

Chapter-I

Geo-political profile of Orissa

Orissa extends from 17°49'N to 22°34'N latitude and from 81°29'E to 87°29'E Longitude on the eastern coast of Indian peninsula.¹ It formed one of the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India.² Presently Orissa is bounded by the states of West Bengal on the north-east, Jharkhand on the north, Chhattisgarh on the west, Andhra Pradesh on the south and the Bay of Bengal on the east.

Orissa is the anglicized form of the word 'Odisha'. The word has come from 'Odra' which in the ancient times was the name of small territory of present Orissa and was original seat of the *Odra* tribe³. The edicts of Ashoka at Dhauli and Jaugada of the third century B.C. and the *Hatigumpha* inscription of Kharavela of Udayagiri mentions *Kalinga*, which is in the southern part of Odra. The earliest references to 'Odra' as the literary language find mentions in Bharata's *Natyashastra*,⁴ which is dated according to some in the first century A.D. Adjacent to the Odra country on the North-west was the country of *Utkala*⁵.

In the seventh century A.D. Utkala, Odra and north Tosala (Coastal Orissa) were united as one administrative unit in the empire of Harsh and it was known as *Odra visaya* or Odra country⁶. Alexander Cunningham by a reference to the biography of Hiouen Tsang identifies the kingdom of *Ucha* or *Oda* as *Odra*.⁷ During the ninth and tenth century, it has referred as '*Ursfin*' in the account of Ibn Khurdadhbin and as '*Ursin*' in the *Hudud-al-Alam*.⁸

¹ Abul Fazl describes in his work that 'Orissa is a territory lying to the south-east of India'. Cf. *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1881, Vol.II, p.254; *Akbarnama*, trs., Beveridge, Delhi, 1989, Vol.II, p.381.

² Hunter, W.W. '*Orissa*', London, 1872, Vol.I, p.171. It mentions the name of five ancient kingdoms of India as – *Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma* and *Pundra* in note p. 171.

³ *Or-Desa* or *Oresa*, the old original seat of the Odra tribe had anciently less extended limits, the Rusikulia river making its southern and Kansbans its northern extreme. Cf. Sterling. A - '*An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper or Cuttack*', Calcutta, 1904, p.1.

⁴ Acharya Paramanda- '*Studies in Orissa History, Archaeology and Archives*', Cuttack, 1969, p.162.

⁵ *Utkala* was situated at the foot of the Vindhya close to Mekala, Odra and Utkala are sometimes taken as synonymous terms. Cf. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol.I, op. cit., p. 172.

⁶ *Epigraphia Indica*, (Calcutta and Delhi), XXIII, p. 202.

⁷ Cunningham Alexander, '*The Ancient Geography of India*', Varanasi, 1963, p. 430.

⁸ *Hudud-al-Alam*- 'The Regions of the world' – A persian Geography translated into Russia by V. Monorsky and re-translated into English, Oxford university Press, London, 1937, p. 241.

The Muslim historians of the twelfth and sixteenth centuries A.D. always have described this territory of *Odra desa* or Orissa as '*Jajnagar*'⁹ which appears to be a corrupt name of *Yayatinagara*, the erst-while capital of the Somavamsis in *Odradesa*. We get references of *Jajnagar*¹⁰ as name of Orissa in the Muslim chronicles like *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*¹¹, *Tarikh-i-FirozShahi*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*¹², *Riyazu-s-Salatin*¹³ etc. that, towards the end of the 14th century, Afif has described at one place '*Jajnagar-Udisa*'¹⁴ while mentioning Firoz Shah's invasion of Orissa in 1361 A.D.

By the fifteenth century A.D., Kapilendra Deva's Jagannatha temple inscription dated 1443 A.D. mentions clearly *Odisa rajya*¹⁵ for *Odradesa* and *Sarala Das*, the great poet contemporary to Kapilendra Deva, also describes the country as *Odisa-rastra or Odisa rajya*.¹⁶

Geographical Boundaries:

It is very difficult to define accurately the boundaries of Orissa which have undergone so many changes at different periods of its history. Orissa, in ancient and medieval times, was much bigger than the modern Orissa. The mouth of the Ganges on the north, the Godavari on the south, the Bay of Bengal on the east and the *Amarkantak*¹⁷ in the Vindhya ranges on the west had formed its traditional boundary, it was divided into several political units such as *Kalinga*, *Kosala*, *Odra*, *Utkala* and *Kongoda*. It may, however, be noted here that, this extent of Orissa was not constant or fixed rather the territorial limit of Orissa was fluctuated greatly at different period.

⁹ *Jajnagar* was situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi and Baitarni. It was the capital of the Somavamsis dynasty of Orissa, presently named as Jajpur.

¹⁰ During the reign of Balban, Tughril Khan the then governor of Bengal attacked *Jajnagar* and carried off great spoil in valuable and elephants to Lakhnauti. It also mention about the attack of Ulugh Khan (Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq) of *Jajnagar* while marching against Warangal. Cf. Barni Ziauddin, '*Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*', trs., Elliot and Dowson in the '*History of India As told by its own Historians*', Delhi, 1867, Vol.III, pp. 112, 234.

¹¹ Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, ed. Abdul Hai Habibi, Kabul, 1342.A.H, Vol.I, p.432; Vol.II, pp.14-15,31-32.

¹² Ahmad Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, ed. Munshi Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1875, pp. 44,98,523.

¹³ Salim, Ghulam Hussain, '*Riyazu-s-Salatin*', trs., Abdus Salam, Delhi, (reprint), 1975, pp. 79, 98.

¹⁴ Afif, *Tarikh-i-FirozShahi*, ed. Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Calcutta, 1891, pp.163-164.

¹⁵ Inscriptions in the Temple of Jagannath, left side No. 3, Right side No. 4, '*Journal of Asiatic Society Bengal*', LXII (1983), p.93-100.

¹⁶ Orissa has described as *odisa-rastra* or *odisa-rajya*. Cf. '*Adi Parva*' and '*Virata Parva*' in his *Oriya Mahabharata*.

¹⁷ *Amarkantak*: situated at 23°38'N and 81°15'E. It is now in Madhya Pradesh Cf. Sahu, N.K., '*Utkal University History of Orissa*', Calcutta, 1950, pp.1, 75, 77.

That in the ancient period, the province of *Odra desa* or *Ordessa* was extended from Gondwana in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east and from the wild hill-states of Jashpur and Singhbhum in the north to Rusikulia river (which flows into sea at Ganjam) in the south.¹⁸

Hunter has demarcated the territorial limit of Kalinga thus, "Our earliest glimpses at Orissa disclose an unexplored maritime kingdom, stretching from the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna. It was a long narrow strip of coast, everywhere shut out from the Indian continent by a wide terra incognita of mountains and forests under the name of Kalinga".¹⁹

During the rule of the Ganga ruler Ananta Varma Chodaganga Deva (1077-1147 A.D.), the northern limit of Orissa was near the mouth of the river Ganges and the southern limit was the Godavari.²⁰ But the later Gangas failed to maintain this vast territory and during the reign of Bhanudeva-IV (1414-1425) the Reddis of Rajahmundry were in possession of the Ganga territory upto Simhachalam.²¹

Under the Kapilendradeva (1434-1470), the territorial boundary of Orissa was expended upto the river Kaveri in the south and the lower Ganges in the north owing to his successful campaigns against the Kingdom of Rajahmundry and the Sultan of Bengal. But later his successors Purushotama Deva (1470-1497) and Prataprudra Deva (1497-1540) lost his territory lying to the south of the Godavari to the Vijayanagar²² and the Bahmani Kingdom.

During the reign of Mukund Deva (1559-68), prior to Muslim possession, Orissa was flanked in the north by the Triveni ghat above Hoogli through Bisenpur to the frontier of Patkum, in the east the Bay of Bengal washed her shore, in the south

¹⁸ *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper or Cuttack*, op.cit., p. 1, See also Alexander Cunningham *The Ancient Geography of India*, op.cit., p. 431.

¹⁹ Hunter, *Orissa*, op. cit., Vol.I, p. 170.

²⁰ *Katarajavamsavali*, India office, MSS, Aufrecht, written in Sanskrit, MSS. No.46, ed. and trs., Hermann Kulke and G.C. Tripathi, Allahabad, 1987, Vol.I, p.75.

²¹ *Simhachalam*- A temple in Vizagapattam district.

