irrespective of their origin, seem to have acquired a better social status¹⁶. In purely agricultural communities grain is the principal source of wealth and the status of the cultivators seem to be superior to that of the village artisans and menials, because the cultivators were their patrons and supporters to whom they looked for a livelihood. The status of the *Sunaris* and *Kansaris* appear to be better than that of the *Lohars*, *Barheis* and *Telis* because of their association with the sacred metals like gold, silver and copper. The travel accounts remarks the rise of *Tantis* or weavers during this period. The growth of textile industry resulted in the growth of the weaving community in the neighbourhood of

port towns in Hariharpur¹⁷. The *Napitas* or *Bhandaris*, *Dhobas* who constituted the village menials can well be presumed of occupying a lowest position in the society, because of their degrading occupations. At the lowest were the untouchables who performed duties which were unclean according to the Aryan standards. The aboriginal tribes of Orissa during the medieval period remained out of the so-called Hindu social system and hence were looked down upon. The Chandalas during medieval period occupied the lowest position in the Orissan society and regarded as the most degraded of the human species since the ancient times.

It is interesting to know that, although the impact of the rules of the ancient law-givers on respective Hindu social groups, in regard to the performance of various caste functions was there, yet, the society did not rigidly follow them. Instances were many to see the people changing their respective caste functions as the situations demanded. It shows the flexibility of the peoples attitude to the existing trends in social system.

The Muslims who settled down in Orissa constituted a small group. The Muslim society also manifested into four major groups. They are the *Ashraf* which is used to designate Muslims of superior stock - mostly those of foreign extraction, namely Sayyad, Shaikh, Mughal and Pathan¹⁸, who traced their origin to foreign lands such as Arabia, Persia, Turkistan or Afghanistan, (ii) the Hindus of higher birth who were converted to Islam, (iii) the clean occupational castes and (iv) the converts from the untouchable castes, Bhangi (scavengers) *Chamar* (tanners). etc¹⁹. The *Ashrafs* seemed to have commanded majority in Orissan Muslim society. They mainly lived in the towns

of Orissa including Cuttack. The *Ashrafs* were particularly conscious of their racial superiority and always emphasized that they were different from their indigenous population. The fact was that some of these *Ashraf* families were descended from the royal house and the nobility, gave the entire group a sense of pride bordering on arrogance. Further, they enjoyed social dominance because of their riches and cultural attainments.

Like the Hindu high castes, the Muslim *Ashrafs*, despite all the vicissitudes in their fortunes, remained the dominant element in their community. It appears that the few high officials and big Zamindars among the Muslims came almost exclusively from this group²⁰, in Orissa. Their knowledge of Persian which was the official language, gave them the privilege of entering into the charmed circle of Muslim administration. Thus their supremacy in the society went unquestioned during the Muslim period. Since the Muslim Governors remained in Cuttack, the place witnessed the habitation of *Ashrafs* in large number. The introduction of European community into the medieval society of Orissa was a significant event during the Muslim rule in Orissa. The Portuguese first settled in the coast of Orissa as traders in the part of 16th century²¹. They were followed by the Dutch, Danes, English and French in the 17th century. The rise of European settlements in different parts of Orissa including Cuttack, brought forth a change in the complexion of the society. The coastal towns fell under the impact of European communities. Although the Europeans essentially settled down in Orissa for commercial purposes, yet to cater to their religious needs churches were erected by them. Thus Orissa, during the period marks a break with the past

in respect of the evolution of the society. The Hindus gradually accommodated the newcomers, the Muslims and Europeans and they became parts of Orissan society. The absence of racial conflicts exhibit the better social understanding of the people belonging to all the segments of medieval Orissa. Cuttack, as a great coastal town and the capital of medieval Orissa during the Muslim rule was not an exception to it.

From the list of the different food preparations one can well surmise the excellence of Orissan cuisine. The diet of the medieval people of Orissa, as known from the contemporary accounts, consisted of same articles to-day. As rice was the major crop, it was the staple food of the people. William Bruton, Thomas Bowery, Tieffenthaler, the European travellers remark the abundance of rice²² in Cuttack. Rice was cooked, stepped in cold water and kept aside to be taken in the next day²³. Dal was prepared out of pulses like *mung*, *biri* and *harad*. Rice and dal were supplemented by fry, curry and sour dishes prepared out of green vegetables. Various kinds of vegetables, egg-plants were grown in Orissa. *Brinjal* was the most popular one²⁴. Preparations of *bhaja* (fry) *ambila* (a sour dish), *tarakari* (curry) were made out of them. All these constituted the important items of diet of the people.

Milk undoubtedly comprised one of the principal items of diet. Cows were kept even by ordinary house-holders. Various preparations of milk like curd (*dahi*), butter (*lahuni*), cheese (*cheena*), ghee, as well as their combinations with rice and flour etc.²⁵ were used. People used *madhu* or *mahu* (honey) also for food purpose. Besides the items normally consumed in the daily meal, a large variety of sweet meats and savouries, generally

prepared from milk, sugar and flours were in use. Most of these items are still being enjoyed by the people of Cuttack, on special occasions and festive days. Among the sweets *khiri-khirisa*, *sarapuli*, *arisa chhenapuri*, *kakara*, *chhenaladu*, *malapua*, *gaja*, *kachuri*, *panasakhosa*, *biribada*, *khandasakara*, *phena*, *kora*, *rasagola*, *amrutarasavali*, *manda* etc. were famous²⁶. These sweet meats are highly suggestive of their fine taste, colour and flavour. A popular dish of the people on special occasions was *khichiri*, which is prepared out of rice cooked with peas or pulses, vegetables and ghee. The cotemporary travel accounts and literature remarks the consumption of non-vegetarian food by the people of Cuttack. So, hunting and eating of the meat of the killed animals was prevalent in the society. Flesh of different animals like goat, sheep, deers of all species, cocks, hen, etc. was generally taken by the people in the society. The eating of beef must have regarded as a tabbo. This leads to infer that fishing must have provided pleasure as well as food²⁷. Thomas Bowery remarks the people maintained their livelihood by adopting the profession of fishing ²⁸ William Bruton in his account remarks a *bazar* (a very fair market place) where all sorts of fruits, herbs, flesh, fish, fowl, rice, vegetables and other needful commodities were sold abundantly in Cuttack²⁹.

Orissa was famous for the production of many varieties of fruits in the medieval period. Fruits and flowers were also grown plenty in Cuttack. Ripe fruits like banana, mango, jack-fruit, orange were very commonly eaten. Thomas Bowery remarks the abundance of *amba* (mango) and cocoanut ³⁰ (*narikela*) in Cuttack. The other fruits were *panasa*, *kamala*, *jambila*, *ou*, *kendu*, *Kapita* and *Kharjur*³¹. Fruits like *angur* (grapes), *sakarakanda* (water

potato), *seu* (apple) seems to have been introduced by the Muslims into the food habit of people. The Portuguese who came to Orissa as traders in the medieval period were lovers of agri-horticulture. This prompted them to bring some useful fruits and flowers of other lands to Orissa. They brought potato from North America and in course of time, it became common article of food in Orissa. The cashew nut, pineapple, papaya and *karamanga* which are at present grown in Orissa were also introduced by Portuguese³². Thus, potato, cashew nut, pineapple, papaya and *karamanga* not only became favoured articles of food but their introduction brought forth a change in the food habit of the people. *Achar* or pickle was also introduced by the portuguese. It was prepared out of vegetables, spices and oil. Thus, the medieval period had a common and favoured food item³³ in Orissa including Cuttack.

Water has been the common drink of the people. Beverages were prepared from cheese, ripe plantains (bananas) and a mixture of curd, milk, and sugar. Green cocoanuts were also used as a type of a drink, which has often scented with camphor. Drinking wine was not absent in Orissa. Although there was social disapproval, yet, some people were in the habit of drinking wine. Various kinds of drinks were prepared and taken by the people. *Sura* and *Madira* are the common words for drinks. R. L. Mitra remarks that "the religion of Siva and that of his consort recognise, the use of spirituous liquors as an element of devotion, and it is to be supposed that the people who followed those forms of religion did avail themselves of the license to a considerable extent³⁴". There are three kinds of wines, viz. *paishti* (prepared from rice flour), *gaudi* and *madhvi* (prepared from *mahua* flower or *madhukar*

or honey). All these three kinds of wines were forbidden to Brahmins, but the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were allowed to drink *gaudi* and *madhvi* wines³⁵. It seems that drinks were usually taken on the occasion of sacrifices, worship of deities and festivities in the company of friends. In the medieval period considering the injurious affect of the use of wine, selling and drinking of wine were strictly forbidden by some Mughal emperors³⁶. Strict punishment were inflicted on drunkards³⁷. Prohibition was enforced much more strictly under Shah Jahan³⁸. In spite of restrictions, drinking of wine was prevalent. It seems quite probable that the society was against the use of drinks and disapproved of it on the whole. Since the society in Orissa was largely orthodox, the use of wine was discouraged.

Chewing *pan* fell within the fascination of both man and women. More particularly, for women it was an item of lip decoration. It was also offered to the guests as a way of showing courtesy³⁹. Orissa in contact with the Muslims and Europeans, brought-forth certain changes in the food habit of the people. Food items viz. *halua*, *jalebi*, *chapati*, *palau*, *biriani*, which became popular in the medieval period, were introduced by the Muslims in Orissa. Fruits like *kismis*, *pesta badam*, *angur*, *anar*, etc. were brought by the Muslims into Orissa which became popular food items since the medieval period. So the medieval period witnessed many changes in the food and drinks of the people in Orissa. Cuttack, as the centre of Muslim administration was also not an exception to this food habit.

The people manifested varied tastes in the use of dresses. The common men's clothing consisted of *dhoti* and *chadar*. Women generally wore sari

and jacket (*kanchala*). Men generally wore *dhoti* tied firmly round the waist and reaching down their knees as under garment and *chadar* or scarf as upper garment, either thrown over the shoulders or tied round the waist as a *Kamarband*. The style of wearing *dhoti* and *chadar* does not differ from the mode of the present time⁴⁰. The rich people appear to have used along with the *dhoti* the jewelled girdle with a pendant in front. The women adopted a tropical simplicity of dress⁴¹. The rich and well-to-do wore costly garments. The dress of Muslim society viz. *qamis* or shirt, *trouser*, *coat*, *takia qaba lungi*, *jama*, *paijama*, *rumal*, *shawls* influenced the Hindu society. The dress used by the *Palakaras* were of Mughal type. Even the impact of Muslim costumes on *Rajas* and *Zamindars* in medieval Orissa, seems to be significant. Orissa's contact with the Muslims, therefore, resulted in the development of tastes for different types of dresses, more particularly of those who could afford to it. The materials used in the preparation of various costumes reflected the people's economic status. Cotton was the most common materials for clothes known to the people of Orissa. Generally it was of coarse, medium and fine varieties. Wool, silk and tassar were fairly prevalent and used by the people. Some clothed themselves in beast's skins and birds feathers⁴².

Dressing of the hair was practised both by men and women. From the sculptures, it is remarked that women left the hair on their heads to grow as long as they could and were fond of dressing their hair in different styles with particular care. The simplest and the most popular style was the wearing of chignon. From its bulk, it appears that some padding or stuffing, probably with a profuse admixture of false or borrowed hair was used to swell it out⁴³. Women also liked to keep curly hair and to fix flowers on the locks of their

hair⁴⁴. The flowers which used by the women for the hair decoration were *ketaki, malli, malati, jai, jui, champa, nageswar, chhuriana, golapa, marua, kurubeli etc*⁴⁵. Abul Fazl refers to the *gul-i-nasrin* a very delicate and sweet-scented flower, which seems to have been used. Men, like the women, also took keen interest in hair dressing. They were not having short hair as the people of the present day. They wore commonly long hair⁴⁶. The Brahmins perhaps followed the practice of shaving the head completely⁴⁷. Combs made of wood, metal, animal horns, tooth of elephant were in use for combing the hair. Like medieval period, Cuttack is famous for horn-works even to-day.

Since ancient times, ornamentation and decorations were highly praised by the people of all shades not merely from social stand point, but sometimes out of religious importance attach to them. Cuttack was no exception to this. The inordinate love for ornaments of the body both by men and women of Cuttack is well under stood, from the varieties of ornaments which were in use. Ornaments of different styles, in large numbers, worn on the head, ears, nose, neck, hands, waist, chest, feet and fingers. Most of them appear to be the same for both men and women. The rich and well-to-do people used generally ornaments made of gold, silver, jewels, pearls, gems, rubis, diamonds and other precious stones⁴⁸. The head ornaments were used on the hair and on the forehead. The braid of hair interwoven into a knot called chignon (*juda* or *khosa*). On the chignon of a woman a variety of ornaments were worn. They were *Kiapatri* (resembling a small petals of the screw-pin plant)⁴⁹. *Jharakathi* (a kind of hair pin with bunch of pendant chains)⁵⁰, *Bakra-Deunari*⁵¹ or *Bakra Chaunria* (a bow shaped ornament)⁵², *Chandra-Jhumpi* (a

kind of crescent - shaped ornament with pendants) and *Pana Patri* (a betel shaped ornament with a hook)⁵⁴. Besides to keep the hair-knot tight and in shape, a type of ornamental net was used. It was called as *Mathajali* or *Judajali*⁵⁵. In it, sometimes, pearls were set. Then it was called as *Moti-Matha -jali* or *Muktajali*⁵⁶. From chignon to forehead, on the line parting the hair, a kind of ornament called *Mathamani*⁵⁷, was worn by the women to enhance the beauty of the forehead and the hair. The other kinds of ornaments meant for this place were *Jhillimilika*⁵⁸, *Simanthi* or *Sinthy*,⁵⁹ *Dibajhara*, *Chudamani* and *Rahurekha*⁶⁰. Sometimes a red thread called *Patasuta* studded with pearls and jewels was used to adorn the hair. All these head ornaments were used by women only, as men adorned their head with *Mukuta* (crown).

On the nose, a very small ball shaped ornament known as *nakachana*⁶¹ was worn. It was also called as *dimba* (a term used by the goldsmiths of Orissa). Starting from the women of the palace to the streets, its use was almost common. Besides, nose-rings of prominent varieties were worn through the hole in the wall between the two nostrils. They were popularly called as *dandi*, *nolah*, *basari* or *besari*, *besar* the semi-circular golden ornaments adorned with pearls. *Basani* is like a bud of oleander (*Karnikar*). It is studded with five pearls which look like the bright group of stars under the cloud in the month of *kartika*⁶².

The ornaments meant for the ears of both men and women were of various designs, well-adorned with pearls and jewels. On the top of the ear was worn a bud of jasmine like ornament called *malli-kadhi*⁶³. Another

ornament meant for the same place was *phasi*⁶⁴. In the middle of the ear, an ornament called *bindiya* (a type of ear rising)⁶⁵ was worn. *Karna-phula* (ear-flower) was commonly in use⁶⁶. At the lowest part of the ear or ear-lobes, a variety of ornaments were used. Among them *tattank* (a kind of ring with blades like those of palm leaf)⁶⁷, *jhallika* (a type of ear-ring bright like stars or a type of pendant)⁶⁸ *uttansa*,⁶⁹ *noli* and *kundala*⁷⁰ were the popular ones. *Noli* and *kundala* were worn by both the sexes of the people of Orissa, mainly of Cuttack.

Men as well as women in medieval Orissa, adorned their neck by different kinds of ornaments. In Oriya literature they were called with different names as *mala*, *hari*, *hurdaya bhusana* and *galamali*. The different varieties of necklaces used by the people were *saptasarimoti*, *dosari sunasuta*, *chapasari mal*, *neelamani hara*, *chausara*, *batula pooyela*, *Yeka gotia mukta mani mala*, *ratna hara*, *kanthi mala*, and *kachamali*, etc⁷¹. Sometimes, a pendant studded with jewels, gems or precious stones attached to the necklace which adorned the chest. During the medieval period necklaces of larger sizes appears to have been favoured by the people. Arms without ornaments were considered ominous and women without such ornaments were not allowed to participate in any ceremonial function or such other auspicious occasions. The arm ornaments like *bajrasenha*⁷², *tada*⁷³, *sikali* (chain-like golden ornaments), *daunria*⁷⁵ (consisting of series of amulets strung together), *bahuti*⁷⁶, *bida*⁷⁷ (an armlet like a collar made up of several drum like pieces), *bajrasenha*, etc. were used by the soldiers at the time of war to protect their arms against the swords and arrows. *Tada* was a common and popular ornament used by

both the sexes on the upper part of the arm. Various kinds of mudi (finger rings) adorned with glasses, jewels and diamonds were also worn to enhance the beauty of the fingers. Figures of *fish*, *tilaka*, *dasavatar*, etc.⁷⁸ were sometimes engraved on these finger-rings. *Katiganthi* and *Katibandha* were the girdles worn on the waist. Girdles were used not only as waist ornaments, but also as a belt to tie the undergarment round the waist. Ornaments for the feet and ankles of the people, were *hansaka*⁷⁹ and *manjari*⁸⁰ were the ornaments of the leg. *Jhuntia*⁸¹ was the tinkling ring for the second finger of the leg. On the rings sometimes precious stones and jewels were set. *Bala* and *Nupura* adorned the ankles of the people.

In Muslim community also ornaments were quite an important item for the decoration of various parts of the body. As for men, Muslims were usually against ornaments. Women were very anxious to adorn themselves with a variety of ornaments. They bedecked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*⁸² remarks a long list of ornaments *Sis-phul*, *Mang*, *Kot-biladar*, *Sekra* and *Binduli* were the ornaments, for adorning the head and forehead. *Karnaphul* (ear-flower), *Durbachh*. *Pipal-patti* (pipal-leaf), *Bali*, *Champakali*, *Mor-bhanwar* were the different types of ear-rings. *Besar* and *Nath* were the ornaments of the nose *Laung* or a flower bud, a small diamond solitaire or ruby fixed at the corner of the nostril, enhanced the beauty of the face. *Guluband*, *Har*, *Hans* were the ornaments for the neck. *Kangan* or *Gajrah* a bracelet adorned the wrists. They covered their fore-arms with bracelet called *Churis*. The upper part of the arms were ornamented with *Bazubandh* (armlets) and *Tad. Chhudr-*

khantika and *Kati-mekhala* were the two varieties of highly decorative belts for the waist. *Jehar* served as the ankle ornament. *Pail* or *Ghunghra* was the ornaments for the leg. *Bhank* and *Bichhwan* were the ornaments used for the instep while *Anwat* decorated the big toe. Rings were worn on toes and fingers⁸³. In the use of cosmetics and perfumes, the people of Orissa were not lagging behind. *Sindura* (vermilion). *Kasturi* (musk) and *Chandan* (sandal wood paste) were used for beauty marks on the forehead. *Kajwala* (collyrium) was applied to the eyes⁸⁴, to enhance their radiance both by men and women. Women used to redden their lips by chewing *pan* (betel leaf)⁸⁵. To dye the feet red *alata* was commonly applied by the women⁸⁶. A flourishing city like Cuttack quickly adapted with the new pattern of ornaments which the Muslims introduced in Orissa. Even to-day, Cuttack produces the highest quantity of ornaments in Orissa for both the Hindu and Muslim society.

The people enjoyed their leisure by taking recourse into many kinds of recreations. Their principal outdoor games consisted of *bana-bihar* (hunting). *nauka-bihar* (water sports), *jhimani khela* (dodo or kabadi). Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* remarks about elephant hunting⁸⁷. Tiger hunting was a pastime more particularly with the kings and the Zamindars. The common people delighted in hunting of hare, deer or other beasts⁸⁸. Bows and arrows were used by many for hunting purposes⁸⁹. People were taming birds among which *gobra* was a very popular⁹⁰. People belonging to all classes of the society, were fond of witnessing animal fights. Getting and training animals to fight was one of the popular amusements and recreations of the age. The poor people had to content themselves with the less expensive fighting of goats,

rams, cocks, stages, antelopes, dogs and bulls to entertain their friends. Cock-fighting was very common among the higher middle class. *Chaugan*, the most famous out door game which is called polo to-day, was played on horse back with a stick or club and balls. The people of Orissa were well-versed with various kinds of indoor games and pastimes. *Pasa-khela* (or dice play) was one of the popular indoor games for all sections of the society. Play in *kauris* was also very much favoured by the people⁹¹. Dramatic performances like *Ramlila*, *Krishnalila*, *Harilila*, performances on jugglers and *Kela-Keluni* dance, were also very popular during the period. Visits to periodical fairs and seats of pilgrimage on festive occasions also provided the people delight and enjoyment.

The flying of *ghudi*⁹² made out of paper was a favourite pastime of the boys. The small young boys and girls used to spend some time in this game. It is still now a popular pastime game of the children. Even to-day in Cuttack, several clubs organise kite-flying competitions and award prizes. This is the legacy of Muslim culture which Cuttack even imbibes to-day.

Marriage is one of those social institutions which has continued even to this day with all historical growth. Greater religious and social sanctity are attached to it. During the medieval period several forms of marriage existed in Cuttack. But connubial with one's own caste or community only had the willing sanction of the *Smritis* and *Dharmasastras* and was also the prevailing custom in the society. The Hindu marriage was conducted as per Vedic injunctions. The *Lokacharas* (local customs) also played vital role in the details of marriage. Most of the Hindus believe that marriage is not complete if certain

rites are not performed. The principal rites are *homa* or offering in the sacred fire, *panigrahana* or taking the hand of the bride and *saptapadi* or the bride and the bridegroom going seven steps together. These rites are performed by a Brahmin before the sacred fire and are accompanied by the Vedic *mantras*. Marriage will not be completed if any of these rites is not properly performed. Thus Hindu marriage is a sacrament. Marriage, therefore was a social duty towards the family and the community and there was little idea of individual interest⁹³. The Muslim marriages were not as elaborate as the marriage of the Hindus. The Muslim followed their own social mores. However, there were certain common features like selection of the matches by respective parents in most of the cases, fixation of auspicious day for marriage, decoration of the house, marriage procession or *barajatra*, use of fire works, music, songs, dances and marriage feasts in the marriage ceremony of both the communities.

Monogamy was the normal practice in both the communities though Islam prescribed four wives for a Muslim. Keeping more than one wife and concubines appears to have been a fashion with a few men of both the communities belonging to ruling classes, nobles and very wealthy persons. Polyandry was not encouraged⁹⁴. Widow marriage was permissible in the Muslim community and also principally in lower strata of the Hindu community. Whatever might be the case, in marriage much importance was attached to the happiness and discipline in the conjugal life. The piety, family welfare, stability of marriage were some essentials of the institution of marriage which were much emphasized.

The institution of marriage was accompanied with dowry or *jautaka*. It consisted of golden ornaments, jewels, land, slaves, cows, clothes and other articles of daily use. It is difficult to say that it was a social evil during the period. Obviously, offering the amount of dowry by the bride's parents depended largely on their socio-economic status than anything else. The literary works like *Mahabharata*⁹⁵, *Vaidehisa vilasa*⁹⁶, *Subhadra Parinaya*⁹⁷ and *Lavanyavati*⁹⁸ remarks the offering of *jautaka* or dowry. Following the Muslims, monogamy among the Hindu Zamindar families developed during that time. Coming in contact with the Muslim Governors of Orissa, the rich Zamindars developed such practices. Of course, later on bigamy was prohibited by the Indian constitution and this ugly practices also, gradually vanished from Indian society and from Orissan society too.

In the pre-Muslim period, though a form of social seclusion particularly of the married women on some occasions and at certain places existed as a *lakachar* and it continues to exist even now *Purdah* as a social institution of Orissa was not then traceable⁹⁹. Under Muslims, who had definite tradition of *Purdah*, the system developed in Orissa. It affected the upper segments of the Hindu society very much because of their fear from ruling class or of their desire to imitate them. The women of lower class could not afford to veiling or social seclusion, because their poor economic condition forced them to come out of homes and to work freely with a view to economically assisting the family.

Prostitution is an age-old social institution known to all societies. The meaning of the prostitution was "the offering of the body to indiscriminate

lewdness for hire". May Geoffery, a social scientist remarks prostitution as "the practice of habitual or intermittent sexual union, more or less promiscuous, for mercenary inducement"¹⁰⁰. Ellis remarks "a prostitute is a person who makes it a profession to gratify the lust of various persons of the opposite sex"¹⁰¹ or of the same sex. The *Vesyas*, *Baranaris*, *Ganikas*, *Bitapistress* show that the institution of prostitution existed in medieval Orissa. The rise of European settlements on the coastal towns of Orissa including Hariharpur of undivided Cuttack district gave some impetus to the growth of prostitution. Nevertheless, it was not openly acceptable in the society. Prostitutes followed the profession in their own quarters in clandestine manner. In spite of the fact that the institution was socially disapproved, it existed and even in some places flourished in medieval Orissa.

The *Sati* or self-immolation is found to have existed in medieval Orissa. Burning of the wife with the dead body of her husband on the funeral pyre was called *Saha-marana* or *Sahagamana*. Burning of the wife of the dead person with some belongings of her late husband in case he died away from his wife was called *Anugamana*. Where the husband died abroad, the widow burnt herself along with the bones, or failing to procure the bones, burnt herself entering into the pyre with or even with any of his symbols. However, from the stray references, it can be remarked that the institution of *Sati* did not affect Orissa very much.

Slavery one of the oldest institutions, in the history of mankind infested the Indian society, since remote antiquity. Under the early Muslim administration it acquired much greater economic significance. According to

Yajnavalkya, slavery was caused by force, sell of the person, by one evidently who is not a relative by pledge, voluntarily for food and apostacy. He is not in favour of reducing the prisoners of war into slavery, nor he sanctions that one should be slave by way of state punishment¹⁰². The European traders more particularly the Portuguese, encouraged trade in slaves for their commercial benefit and people of Orissa, in poor economic condition, were found to have been victims of this. As during Muslim rule, Cuttack and its nearby area witnessed the growth of European settlements, such an ugly practice entered into the Orissan society. It cast its ugly shadow over the Orissan society to a great extent. Since Cuttack was inhabited by rich officers, *Ashrafs* and Zamindars, slavery entered into the Orissan society. Even to-day the ugly practice exists in Orissan society, which was another ugly legacy of the Muslim rule over this land.

Festivals and religious observances formed an important aspect of socio religious life of the people. The medieval period reflected the forces of both continuity and change in Orissa. In the pre-Muslim, as well as the Muslim period, the Hindus of Orissa performed a good number of national and purely regional festivals with devotion and austerity. Festivals are those which are usually referred to as the fairs or *Yatras*. But *oshas* and *bratas* are those which are intended to regulate the private life of the people by taking recourse to *upavasa*, *jagarana*. *Bratas* are performed both by men and women. But *oshas* are performed by women. Among the popular festivals, *Ratha Yatra* or Car Festival was unique. It falls on the second day of the waxing moon of *Ashadha*. The *Ratha Yatra* is also well known as *Gundicha Yatra*. During the

Yatra Lord Jagannath along with Balabhadra and Subhadra is carried to the *Gundicha mandapa* where he remains till the tenth lunar day in the bright fortnight of *Ashadha*. During these days Jagannath is worshipped in different incarnations, popularly known as *Dasavatara*. On the tenth lunar day in the bright fortnight of *Ashadha*, Jagannath returns to his main temple from *Gundicha mandapa*. This return journey is being celebrated by the people as *Bahuda Dasami* or *Bahuda Yatra*¹⁰³. While referring to the Car Festival, Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* remarks that "the people of Orissa believe that whosoever draws it (the *rath*) is absolved, from sin and is visited by no temporal distress"¹⁰⁴. In the Jagannath temples of Cuttack, during the month of *Ashadha*, *Netrotsab*, *Gudicha* and *Bahuda* festivals are observed in different *sahis* and *bustees*.

Orissa has been predominantly a land of agriculturalists. So, most of the festivals are being celebrated since ancient times relating to agriculture. The full-moon day of the month of *Sravana* or the *Sravana Purnima* is associated with festivities by the people of Orissa. This day is accepted as the birth day of Balarama, the elder brother of Lord Shrikrishna. The cow and cattle are colourfully decorated and given special offering and are worshipped as "*Go-Laxmi*". This is the day of rest for the cattle. The special importance of *Sravana Purnima* is its association with the celebration of *Jhulana Yatra* by the people of Orissa. It begins on the *Ekadasi* and ends on *Purnima*. During this *Yatra* the deities, Radha and Shrikrishna, bedecked with ornaments and silken clothes, are placed in *doli*. Viswanath Lane near Balubazar Cuttack, Gopalji Math. Radhakrushna temple, Choudhury Bazar observe this festival

with gaiety. The full moon day of *Sravana* is most famous as *Rakhi Purnima*. Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, remarks that the custom of *Rakhi* (or tying pieces of clothes around the wrist as amulets) became quite common¹⁰⁵. The Mughal emperor, Jahangir used to call it "*Nigahadast*"¹⁰⁶. The main idea behind this celebrations is to seek protection at the time of crisis and danger. The sisters, therefore on this day tie *rakhi* on the wrist of their brothers. This further cements the love and affection in between the brothers and sisters¹⁰⁷.

Janmashtami as a national festival falls on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of *Bhadra*. Lord Krishna is one of the most popular of Hindu Gods. The anniversary of his birth is celebrated on this day. The Vaishnavas of Orissa celebrate *Nandotsava* on the day following *Janmashtami*¹⁰⁸. *Janmashtami*, *Radhashtami*, are being performed in Gopalji temple and other religious associations like Satya Sai Seva Samiti and Ram Krishna Daya Parishad in Cuttack. *Ganesa Chaturthi* falls on the forth day in the bright fortnight of *Bhadra*. Ganesa or Binayaka or Bighnaraja or Gananatha, the son of Siva and Parvati, is very popular being the house hold deity of prudence and prosperity. It is considered highly auspicious to invoke his blessings at the commencement of any undertaking. On this day, Ganesa, the elephant headed god of wisdom and prosperity is worshipped by the people of Orissa irrespective of sex and age. Lord Ganesa, the giver of knowledge, is worshipped in the educational institutions and by different clubs and temples in Cuttack.

The most interesting of all the votive tales of medieval Orissa is the pathetic story of *Ta-poi* which has got related to the celebration of *Khudurukuni*

Osha mostly by unmarried and newly married girls on every sunday of the month *Bhadra*. They worshipped *Mangala*, the Goddess of welfare on every sunday in the month of the *Bhadra*. The *ujjapana* of the *osha* takes place on the last sunday of the month. As part of the ceremonial observations of this particular *osha* the girls on these sundays pluck different types of flowers on the morning and go to the river or pond, take bath, then construct earthen temple keep *bajramuli* stick inside, offer *naivedya* and then return home. Goddess *Mangala* is offered *Khuda* and she is fond of it. The *Khudurukuni Osha* propagates the Sakti cult in a popular manner among the common people, particularly among womenfolk without the paraphernalia of temples and priests. The lowly pathetic figure of *Ta-poi* in this story perhaps caught the imagination of the people, particularly of women and thus made it universally accepted in Orissa¹⁰⁹. It is equally observed with splendour in Cuttack city.

Being based upon Saktism, *Durgapuja* has been celebrated on all *Sakta pithas*. It is performed from the eighth day of the dark fortnight to the ninth day of the bright fortnight in the month of *Asvin* in the autumn seasons. *Mahisasura*, the most ruthless and evil demon was done to death by Goddess *Durga* symbolising the triumph of good over evil. In the midnight of the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Asvin* the shadow of misfortune disappeared and then dawned the days of good-fortune in the world. As there was the end of sorrow and misery the tenth lunar day is celebrated as *Dukha Ha Dasami* or *Vijaya Dasami*. This day is also celebrated as *Dussehra*. On this day *Ramachandra*, the epical hero of *Ramayana*, worshipped Goddess *Durga*

and then started for Lanka to put an end to the misrule of Ravana. The main object of this Durgapuja, is to get free from miseries and misfortune, to register victory over enemies and to get relieved from the clutches of hell and sin.

Kumara Purnima is celebrated on the full day of *Asvin*. On this day Goddess Laxmi, the consort of Lord Vishnu, the much sought after Goddess of wealth and prosperity is worshipped. Sarala Dasa in his *Mahabharata* remarks that Srikrishna celebrated *Kumara Otsava* in Dwarka on the full moon day of *Asvin*¹¹⁰. The lunar month of *Kartika* is specially sacred to all the Hindus. *Deepavali* falls on the fifteenth day of *Amabasya* or new moon day of *Kartika*. Alberuni, Peter Mundi and Abul Fazl in their accounts remarked *Deepavali* as a national festival of Orissa during the Muslim period. It is believed that Shrikrishna killed Narakasura (a demon) on this day with the help of the black Goddess, Kaali. Thus, Kaali, is worshipped as per the *Tantrik* rites and rituals. The kindling of the *Kaunri* (jute) sticks or stripped Sugar-cane enveloped with oil clothes, decoration of every house with twinkling *deepas* (clay lamps lit with oil), fire works (as a mark of showing light to the departed souls) are some of the main features of this festivals¹¹¹.

Since the Vedic age to this modern age people of different religious sects worship *Naga* or snake. Lord Siva is well known by the names of *Nageswara* and *Nagabhushana*. Thus *Naga* is worshipped along with Lord Siva and in all the Siva temples *Naga* is placed above the *Siva Linga*. The *Naga* images in different forms (like *Nagakanya*, *Nagabandha*, partly *Naga* and partly human image of *Ketu*, Balarama image with snake) found in Cuttack. The *Naga* images pictured in the Orissan sculpture and the worship

of Lord Siva as *Maninageswar* (known from the inscriptions of Orissa) ¹¹² convince that *Naga* worship is very much prevalent in Orissa since ancient times.

The Margasira Purnima called '*Pandu Purnima*' is also famous for worshipping Lord Siva. They offer to the Lord *Atkali* (Porridge made of rice, gur, coconut and milk). It is equally observed with splendour in Cuttack city. People of Cuttack and all the devotees of Lord *Dhabaleswar* are afraid of the lord. In both *Bada Osha* and *Pandu Osha*, if there is any sort of deviation from the rituals, the offered cakes turn to snake cobras, so they worship the lord with all sacredness and do not allow any sort of bad or evil doings.

The lunar month of *Kartika* is considered by the Hindus very sacred Sarala Dasa in his *Mahabharata* referred to the *Kartikabrata*, *Kartika Snana* and *Kartika Purnima*. It is believed that the people those who die in the month of *Kartika* enjoy the bliss of heaven or enter into the abode of Vishnu (*Vaikunthadhama*)¹¹³. People generally do fasting during the entire month or at least for the last five days (*Panchuka*) ending on the day of *Purnima*. For the widow, it is a very pious month. They conduct *habisya* (a religious vow observed, consisting of taking sun-rice with vegetarian meal once in a day), recite or hear the recitation of *Kartika Mahatmya*, worship basil plant (*Tulasi*) and take recourse into fasting.