²² Barbosa, Duarte - *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trs., Mansel Longworth Dames, Item-85, London, 1918, Vol.I p.228. It mention that there is another kingdom further inland, which marches with the kingdom of *Narsyngua* (Vijaynagar) on side and with *Bengala* on the other, called as '*Otisa*', (Orissa), the king of this land is lord of many foot men and is often at war with Narsyngua. Cf. *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, (July), 1953, Appendix-III.

the territory stretched as far as the river Godavari and the western line was drawn from the Singhbhum to Sonepur skirting Gangpur and Sambalpur.²³

When the Afghans of Bengal attacked on Orissa under Kalapahad,²⁴ who was the general of Sulaiman Karrani²⁵ in 1568, the territory of Orissa extending from Midnapur to the Chilika lake passed into their possession.

Subsequently, when the Mughals conquered Orissa after defeating Afghans in 1592 A.D. under Raja Man Singh,²⁶ the Mughal possession in Orissa comprised the area stretching from Tamlook and Midnapur on the north to the fort of Rajahmundry in the South²⁷ and was divided into five unequally apportioned Sarkar²⁸ viz- Jalesar²⁹, Bhadrak³⁰, Katak³¹, Kalinga Dandapat and Rajahmundry³² and called as *Mughalbandi* area. Whereas the vast range of hilly country boundary to the Westward from Bishenpur down to the neighborhood of Karrondi, Bastar and Jayapur was classed under a separate head in the revenue accounts of the empire but allowed to remain entirely under the management of its native chiefs, subject either to the conditions of military service or to the payment of a light annual tribute were commonly known as 'Garjat' area.³³ The Mughal boundary of Orissa expanded towards the South during the reign of Jahangir³⁴ and Shahjahan that Baqir Khan the governor of Orissa conquered Khiraparah and Mansurgarh of Golkonda in 1630-31 and extended the

²³ *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper or Cuttack*, op. cit., p. 1.

²⁴ *Katarajavamsavali*, op.cit., MSS. No. 75, p.95.

²⁵ During the reign of Mukund Deva the Muslims of Bengal advanced toward Orissa under Sulaiman and his commander Kalapahad and defeated the Raja of Orissa and occupied his capital Cuttack. Cf. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1887, Vol.III, pp.326-327.

²⁶ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.631-632.

²⁷ *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, op. cit., p. 2.

²⁸ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. Munshi Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1882, Vol.II, p.51.

²⁹ Jalesor or Jaleswar a big town 10 miles from Danton towards Katak, Cf. Joseph Tieffenthaler *The Geography of Hindustan* (in Latin), trs., Sri Pranabesh Singh Roy, in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1823, pp.43-44.

³⁰ Sarkar *Bhadrak* lay between the Baitarni river in the south and Kansbans in the north, Cf. *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* (1916), p. 44, See also, *J.R.A.S.*, (1896), p. 745.

³¹ *Katak* is situated at the bifurcation of the river Mahanadi and its branch, the Katjori. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II p.52.

³² The Sarkar *Rajahmundry* and *Kalingadandapath* lay between the river Rishikulya in the north and the Godavari in the south. Cf., *J.R.A.S.*, (1896), p. 745.

³³ *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper Or Cuttack*, op. cit, p. 2.

³⁴ During the twelfth regnal year of Jahangir Mukarram Khan the governor of Orissa conquered Khurda and expanded its Southern limit. Cf. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Syed Ahmad, Aligarh, 1864, pp.214-215.

Southern boundary of Orissa.³⁵ According to Abul Hasan, early in Aurangzeb's reign, Malud was the southernmost outpost of Mughal Orissa.³⁶

Climate, Rivers, Forest and animals:-

The climate of Orissa during the Mughal conquest was healthy and good. Abul Fazl in his *Ain* has described about the climate of Orissa that, 'the climate is extremely healthy'.³⁷ Shujan Rai in his *Khulasat* also mention about the good climate of Orissa.³⁸ Abul Fazl again said that, there were three seasons in a year in Orissa. The rainy season extends over eight months, there were three cold months and only one month was hot.³⁹

There were many rivers which flowed through Orissa during the period under review like- the Baitarani, Brahmani, Burabalanga, Indrabati, Mahanadi, Machakunda, Katjuri, Kansbanas, Rushikuliya, Salandi, Subernarekha and Vamsadhara. We find mention of the Mahanadi and Katjuri in *Ain*.⁴⁰ Thomas Bowery also described about many rivers flowing in Orissa by the point Palmyras.⁴¹ Alexander Hamilton referred to the river Mahanadi of Cuttack in his account.⁴²

There were dense jungle and lofty hills in the interior of this province which was full of wild beasts like elephants, tigers, bears, lions and rhinoceros.⁴³ Among the

³⁵ Lahori, Abdul Hamid, *Padshahnama*, ed. Kabiruddin Ahmad and Abdur Rahim, Vol.I, Part-I, Calcutta, 1867, pp. 333, 373.

³⁶ Abul Hasan, *Muraqat-i-Hasan*, MS. Raza Library, ed. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1912, pp.51, 160. See also J.B.O.R.S,1916, Vol.II, pp.157-165.

³⁷ Abul fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit.,Vol.II, p.51.

³⁸ Shujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, trs., Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in 'The India of Aurangzeb', Calcutta, 1901, p.31b.

³⁹ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.II, p. 51.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.52.

⁴¹ Bowery, Thomas, 'A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1679', ed. Lt. Sir Richard Temple, Hakluty society, London,1905, pp.128-129. Point Palmyras was a head land in the Kendrapara subdivision; See *District Gazetteer of Cuttack*, 1933, p. 252.

⁴² Hamilton, Alexander, 'A New Account of the Indies being observations and remarks of Captain Alexander Hamilton', ed. W. Foster, London, 1930, Vol.I, pp.215-216.

⁴³ Abul fazl in his *Ain* has describes about the abundance of elephants in Orissa.Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit.,Vol.II, p.51. Bowery also observed Orissa to be the homeland of the wild beast like- tigers, bears, and rhinoceros. Cf. Bowery, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1679*, op.cit., p.196. we also got references that Iradat khan, the Bakhshi of Bihar sent some persons to Orissa to purchase elephants from there in the first decade of the seventeenth century, Cf. Mirza Nathan, *Baharistan-i- Ghaybi*, trs., Mohammad Islam Borah, Gauhati, 1936,Vol.I, p. 10.

domestic animals cow, oxen, sheep, goat, tame swine and camel were found in Orissa during the Mughal period.⁴⁴

The birds of various kinds like peacock, parrot, dove and pigeon were found in Orissa during the period under discussion.⁴⁵

Muslim Invasions of Orissa before the Mughals:

The eleventh century has great importance in the history of Orissa that, it was the period when the eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara⁴⁶ established their sway over Orissa and founded the Ganga dynasty which ruled upto the first half of the 15th century. Among the rulers of this dynasty, the most powerful was Anantavarman Chodaganga (1078 to 1147 A.D.) who defeated the king of Utkal and brought it under his rule. He also brought the whole of Orissa under one political authority and extended his dominions from the river Ganges to the Godavari.

It was the time when the political condition in the northern India was undergoing great changes on account of Turkish invasion under Muizuddin Muhammad-bin-Sam alias Mohammad Ghori who succeeded in establishing a Muslim state in India after defeating the Rajput rulers of the north India.

At this time Ikhtiyarud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, one of the general of Muiz-ud-din Muhammad, led the Turkish banner to the east and occupied Lakhnauti (the Sena capital) in the western Bengal. The conquest of western Bengal opened the road to Orissa. It was in the reign of Raja Raja-III (1198-1211 A.D) that the Muslims of Bengal invaded Orissa for the first time. This was the beginning of the Muslim invasions which continued to endanger Orissa till her final conquest by the Afghans in 1568 A.D. and later by the Mughals in 1592 A.D.

According to *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*⁴⁷ Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Khiliji had dispatched Muhammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmad-i-Sheran with a portion of his

⁴⁴ Bruton William, 'A Voyage to Bengal' or 'News From the East Indies' in Osbornes' collection of Voyages and Travels, 1752, Vol.II p.278; Account of Cuttack and Puri, in *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-X, No.3, 1961, p.49.

⁴⁵ Marshall, John, 'John Marshall in India' (1668-1672), ed., Shafeat Ahmed Khan, London, 1927, pp. 62-63; Manrique 'Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique (1628-1641)', Vol-II, trs., Luard and Hosten, Hakluyt society, London, 1926-27, p. 97.