The famous *Smritikaras* of early medieval Orissa viz. Bruhaswati Suri (the author of *Krutyaakaumudi*) and Murari Mishra (the author of *Smruti Chandrika*) mention *Prathamashdami* as an original festival of Orissa¹¹⁴. It falls

on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month of *Margashira*. Like *Janmashthami* is celebrated in favour of Lord Srikrishna, *Mahashtami* is celebrated in favour of Goddess Durga and *Radhashtami* celebrated in favour of Goddess Radha. *Prathamashthami* has been a festival of the family celebrated in favour of the first born, whether boy or girl. On this day the child (first born in the family) is given a new dress, fed with dishes and blessed by the parents and other elderly persons during the time of *bandapana*. Oblations are offered to god to protect the child against all hurdles in life. A special type of cake called *enduri-pitha* (made out of black grams and rice) is also prepared for the occasion. The first born in the family more particularly the son, has to shoulder greater responsibility of the family. So, the main object behind the celebration is to bless the child a bright future and then to impart in the mind of the youngsters the sense of respect for the elders. Besides, it has got other social values like keeping up the integrity, love and affection among the family members. *Prathamashthami* has got another significance in Orissa. On this day a fair of Lord Lingaraja takes place in Bhubaneswar. There are the *Prathamashthami* celebration takes place. Lord Lingaraja, represented by a proxy is taken to the Kapali *matha* (within the temple complex). There is a *Papanasini* tank closer to the *math*. It is believed that on this day those who drink the water of the tank get relieved from the sins and women hitherto incapable bear children¹¹⁵.

The host of Saraswati images found in Orissa in different forms at different times, make Saraswati a popular deity worshipped by the people of Orissa. Moreover in the medieval period, most of the Oriya poets began to

write their literary works with a prayer to Saraswati in the *Mangalacharana*¹¹⁶. Goddess Saraswati has been considered as a representation of *Adisakti*, *Adisakti* as per the *Sastras*, consists of Mahalaxmi-the Goddess of wealth, Maha-Saraswati, the Goddess of learning and arts and Mahakali, the epitome of Sakti (all power). Thus, Saraswati with the *Veena* in hand is very sacred to all students, men of letters and artists. On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the lunar month *Magha*, Goddess Saraswati is worshipped. This day is also popularly known as *Sri Panchami* and *Vasanta Panchami*. Offerings of *naivedya*, oblations and *pushpanjali* constitute the main features of *Saraswati Puja*. People also worship Nature to protect themselves from the grip of natural calamities. Also to get individual and collective happiness and prosperity¹¹⁷.

Sun worship in Orissa goes to a number of centuries back. The Sun temples of Konark in itself bears the testimony of Sun worship in Orissa. A great fair is being held at the mouth of the sacred Chandrabhaga river, near the famous Sun temple of Konark, on the seventh day of the bright fortnight in the lunar month of *Magha*. It is known as the *Magha Saptami Mela* or *Chandrabhaga Mela*. On this *Magha Saptami* people in large number go to Chandrabhaga, take *snana*, bow their heads before the rising Sun God, with a view to be blessed with divine power, divine thought and divine life.

In Orissa, Saivism became so popular in the medieval period that many festivals are celebrations in the honour of Lord Siva. So wherever a Siva temple exists, *Sivaratri* or *Siva Chaturdasi* has been in celebration as the most important festival in the annual cycle of rituals¹¹⁸. It falls on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight in the lunar month of *Magha*. In the '*Jagar*' festival

people in large number assemble at Amareswar temple. Buxi bazar, Harihar Ghat near Chandini Chowk, Viswanath Temple, Gadaghati Ghat and other temples at Cuttack Chandi, Kali Gadachandi, Chandrasekhar at Telengabazar, Nilakantheswar at Bangali Sahi, Haripur and other Siva temples located throughout the Cuttack city. On this day the devotees of Lord Siva fast till after midnight when the sacred lamp (*Mahadeep*) is taken to the temple spire. They worship him with milk, curd and ghee as *naivedya*, *bellapatra*, *dudura* and *champa* flowers used for the worship of Siva. The devotees spend the whole night in observing *Jagara*. Thus the night is dedicated to the worship of Lord Siva.

Dola Yatra was also prevalent in Orissa, so, *Dola Yatra* or the swinging festival associated with the worship of Radha or Srikrishna, usually begins on the tenth day of the bright fortnight in the lunar month of Phalguna and ends on the full-moon or Purnima day. On the *Purnima* day, the Radha and Srikrishna images from the Vaishnava temples begin the ritual journey to some important centres of congregation or *melana*. During the *Dola Utsab* at first colours are offered to Radha and Krishna and then distributed among the assembled men. People assemble in the *melana* ground lord come in the *Vimanas* to the *melana* ground in procession. Big *melanas* are organised at Chandini Chowk, Jobra and Nuapatna in Cuttack. At different places of the city such *melanas* are also organised. While going to *melana* the Lord goes round different bustees and householders offer *prasad* to the Lord. The next day of *Dola Purnima*, *Holi*, is being observed and the entire city irrespective of caste and creed rejoices with colour. They also go to Kathajori and

Mahanadi in procession for taking bath after the *Holi*. With Holi or sprinkling of red *abir* powder and chanting of *bhajan* (devotional songs) and *kirtana* (group singing of holy names with symbols and drums), the devotees come in a procession with images of Radha and Krishna carried in the *Vimanas*. The deities pay a visit to several villages on their outing and receive homage and offerings from the devotees. At the site of the fair, chanting of spiritual songs and recitation of the *Bhagavata* and other scriptures are usually organised¹¹⁹. Dola yatra has been a great festival of Lord Jagannath in the *Srimandira*. Lokanath Vidyadhar narrated the *Dola yatra* of Lord Jagannath in his work *Niladri Mahotsava*¹²⁰. There is close socio-cultural association of the *Gopalas* (milk men) with the *Dola Purnima* celebration. The cow has been a sacred animal of the Hindus. So the Gopalas, on this day bath the cows decorate them with *haladi* and *chandan* paste. Thus to the Gopalas, the celebration of the birth day of cow on *Phalgun Purnima* is very important and sacred. *Ashokastami* ¹²¹ falls on the eighth day in the bright fortnight of the lunar month of Chaitra and has been in celebration in the Lingaraj temple as a special festival. Goddess Basanti Durga is worshipped on different puja *mandapas* of Cuttack, from eighth to tenth day of first fortnight on ninth day of *Chaitra* on *Ram Nabami*, Lord Ram's birthday is observed at Raghunath Jew Math, Telengabazar and Lala Math, Cuttack. In Holi, the Hindus apply *abiras* on the forehead of the Muslims. This is an occasion which brings Hindu-Muslim unity.

As the main occupation of the life in Orissa has been cultivation, many festivals are in celebration in the honour of land. *Akshya Trutiya* ¹²² has been

an important agricultural festival. On the third day of the bright fortnight of the lunar month of *Vaisakha*, this festival is held in every farming house-hold and is characterised by the ceremonial sowing of paddy in the field. The cultivators go to the field with *naivedya* and worship Goddess Laxmi. This is the day on which the construction of the chariots for the *Ratha Yatra* of Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra starts. Besides, the *Chandana Yatra* of the Badathakura also begins on this day¹²³. *Chandana Yatra* has been a great fair in favour of lord Jagannath, at last since the 13th century in Orissa¹²⁴. The main centre of this fair is at puri. It begins on the *Akshya Trutiya* day and continues for twenty - one days. During these days a smaller replica of Lord Jagannath (or Madan Mohan) is escorted in the procession to the Narendra tank for bathing, after smearing the idol with *Chandana* or sandal wood paste. The idol is then placed on a boat and carried round the tank with music and dancing. This is aimed at providing cool, comfort and relief from the summer heat.

After the advent of Muslims into India in the medieval period, Hinduism came in clash with Islam. Both the cultures attempted to assimilate the one with the other. The result in this respect was that, *Satyanarayan* or *Satya Deva* of the *Puranic* age, gradually turned into *Satyapir* and the *Satyanarayana Puja* or *Satyapir puja* began in medieval Orissan society. The word '*Satya*' means Truth or Lord and the word '*Pir*' means a Muslim fakir. Thus, the very word *Satyapir* reflected the Hindu-Muslim unity. It further resulted in the origin of a popular cultural institution known as *pala*. This *pala* and the *Satyapir Puja* has been very popular religious and cultural institution in Orissa. A

number of scholars (*viz.* Kavikaran, Bhuguram, Hrudaram, Biswanath, Jaganath and others) flourished in Orissa to enrich the Oriya *pala* literature¹²⁵.

Among the Muslim festivals, *Nawroz* was the most gorgeous and the spectacular festival which continues for nineteen days¹²⁶. *Nawroz* as the new year's day according to Persian calendar, is one of the most celebrated festivals of the Persians. The Indian Turks also celebrated it by giving feasts and liberating prisoners. According to Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Nawroz* was celebrated with great care and rejoicing¹²⁷. *Muharram* was another festival of the Muslims, and it has been of special significance to the Muslims, because it is the first month of the Islamic calendar. The first ten days of the month of *Muharram* have been observed as days of mourning and grief by the Muslims. Rich people on that day gave charities to the poor and needy. Food is offered to bless the soul of *Hazrat Imam Hussain*¹²⁸. *Shab-i-Barat* is an important Muslim festival. The meaning of *Shab-i-Barat* is the night of forgiveness of sins. It is celebrated on the night of the fourteenth of *Shaban*. The most celebrated and popular festivals of the Muslims is *Id*. Coming with the new moon, this festival marks the end of the solemn month of *Ramzan*, a month of fasting for Muslims. This festival, therefore, is a joyful event. People wear their best cloth and the mosques are thronged with worshippers. *Id* has been in celebration both by the orthodox as well as unorthodox Muslims, purely as a religious festival, with great rejoicing. After the prayer, people used to visit the houses of saints and also tombs. People send bread and *halwa* from house to house¹²⁹. Falling on the tenth of *Zil-Hijjah*, the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, it has always been an important festival of the Muslims.

Animals are sacrificed and there is feasting and great rejoicing on the day of *Id-ul-zuha*. So, the Muslims of Cuttack observe these festivals. During medieval period, since Muslim Governors stayed at Cuttack and many Muslim settlements grew there, these festivals must have been observed with much pomp and splendour.

From the study of the various festivals, fairs and religious observances, it is remarked that these were in prevalence, with the object of awakening the interest of the common people in the religious matters. The people celebrated them with much austerity not because of a blind belief to be blessed with children, wealth, good-fortune and also to get free from the clutches of diseases and natural calamities, but because of their deep religious belief on divinity and rich cultural heritage. These celebrations, further provided them great relief in the monotony of mundane life and at the same time offered the opportunity to develop close contact among the individuals in the society for a better, happier and disciplined life. The marvel of the religious history of medieval Orissa lies in the fact that there was better harmony and understanding between the two communities. The occasional Muslim raids, the oppressive measures of some fanatic *Subahdars* and the temple destruction orders of Aurangzeb may be treated as exceptions than the general rule in Orissa. The Hindu Muslim co-existence resulted in the origin and growth of a very popular festival called *Satyapir Puja*, *Dussehra*, *Dipavali*, *Rakhi*, *Muharram*. *Id* and *Satyapir Puja* were in these festive occasions both the Hindus and Muslims participated freely. The tombs of venerated Muslim saints like Shah Mansur, Panja Shah, Bakshi Sahib at Cuttack became the

visiting places of both the communities on festive days. Even to-day Cuttack preserves this cultural heritage with all its splendours. The Hindus and Muslims in Cuttack join hands to celebrate those occasions with co-operation love and affection towards each other. This is, perhaps, the lasting impact of Muslim rule over Orissa in general and Cuttack in particular.

Education as an important institution has been recognised by all societies since time immemorial. Education broadly speaking the social process by which an individual learns the things necessary to fit him to the life of his society. Before the advent of Islam into Orissa, the educational institutions of the Hindus were the *Chatasalis* or *Pathasalas*, *Maths* and the temples. Further, the homes of the Brahmin scholars and priests were also like the elementary schools, where pupils received education. The teachers attached to the educational institutions were popularly known as *Abadhanas*¹³⁰. In Orissa, during the Muslim period the concept of national education was not there nor the government by its own initiative opened any centre of studies. The Muslim settlers of Orissa imparted education to their children in the *Maktab*s and *Madrasah*s which were the Muslim educational institutions. *Maktab*s were primary schools, generally attached to mosques. The *Mulla* or *Maulavi* who looked after the mosque taught in the *Maktab*. The *Madrasah*s were institutions of higher learning with a distinct religious bias. But the number of *Madrasah*s was not very large and they flourished only in towns and cities¹³¹. In Orissa, a number of mosques and mausoleums were erected in the districts of Cuttack. So, the *Madrasah*s at Cuttack, Patamundai, Aul are a few examples indicating the encouragement extended by the Muslim rulers for educating the Muslim student in Orissa¹³². The Goddess Saraswati, Laxmi,

Durga and God Ganesa were worshipped by the Hindu pupils before the formal beginning of education¹³³. The formal education of Muslim child began after the '*Bismilla*' ceremony which commenced when a boy attains the age of four years, four months and four days¹³⁴.

Palm leaf and iron pen were used as instruments of writing. Abul Fazl remarks that the people of Orissa did not have paper, pen and ink¹³⁵. *Khadi* was used on the floor for the elementary education of the pupil¹³⁶. Elementary education was imparted in primary schools (*chafasalis*) and private houses. A student began his studies with sriphala. The course consisted of instructions in the alphabets, vowels and consonants, combination of words, spellings, grammar, lessons in reading elementary arithmetic¹³⁷. The medium of instruction for the Hindu students in Orissa was Sanskrit and Oriya. The Muslim students received the elementary education in *Maktabas*. The curriculum in the primary stage was reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. Young boys were taught to write the words in short sentence. The medium of instruction was Persian¹³⁸, the language of the Muslim court, and the study of Arabic, the language of the holy *Quran*, was compulsory¹³⁹.

From the contemporary literary works of Orissa, it is evident that the maths, places of pilgrimage, temples and the courts of feudatory chiefs were the centres of higher education of the Hindus¹⁴⁰. The works further throw a flood of light on the different branches of knowledge included in the curriculum of higher education and learning. Studies on *Vedas*, *Sastras*, *Puranas*, *Kavyas*, *Alankara Vyakarana*, *Chhanda*, *Nirukta*, *Jyotisha vidya*, *Sangita vidya*, *Yudh vidya*, *Chikitsa vidya*, *Kamsastra*, *Tantra sastra*, *Mantra sastra*,

Darsan sastra, were pursued by the Hindu students¹⁴¹. In Cuttack, the Muslim students received their higher education in the *Madrasahs*. The main subjects taught were *Tafsir*, (exigenecies), *Hadis* (Islamic traditions) and *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). The non-theological subjects taught were grammar, literature, logic and Muslim scholasticism (*Kalam*). But these too had a theological bias. Commercial education was imparted with a view to provide scientific training in the structure of industry and commerce for these contemplating business careers. The trading classes maintained their own schools for training their children and made arrangements for the promotion of their knowledge in business and accounts¹⁴². Females of the upper stratas of the society also received education. So far the elementary knowledge was concerned, girls received education with boys in village schools. But higher education was imparted by tutors at home. So, education played a very important role in the society during the medieval period. There was constant and intimate touch between the teacher and taught. The teacher always considered himself responsible for the intellectual and moral advancement of the pupil.

Orissa, during the period witnessed the quickening of literary activities. A good number of versatile and gifted scholars flourished in Orissa who made a significant contribution to the growth of Oriya and Sanskrit literature. In the sphere of language and literature, the magnitude contribution of the Muslims is significant and noteworthy. But the socio-cultural influx was not one way and the Oriya language and literature, in turn, contributed profusely thus luring the Muslims to produce notable works in Oriya. With the establishment of Muslim rule, use of Persian terms and language became more rampant. The

adoption of Persian as the court language necessiated its study by the native population in order to get a footing in the business of the state and other facilities which were open to them. But the impact of Perso - Arabic language is evident from many inscriptions and literature of the Muslim period of Orissan history¹⁴³. In the literary works of some of the most notable poets of Orissa of the modern times like Upendra Bhanja, Brajnath Badajena, Abhimanyu Samanta Singhar, Baldev Rath, Fakir Mohan Senapati, and Radhanath Roy such impact is evident. The literary works like *Satyanarayan pala* and the *Mughal Tamasha* are instances of a mixture of Oriya, Bengali, Urdu and Persian language.

During the Muslim rule, the influence of Sanskrit on Oriya literature did not diminish. Literature was no longer the hand maid of the new Vaishnavas writing with the particular purpose of preaching the Vaishnavite theme. The literary horizon was extended to cover the works written by the non-Vaishnavas. The Muslims also brought some remarkable changes in the trend of writings. One of the peculiar features in this respect is that in the Pancha Sakhā age, the cult of Radha-Krishna was the principal theme in the writing of the writers. But the Muslim period witnessed more emphasis being given to Rama and his life story. The Mughal rulers did not interfere with literary activities of the writers. In comparison with the Pre-Muslim period, the Muslim age in Orissa saw a quite large number of writers and authors, reflecting the social picture in various aspects. The Muslim period also witnessed Oriya literature in its most ornate style and glory. Dhananjaya Bhanja and Upendra Bhanja mostly opened a Kavya age¹⁴⁴. In the general characteristics of the

Persian literature the Mughal rule brought about a transformation from spiritual to material happiness¹⁴⁵.

The infiltration of Persian language into Orissa took place mainly through the administrative and religious channels. With the introduction of Muslim administration, Oriya language did not remain the state language any more. To begin with, the Muslim discarded the old method of keeping revenue records in palm leaves and introduced Persian as the court language. The maintenance of the revenue records in Persian, the movement of Persian officers from one place to another and the extensive contact of the Oriya people with the Persian language gradually made it one of the most common language of the province. The *Farmans* and proclamations of the Muslims was also issued in Persian. As regards the role of religion, the visit of Muslim saints and *fakirs* had a tremendous impact on the Hindus and Muslims of Orissa. They tried to understand the language spoken by these saints and *fakirs* with a view to obtain blessings from them¹⁴⁶. Gradually some Perso-Arabic words found their way into Orissan language and literature¹⁴⁷.