⁴⁶ Identified as modern Makhalingam in the Ganjam district of Orissa.

⁴⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit., Vol.I, p. 432.

forces towards Lakhnor⁴⁸ and Jajnagar⁴⁹ in 1205 A.D. The results of this expedition were not recorded by *Minhaj-us-Siraj* (author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*). He mentioned that, while Ikhtiyar-ud-din was returning from the unsuccessful expedition to Kamrup, he was murdered by his commander Ali Mardan. On hearing the death of their master, the two Sheran brothers came back from Jajnagar and returned again to *Diw-Kot* or *Devkot*.⁵⁰

Any inscriptional evidence has so far been traced regarding the Muslim invasion during the period of Raja Raja-III in Orissa except the very meager account given by the Muslim historians seems to indicate that, the campaign against Jajnagar was not successful.

The second invasion of the Muslims took place during the reign of Anangabhima-III (the son and successor of Raja Raja-III) by Ghiyasuddin Iwaz⁵¹ (the son and successor of Ali Mardan Khalji). Minhaj in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* states that, Jajnagar sent tribute to Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz of Bengal⁵².

The Chatesvara inscription (in the village of Krishanapur of Cuttack district) of Anangabhima-III alludes to his war with the *Yavanas* (probably the Muslim rulers of Bengal). In this inscription the conquest of the Tumhana country (modern Bilaspur district in Chattishgarh) and the defeat of the Yavana king by Visnu (the minister of Anangabhima-III) have been described in the verse 14th and 15th.⁵³

The verse fourteenth states 'The Vaikhanasas' could not have comprehended the omnipresence and pervasiveness of Visnu, even by their most austere penance, when "Tunghana Prithvipati" began to apprehending Visnu there, he look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the bank of the Bhima, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills on the seashore. The verse fifteenth describes that, 'what more shall I speak of his heroism? He alone fought against the Musalman king and applying

⁴⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit., p.437,f.n, Minhaj identified *Lakhnor* as Lakhnauti in his work.

⁴⁹ The Muslim historians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries always have described Orissa as *Jajnagar* Cf., Afif, '*Tarikh-i-FirozShahi*,' op.cit., p.163.

⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op. cit., Vol-I, p.432.

⁵¹ After the death of Ikhtiyar-ud-din, Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji, Ali Mardan became Sultan of Bengal but he died after two years then his son Ghiyasuddin Iwaz succeeded him to the throne of Bengal in A.H. 612 (1215 A.D.). Cf. '*Riyazu-s-Salatin*', op. cit., p. 71. f.n.

⁵² '*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*', op. cit., Vol.I, p.437.

⁵³ *Visvakosha*, Cuttack, 1979, Vol.I, p. 229, See also *J.A.S.B.* (old series) LXVII-I, 1898, pp. 322ff.

arrows to his bow, killed many successful warriors. His heroism transcends descriptions’.

The Yavana king as described in the inscription was very likely the Muslim governor of Lakhnauti. There are different views as to the identity of king Tunghana Prithvipati, according to one scholar, Tunghana Prithvipati can be identical with Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan of Lakhnauti⁵⁴. But M.M. Chakravarti⁵⁵, while writing on the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, states that, the king with whom Visnu fought was Tummana Prithvipati not Tughan Khan because the fight between Tughan Khan and the king of Orissa took place on 13 Shawwal A.H. 642 (March 1245), six years after Anangabhima had ceased to rule, therefore M.M. Chakravarti suggested that, the verses of Chatesvara refer to two battles fought by Visnu, one with the ruler of Tummana and the other with the Yavanas. He identifies the Yavana ruler with Ghiyasudiin Iwaz (1210-27.A.D). Who was an early contemporary of Anangabhima-III.

Although, the fight between Tughan Khan and the king of Orissa took place in 1245 A.D. six years after Anangabhima's reign but Tughan Khan was also his contemporary as he was the ruler of Lakhnauti from A.D. 1233 to 1244 A.D. Minhaj-us-Siraj has recorded Malik Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan's fight with the Rae of Jajnagar in 641 A.H.(1243).⁵⁶

Minhaj also recorded in his celebrated work that, in the year 642 A.H. (1245 A.D.) the Raja of Jajnagar invaded the territory of Lakhnauti with a big army consisting of elephants and Payiks (footman) to avenge the plundering of Katasin by Tughan Khan. The date of invasion is given as Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawwal in 642 A.H. (14th March, 1245). The Raja of Orissa also slaughtered a large number of Muslims including Fakhr-ul-Mulk Karimuddin Laghri, the commandant of

⁵⁴ *J.A.S.B*, LXV, 1896, p.-233-34 and LXVII, 1898, p.319.

⁵⁵ *J.A.S.B*, LXXII, 1903, part-I. p.211n.

⁵⁶ Minhaj gives detailed account of Tughril's fight with the Rae of Jajnagar that in the year 641 A.H., the Rae of Jajnagar commenced molesting the Lakhnawati territory and in the month of Shawwal, 641 A.H. (Nov. 1243). Malik Tughril Tughan Khan marched towards the Jajnagar country in which Minhaj also accompanied him. So he was an eye witness and mentioned that the engagement with the army of Jajnagar took place at Katasin on Saturday, in the 6th of the month of Zi-Kadah, 641 A.H. (15 April, 1244), that in the first half of the day Muslim army had upper hand but later due to surprise attack of Hindu army of Rae of Jajnagar in Mid-day, Many Muslim warriors slained and Tughril-i-Tughan Khan returned to Lakhnauti. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit, Vol.II, pp.14-15.

Lakhnor. After taking the fort they appeared before the gate of Lakhnauti⁵⁷. Minhaj also mentioned the name of the leader of the force of Jajnagar campaign as Sabantar, the son-in-law of the Rae of Jajnagar.⁵⁸

The Inscriptions of the Anantabasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar helps us in corroborating the above statement of Minhaju-ddin Siraj (the author of *Tabaqat*). The English translation of that inscription states:

'On Chodaganga's lineage was like a flag the heroic Anangabhima, whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude of hostile kings destroyed by his power and who was exceedingly proud of his horse, the speed of which surpassed that of the snakes foe or Garuda. He made an end of that war by defeating the Yavanas with impetuosity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier'.⁵⁹

The last sentence of this verse reminds us Minhaj's statement 'The infidel host on coming beyond the frontier of Jajnagar territory first took Lakhnauti. So it has been accepted that the fight between Raja of Jajnagar and Tughril of Lakhnauti took place during the reign of Narasimha Deva-I (son and successor of Anangabhima-III).⁶⁰

Later Minhaj also recorded the invasion of Malik Yuzbak of Jajnagar with the help of the Sultan of Delhi in 653 A.H. (1255 A.D). He writes that Malik Yuzbak asked for assistance from the court of Delhi then marched with an army from Lakhnauti into the territory of Umurdan and unexpectedly reached the Rae's capital. The Rae of that place retired before Malik Yuzbak and whole of the Rae's family dependents and followers and his wealth and elephants fell in the hands of the Musalman forces.⁶¹ But no such place was ever the capital of Orissa. Yuzbak might have captured an important fort of Jajnagar with some members of the royal family. A

⁵⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit, p.15.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁵⁹ *Epigraphica Indica*, XIII, p.153.

⁶⁰ The *Kendupatra* copper-plate grants of the Eastern Ganga king, *Narasimha Deva-II*, son of *Bhanudeva-I*, states that his grandfather *Narasimha Deva-I* (A.D. 1236-1264) conquered *Radha* and *Varendra* from the Yavanas or the ruler of Lakhnauti' (Verse- 84). Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, LXV. Part-I, 1896, p. 233.