The Muslim writers and poets also contributed a lot for the growth of Urdu literature. Although, the history of Urdu in Orissa can be traced back to the time of Firoz Shah Tugluq, whose troops had come up to Jajnagar (Jajpur of undivided Cuttack district), the real cultural interchange must have taken place at the time of Akbar who had a tie friendship with Raja Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa. Ultimately Orissa came under the Afghans and the Mughals, during whose period the *Subahdars* used to stay at Cuttack. From those days Urdu had found the soil of Cuttack congenial for its growth.

Thus, Cuttack which was a centre of Oriya language and literature become also an important centre of Urdu culture¹⁴⁸.

The reverse impact of Oriya language and literature was also significant on the Muslims¹⁴⁹. They wrote many literary works in Oriya. The devotional or Bhakti poems of Salbeg in Oriya have remained popular and occupied a prominent place in the annals of Oriya language and literature. Salbeg occupies a prominent place among the devotional poets of Orissa. Salbeg composed nearly one hundred fifty devotional songs including eight Sanskrit verses which are called *Patitapavanastaka* and there are six *bhajans* in Hindi and Bengali languages. The devotional *bhajans* of Salbeg centres around Sri Jagannath, Sri Krishna and Sri Rama. This goes on to show the kind of Hindu-Muslim cultural assimilation in the sphere of language and literature through the channel of religion that was prevalent during that time. Thus, the synthesis of Perso-Arabic and Oriya language and literature to a great extent bridged the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims. Both the communities found a new dimension in their ideas and thoughts and this led to the establishment of a common Indo-Islamic culture.

Thus, the growth of literature, different fairs and festivals, the *Satyapir pala* etc. clearly show that a perfect Hindu-Muslim Unity took place during the Muslim rule in Orissa. Cuttack, the epi-centre of Muslim rule witnessed all these changing phenomena in its socio-religious sphere. The Orissan culture witnessed Hindu- Muslim unity and Cuttack preserved it more and more. This trend which originated during the Muslim rule continues even to-day at Cuttack.

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CHAPTER - VI

MUSLIM MONUMENTS OF CUTTACK

MUSLIM MONUMENTS OF CUTTACK

With the advent of the Muslim rule, the city of Cuttack became a great center of Islamic culture. The Muslim culture made an effective and distinct impact on the indigenous life and culture, which gave rise, to a new style in architecture. The style incorporated not only certain need modes and principles of constructions but reflected also the religious and social needs of the adherents of Islam. Among the Muslims, the representation of living being was forbidden by scriptural injunction and so they took recourse to execution of geometrical and arabesque patterns, ornamental writing and a formal representation of plant and floral life, reflecting in its compactness nature of the country where Islam was born. The ornamental designs in Islamic buildings were carved on stone relief, gilded, painted or inlaid. Cuttack captured many important trends of Islamic architecture.

The Muslim established a number of *Maktabas* and *Madrasahs*, for educating the Muslim pupils¹. Liberal grants were made for their maintenance. Most of them in some form or other continue even to-day. The *Madrasahs* at Khatbinshahi, Cuttack, Patamundai, Bijapur and Aul, are a few examples which are indicative of the encouragement extended by the Muslim rulers for educating the Muslim students in Orissa. Orissa was a place, where Muslim *Pirs* settled and devoted themselves to religious activities, showed their miracles and supernatural power and attracted people, from both the Hindu and Muslim society. There are a quite large number of tombs throughout

Orissa which bears testimony to high adoration they command in those days and even now².

Pirs tombs and institutions are found at several places in Orissa. Many of them are Cuttack, Puri, Khurda, Pipli, Gop, Kakatpur, Manikpatna, Balipatna, Satyabadi, Kendrapara, Binjharpur. Grants were made to the tombs on *pirs* and *pir* institutions by the Muslim government and other generous People. It appears that the *pirs* moved from one part of the province to the other and were sometimes found to have visited some Hindu religious places, could secure adoration even from the Hindu and could go sometimes to some inaccessible regions of those days of Orissa like Kakatpur to do their religious service to the humanity. At Pipli, which was once a principal seat of Muslim power, there are some tombs of some *pirs*, perhaps of the 16th or 17th century which are honoured even by the Hindus. It is even found today that Hindus on certain day present *Sirin* or *Khiri* to the dead saints³.

The monuments and shrines are contributions to the society and religion in medieval period. They flourished under patronisation, chiefly from the Muslim administrators. A good number of mosques, tombs and forts built up during the Muslim rule shows that Orissa was not lacking in Islamic architecture. Most of them which have survived until the present day may not have their extraordinary architectural excellence. but yet there are some which deserve architectural merit.

Muslim monuments are in general characterised by pointed arch, aspiring dome tall minaret, lofty portals, pillard naves and aisles, clear cut outlines,

bereft of sculpture embellished with minimum mouldings, but decked with surface decoration of conventional arabesques, interlaced geometrical patterns, beautiful calligraphic inscriptions, spacious interior, but symmetrical exterior often covered with enamelled tiles or faience. The impressions of these elements are marked almost in all schools of Muslim architecture. The year 1193 A.D. marks a significant beginning in the history of Muslim art and architecture particularly with the construction of two congregational mosques in Delhi and Ajmer by Qutb-ud-Din-Aibak, the general in command of Muhammad Ghorī's army who conquered Delhi in 1193 A.D. Towards the last part of the 12th Century and from this time onwards every city the Muslim armies occupied, was embellished with mosques, palaces, tombs and other buildings belonging to the new Hindu-Muslim style of architecture. With the establishment of Mughal rule in India in 1526 A.D., Indian architecture in general and the Muslim architecture in particular got a tremendous boost. When Mughal rule was consolidated in Delhi during Akbar, Orissa was conquered in 1568 A.D. by the Afghans and then by the Mughals in 1592 A.D.

Cuttack, was the capital of Orissa under the Muslims and therefore, enjoyed the privileges of possessing some Muslim monuments of significance and importance. They are Zuma Masjid at Balu bazar, the mosque at Diwan-i-bazar, the Qadam Rasul at Choudhury bazar, etc. which are found in Cuttack.

Lal Bagh Palace :

The Lal Bagh palace at Cuttack built in 1633 A.D. or 1636 A. D., was the first important Muslim monument, meant for the palace of the Mughal Governors. It is no longer in existence. The English scholars who visited the palace have showered praises on its beauty and grandeur. William Bruton describes :

“Although the palace of the Nawab be so large in extent, and so magnificent in structure, yet, he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodge in tents, with his most trusty servants, and guards around him, for it is an abomination to the Mughals to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man has built for his own honour. And therefore, he was building a palace which he purposed should be a fabric of a rest and future remembrance of his renown”⁴.

The Lal Bagh palace has been described by T. Motte in 1766 A.D. as a large building laid out in a number of courts in the Morisco taste. The principal entrance of the palace runs the great street formerly built in a straight-line one mile and half long and still the chief place of business in the town. Inside the Lal Bagh lies the tomb of the saint Shah Mansur stretching from east to west instead of north to south. The Zuma Masjid of Balu bazar bears the characteristic features of a congregated prayer hall. It stretches from east to west to facilitate the performance of prayer by the devotees who while praying should turn towards Mecca. The access to the mosque at present is through

the southern gate. In side the courtyard, there is a cistern or *hauz* for the purpose of wazu or ablutions. Inside the main hall there is a pulpit (*nimbar*) with three steps from where the Imam delivers his *khutba*. The *niche* or *mibrab* indicating the *Qibla* enhances the beauty of the mosque. Three stately and magnificent bulbous domes, a cupola and a few other small domes add a pearl like decoration to this structure. To crown all, there are the two tall and elegant towers on both sides of the mosque. A brilliant view of the Cuttack town can be obtained by climbing the steps leading to the top of the towers. This mosque built by Nawab Ekram Khan in 1689 A.D. was dedicated to Aurangzeb's daughter Shahzada Begum⁵.

Zuma Masjid at Balubazar :

This is remarkable monument for its beauty and grandeur. During the reign of Aurangzeb, Zebun-nisa, the Shahzada Begum⁶, daughter of Aurangzeb laid the foundation of this great mosque for prayer to Almighty and the construction was completed by Nawab Ekram Khan in the year 1689 A. D⁷. This is the most beautiful and biggest of its kind in Cuttack. Its extraordinary feature is that it is based on an elevated ground, the floor level of which is almost as high as a small one-storyed building. It has deep tunnels underneath, through which one can go from the main road side to the opposite side. To the visitors from the main road the elevation of the mosque as well as the courtyard (150 x 75) present a commanding and magnificent site. The courtyard possesses a cistern or '*hauz*', for the purpose of ablutions. The vast hall is designed to accommodate a good number of followers for

congregational prayers to bring the unity and brotherhood⁸. The Zuma Masjid contains all the basic principles of an Islamic prayer house. It stretches from east to west to facilitate the performance of prayer by the devotees in India, who while praying should turn towards Mecca⁹.

The access to the Zuma Masjid at present is through the southern gate built much later. In side the courtyard, there is a cistern or '*hauz*' for the purpose of '*wazu*' or ablutions. Inside the main hall, there is a pulpit called '*mimbar*' with three steps from where the *Imam* delivers his *Khutba*. The various niches or '*mihrabs*' indicating the Qibla enhance the beauty of the mosque¹⁰. The mosque is enclosed by a dead wall 'lest through some opening some human or animal form or some disturbing material object may lure away the penitents, thoughts from 'Allah'¹¹. To crown all, there are the two tall and elegant towers on both sides of the mosque. The most interesting objects here are the stairs leading to the top of the towers from where a brilliant view of the Cuttack city can be seen¹².

The mosque is constructed perhaps in the style of the Turkish mosque with four beautiful minarates at each corner and domes in the middle. The three magnificent bulbous domes with a few other domes, adds extraordinary lustre to the structure. The stairs leading to the top of the elegant towers on both sides of the mosque are certain other interesting features which help one to have a grand panoramic view of the city of Cuttack. One of the most striking aspects of this monument is that it looks as new and beautiful as ever with even the original Persian inscriptions remarkably visible. A visitor

or a passersby having a glance at it would be struck by its artistic skill and grandeur¹³.

Qadam Rasul :

The Qadam Rasul is the foot print of the holy prophet on stone. It is encircled on all sides by high stone walls and has become the burial ground of the Muslims of Cuttack. It is stated that by the time Kalapahara was busily engaged in the conquest of Orissa, one Haji syed Alimulah, President of Dacca and a close relation of Syed Hashim of Mashar in Persia brought the sacred relic from Najab in Arabia with the signature of the *sherif* of Mecca, with a view to testify the genuineness. It was first kept under a *Khirin* tree in a village called Kukuriapada in the *Parganah* of Sungra in the district of Cuttack. The place where this sacred relic was enshrined as named as Rasulpur after the holy shrine. It is stated that one night some mischievous unknown person threw the relic into the river. On hearing this the Nawab engaged a number of fishermen to search it in the water. Once it was restored, it was brought to its present site¹⁴. Nawab Shujauddin Muhammad Khan endowed fifty *batis* of land for the Qadam Rasul, its maintenance and construction of the brick-built *gumbaz* (dome) and surrounding walls. Also a *dargha* was built for the purpose. During the rule of Alivardi Khan another 90 *Batis* of land were granted. Emperor Farrukh-Siyar also donated 70 *Batis* of land. In later period Januji Bhonsla, the Raja of Nagpur also made a grant of 31 *Batis* of land¹⁵.

There are four small strong towers of chiselled stones, at the four corners of the compound wall. A mosque was built in 1718 A. D. inside the Qadam Rasul compound. It has its architectural beauty comparable to Ujale Khan mosque at Muhammadia Bazar. The most important characteristic in the construction of the walls and buildings is that the dome as well as the building has been built in Oriya style by Oriya masons and architects. So far as the architectural design of the building is concerned, it was one of the beautiful pieces of Mughal architecture in style. It is more akin to Diwan Bazar mosque and Zuma Masjid, at Balu bazar. Being a holy shrine, Qadam Rasul has been a very big graveyard. Here was buried Muhammad Taqi Khan, the Deputy Nazim of Orissa, and son-in-law of Nawab Shujauddin Muhammad Khan. Other notable persons whose graves are found here are Fateh Khan, Azam Khan ¹⁶ and Bahar-i-Sultan and others. Some well constructed tombs are found over the above personalities. A few saints like Shahid Pani are also found there. Inside the Qadam Rasul, there is a big *hauz* (tank) and *Musafir-Khana* is situated with eight rooms. Some beautiful Persian inscriptions are found on the *dargha* and at two gates. The big area lies in an enclosure. The enclosure constitutes massive walls built up by stones pretty big and rectangular in size.

The main burial ground of the Muslims at Cuttack is the Qadam Rasul enclosed on all sides by high stone walls. At four corners of this compound there are four small yet strong towers constructed out of chiselled stones. The Qadam Rasul including the *Naubat Khana* covers 57 acres of land. Various authorities have from time to time made donations of land for its maintenance¹⁸.

The entrance to the Qadam Rasul is through the *Naubat Khana* (Music gallery) constructed much later in 1757 A.D. by Masaleh-ud-din who was Nawab Taqi Khan's son¹⁹.

The *Sarai* constructed by Nawab Shujauddin is a simple structure consisting of six chambers for the residence of travellers with a large gate in the centre. It is adorned with four flat domes²⁰.

Pucca pavements from all directions of the graveyard lead to the main octagonal building in the centre with a majestic magnificent dome, perhaps the biggest in Orissa. It was constructed in 1715 A.D. by Shujauddin Khan with the specific purpose of sheltering the sacred relics of the prophet. The octagonal building has a door each in the north, south, east and west. The floor is also divided into eight sections and is covered with black and white square and marble pieces. The foot-print of the prophet engraved in a circular stone is placed in the centre of the monument. The inner part of the big dome is indeed the most beautiful part of the building and is covered with delicately-coloured floral paintings fully illustrating the remark that Islamic painting is "Cloth-embroidery transferred to stone". The dome outside is adorned with a golden pinnacle²¹.

The sacred relic, the foot print of the prophet had a chequered and romantic career. Prof. Altaf Hussain writes :

"This relic was at first enshrined at a village called Kukariapada in the Sungra Parganah of

the Cuttack district. This village was named Rasulpur in honour of sheltering the relics of the prophet and this name was recorded in all Government papers. Nawab Shujauddin expressed his desire of visiting the village to pay his respects to the relics. He was, however, prevented from doing so by his officers on the ground that the *Mofussil* would not be able to bear the strain of his big cavalcade. Mohammad Ali, the Nawab's Diwan, then sent instructions to the Officer in charge, Sungra to remove the relic to Cuttack. Accordingly the Qadam Rasul was brought to Cuttack and kept at Jobraghat on the bank of the Mahanadi in a thatched house in the year 1099 *Amali*. The Nawab appointed Syed Mohiuddin as the darogha and also set up a separate department under one Hoshmand khan whose duty it was to look to the maintenance and necessary repairs of the Shrine²².

As stated earlier Nawab Shujauddin was instrumental in bring this relic to its present site. To-day, the Qadam Rasul is a shrine dear to the Hindus and the Muslims alike. It has become a symbol of their unity. It is a common sight to see Hindus and Muslims making a pilgrimage to it and invoking the blessings of the prophet for the fulfillment of their fond desires²³.

Diwan Bazar Mosque :

Another mosque of some significance at Cuttack was the Diwan bazar mosque. It seems that it is the oldest *shahi* mosque in Orissa. It was built

during the reign of Aurangzeb between 1658 and 1669 A.D.²⁴. The mosque has not been built on an elevated plinth, out of the three domes possessed by the mosque one is bigger than the other two. It contains two four small minarates. Two latices are noticed in the interior. Other structural elements related to the mosque are six arches and three *hajras* which are on the right side²⁵. The symmetrical vaults and arches in the hall and semi-spherical vaults and small towers are some architectural specimens, which are impressive for beauty. The large pond, near the mosque presents a natural charm, and makes it more attractive. Various component parts of this mosque appear to have been added in different periods. The *saiban* and the *peshgah* were of a later date. Symmetrical vaults and arches adorn the unpartitioned hall. The semispherical domes and a few small towers add to its overall beauty. A large tank situated near the mosque attaches a natural charm to its religious sanction.

Ujale Khan Mosque :

Ujale Khan mosque at Muhammadia bazar, Cuttack has its own significance. It was built in 1716 A. D. This is adorned with three domes, two of them on either side looking smaller than the larger one in the center. It has three arches but no minarates. Its beauty lies in its simplicity and grandeur. In size it is smaller than the Fateh Khan Rahman mosque inside the Barabati fort though quite similar in appearance²⁶.



Fateh Khan Rahman Mosque :

In design and architecture, the Fateh Khan Rahman mosque as well as the Ujale Khan mosque may be brought under one category. Their architectural designs differ from those of other monuments at Cuttack. In boldness of conception and in art of execution, they certainly stand no comparison with Zuma Masjid and Diwan bazar mosque. Yet, they have their unique peculiarity in the construction. It is not known, when the Fateh Khan mosque was built in the fort of Barabati. However, it appears that some Muslims Governors of the fort of Barabati might have built the mosque for the observance of the prayer of the army stationed there.

Tomb of Shah Mansur :

Shah Mansur was a saint of eminence and by his philanthropic deeds he could attract both, Hindus and Muslims. The tomb of this saint is now a days visited by people of both the communities. The Muslim monuments are not only confined to Cuttack, once the principal citadel of power of the Muslims in Orissa but they are found to have been built in other parts of the territory. The most important of them, worth mentioning are Abu Nasir mosque at Jajpur²⁷, the Dargha-i-Takta on Alamgiri hill at Balichandrapur and Qadam Sharif at Balasore.

Abu Nasir Mosque at Jajpur :

The Abu Nasir mosque at Jajpur in the undivided Cuttack district was built by Abu Nassar Khan, son of Shaista Khan, the deputy *Subahdar* of

Orissa. During the rule of Aurangzeb, he was given the deputy *Subahdarship* of Orissa as prince Muhammad Azam, son of Aurangzeb, who was appointed as Governor of Orissa, was not inclined to come to Orissa personally for administration. It appears that Abu Nasar Khan was deputy *Subahdar* of Orissa from 14, January, 1683 to 1689 A.D.²⁸.

The mosque stands magnificently with four minarates. The minarates which were placed in the center are small in size in comparison with the two large minarates found outside. The mosque has three domes on the roof. The largest of them situated in the center measures to 80 feet in circumference. In the interior of the domes on the roof some openings are noticed. It appears that probably they were used as places for concealment, there are three impressive gothic doorways in the east face. An inscription in the mosque reads :

"In the meantime of Aurangzeb whose splendour reaches the stars and will remain as long as the stars endure in the time of Nawab whose virtues are altogether beyond praises of description, the Nawab established in the city of Jajpur a mosque of such magnificence that the domes of it make the sky conceal itself. If you desire to hear the message of the Angels, spend a night in it"³⁰.

T. Motte, the European traveller, who visited Jajpur in the month of May 1766 A.D. was impressed with the structure of the mosque and remarked. "This is built in the style of the Turkish mosque having a lofty minarate at

each end of the front, which takes off their disagreeable acuteness"³¹. In structure, the mosque has its architectural importance and unique style in Orissa. It is stated that the mosque was built with materials of the demolished Hindu temples³².

Dargha Takht-i-Suleman in Cuttack districts :

This *dargha* ³³ is situated on the mountain top of Aul hills at a height of 2,500 feet in the *mauza* Charinangal of the undivided Cuttack district. This is a plain stone building with a single room surrounded by dome. There is a platform in front of it. It is surrounded by a thin wall with a gate on the northern side. There is a high terrace which has been raised for the reception of *darvishes* and pilgrims. On the south of the building there is a sacred tank³⁴.

The building is not so significant for its architectural skill as for its commanding posture. This *dargha* was constructed in the year 1724 A.D. by the Deputy Governor of Orissa, Shujauddin Muhammad Khan when Murshid Quli Khan I was the Governor of Orissa. A Persian inscription on a table on the *dargha* gives the name Shujauddin Muhammad Khan as its builder³⁵. There is an interesting story in regard to circumstances which led to the construction or building at the top of the mountain. It is said that a holy saint called Suleman *saheb* came down to this area first to Lalitagiri hills and then to the present location on the top of the hill. There he went on offering prayer and meditation in the thickness of the forest. Once, a Muslim commander at the command of the soldiers was passing by this way and he saw a flag fluttering on the hill. The army commander and others went over the hill and made a vow that if

they would succeed in winning the battle they would return and do something in commemoration of the holy *Pir saheb*. The army was victorious in the campaign and *dargha* Takht-i-Suleman was built up accordingly. From the settlement of records, it is noticed that 16 *batis* of land were donated for various services of *Waqf* by Shujauddin Muhammad Khan and Murshid Quli I and Raja Januji Bhonsla at later period. It was arranged that the produce of the four *batis* out of the entire grant would be spent for sweeping and cleaning of *dargha* and the rest for *sirini*, *fatiha*, *sanja*, *cheragh* and for looking the *musafir's* maintenance and the repairs of the *dargha*. Since then the visitors continue to visit the shrine to show reverence to the holy *Pir*.

Sardar Khan Mosque :

The Sardar Khan mosque is situated in Shaikh bazar, Cuttack. It was built by Sardar Khan in 1753 A.D. This possesses three domes and six arches and four hajras. Being constructed on the elevated plinth, it has a commanding appearance³⁸.

In short, monuments of Orissa may not be of exceptional calibre or may not stand in comparison with many of them, in northern India. Yet the mosque like Zuma Masjid at Balu bazar, is considered as the magnumopus of Muslim monuments in Orissa and is unique in its beauty and grandeur and it is indicative of the interest the provincial Muslim Governors took in patronising architecture and keeping the Islamic architectural tradition and skill intact. Though the Muslim rule is a matter of past, yet their architectural contributions are not small and they have enriched the mainstream of Orissan culture with these monuments left behind in the city of Cuttack.

Notes and References :

1. B.C Roy, *Orissa Under the Mughals* Calcutta, 1981, p. 143.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Altaf Hussain, 'Muslim Institution of Cuttack' Town past and present (ed) by J. Patnaik and others in *Cuttack One Thousand Years*. Cuttack, 1990, p. 33.
5. R. C. Mahapatra, 'The Archaeological Remain of Cuttack city, (ed.) by J. Patnaik and others in *Cuttack One Thousand Years*, Cuttack, 1990, p. 14.
6. It is sometimes argued by some that Shahjada Begum whose name appears in the inscription was the wife of Ekram Khan, the deputy *Nazim* of Orissa in 1127 Hijra (1714A.D). But the inscription clearly shows that she was the daughter of Aurangzeb and Ekram was not his son-in-law. (Also see Appendix-C, Photo No. 1.)
7. *Letter No. 5532/Ed 14 Aug. 1950 from the Under Secretary, Government of Orissa to the District magistrate, Cuttack.*
8. *O.H.R.J.*, 1962, Vol. XI, No. I, p. 2
9. Altaf Husain, *Op. cit.*, p. 30.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

13. *Letter No. 5532/Ed 14 Aug. 1950 from the under Secretary, Government of Orissa to the District Magistrate, Cuttack.*
14. *O.H.R.J.*, 1962, Vol. XI. No. I. p. 6. (Also see Photo No. 2.)
15. *Ibid.*, p. 3
16. Fateh Khan and Azam Khan were generals during Maratha rule. Fateh Khan was the defender of the fort of Barabati against Sheo Bhatt Sateh. (B.C. Ray. *Orissa Under the Marathas*, Allahabad, 1968 p. 32.) The locality near the Cuttack Jail is named after the latter as Azam Khan bazar., *O.H.R.J* 1960. Vol. XI, p. 2.
17. *O.H.R.J.*, 1962, Vol. XI. p.2.
18. Altaf Husain, *Op.cit.*, p. 32.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, p. 33
23. *Ibid.*
24. It has been suggested that it was built by Murshid Quli Khan I, but Murshid Quli's career begins in 1700 A.D. and ends by his death in 1727 A.D. Again it is also argued that when prince Azam was the *Subahdar* of Bengal the mosque was built. But Prince Azam was in charge of Orissa only in 1678 A.D. So it was not built during his Governorship. If the year 1666 A.D. is considered to be the date of construction then the building should have been built in the Governorship of Khan-i-Dauran.

25. *All India oriental conference, Vol-II, Part-II, 1959, p. 4. (Also see Photo No. 3.)*
26. *Ibid* (Also see Photo No. 4.)
27. It is suggested that Shah Mansur was a Shia.
28. B.C.Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 147. (Also see Photo No. 7.)
29. *Copy of Letter No. 5532/Ed 14 Aug-1950 From the Under Secretary, Government of Orissa to District Magistrate, Cuttack.*
30. *Ibid, Revised list of Ancient monuments in Bengal, 1886, p. 87.*
31. B. C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 148.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Alamgiri hill, Balichandapur, Badachana, Cuttack.
34. *Revised list of Ancient Monuments in Bengal, 1886, p. 88.*
35. *Copy of Letter No. 5532/Ed 14 Aug-1950. From the under Secretary, Govt., of Orissa to District Magistrate, Cuttack.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference, Vol. II, Part II, 1959, p. 4., (Also see Photo No. 5.)*

CHAPTER - VII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our study comes to a close. All the aspects of the Muslim rule in Cuttack have been attempted. The misrule of medieval Orissa which began after the fall of the Gajapati empire reached its nadir point of degeneration during the rule of the Bhois. Mukunda Deva's attempt to bring the lost glory of Orissa was nipped at the bud when he breathed his last in 1568 A.D. and Orissa fell a prey to the Afghan rulers of Bengal.

With the advent of the Muslim rule in Orissa, a conflict between Afghan and Mughal for retaining power took place in which Akbar emerged victorious¹. Right from his time, Cuttack played a vital role as a citadel of Muslim administration. During the reign of subsequent Mughal rulers like Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, Cuttack remained as a nerve centre of Muslim rule in Orissa². The Muslim Governors from Cuttack guided and goaded the administration of this land.

The Muslims left their footprints in the administrative field of Orissa by innovating new systems. They were very much creative and systematic in their thought. The changes they brought in the administrative set-up were admired and followed by their successors, the Marathas and the British. Although there was no separate administration for the province of Orissa, it benefitted from the general system that was prevalent throughout India. The Muslim rule in Orissa is accredited with two phases. During the first phase, the contact was in the form of invasions that did not lead to any permanent result. But during the second phase of administration, the contact yielded inevitable consequences in the form of the establishment of cultural relations between the two communities.

During Aurangzeb, Murshid Quli Khan, the Nazim of Bengal declared independence and became the *Subahdar* of Cuttack³. He was followed by Shujauddin during whose *Subahdarship*, Cuttack enjoyed peace and tranquility⁴. Of course, during the *Subahdarship* of his son and successor Taqi Khan, the Oriyas suffered a lot because of his interference in the activities of Puri Jagannath temple⁵. However, he was instrumental in building many Muslim monuments in Cuttack and other places of Orissa. During the *Subahdarship* of Saulat Jang and Mukhillis Ali Khan, Cuttack had to witness the fall of the rule of Naib Nazims⁶. In 1751 A.D., Alivardi Khan had to conclude peace with Raghuji Bhonsle ceding him the *Subah* of Orissa and thus, Cuttack passed into the hands of the Marathas⁷.

During the Muslim administration, Barabati fort and Lal Bagh Palace at Cuttack were the twin peaks of administration. The Muslim Governors resided either of these two places and carried out the administration of Orissa⁸. In the field of revenue administration in Orissa *Tankha Raqmi* and *Jamma Kamal* were two important innovations implemented by Mughals⁹. Of course, the collection of revenue from the very beginning was bit difficult and there was misappropriation by the revenue officers even upto the rule of Shah Jahan. However, during the period of Aurangzeb, the collection of revenue improved and the *Subahdar* stationed at Cuttack became very much vigilant in collecting taxes. The periodical table¹⁰ of revenue collection from Orissa shows that Khan-i-Dauran was instrumental in sending into the imperial exchequer at Delhi, "the accumulated revenue of 15 lakhs of rupees"¹¹.

In Cuttack, the Mughal revenue system was engrafted on the Hindu structure, of course in its variation. The *Rakaba* accounts in the offices of *Sadar Qanungos* and *Gumastas* in Cuttack *Sarkar* have been stated to have been based on "*Bareh Dasti Padika*" measurement¹². The role of various types

of revenue officers like *Chaudhuris*, *Qanungos* etc have been amply discussed¹³.

In considering the land tenure system, it has been observed from all categories of documents, *Sanads* and deeds written in Persian that in the Muslim period any property right acquired by a revenue officer or hereditary revenue Officer, called as *Chaudhuris*, *Talukdars* etc.¹⁴ was never absolute. It was merely conditonal in the sense that so long they preformed their duties to the satisfaction of the state, they were allowed to retain the property right. The moment it was noticed that they did not render service to the state as required, they were deprived of all the property rights, whatever they might have acquired during their tenure of service. The Muslim Governors from Cuttack regulated these principles strictly¹⁵.

Thus conceived, the revenue system is the most important legacy of the Muslims. It formed the basis of their administration. The Afghans were satisfied with the continuing revenue system of the province. After them, it was left to the Mughals to show their calibre in this field. Although, the Mughal revenue system demanded one-third of the produce of the land as the share of the state, the Mughals permitted interesting deviation in Orissa and claimed half of the produce as land revenue¹⁶. This is also quite evident from the *Muraqat-i-Hasan*, that under the Mughals the military character of the feudal society underwent change. The lands were measured and assessment was made on a more scientific basis¹⁷. The establishment of *Patnas* on the unassessed lands resultd in the cultivation of more lands which in turn increased the revenue of the state¹⁸. The liquidation of the old military feudal society gave rise to a new type of landed aristocracy. During the Mughals neither the revenue officer nor the peasant had any absolute right to the property of land. It was merely conditional. Along with these changes the

Mughals also maintained some features of the old system that was prevalent in the province during the native Hindu rule¹⁹. The revenue administration of the province depended to a great degree on the Governor of the province. But at the same time, the emperor maintained a strict vigil over the Governor and the province so as to prevent any oppression. There are evidences of the emperor abolishing duties on a large number of articles at the time of crisis for the benefit of his subjects. The Chieftains were the hereditary autonomous rulers of the large tracts of land, the intermediaries collected revenues from villages on behalf of the state and received a cut, the primary Zamindars were those who had proprietary rights over land, whether residential or agricultural. The primary Zamindars, on the other hand, included peasant proprietors who subsisted off their own land and labour possessing no superior rights of any sort. To sum it up, it can be said that the Mughals maintained a revenue system that was far advanced of their age. Cuttack occupied the key position in the revenue administration of Orissa. From this place instructions were given to revenue officers for the collection of revenue. The revenue, thus collected, was sent to the Mughal court at Delhi²⁰.

The Muslim *Subahdars* of Cuttack took keen interest in administering justice. The *Qazi* remained in Cuttack to assist the *Subahdar* in judicial administration. No doubt, justice was imparted to the people instantly by the Muslim *Subahdars* through *Qazis*. Even to-day, a part of Cuttack town is known as *Qazi Bazar*. Thus, in the field of judicial administration, the Mughal *Subahdars* displayed their zeal for the benefit of the people²¹.

The Mughal *Subahdars* at Cuttack looked after the military administration too. They maintained different garrisons at their disposal at Cuttack. The Barabati fort, as its name suggests was a citadel of Muslim power during medieval age. The Mughal *Subahdar* maintained a standing army inside the

fort. The *Quila Maidan* in front of the Barabati fort even today bears the reminiscence of the military glory which the Mughal Governors possessed at Cuttack.

The provincial administration of Orissa was also directed from Cuttack by the Muslim Governors. The provincial officers like *Subahdar, Diwan, Qazi, Kotwal* etc²². received administrative instruction from the Muslim *Subahdar* stationed at Cuttack. Thus, in the whole range of Muslim administration, Cuttack played a predominant role.

Significant has been the premium put by Mughal administration in Orissa, a conspicuous growth of ruralisation from the grass-root levels. With modification they altered the village society and augmented it for the better. The endeavour of the medieval state in Orissa, as in India, was to create a strong rural base not only maintaining the rural elite but also sustaining the urban society alongwith its various segments by its agricultural and industrial surplus and revenue. The morphology of Orissan villages show the gradual establishment of large number of inter-mediaries designated by various appellations. Primary purpose of rulers being revenue collection from peasants, a machinery and a number of associated fiscal reforms were introduced. The various administrative reforms were introduced from time to time. Numerous official orders and measures were introduced to guarantee, the interest of the state and the peasantry not only led to the maintenance of records at different levels but employment of a large number of such persons who had some local influence and who were paid for their work. They were also given a percentage of revenue.

The rural administrative structure consisted of a headman, cultivators and several persons of distinct position and status with rights and privileges.

Apart from their rights over the land on hereditary basis, they continued to claim many *perquistes* and *abwabs* from the village either in cash or kind or both. They were the various categories of Zamindars, revenue officers, distinct categories of cultivators, the professional castes, artisans and landless labourers and the holders of *Madad-i-mash*. The state undertook the obligations of protecting the rights of the cultivators. The wide use of the Persian wheel and artificial means of irrigation, application of the idea of rotation of crops, cultivation of different kinds of vegetables, conversion of jungles into cultivable land and extension of cultivation reflected upon the changing face of the cultivation in country. So, the rural-urban links of the period also indicate mobility of different nature.

In analysing the economic condition of Orissa in general and Cuttack in particular, it has been stated that agriculture was the main occupation of the people of Orissa during that period²³. Among the food crops rice, barley and pulses were produced that period²⁴. The fruits like *jam*, *kendu*, *jack*, *bel*, *kath-bel*, *khajur*, *cucumber*, *banana*, *pine-apple*, etc.²⁵ were grown plentifully in Orissa. The rotation of crops also gave the peasant an important means to preserve the productivity of the soil. Besides, rainfall, artificial irrigation was used in the field of cultivation. The failure of monsoon and sometime the political confusion in certain periods were hindrances to agriculture. However, some Muslim Governors as discussed earlier²⁶ took interest in the field of agriculture.

Among industries, textile played a vital role and Cuttack was the centre for the production of cotton cloth. The artisans employed in smithery and other activities also lived in and around Cuttack and earned their livelihood²⁷. The sugar, oil, perfume and other industries including salt manufacture were carried on by the people as their profession²⁸.

The merchants and brokers played a vital role in trade and commerce. Many times they met the Muslim Governor of Cuttack and bribed him for the smooth continuity of their trade and commerce²⁹.

The Muslim impact on the society, religion and culture of Orissa opened a new horizon and changed the very basis of their ideas and thoughts. But the influence was never one tracked. It was a process of give and take. Both the Hindus and Muslims assimilated their ideas to cultivate a common culture. The establishment of the Muslim rule paved the way for the direct impact of Perso - Arabic language on Orissan language and literature. The Perso-Arabic words found their place in vocabulary of Oriya language which are in vogue even to-day. The introduction of paper as a working material and use of Parsi as official language in the Mughal courts are the distinct contributions of Islam in the sphere of literature and administration. To add fresh vigour to the newly developing Oriya literature and to maintain its own distinctiveness, the Oriya poets contributed a lot. The Oriya poets or writers were no longer interested to pick up words from Sanskrit language. Thus, the impact of Islam on Oriya literature which had its origin and nourishment during the Mughals had its fruition in the later period³⁰.