⁶¹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.31.

silver coin had been struck by Yuzbak from the mint of the Lakhnauti in 653 A.H. (1255 A.D.) in memory of his conquest of Umardan.⁶²

Contemporary Sanskrit literature also gives a number of references relating to the above subject that the Sanskrit book called '*Ekavali*' of Vidyadhara (who lived in the court of Narsimha Deva-I) provides several references to the king's fight with the Muslims (who was referred as Yavana) and called as '*Yavanavani Vallabha*' or the lord of the Yavana Kingdom (Varendra) who had invaded Orissa with the help of the Sultan of Delhi but he was defeated by Narasimha-I. The memory of the conquest of Narasimha over the combined army of Bengal and Delhi was proudly cherished by the people of Orissa and finds expression in a verse of a chapter of *Bhaktivamawat Mahakavyam* by Kavimidima Jivadeva Acharya in 1509 A.D. The success of Narasimha Deva-I saved Orissa from Muslim aggressions for a long time and he built the famous Sun Temple at Konarka during this time of peace.⁶³

Narasimha Deva-I died in 1264 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva-I (1264 to 1279 A.D). During the last years of his reign Tughril Khan the governor of Bengal invaded Orissa in 678 A.H. (1275 A.D).⁶⁴ The object of his raid was probably to secure elephant for which Orissa was famous.

There is no reference of the Muslim invasion during the Khiliji period but during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1320-1325 A.D) his son Ulugh Khan (later Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq) invaded Orissa from the South after having conquered Warangal and Rajahmundry. Ziauddin Barani writes that Ulugh Khan invaded Jajnapur and took forty elephants from its ruler and returned to Tilang.⁶⁵ It was a mere raid not permanent conquest.

The Puri plates of Narasimha-IV record Bhanudeva-II's victory over a king named 'Gayasuddina'⁶⁶, who had been identified with Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.

Bhanudeva-III, the son of Narasimha-III succeeded to the throne in 1352, during his reign the decline of the eastern Ganga dynasty had become so marked that the neighboring states took advantage of the situation and raided Orissa from all sides.

⁶² Baneerji, R.D., '*History of Orissa*', Calcutta, 1931, Vol.I, p. 266.

⁶³ '*Orissa Historical Research Journal*', VIII, No. 2, 1959, pp. 118ff.

⁶⁴ Salim, Ghulam Hussain, '*Riyaz-us-Salatin*', op.cit., p. 79.

⁶⁵ Barni, '*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*', op. cit., Vol-III, p. 234.

⁶⁶ J.A.S.B., LXIV-I, 1895, pp. 136, 146.

After assuming independence, Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah governor of Bengal led an expedition to Jajnar, where he obtained some elephants and returned to Lakhanuti.⁶⁷ But there is no reference of Shamsuddin Ilyas's raid of Orissa in other Muslim contemporary chronicles except the *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*⁶⁸ and later by Abul Fazl in 'Ain', Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ghulam Hossain. According to these authors the invasion of Ilyas Shah was crowned with success and he returned with abundance of plunder and elephants.⁶⁹ The success of Ilyas Shah might have been the result of the fact that, during the same time Orissa was also involved by king Bucarao (Bukka Ray of Vijaynagar). So Bhanudeva-III failed to check foreign invasions on two fronts⁷⁰.

But the Dharmalingeswar temple inscription gives a different history of the relation between Ilyas Shah of Bengal and his contemporary Ganga ruler of Orissa. The text of Dharmalingeswar temple inscriptions are as follows:

'Ekam Chitramidam tu Pandava Suratranarte Senaparitranatam Pratigamy Vahu Vibhavainirjitya Dillipatim. Dvavismatyuree dantibhih Samamada Jaitrendiramutkal Ksnisayasa bhupati Suravara Stribhyasturuskanapi'

Dr. J. Nobel's translation of the above given inscription is given below:

'But this was an unique and wonderful deed having set out to project the harassed army of the Sultan of Pandava and having by the stretch of his arm completely vanquished the ruler of Dilhi that king (Choda II) gave the goddess of victory together with twenty two great elephants to the king of Utkal and Turks to the excellent damsels of the God'.⁷¹

In view of the facts stated in this inscription, it appears that, Ilyas Shah sought the help of the Ganga king of Orissa Bhanudeva against the invasion of Firoz Shah in 1353-54.A.D.

The Dharmalingeswar temple Inscription shows the cordial relation between Bengal and Orissa that Bhanudeva sent military assistance to Haji Ilyas Shah of Bengal in the time of his need. If Ilyas Shah had invaded Orissa in 1351 A.D. then

⁶⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 523.

⁶⁸ *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, trs., B.N. Roy, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.VIII,1942, p.73f.

⁶⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., pp. 523.

⁷⁰ 'Proceedings of Pakistan History Conference', 4th Session, 1954, p.220.

⁷¹ *E.I.*, Vol-XIX, eds., Dr. J. Nobel, pp. 157, See also *O.H.R.J.*- V, No. 1,1956, pp. 75 f.

why the king of Orissa would have helped Iliyas Shah from the danger, which was raised due to Firoz Shah's invasion of Bengal in 1353-54.A.D. So it is difficult to accept the fact of invasion of Orissa by Iliyas Shah in 1351.A.D. as alleged in the 'Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi'.

It was this factor that Firoz Shah led an invasion to Jajnapur in 1360 A.D to take revenge during the time of his second invasion of Bengal. Afif's 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi' gives a detailed account of the relation between Sultan Firoz Shah and Jajnapur, then under Bhanudeva-III the Rae of Jajnapur. The 'Tabqat-i-Nasiri'⁷² and Yahya Bin Ahmad's 'Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi'⁷³ have also references to this invasion of Firoz Shah. 'Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi'⁷⁴ gives a detailed account of Firoz Shah's expedition to Jajnapur with the exact route.

According to the Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi, during Firoz Shahi's second expedition to Bengal in 1358-1359 A.D., the Sultan halted at Jaunpur in July 1360, on his return journey to Delhi. At that time he received report of opulence of the kingdom of Orissa. In the words of the author when the news of the charms of this tract was conveyed to the Royal ears, it was honoured by his attention and the attention of his gracious mind was focused on journeying towards that quarter, with a view to extirpating Rai Gajpati, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing their temple, hunting elephants and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country.⁷⁵ So Sultan leaving his baggage at Kara, started from Jaunpur and reached Bihar in about December 1360 A.D. from there he marched towards modern Pachet and next started for Sikhar in the district of Manbhum after reducing these territories to utter ruins, he reached Jajnapur. The first town of the kingdom to be invaded was Tinnagar, where the inhabitants put up some struggle but ultimately the town was subdued. Next the Imperial army marched on Kinianagar (the former capital of Mayurbhanj), from there the Sultan's army turned Southward and swiftly marched through Keonjhar to reach the frontier of the Cuttack region. The Sultan's army captured and massacred a detachment of the Orissa army which was sent by the Rai of Jajnapur to resist the invader. The Sultan made a swift march and arrived at Sarangarh, five miles south-west of Cuttack. Aynul

⁷² Afif, 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, op.cit., pp.163-172.

⁷³ Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhandi, *Tarikh-i-MubarakShahi*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 129-130.

⁷⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, VIII, 1942, pp. 74-75.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*,

Mulk Mahru (who as it appears was present at Cuttack during the campaign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq) also refers to the reduction of Sarangarh by the sultan⁷⁶ and fled of the king of Orissa towards Chattargarh leaving the city to his headman.⁷⁷

According to Afif 'the Rae of Jajnar, when heard of the Sultan's army, embarked on a boat in great alarm and took refuge on the water, all his country was thrown into confusion, some of the inhabitants were made prisoner, other fled to the hills.⁷⁸ The island where the Rae took shelter appears to be the island of Dhableswar and it is possible that the king went to Dhableswar from Chouduar.⁷⁹ When the sultan heard that the Rae had taken refuge in an island in the river, pursued him and on the way spent some time in hunting wild elephant. Next he proceeded to destroy the temple of Jagannath. After its destruction, the stone image of Jagannath was perforated and disgraced.⁸⁰ Then the Rae of Jajnar sent elephants to Firoz Shah through his agents⁸¹ to conclude a treaty of peace. The Raja gave twenty elephants as an offering and agreed to furnish a certain amount of revenue yearly to imperial court of Delhi. Then Sultan sent robes and insignia of crown to Raja of Orissa by the patras and returned to Delhi after concluding an elephant hunt in Padmatala.⁸²

As far as the episode of the destruction of the Jagannath temple by Firoz Shah is concerned, there is a controversy among scholars but from the point of stone image of the Jagannath, it is clear that it was not the Jagannath temple of Puri rather of the Jagannath temple of Cuttack, which was built by Anangabhima-III.⁸³ Afif mentioned that 'Inside king Bhanu's fort there was a stone idol, which the infidels called Jagannath, to which the Sultan destroyed and carried to Delhi.'⁸⁴

Bhanudeva was succeeded by his son Narasimha-IV in 1378 A.D. There are references of invasion of Orissa by Malik-us-Sharq (the first ruler of Sharqi dynasty)

⁷⁶ *J.A.S.B.*, XIX, 1953 pp. 285 ff.