In the sphere of festivities, the growth and development of *pala*, *yatra* and *tamasha* made it easy for the two communities to interact with each other. Both the Hindus and Muslims actively participated in each other's festivals like *Holi*, *Dewali*, *Id* and *Muharram*³¹. The *Satyapir Puja* reflected Hindu-Muslim unity. It further resulted in the origin of a popular cultural institution known as *pala*. This *pala* and the *Satyapir Puja* has been very popular religious and cultural institution in Orissa³². Thus, in the socio-religious and cultural sphere, Hindu-Muslim unity developed. Cuttack witnessed the full-bloomed synthetic trend during this period. Even to-day, the Hindu Muslim unity is seen in different Hindu and Muslim festivals of Orissa.

During the Muslim rule, Cuttack became a great centre of Islamic culture. The Muslim monuments and shrines which were created during that time in Cuttack even exist to-day and exhibit their grandeur. Among those monuments were Lal Bagh palace, Diwan Bazar Mosque and Qadam Rasul etc.³³ which exhibit a perfect synthesis of Indo-Islamic architecture.

Cuttack under Muslim rule witnessed vigorous administrative activities. During the Muslim administration extravagant and short-sighted policies played away the resources of the state, dissipating the accomplishment of earlier years. The administration remained weak, articulated, traditional rather than professional, more sensitive to religious than state obligations. The fiscal situation reflected a more general failure to develop a differentiated realm of public agencies and procedures and corresponding civic consciousness and obligations.

No doubt, Cuttack grew from strength to strength. The distinct feature of the Muslim rule what Cuttack witnessed along with Orissa was the social and cultural assimilation which has its bearings on the glorious cultural heritage of this land. Even after the conquest of Orissa by the Marathas and the British, Cuttack remained distinct like to-day. The flourishing trends which it inherited right from the Muslim rule are preserved with all its splendours.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - II, pp. 55-56.
2. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - II, pp. 60-79.
3. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - II, p. 79.
4. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - II, pp. 80-81.
5. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - II, p. 81.
6. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - II, pp. 84-85.
7. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - II, pp. 85-86.
8. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - II, pp. 88-90.
9. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, pp. 114-116.
10. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, pp. 118-119.
11. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, p. 121.
12. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, p. 116.
13. Fore more details see, Chapter III, pp. 120-121.
14. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, p. 124.
15. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, pp. 124-126.
16. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, pp. 116-117.
17. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, pp. 121-124.
18. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, p. 123.
19. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, p. 113.
20. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, pp. 108-109.
21. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, pp. 110-111.
22. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - III, pp. 104-106.
23. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - IV, pp. 143-144.

24. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - IV, pp. 144-145.
25. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - IV, pp. 145-146.
26. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - IV, pp. 147-148.
27. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - IV, pp. 152-154.
28. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - IV, pp. 162-164.
29. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - IV, pp. 177-179.
30. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - V, pp. 232-233.
31. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - V, pp. 226-228.
32. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - V, p. 227.
33. *Vide Supra*, Chapter - VI, pp. 248-249.

APPENDICES

Appendix - A

Glossary

<i>Abadhan :</i>	teacher of a school (primary) ; sir,
<i>Abwab :</i>	miscellaneous levied by the zamindar or public officers.
<i>Adalat :</i>	court of justice.
<i>Alankar :</i>	ornament.
<i>Amli :</i>	an era current in Orissa.
<i>Amin :</i>	commander ; high grade officer.
<i>Amla :</i>	a native officer of a judicial or revenue court.
<i>Amrutamanohi :</i>	food offered to the deity Jagannath at Puri ; endowment for the
<i>Amrit - manohi</i>	worship of Jagannath at Puri.
<i>Ariz, Arzi :</i>	Petition.
<i>Bakhshi :</i>	commander-in-chief.
<i>Bati :</i>	a unit of 20 acres of land.
<i>Banjar -</i>	barren or waste land.
<i>Bhajan -</i>	reciting the praise of gods or deities ; repeatedly reciting the name of the worshipped deity ; praying.
<i>Bhoimul :</i>	accountant.
<i>Bigha :</i>	a measure of land varying in extent in different parts of India. In Cuttack the <i>bigha</i> is generally considered to be an English acre.
<i>Biri :</i>	a sort of cereal pulse ; <i>phaseolus mungo</i> .
<i>Bisi :</i>	a unit of many villages.
<i>Biswa :</i>	1/16 of a guntha ; 1/400 of an acre.
<i>Biswas :</i>	trust ; confidence ; reliance.
<i>Bordi :</i>	twenty kauri-shells used as currency.
<i>Brahmin :</i>	a person from a high caste with sacred thread in Hindu Society.
<i>Chadar :</i>	sheet.
<i>Chakla, chakala :</i>	a large division of a country comprehending a number of parganas.
<i>Chandala :</i>	a low caste person.

- Chandan jatra* : the festival of taking out image of a Deity to a tank and giving it a boating in the afternoon and evening for 21 days beginning with the third day of a light fortnight of the month of *Baisakha*.
- Chatasali* : village school.
- Chaudhuri* : } the name of the chief revenue officer of a taluk under the
Chaudhury : } Muhammdan rule.
- Chaukidar* : a watchman.
- Chauth* : an assessment equal to one-fourth of the original standard assessment or generally to one-fourth of the actual government collections demanded by the Marathas from the Muhammadan or the Hindu Princes as the price of forbearing to ravage their countries.
- Chandola* : covered litter.
- Dadni* : advance.
- Dalai* : an officer in command of paiks.
- Dalbehera* : a headman among paiks ; an officer in command of paiks; the headman or representative of a village in revenue matters.
- Dandapata* : a kind of administrative division or circle in Ancient Orissa.
- Daragha, Dargha*: shrine or tomb of Muslim saint.
- Darbar* : a court, a royal court.
- Darogha* : the head of the police.
- Darvis* : } a mystic, a beggar.
Darvish : }
- Dasabatara* : the ten incarnations assumed by God in coming upon the earth to deliver it from sin or oppression.
- Diwan* : a revenue minister ; the chief executive officer,
- Dola* : litter.
- Fakir* : a poor or indigent person, the most general application is Muhammadan religious mendicant who wanders about the country and subsists on alms.
- Farman* : a royal order.
- Fauj (z) dar, Phaujadar* : an officer enjoying both civil and military power over one division of a country; the chief of a body of troops ; an officer in charge of the police and having jurisdiction in all

- criminal matters.
- Garh* : fort.
- Gumasta* : an agent, a presentative of an officer employed by the zamindars to collect their rents ; moharir.
- Guntha* : one-twenty fifth of an acre of *mana*.
- Jagir* : a tenure common under native government in which the public revenues of given tract of land were made over to a servant of the State together with powers requisite to enable him collect and appropriate such revenue and administer the general government of the district ; a piece of land assigned to a government officer by the state.
- Jagirdar* : the holder of a *jagir* ; the holder of any assignment of revenue.
- Jama* : the total amount of rent or revenue, collection; accumulation ; total income.
- Jamadar* : an officer of police, customs or excise, second to the darogha.
- Jarib* : measuring or surveying chain, cadestral, survey, the length of one chain (66 feet or 100 links).
- Jatra* : a religious fesitval.
- Kabuliyat* : (Corruptly Qubooleat) : a written agreement especially one signifying assent, as a counter part of revenue lease or the document in which a payer of revenue whether to the government, the zamindar or the farmer expresses his consent to pay the amount assessed upon his land.
- Kavya* : poem full of sentiment ; lyrical poem.
- Kauri* : (Corruptly Cowry) : a small shell used as a coin. In account, four *kauris* are equal to one *ganda* and eighty *kauris* is to one *pan*.
- Khairat* : charity ; gift.
- Khalsa, Khalisa* : land or village held directly by government and of which the state is the manager or holder ; land controlled directly by the king and not assigned to any zamindar or officer.
- Khanda* : a unit of revenue division.
- Khanda* : sword.
- Khandadhipati*: title of a collector of revenue of a paragana ; the head-man of a class.

<i>Khandait :</i>	a name of a class of military land-holders residing in the hills, in kilas or fortified dwellings and holding their lands as a quit rent on condition of acting as feudal militia.
<i>Kharij :</i>	unoccupied land.
<i>Khiraj :</i>	land revenue, also tribute paid by a subordinate chief.
<i>Khi(e)lat :</i>	a dress of honour.
<i>Kila Qila :</i>	a fort, a fortress, a castle or a fort with lands around it.
<i>Kiladar :</i>	the head-guard of a castle or fort.
<i>Kotwal :</i>	a chief officer of police for (in charge of) a city or town or fort.
<i>Madad-i-mash</i>	grant of land or pension to religious or deserving persons.
<i>Madras(s)ah :</i>	an educational institution ; a school where Arabic or Persian or both are taught.
<i>Mahal :</i>	a revenue administrative unit.
<i>Mahaprasad :</i>	holy-food; food offered to deity Jagannath at Puri.
<i>Malik :</i>	owner ; proprietor ; in Delhi Sultanate it meant the second highest grade officers, lower than khans but higher than amirs.
<i>Mana :</i>	a measure of land consisting of 25 <i>gunthas</i> .
<i>Mansbdari :</i>	the position of a mansabdar.
<i>Mandapa :</i>	a shed open on all sides; an altar; a platform ; a pandal ; a house or raised shed intended for accommodating idols ; a permanent or temporary shed erected for a particular occasion having dome; pyramital roof of a temple.
<i>Mandir :</i>	a temple.
<i>Masjid :</i>	mosque.
<i>Math :</i>	Hindu monastery.
<i>Mauza :</i>	a village or a group of villages.
<i>Mudra :</i>	coin; circular bits of metal etc. of specific weight and value containing the king's stamp and used as currency.
<i>Muga :</i>	a sort of cereal pulses, called mungo.
<i>Muhasib :</i>	an officer appointed to maintain law and order in a municipality.
<i>Munsif :</i>	a judge.
<i>Naib :</i>	a deputy ; a representative ; an agent.

<i>Naik :</i>	a term indicating the head of a group in various parts of India ; a head ; an army general.
<i>Nawab :</i>	a Viceroy ; or governor of a province.
<i>Nazim :</i>	a governor of a province ; a manager.
<i>Pala :</i>	the act of performing dancing and singing accompanied with khol (a sort of drum) and cymbals by a party of choristers in chorus referring to one of the sixteen stories to the honour and power of the Deity Satyapir or Satyanarayan. Performing this which is called <i>pala</i> . the performers worship in the presence of the people the Deity Satyanarayan, who is adored by the Hindus and Muslims.
<i>Pan :</i>	betel leaves.
<i>Panda :</i>	a priest of Lord Jagannath.
<i>Pancha Sakha :</i>	The five writers : 1. Balaram Das, 2. Jagannath Das, 3. Achutananda Das, 4. Jashobant Das, 5. Shisu Ananta Das are together called Pancha Sakha.
<i>Paramatama :</i>	the Supreme Spirit ; the Divine Particle or soul in man ; the Supreme or Universal soul.
<i>Pargana :</i>	a tract of country comprising many villages.
<i>Parwana :</i>	an order ; a written command.
<i>Patna :</i>	a village or a settlement set up by the king or officials to accommodate the Brahmins or Muslims or such other people as coming from outside.
<i>Patta :</i>	a document given by the state to the zamindar or by some other receiver of revenue to the cultivator or under-tenant specifying the conditions on which lands are held and the value or the proportion of the produce to be paid to the authority of person from whom the lands are held.
<i>Peshkar :</i>	a clerk who puts up papers before a superior officer.
<i>Peshkas :</i>	a tribute, a quit rent.
<i>Pir :</i>	a Muslim saint, spiritual guide.
<i>Pundit :</i>	} a learned Hindu.
<i>Pandit</i>	
<i>Purohit :</i>	a priest ; a priest who is appointed to officiate at ceremonies.
<i>Qanungo :</i>	a revenue officer ; generally applied to village and district officer

- who recorded all circumstances within his sphere which concerned landed property and realization of revenue etc.
- Rakaba* : the total area of the lands of a village.
- Raiyat* : a cultivator ; a peasant ; a farmer.
- Raiyatwari* : Relating to the raiyat.
- Raiaguru* : the kings spiritual preceptor ; a title given to some brahmins by Rajas.
- Rath* : chariot.
- Ratna-simhasana* : a throne set with gems ; an alter inside temple where the image is set up.
- Sadabarat* : } constant bestowal of gifts ; pious act or giving shelter, food and
Sadabart } alm to the beggers and mendicants ; charities.
- Sadar, sadr* : usually means the chief seat of the government ; the presidency as opposed to the provinces or mufassal.
- Salagrama* : the glossy piece of sacred stone kept in the stomach of Lord Jagannath ; a sacred stone.
- Sanad* : a grant ; a charter ; a document conveying individual titles, privileges, offices.
- Sanyasi* : a person who has renounced the world ; a religious mendicant.
- Sara(re)i* : caravan sarai, an inn.
- Sardar* : a chief; a headman.
- Sarkar* : the government or administration, a division of a country.
- Sasan* : a settlement of Brahmins.
- Sebak* : a person who regularly performs the worship and rituals of a Deity ; a devotee ; a worshipper ; votary ; regularly following or devoted to an occupation.
- Senapati* : a commander ; a general ; family title of some *Khandaits* ; a family title of some Mastana Brahmins.
- Shirin* : custard officer for worship.
- Sinti* : a kind of war weapon.
- Subadar, Subahdar* : the governor of a province ; a viceroy.
- Tagab(v) l* : taccavi loan; agricultural loan advanced to needy cultivators by the government.

- Tah(a)sildar* : a native officer collecting the revenue from the cultivators.
- Taluk (a)* : division of a province ; district; estate ; zamindari.
- Talukdar* : the holder of a taluk, a collector of revenue from the cultivators ; zamindar ; owner of an estate ; tenure holder.
- Tanki* : a quit-rent; nominal or quit-rent paid by holders of revenue-free grants ; revenue free holding held on quit-rent; (land) on payment of a nominal rent ; (sum) paid in the shape of quit-rent ; nominal rent.
- Taulia* : Towel.
- Thakura* : Deity ; God ; idol ; image of a Deity.
- Thanadar* : an officer-in-charge of a thana.
- Waqf* : endowment.
- Zamindari* : the land of a zamindar.
- Zabti system* : method of assessment of land revenue in Mughal India ; measurement of land and fixed cash revenue rates for each crop.