⁷⁷ *O.H.R.J.* I, No.1, 1952, pp. 31ff.

⁷⁸ Afif, '*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*', op.cit., p.164.

⁷⁹ *O.H.R.J.*, I, No. 1, 1952, p.34, f.n.

⁸⁰ Afif, '*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*', op.cit., pp.169-170.

⁸¹ In the life and letters of *Malik Aynul Mulk Mahru* it is stated that the Rae of Jajnar sent elephant through his agent Ahmad Khan and Bali Patra and other three Patra. Cf. Afif '*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*', op.cit., p.170; See also *J.A.S.B.*, Vol.XIX, (1953), p. 286.

⁸² Afif, '*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*', op.cit., p.171-172; *J.A.S.B.*, VIII, (1942) pp. 72

⁸³ *Nagari Copper Plates* shows that Anangabhima III, installed the deity of Purushottama at Abhinaba, Varanasi in 1230. A.D. Cf., *Journal of Oriental Research.*, XVII, (1950), *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 247 f.

⁸⁴ Afif, '*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*', op.cit., pp.169-170.

of Jaunpur. It is said that Malik-us-Sharq invaded Jajnagar and compelled the Rae to pay him tribute.⁸⁵ Badauni also described that Sultan Malik-us-Sharq of Jaunpur proceeded as far as Jajnagar and took possession of it and acquired a large number of elephants and other valuable properties.⁸⁶ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad 'the Rae of Jajnagar and the Badshah of Lakhnauti sent presents and tribute yearly to Sultan of Jaunpur, which they had sent to the Sultan Firoz Shah.'⁸⁷

According to *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, the Bahmani Sultan Tajuddin Firoz Shah also invaded Orissa in 815.H. (1412 A.D) and carried away a large number of elephants as tribute⁸⁸ during the last year of Narasimha Deva-IV's reign.

After the death of Narasimha-IV, his son Nissanka Bhanudeva-IV succeeded him in 1414 A.D. He was the last ruler of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa and died childless then his minister Kapilesvara Routray ascended to the throne and led the foundation of the Suryavamsi dynasty (Solar dynasty) in 1435 A.D.

Kapilesvara Routray was also known as Kapilendra Deva. He was a strong monarch of Orissa. During the time of his accession the incursions of Muslim governors of Bengal from the North-Eastern part and the Sultans of Bahmani and Raja's of Vijaynagar from the Southern part became frequent due to the weakness of the later Ganga ruler of Orissa. So Kapilendra Deva took both offensive and defensive measures to save Orissa from its neighboring states.

The first expedition of Kapilendra was against the ruler of Bengal Shams-uddin Abdul Mujahid Ahmad Shah, who was defeated by Gopinath Mahapatra, (a minister of Kapileswar).⁸⁹ From the wall inscription of the Jagannath Temple, Kapilendra Deva's fight with the Sultan Malik Parisa of Gauda is known, after this victory Kapilendra took the title of 'Gaudasvara' (Lord of Gauda).⁹⁰ Malik Parisa probably was Sultan Nasruddin, who ruled Bengal from 1442-1449 A.D., Kapilendra

⁸⁵ *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, trs., H.G.Raverty, Bib. Ind. Series, 1881, Calcutta, reprint, (1970), Delhi, Vol.I, p. 589. f.n.

⁸⁶ Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, ed. Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1868, Vol.I, p. 264.

⁸⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 126.

⁸⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, trs., op.cit., Vol-I, p. 592.f.n.

⁸⁹ The *Gopinath inscription* also records the defeat of the Bengal Sultan. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, LXII (1893), pp.173,ff . See also *J.A.S.B.*, LXII, (1893), pp. 91f.

⁹⁰ After Kapilendra's victory over *Malik Parisa* (the Sultan of Gauda) he presented a precious '*Sari*' named '*Pundarika Gopa*' to Lord Jagannath Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, LXIX, Part-I (1893), pp. 92 ff.

also conquered the narrow coastal strip to the west of the river Hoogly including the fort of Mandaran. But it appears that he could not retain his hold on Mandaran.⁹¹

According to the *Risalat-us-Suhada*, Ismail Ghazi the commander of the Bengal Sultan Barbak Shah (1459-1474 A.D.) completely defeated the Gajapati Raja of Mandaran who had defied the authority of the Sultan.⁹²

Later Kapilendra Deva also defeated the army of Humayun Shah (1458-61 A.D.), (the Sultan of Bahmani dynasty) while, he was approached by the Velema chiefs of Telingana for help. The Oriya army of Kapilendra Deva defeated the army of Humayun Shah at Devarakonda.⁹³ Ferishta also admits the total defeat of the Muslims by the Oriya army and the vanquished army was pursued for eighty miles.⁹⁴ Sarala Das, the contemporary Oriya poet of Kapilendra also mentions about the battle of Devarakonda and victory of Kapilendra in his work '*Oriya Mahabharata*'.⁹⁵

Later Kapilendra became the master of the whole of Telingana and the Bahmanis never again attempted to conquer any part of Telingana during the life time of Kapilendra, even after the death of Humayun Shah in 1461 A.D. He also invaded the Bahmani kingdom allied with the Kakatiya chief of Warangal and in conjunction with the Zamindars of Telingana. He also plundered the city of Bidar and advanced ten miles from the capital, which is also proved from his title of the *Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti-Karnata-Kalavargesvara*.⁹⁶

There are also references to the conquest of Orissa by the Sultans of Jaunpur during the reign of Kapilendra Deva that Mahmud Shah (1440-58 A.D), the fourth ruler of the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur said to have led an expedition against the ruler of Orissa. Nizamuddin Ahmad in his work stated that, 'Mahmud advanced into the country of Orissa with the object of Jihad and the intention of becoming a Ghazi and plundering and devastating that country. He pulled down and destroyed idols,

⁹¹ Mukherji, P. '*The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*', Calcutta, 1973, p. 28.

⁹² A fort at Mandaran is associated with Ismail Ghazi's name. There is a large gate, South of Mandaran which is known as *Uriya Mardana* (the discomfiture of the Oriyas), According to tradition this gate was built by Ismail Ghazi, probably to commemorate his victory over the Oriyas Cf. *J.A.S.B.* (1874), p. 216; "*Notes on Gaud and other places*" by M.M. Chakravarti in *J & P. A.S.B.*, (1909), p.131, See also, '*The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*', op.cit., p. 28.

⁹³ Aziz ullah, '*Burhan-i-Ma'asir*' in *The Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII, 1896, p. 204

⁹⁴ Ferishta Mohammad Qasim, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, ed. Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1323.H. Vol-I, p.340.

⁹⁵ *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXV, (1958-60), pp.19ff.

⁹⁶ *O.H.R.J.*, III, No. 4 (1954), p. 174

temples, returned with triumph and victory in the year 862 A.H. (1458 A.D) and he was united with the divine Mercy.⁹⁷ Ferishta also gives references of invasion of Orissa by Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur.⁹⁸ According to '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*' Sultan Husain Shah of Jaunpur also invaded Orissa. Nizamuddin described as that.

Husain Shah collected three hundred thousand horses and fourteen hundred elephants and advance towards the country of Orissa. When he arrived in the country of Orissa he sent detachments for plundering and ravaging the various parts of the country. The Rae of Orissa, in great distress and helplessness made his submission by sending an agent to wait on the Sultan, prayed for the pardon of his fault and presented thirty elephants and one hundred horses as tribute. Sultan Husain returned to Jaunpur crowned with victory and triumph.⁹⁹ The same account also found in *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*.¹⁰⁰

Husain Shah's invasion of Orissa is also proved from the corroborative evidences that a hoard of 71 copper coins of Jaunpur Sultans was discovered in 1950 A.D. at Deogarh, the headquarter of the Bamra sub-division.¹⁰¹ This constitutes the first find of Jaunpur sultan's coins in Orissa.

After the death of Kapilendra Deva, a war of succession was fought among his sons Purusottama and Hamvira¹⁰², in which Hamvira sought the help of Bahmani sultan Mohammad Shah-III, who sent his general Malik Hassan Bheiry to assist Hamvira, the Bahamani general defeated Purusottama Deva and placed Hamvira on the throne of Orissa and got the area of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu as a reward for the services rendered to him.¹⁰³ But after the departure of Bahamani army, Hamvira failed to retain the throne of Orissa and was totally defeated by Purushottam Deva.

⁹⁷ '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*', op.cit., pp. 531-532..

⁹⁸ Ferishta, '*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*', op. cit., Vol-II, p. 308.

⁹⁹ '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*', op.cit., p. 532.

¹⁰⁰ 'Husain Shah marched to Orissa and on reaching that province he caused his troops to disperse in detachments, in order to lay waste the country. The Rae of Orissa, unable to oppose the sudden inroad, and perceived no remedy but submission and in order to conciliate the invader, the Rae sent thirty elephant and a hundred horses and various articles including silken and other clothes, with Hussain Shah being satisfied he returned to Jaunpur.' Cf. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, op.cit., Vol-II, pp.309-310.

¹⁰¹ *O.H.R.J.*, II, No. 2, (1953), pp. 49 ff.

¹⁰² *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.-III, No. 4,(1954) p. 174; Hamvira has been mentioned as Ambur Ray by Ferista. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*', op.cit., Vol-I, p.350.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

Who regained the throne of Orissa.¹⁰⁴ Later both the brothers appear to have been reconciled, as Hamvira was allowed to rule Khimidi as a vassal of Purushottama.¹⁰⁵

The throne of Orissa was not a bed of roses for Purushottam because, his enemies from both the north-eastern side and the southern side raise their direct hand towards the territory of Orissa, although Purushottam Deva was succeeded in regaining the southern portion like Rajahmundry and Kondapalli after defeating 'Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahiri' (the general of Bahmani Sultan Muhammad-III) and reach up to the bank of Godavari.¹⁰⁶ But, the Sultan Muhammad-III himself marched with a large army against the Raja of Orissa and defeated Purushottama Deva's governor of Rajahmundry in 822 A.H. (1477 A.D). The Raja of Orissa sued for peace and gave 25 elephants to the Sultan Muhammad as the condition of treaty.¹⁰⁷ Sultan Muhammad again bestowed the charge of Rajahmundry upon Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahiri.¹⁰⁸ Subsequently, Sultan Muhammad also captured the fort of Kondavidu from Hamvira (the elder brother of Purushottama Deva).¹⁰⁹

When the Bahmani Empire plunged into confusion as a result of the execution of the great statesman Muhammad Gawan Gilani on the 5th April 1481 A.D.¹¹⁰ Muhammad-III was failed to bring order and the Bahmani empire divided into many small states. This situation gave Purushottam Deva a golden opportunity to regain his lost territories in the southern part of his empire. He seized both Rajahmundry and Kondavidu and over run the whole of the Godavari-Krishna doab including the Guntur district.¹¹¹ Thus towards the end of his rule, Purushottama was able to recover the lost territories of his ancestral kingdom.

¹⁰⁴ J.A.H.R.S., XXV, (1958-60), pp. 19ff.

¹⁰⁵ J.A.H.R.S., XXXVIII, (1973-74), pp. 286.

¹⁰⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., pp.428-429; *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, op.cit., Vol.-I, p.353.

¹⁰⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.429.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.429. See also *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, op.cit, pp. 288ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, op.cit., Vol-I, pp.353-354; Azizullah writes that immediately after the reduction of Kondavidu, the Sultan proceeded against Narsingh Ray in 1481. Cf. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, op.cit., p. 189.

¹¹⁰ According to ferishta Nizam-ool-Moolk, the enemy of Muhammad Gawan forged a letter, supposed to have been written to the king of Orissa by Gawan asking the king to invade the Bahmani kingdom, without enquiry Muhammad ordered for the execution of his able minister Gawan in 1482 A.D. Cf. '*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*', op.cit; Vol-II p.506; '*Burhan-i-Ma'asir*,' op.cit., p. 292; '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*,' op.cit., pp.429-430.

¹¹¹ J.A.S.B, LXIX,(1900), p.183, See also Sewel, '*A Sketch of South Indian Dynasties*', p.48; *E.I*, XIII, pp. 155 ff.

After the death of Purushottam, Prataprudra Dava (1497-1541) succeeded to throne but his reign show the decline of the power of Orissa. His two great opponents were Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda in the South and Allauddin Husain Shah (1493-1519 A.D.) of Bengal in the north.

According to '*Bhakti Bhagavata Maha Kavyam*' Purushottama died on the banks of Chitropala (verse-24) and his son Rudra (Prataprudra) became Kalapataru(king). He was then seventeen years of age (verse-26), while his hair was still wet with bath of coronation, he defeated the Sultan of Gauda (a conqueror of many battles) and at the end of the sixty week of his father's death, he offered handfuls of Ganges water for the benefit of his father (verse-27).¹¹²

From the above verses, it is evident that Alauddin Husain Shah was defeated and driven out from Orissa by Prataprudra Deva. After this, for a long period the Sultan of Bengal did not led invasion to Orissa but when the king of Orissa was in far flung south, Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal sent large army in 1509 A.D. and desecrated the temple of Jagannath of Puri and returned with the news of the march of Prataprudra Deva from the southern part. The Portugese traveler Barbosa who visited Bengal in the 16th century states that Orissa was for sometimes at war with the kingdom of Bangala.¹¹³ Buchanan's manuscript gives Husain Shah the credit of conquering Orissa.¹¹⁴

Brindaban Das, the Vaishnavite writer, states that, in course of his war with Orissa, Husain Shah destroyed a number of Hindu temples.¹¹⁵ Madla Panji also mentions the invasion of Husain Shah that 'In the 17th Anka of this king (Pratarudra) the Mughal¹¹⁶ invaded from Bengal and occupied Cuttack at this time the protector of Cuttack was Bhoi Bidyadhar, who fled away to Sarangarh. The idol of Jagannath was also taken away (by the Pandas) in a boat and was kept in the top of the Chadaiguha mountain near Chilika lake. The Madla panji mentions that "Amura Surathana (sultan of Gauda) entered Puri and destroyed the idols in the Jagannath temple. The king

¹¹² *O.H.R.J.*, I, No. 3 (1952), p. 223

¹¹³ Barbosa, Durate, "A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the 16th century", Cf. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.-II, July,1953, p. 134

¹¹⁴ Martin, '*Eastern India*', op.cit., Vol.-II, p. 619.

¹¹⁵ Das, Brindaban, '*Chaitanya Bhagavata*', antya, Ch-IV, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 350-351, See also *I.H.Q.*, XXXII (March, 1956), No.I, p. 62, f.n. 18.

¹¹⁶ In Madla Panji the Muslim has mistakenly written as Mughal because during the period the Mughal was not in India scenario. *Madla Panji* ed. A.B. Mohanty, Prachi samiti, 1932, reprint by Sahitya Akademy Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 2001, p.35.

(Prataprudra) had gone in the southern expedition where he received this news, so he in anger covered the path of one month in ten days, on receipt of this news Alapati Surathana (Sultan) fled away from Puri.¹¹⁷ The account of the Madla Panji has also been corroborated by the account of Katarajavamsavali.¹¹⁸ The Sylhet inscription of Husain Shah dated 914 A.H. (1512 A.D.) also throws some light on this event of Orissa invasion.¹¹⁹

Husain Shah died in 1519 A.D and was succeeded by his son Qutub Shah, who also led an invasion to Orissa after his coronation to take revenge of his father's defeat. Prataprudra fought a severe battle with Qutub Shah. A large number of Muslim soldiers were slain in this battle and the Sultan of Bengal was totally defeated and signed a treaty of friendship with Prataprudra. Thereafter Prataprudra returned to his capital Cuttack.¹²⁰ After that defeat, the Muslims of Bengal did not dare to invade Orissa during the life time of Prataprudra and upto the time of Mukunda Deva.

Prataprudra Deva was succeeded by Govinda Vidyadhara. According to Madla Panji, the Sultan of Golconda invaded Orissa in the 7th Anka or the 6th year of his reign.¹²¹ So Govinda Vidyadhara went to the south to meet him. He remained in the south for eighteen months then he suddenly returned to north Orissa due to rebellion of his nephew Raghu Bhanja Chhotarai¹²² by the assistance of his ally named Abdul Shah of Bengal.¹²³ Although Govinda Vidyadhara succeeded in suppressing the rebels¹²⁴ but his army was defeated by the Sultan Quli Qutub Shah of Golconda in 1540 A.D. and Orissa lost the territory between the Godavari and Krishna rivers¹²⁵ to Golconda. From that time Simanchalam remained as the southern boundary of Orissa,

¹¹⁷ *Madla Panji*, op.cit., p.35.