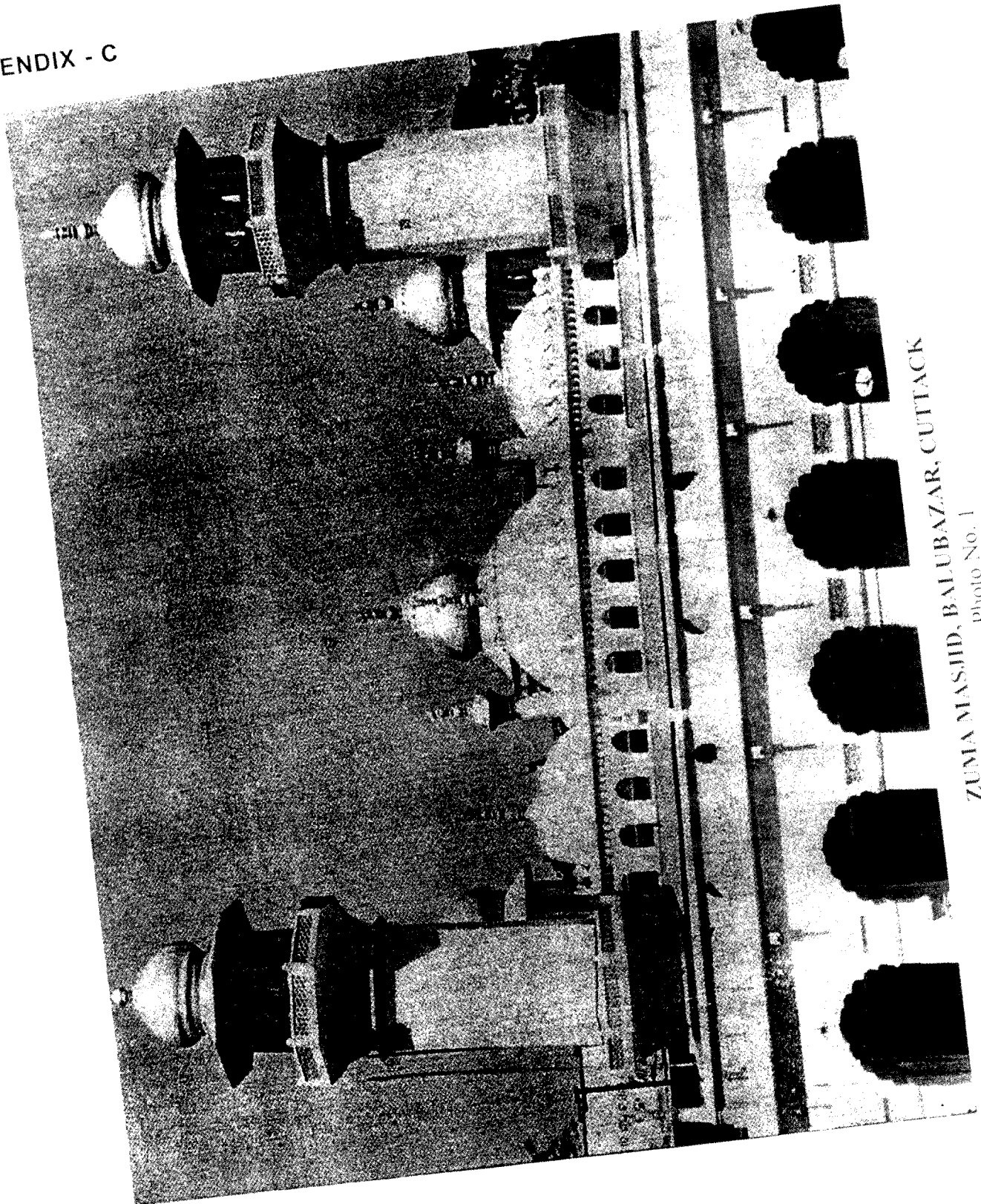
Appendix - B

List of Mughal Governors of Orissa

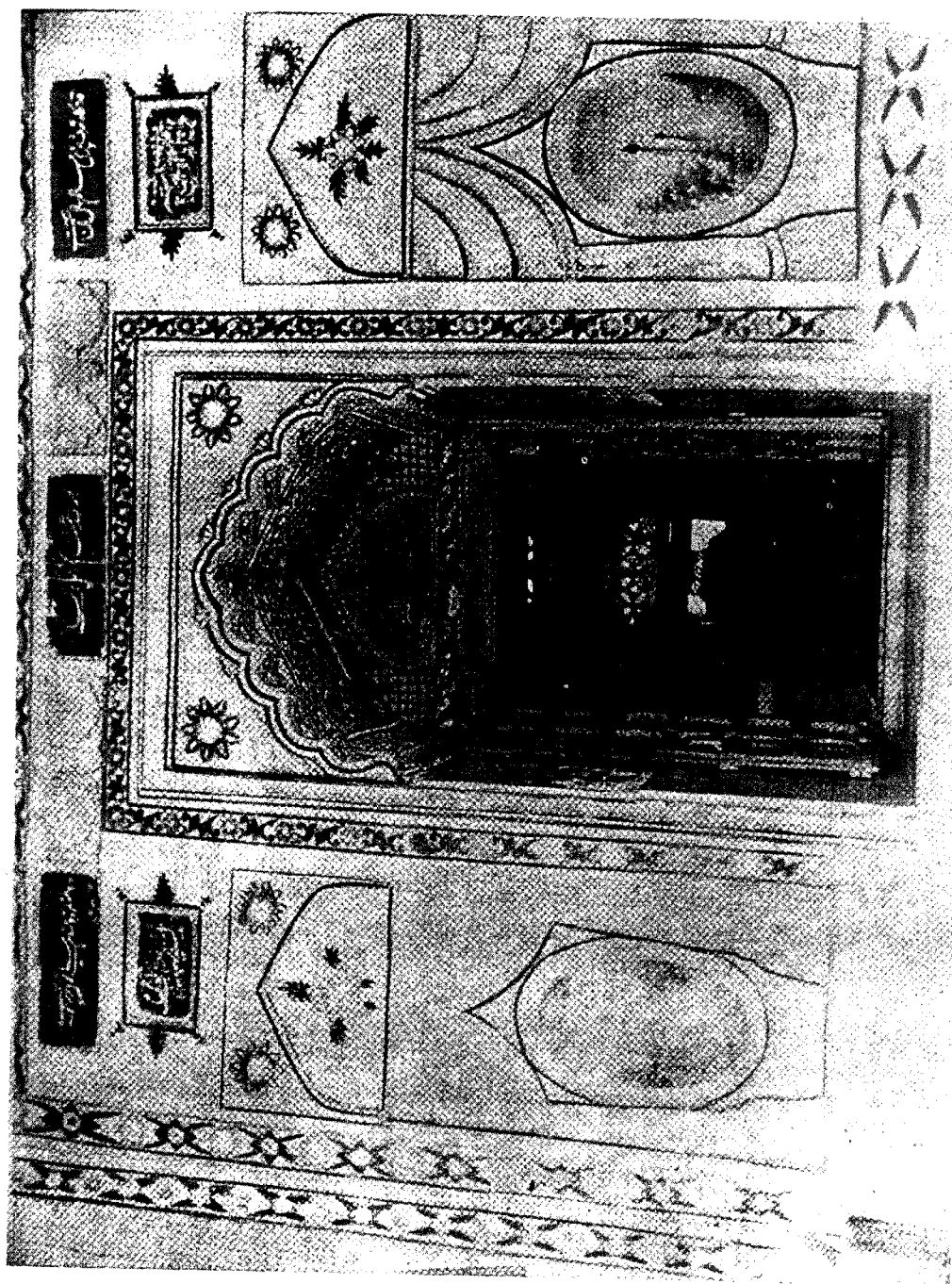
Sl. No.	Name of the Governor	Period of Governorship	Name of the Mughal Emperor	Remarks
1.	Raja Man Singh	1594-1606	Akbar and Jahangir	Appointed on 17th March as the Viceroy of Bengal and Orissa-Towards the end of 1599 was permitted to live at Ajmer-Maha Singh acted as his deputy-Towards the end of 1600 Man Singh hastened back to Bengal - Left Bengal in Feb. 1605 for Agra - Transferred from Bengal to Bihar in Sept. 1606.
2.	Hashim Khan	26. Sept. 1607-24 May	Jahangir	
3.	Raja Kalyan	1611-1617	Jahangir	He was the son of Raja Todar Mal.
4.	Mukarram Khan	1617-	Jahangir	End of his governorship not known.
5.	Mirza Ahmad Beg Khan	1621-1624 interregnum	Jahangir Shah-Jahan	He was the son of Nurjahan's brother There was a short interregnum owing to Shah-Jahan's rebellion.
6.	Baqr Khan Nizam-Sani	1628-1632	Shah-Jahan	
7.	Mutaquad Khan (Mirza Maki)	1632-1641	Shah-Jahan	
8.	Shah Nawaz Khan	1641-1642	Shah-Jahan	
9.	Prince Muhammad Shuja	7th March 1642-1657	Shah-Jahan	Prince Shuja ruled by his deputies - (a) Md. Zaman Tehrani ; 1642-1645 (b) Mutaqad Khan (second time) : 21st Nov. 1645-26 July 1648 (c) Jan Beg Haravi 1648-1651 (d) Md. Hayat 19 Nov. 1651 (e) Mir Samsam-ud-daulah Anju ; 3 Oct. 1654-March 1655. (f) Rashid Khan-14 April 1655 (?) (g) Tarbiyat Khan (Shafi-ulla Barlas) 1655-1657.
10.	Ihtisham Khan (Shaikh Farid Chisti ; also entitled Ikhlās Khan)	Nov. 1659- Sept. 1660	Aurangzeb	
11.	Khan-i-Dauran (Sayid Mahmud)	Sept. 1660-	Aurangzeb	He was the son of Khan Dauran Nasarat Jang Naqshbandi-Died in Orissa-News of his death reached Emperor on 7th Dec. 1667.
12.	Alivardi Khan (Jafar Salijuq)	Sept. 7-1667	Aurangzeb	He was the eldest son of Alivardi Khan I, who was slain by Shuja-Was appointed at court 7th Sept. 1667.
13.	Safi Khan	Oct. 1669	Aurangzeb	
14.	Rashid Khan (?)	March-1676	Aurangzeb	
15.	Shaista Khan, Amir-ul-umara	1676-Dec. 1677	Aurangzeb	
16.	Prince Muhammad Azam	July 1678-1688	Aurangzeb	Ruled through his deputies

- (a) Nurullah, July 1678-Oct. 1679
(b) Shaista Khan Jan. 1680-Jan. 1688
Governed through his deputies.
1. Buzurg Umed Khan, his eldest son.
2. Iradat Khan son of Shaista (appointment cancelled).
3. Abu Nasar, son of Shaista-Appointed on 14th Jan, 1683-After some time was made substantive Subahdar. He died in Orissa.
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|--|--|
| 17. Askar Khan | 1700-Dec. 1702 | Aurangzeb | He died in Orissa. |
| 18. Murshid Quli Khan (again) | May 1714-1727 | Farrukh-Siyar, Rafi-ud-Darajat Shah Jahan II (Rafi-ud-Daula) Muhammad Shah | Governed through his deputy Shuja-ud-din Md. Khan (1717-1727). |
| 19. Shuja-ud-din Md. Khan | 1727-1739 | Muhammad Shah | Governed-through his deputies : Md. Taqi (who died in 1734) ; Murshid Quli Khan II (1734-1741). |
| 20. Sarfaraz Khan | 1739-1740 | Muhammad Shah | Murshid Quli II continued as his deputy. |
| 21. Alivardi Khan | 1740-1751 | Muhammad Shah | Governed thorough his deputies Sayyid Ahmad (Saulat Jang) 1741-Shaikh Ma'-Sum, 1742 and Raja Durlab Ram, 1745. By the treaty-1751, Orissa was ceded to the Marathas. |

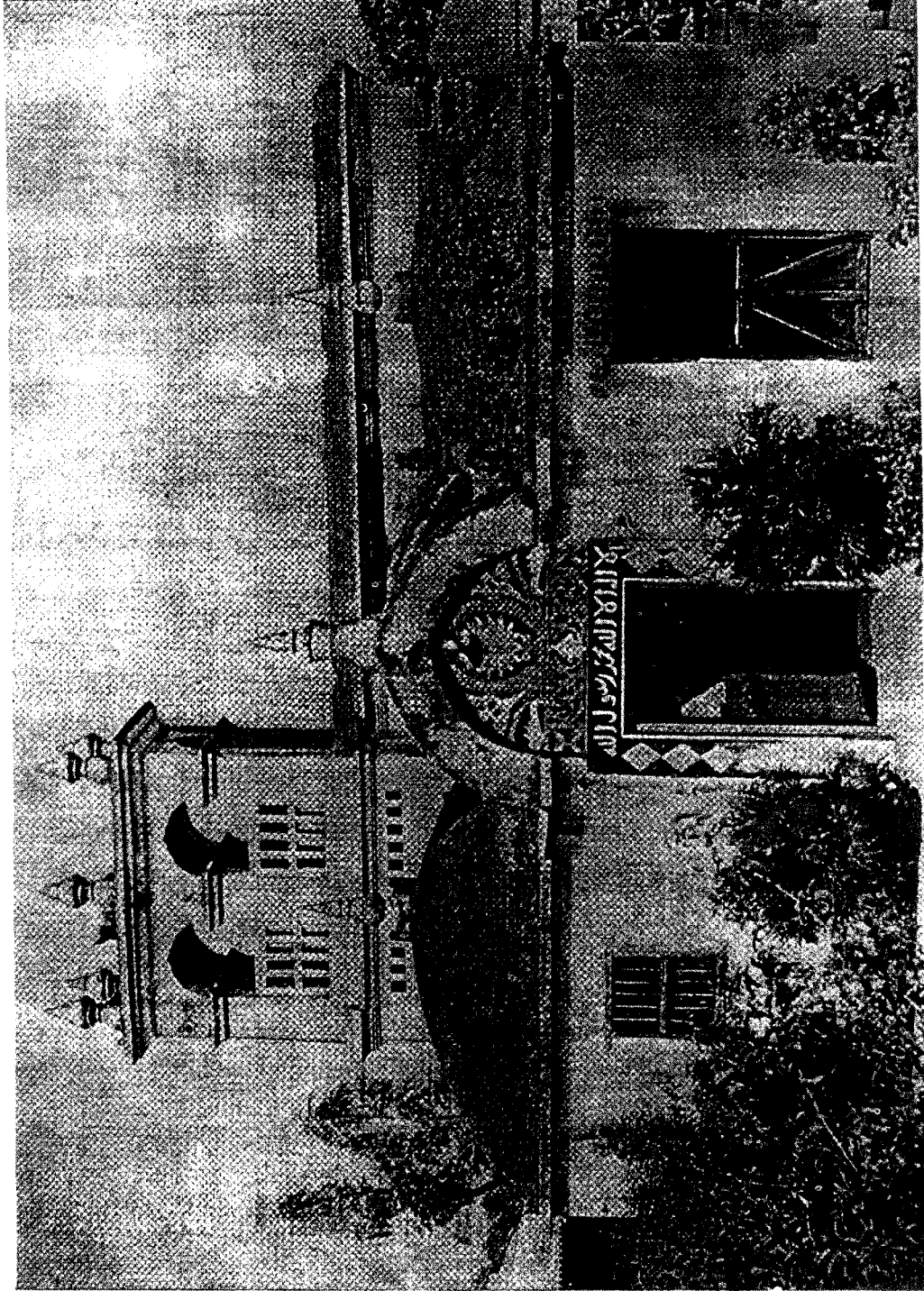
APPENDIX - C



ZUMA MASJID, BALUBAZAR, CUTTACK
photo No. 1

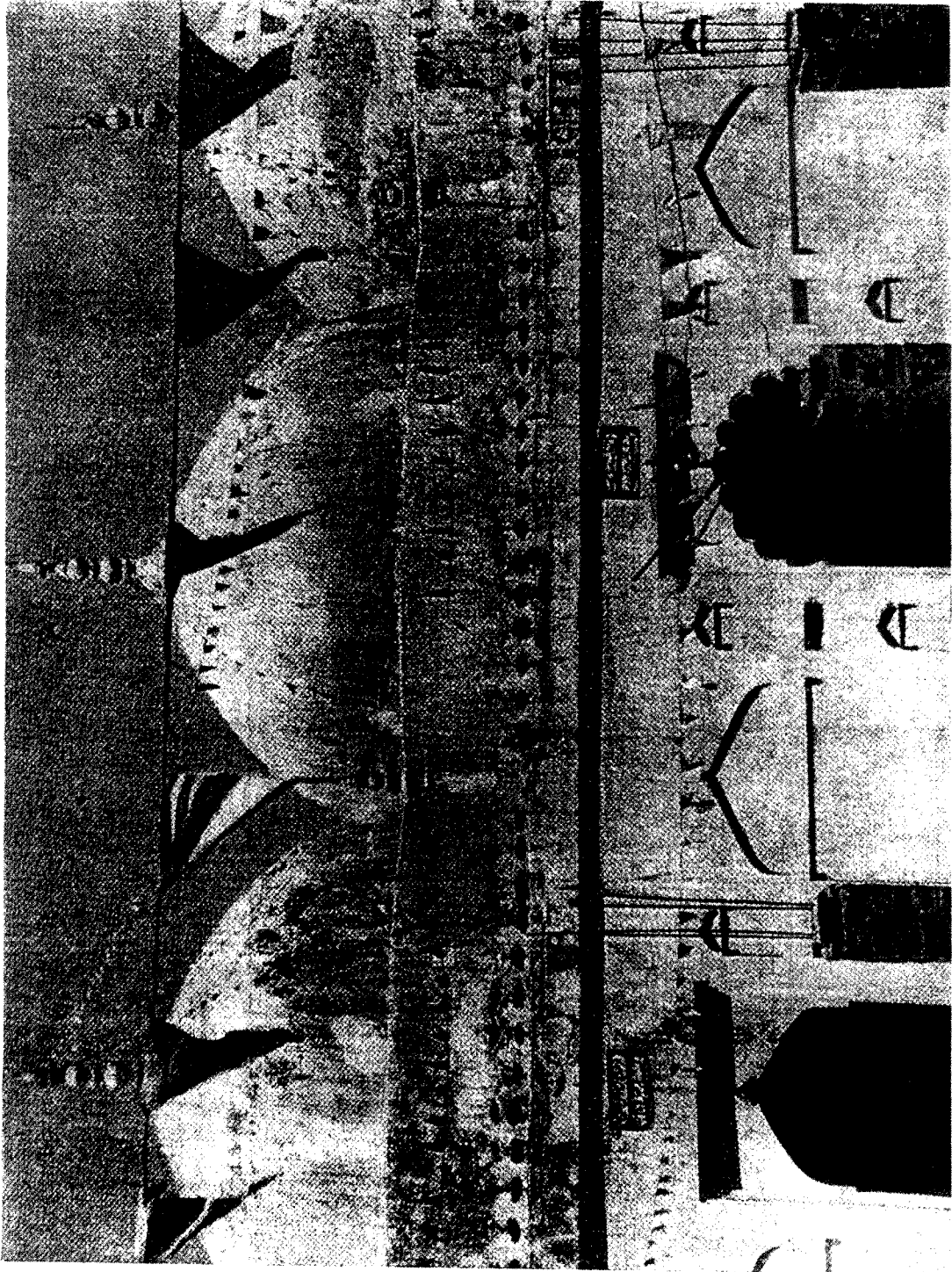


INSCRIPTION OF THE SHRINE AT QADAM RASUL, CUTTACK
Photo NO. 2



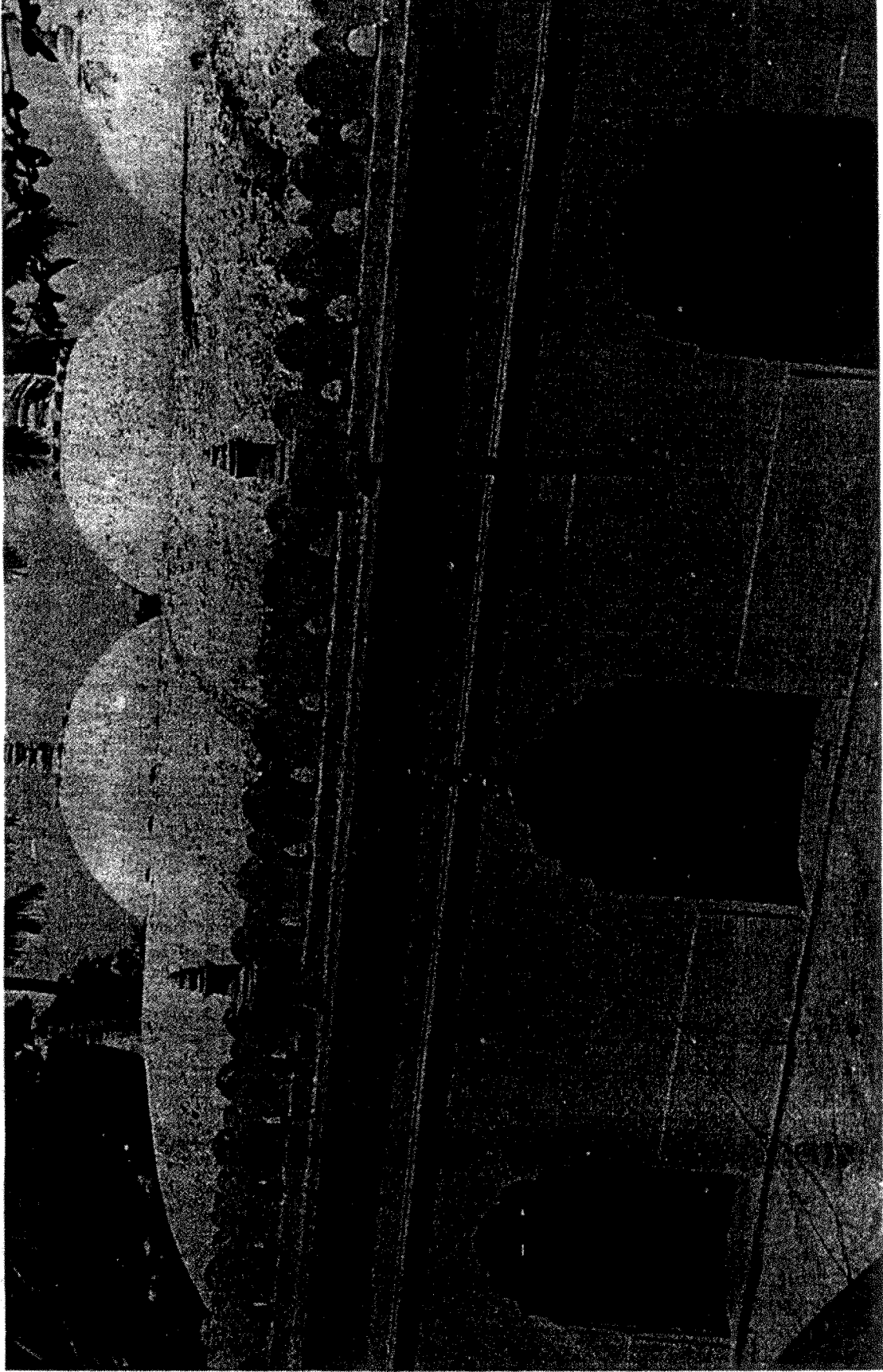
DIWAN BAZAR MASJID, DIWAN BAZAR, CUTTACK

Phont No. 3

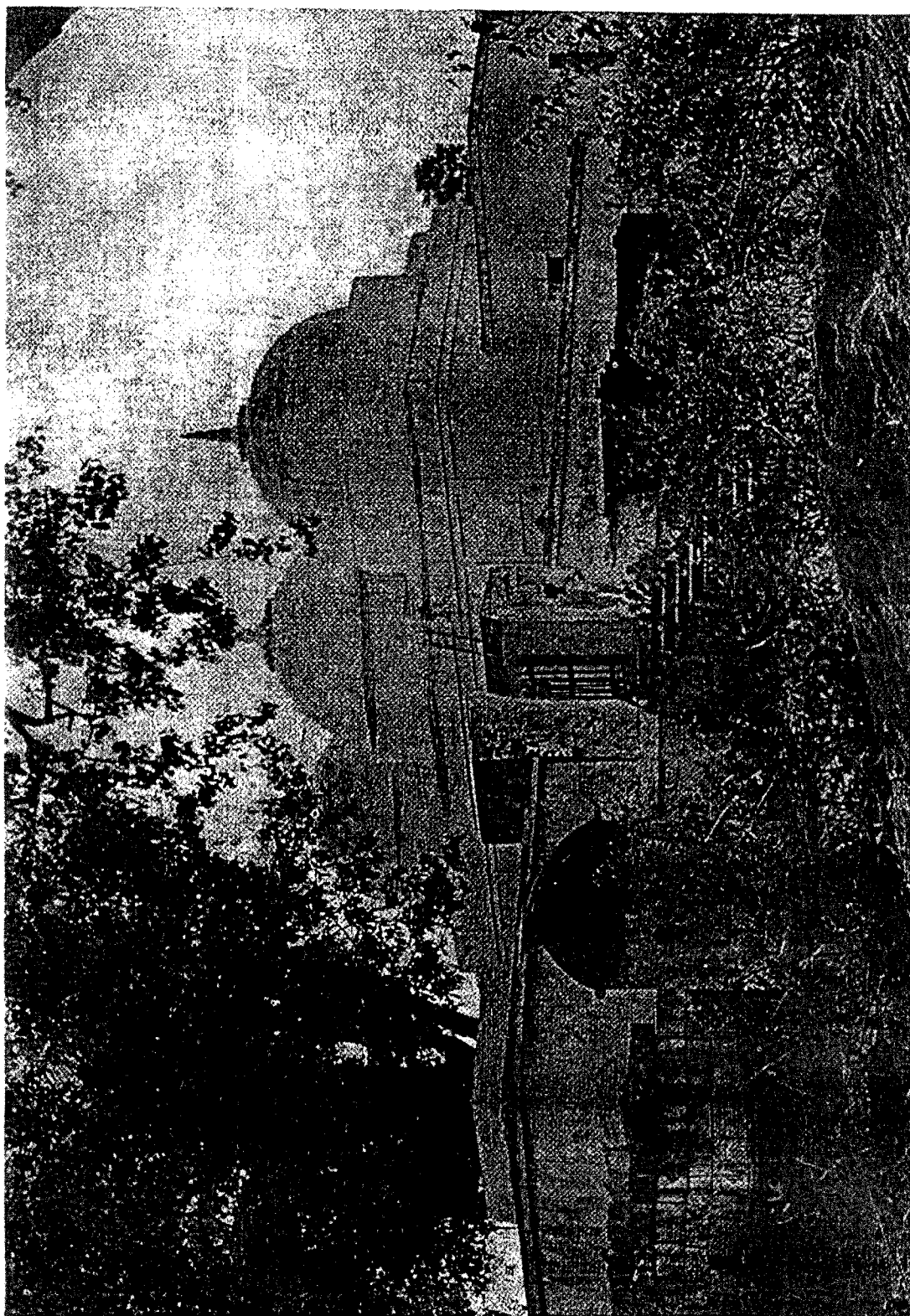


UJALE KHAN MASJID, MUHAMMADIA BAZAR, CUTTACK

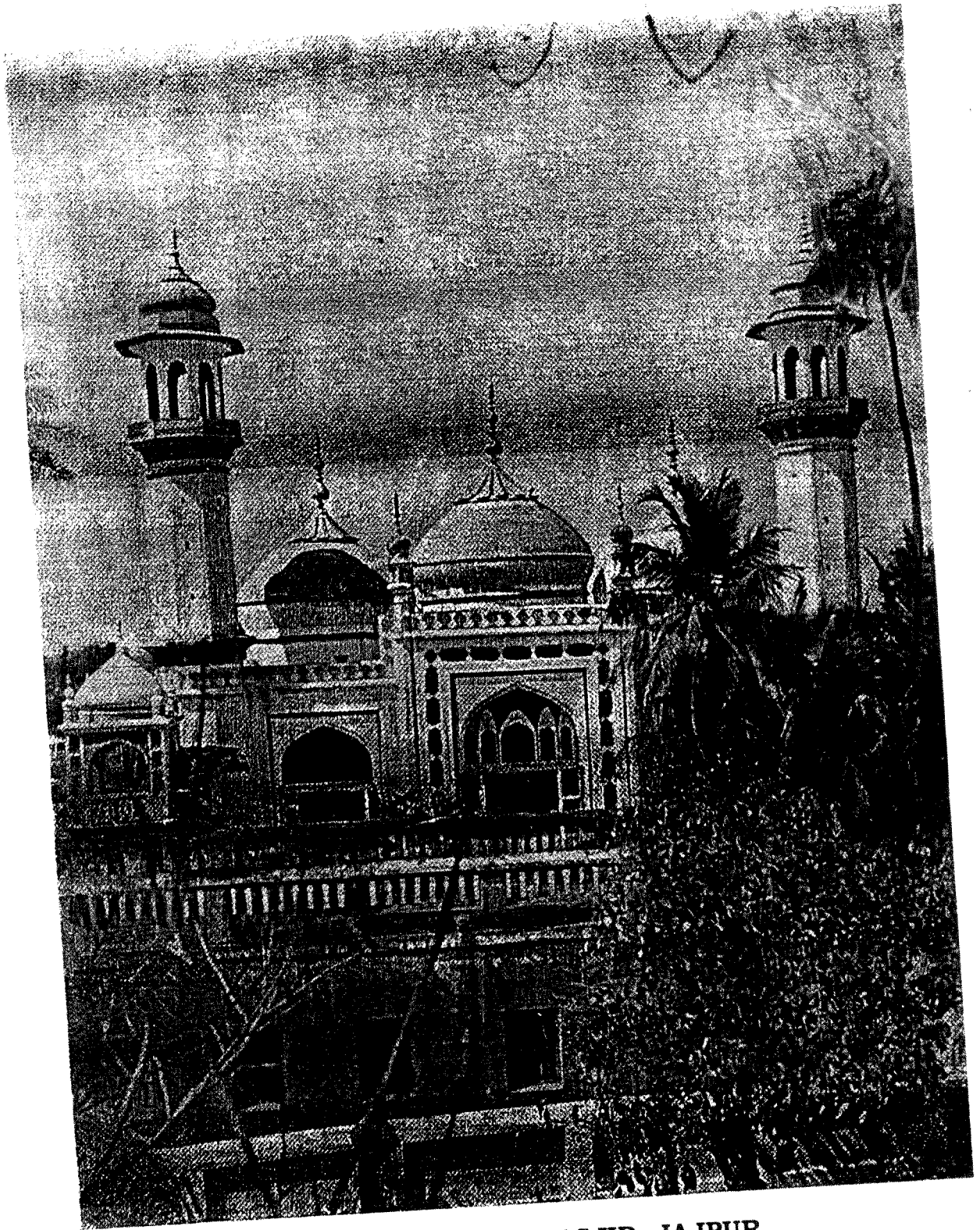
Photo No. 4



SADAR KHAN MASJID, SHAIKH BAZAR, CUTTACK
Photo No. 5

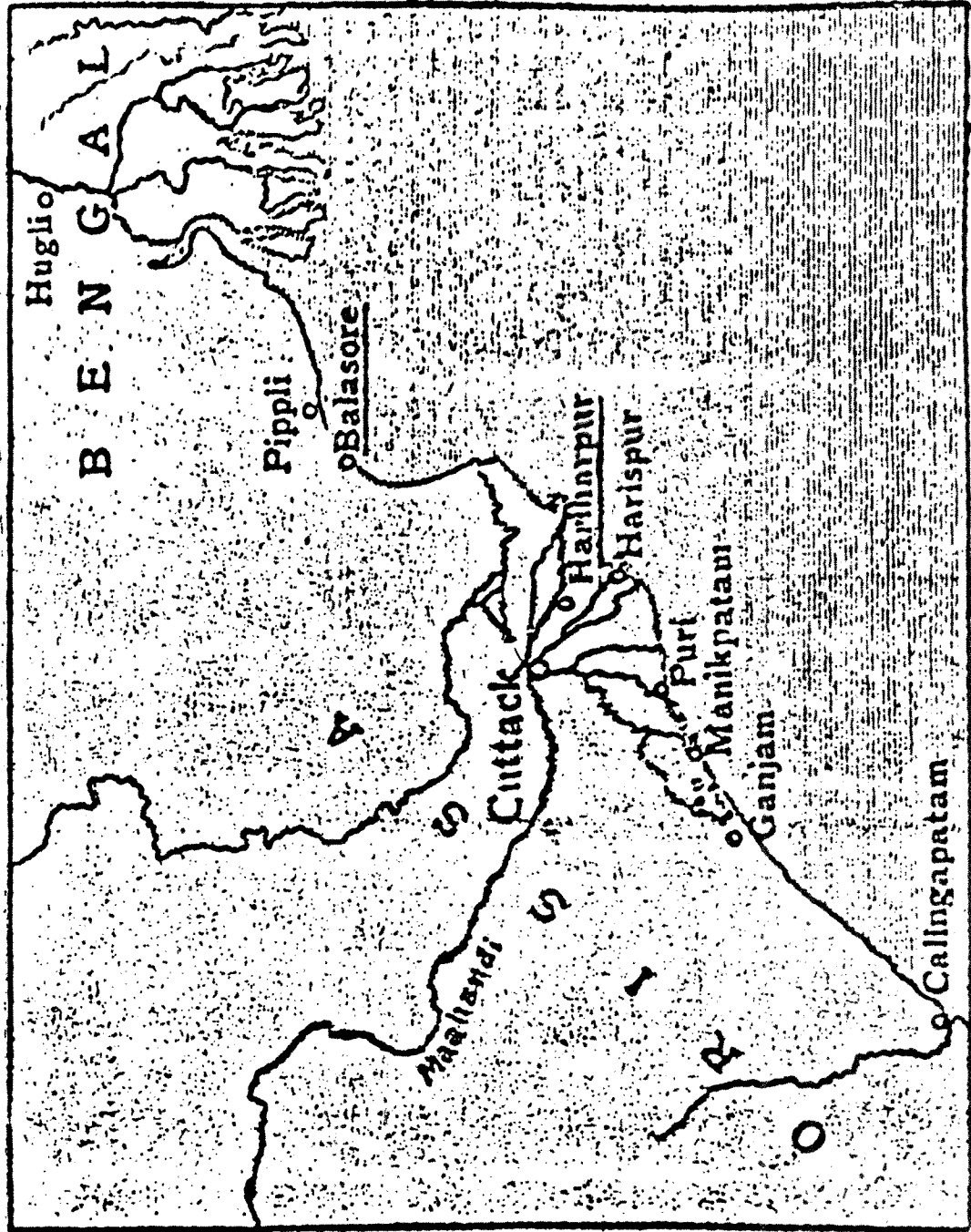


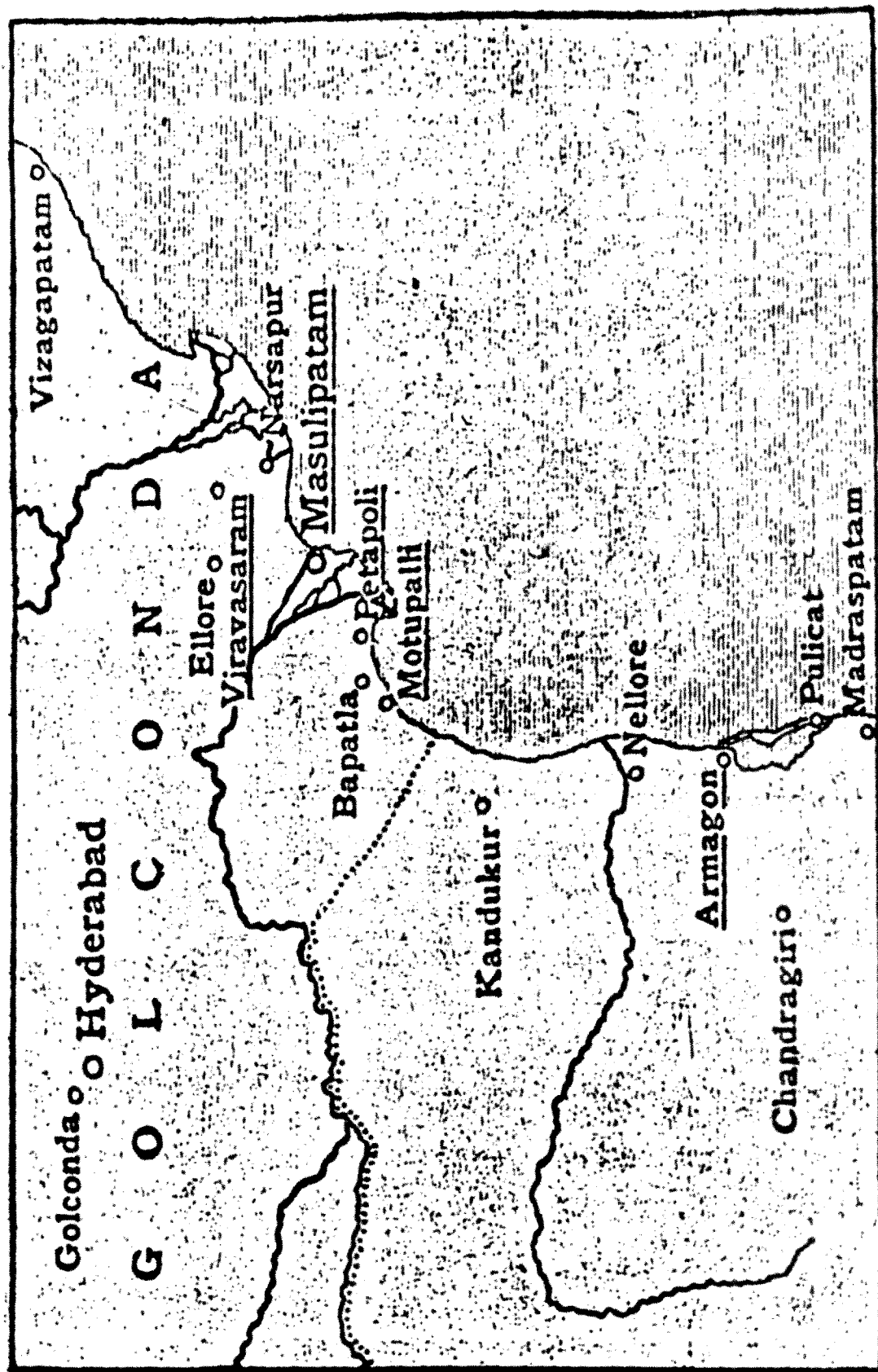
FATEH KHAN MASJID, INSIDE KILA, BARABATI
Photo No. 6



ABU NASAR KHAN MASJID, JAJPUR
Photo No. 7

MAP - 1





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