¹¹⁸ '*Katarajavamsavali*', op.cit., MSS. No.67, pp. 90-91.

¹¹⁹ *J.A.S.B*, Pl IX,(1922), p. 413

¹²⁰ '*Madla Panji*', op.cit, p. 35

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.37.

¹²² It appears that Raghu Bhanja was the nephew of Prataprudra & not Govinda Vidyadhara, According to the "Bhanja Vansa Malika" of Mayurbhanj, one Jagannath Bhanja married the sister of Prataprudra and received Baripada Dandapata as dowry. Raghu was probably his son, claimed the throne of Orissa after the death of Prataprudra's sons. Cf. '*The Gajapati kings of Orissa*' op.cit., p.108, f.n. 200.

¹²³ Abdul Shah was probably the predecessor of Muhammad Khan Sur. Cf. R.D. Banerjee, '*History of Orissa*, Vo.-I, p. 339.

¹²⁴ '*Madla Panji*', op.cit, pp. 35-38.

¹²⁵ Sewell, '*Historical Inscriptions of South India*', Madras, 1967,p. 248.

which is also clear from the four inscription of Govinda Vidyadhar issued in his 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 8th Anka year.¹²⁶

Govinda Vidyadhara died in 1549 A.D. He was succeeded, according to Madla Panji by his son Chakrapratap, who ruled for eight years and was assassinated by his son Narasimha Jena. After a short period he was also assassinated then his younger brother Raghuram rose to the throne by Mukunda Harichandan(who was the general of Chakrapratap and governor of katak under Govinda Vidyadhara). Later Mukunda Harichandan killed Raghuram and ascended to the throne of Orissa as Mukunda Deva 1559 A.D.¹²⁷ He was the last independent king of Orissa and a man of exuberant energy but surrounded by traitors and enemies from all sides. His short reign of eight years was spent in continual warfare that before he could succeed in making himself secure on the throne of Orissa, the northern part of the country was captured by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah of the Sur dynasty of Bengal in 1560 A.D. who had conquered northern Orissa as far as Jajpur and also established a mint at that place (only one coin of that mint has been discovered so far). That silver coin of Jajpur¹²⁸ shows that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah of Bengal also assisted Raghubhanja Chhotarai in his invasion of Orissa. If the Madla Panji is to be believed then Mukunda Harichandana drove out the Sultan Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah of Bengal and imprisoned Raghubhanja.¹²⁹

When anarchy was prevalent in Delhi after the death of Islam Shah and enthronement of Muhammad Adil Shah, Ibrahim Khan Sur (the ruler of Bengal) declared independence and captured the throne of Delhi but he was defeated by Sikandar Shah (the ruler of Punjab) in 1554 A.D. and fled away from Delhi. He lost his confidence after his defeat by Adil Shah and returned to Bengal. During this time Sulaiman Karrani was ruler of Bengal, who thought him as his rival for throne and tried to imprison him but Ibrahim any how fled away to Orissa and sought asylum in the Raja of Orissa in 1559 A.D. Unfortunate for Orissa, Mukunda Deva gave an honorable shelter to Ibrahim Khan Sur and also granted some lands for his

¹²⁶ 'Madla Panji', op.cit, pp. 35-38, See also *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-No.4 (1956), p.221-22, 217 ff.

¹²⁷ 'Madla Panji', op.cit, p. 39.

¹²⁸ Thomas,Edward, 'The Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi', London,1871, p. 417, See also *J.A.S.B.*, LXIX (1900), p. 189.

¹²⁹ 'Madla Panji', op. cit., pp. 39-40.

maintenance. Mukunda Deva also refused to surrender him to the Sultan of Bengal.¹³⁰ So the Sultan Sulaimna Karrani became an irreconcilable enemy of the king of Orissa.

There were other reasons for Sultan Sulaiman's anger on the Raja of Orissa that, Mukunda Deva had once penetrated to Satganow (near Hughli) in south Bengal and built a ghat on the Ganges there¹³¹ and he was also signed a treaty with the Padshah Akbar against him.¹³²

While, the Mughal emperor Akbar was planning the conquest of Bengal, he considered it necessary to enter into an alliance (defensive and offensive) with Mukunda deva (Raja of Orissa) in order to attack the Afghan Sultan Sulaiman Karrani from both sides. So, Akbar in 1565 A.D sent Hasan Khan Khajanchi and Bhatta Mahapatra (an Oriya musician in the Mughal Court) as envoys to the court of Mukunda Deva to enlist his support in case of a conflict with the Sultan of Bengal.¹³³ Mukunda Deva 'bound the girdle of service on the waist of his soul and committed that if Sulaiman would not submit to Akbar, he would collect an army and bring Ibrahim, who was Sulaiman's enemy against Bengal.¹³⁴ Akbar's envoy also requested Mukunda Deva not to give shelter to rebel Ali Quli Khan Zaman.¹³⁵ The envoys also remained in the court of Mukunda Deva for four months and were sent back with costly presents and some elephants. Mukunda Deva's ambassador, Parmanand also accompanied them to the imperial court.¹³⁶

Mukunda Deva's friendship with Akbar led to the growth of enmity between Mukunda Deva and Sulaiman Karrani.¹³⁷ According to Madla Panji 'In the 10th Anka, Mukunda Deva encamped on the banks of the Ganges and indulged in military practice in boats on the river. This was the last time when the Oriya army reached the

¹³⁰ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1881, Vol.II, p. 254.

¹³¹ 'Madla Panji', ed. A.B. Mohanty, in 'Prachina Gadyapadyadarsa', Cuttack, 1956, p.63.

¹³² Abul Fazl, 'Akbarnama', op. cit., Vol.II, p. 255.

¹³³ 'When Akbar planning the conquest of Bengal, Ali Quli Khan Zaman (a son of Akbar's one of the officials) rose in futile rebellion and become a menace to the Delhi throne and came to Bengal to seek assistance of Sulaiman Karrani, Cf. *Muntakhabu'-t-Tawarikh*, ed. Captain William Lowe and Munshi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1865, Vol.II, pp.76-77.

¹³⁴ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.II, pp.254-255.

¹³⁵ *Muntakhabat-us-Tawarikh*', op.cit., Vol.-II, p. 77.

¹³⁶ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-II, p.255.

¹³⁷ Mukunda Deva established friendship with the Padshah of Delhi so became the enemy of the Sultan of Gaud (Bengal). Cf. *Madla Panji*, op. cit., p. 63.

banks of the Ganga (Hughli).¹³⁸ Even Mukunda Deva has plundered a strip of Sultan's territory which added fuel to the fire.¹³⁹ So Sultan of Bengal was provoked to launch campaigns against Orissa in the opportune time, which he got in 1568 A.D. when Akbar was engaged in the conquest of far flung Rajput territory of Chittor that taking advantage of Akbar's preoccupation in the siege of Chittor, Sulaiman planned for an attack of Orissa and he marched against Orissa in the winter of 1568 A.D.¹⁴⁰

The Afghan army was divided into two parts, the first was led by Sulaiman Karrani himself and the second under the command of his son Bayazid assisted by Kalapahar.¹⁴¹ The Bengal army proceeded through the highlands of Mayurbhanj and entered the coastal area near Balasore. In this critical situation, Mukunda Deva did not receive any help from the Mughals. Though he had deputed two of his officers Chhotarai and Raghubhanja¹⁴² to meet the invaders but they proved traitors and reduced the troops from their loyalty to attack their own master, this created the worse situation for Mukunda deva. But Mukunda Deva did not loose his confidence and decided to fight alone but could not withstand the pressure of the Bengal army and forced to take shelter in the fort of Kotisima on the western bank of Damodar river, in the district of Hughli.

The Bengal army under the command of Kala Pahar reached to the gates of Cuttack, defeated its incharge Gopi Sawant Sinhar then plundered the place and

¹³⁸ Blochmann views that "the high and broad Triveni ghat a magnificent flight of steps said to have been built by Mukunda deva the last Gajapati of Orissa". Cf. '*Arabic and Persian Inscriptions*' in the Hughli district, Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1870 p. 282. According to Mukherjee- A bathing ghat on the Hughli (which was the main stream of the Ganga at that time) at Triveni is still associated with the name of Mukunda Deva, who built this ghat probably to commemorate his achievement. '*The Gajapati kings of Orissa*', op. cit., p.113, f.n. 210.

¹³⁹ The Rajah (Mukunda) did naval practice in the river Ganges. This news alarmed the Sultan of Gauda, He marched with a number of Soldier but defeated. Cf. *Madla Panji*, op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁴⁰ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.III, pp.326-327.

¹⁴¹ According to local a tradition, *Kalapahar* was originally a Brahmin but lost caste through a contrivance of the princess of Gaura, who was smitten with the manly beauty of this person. He then married her, turned Musselman and became a relented persecutor of the adherents of the faith and led invasion of Orissa as general of Sulaiman. Cf. '*An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*', op.cit., p. 83.

¹⁴² Raja Mukunda Deva sent Raghu Bhanja at liberty and sent him with another officer, probably Ramachandra Bhanja, to oppose Bayazid who was marching towards the capital through Mayurbahnj. Mukunda Deva choosed these Bhanja officer because of their familiarity with Bhanja region. But they had no mind to serve Mukunda Deva and took up arms against him. Raghu Bhanja was a claimant to the throne of Orissa. Cf. *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol-III, pp.610-611; Beveridge mentioned *Durga Bhanja* in his translation instead of *Raghu Bhanja*, suggested by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in this work the '*History of Bengal*', Dacca, 1948, Vol.-II, p.183, See also '*The Gajapati kings of Orissa*', op.cit., pp. 113.f.n., 211.

treasury.¹⁴³ At that critical time, Rama Chandra Bhanja (the in charge of Sarangagarh) declared himself the king of Orissa, when this news reached to the besieged king Mukunda Deva at Kotisima, he patched up a treaty with Sulaiman Karrani and hastened back to Cuttack.¹⁴⁴

Akbarnama and Madla Panji give different views about the final defeat and death of Raja Mukunda Deva, According to Akbarnama, 'Mukunda Deva was killed in the battle that took place with Durga Bhanja.¹⁴⁵ Where as Madla Panji says that Mukunda Deva was beheaded by Ramchandra Bhanja in the battle that took place after the peace treaty with Sulaiman. But Ramachandra Bhanja was killed by the army of the Sultan on the same day. Subsequent to it, Raghu Bhanja declared himself as the king of Orissa but he was also killed by Sulaiman Karrani.¹⁴⁶

Thus Orissa came under the possession of the Afghans of Bengal¹⁴⁷ and Muslim rule was established here for the first time. Although the Afghan ruled nearly two decade over Orissa but failed to consolidate their rule and involved themselves in the fight with the Mughals who defeated Afghans and Orissa became the part of the Mughal territory.

The Mughal-Afghan Conflict in Orissa:

After the second battle of Panipath, the Afghans had deprived from the Delhi throne but never accepted their defeat as a 'fait accompli'. They migrated towards the eastern provinces, particularly to Bengal and Orissa and made their strong base to fight against the Mughals. Orissa was their last resort and refuge where they built up a strong anti-Mughal confederacy.

Although the Mughals were great conqueror of India and their territorial boundary were extended up to Kabul and Balkh in North-Western part but they faced very hard opposition by the Afghans in the Bengal and Orissa.

¹⁴³ 'Katakarajavamsavali, op. cit., MSS No. 75, p. 95. He mention Koli Samantaraya as the in charge of Cuttack during the time of Kalapahar's invasion. See also 'An Account (Geographical, Statistical, Historical) Orissa Proper Or Cuttack, op. cit., p. 84.

¹⁴⁴ Madla Panji, op.cit., p. 60

¹⁴⁵ Beveridge reads this name as Durga Panj in his translation of Akbarnama, Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, trs., Beveridge, Delhi, 1993, Vol-III, pp. 933-34, which is the incorrect name of Raghu Bhanja.

¹⁴⁶ 'MadlaPanji', op.cit., p.60, See also 'The History of Orissa, Calcutta, 1930, Vol.I, p. 339ff.

¹⁴⁷ Katakarajavamsavali' describes the Afghans of Bengal ruled over Orissa for 19 years. Cf. Katakrajavamsavali, op.cit., MSS. No. 77, p. 96.

Orissa had been a Hindu country up to the middle of the 16th century and the Matreswar river was the dividing line between the Muslim kingdom of the north and Hindu kingdom of Orissa in the South. But the Afghan invasion under Sulaiman Karrani¹⁴⁸ in 1568 A.D changed the situation and for the first time the Muslim rule was established in Orissa. But before the Afghan rule had been consolidated in the newly conquered land Sulaiman Karrani died in 1572 A.D.¹⁴⁹ He was succeeded by his son Bayazid who was a proud and self-willed young man, he turned the Afghan chiefs, who were the staunch supporters of his father against himself by his insolence arrogance and cruelties. As a result, he was assassinated by Hansu, the nephew and son-in-law of Sulaiman Karrani.¹⁵⁰ Then Daud Karrani, younger son of Sulaiman Karrani collected a force and marched against Hansu who had taken refuge in Qutlu Lohani's camp but the Lohanis, in order to save their skin, handed over Hansu to Daud to be executed by the latter.¹⁵¹

Although Sulaiman Karrani had acknowledged nominal allegiance to Akbar in 1565 A.D. but after his death, his successor Daud ascended the throne and at the instigation of the Afghan noble he assumed all the insignia of royalty, ordered Khutba to be read in Mosque in his name and struck coins in his own name.¹⁵² Though he had inherited a vast treasure and a strong army from his father¹⁵³ but this act of Daud and his eagerness of demonstrating his power brought him into the long expected clash with the Mughals.

Daud also acted foolishly that by the instigation of some selfish noble like Qutlu Lohani (the governor of Orissa) and Gujar Karrani, he brought about a fatal breach with Mian Lodi Khan and other veteran Afghans, he even treacherously murdered every kinsman who might have had the slightest prospect of the throne.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Sulaiman Karrani was one of the grandees of Sher Shah who appointed him as governor of the Subah of Behar, he became the independent king of Bengal after the death of his brother Taj Khan and conquered Orissa in the year 975 A.H. (1568 A.D.), Cf. *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, op.cit., pp. 151, 152.

¹⁴⁹ Sulaiman had accepted sovereignty of Akbar and Sent presents and gifts occasionally up to the time of the death in 918 A.H. Cf. *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, op. cit., p. 153.

¹⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit. p.313; Ni'matullah, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, ed. Imam al-Din, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1960, Vol.I, p.416.

¹⁵¹ *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, op. cit., p. 154. But according to *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Sulaiman Karrani's wazir Mian Lodi Khan had killed Hansu and placed him on the throne, Cf. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ed. Sheikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1954, p.205.

¹⁵² *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, op.cit., p.416.

¹⁵³ He had 40,000 wall mounted cavalry and 3,300 elephants and 140,000 infantry, consisting of musketeers, match locker and racketeers and archers, Cf. *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, op. cit., p. 154.

¹⁵⁴ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., pp.119-121. See also *Tarikh-i-Badauni*, trs., E&D, op.cit., Vol.-V, pp.511-512,

This led to the disruption of the Karrani house and its consequence was the establishment of the Mughal first in Bengal later in Orissa.

On the other hand when the emperor Akbar was informed that Daud had assumed the title of king and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna which was built by Khan-i-Zaman (the ruler of Jaunpur). So Akbar immediately issued a farman to Khan-i-Khana Munim Khan directing him to chastise Daud and to conquer the country of Bihar.¹⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Akbar also sent Raja Todar Mal at the head of a large army to strengthen the hands of Munim Khan, then stationed in the out skirts of Bihar.¹⁵⁶ Akbar also issued an urgent order calling upon the Mughal officers and fief-holders in Bihar to act harmoniously together and not to deviate from the instruction of Munim Khan. Within a short time Khan-i-Alam arrived with the reinforcement and Munim Khan attacked Bihar and besieged Daud Karrani in Patna. After long besiegement as Munim Khan could not defeat Daud, so Akbar in person arrived in Patna. Patna thus fell into Mughal hands, who secured abundant booty in money, goods and especially noted elephants¹⁵⁷ but Daud fled to Bengal. Akbar immediately sent a detachment in pursuit of Daud but the detachment returned without having met the object of their pursuit.¹⁵⁸ Then Akbar sent Munim Khan at the head of 20,000 soldiers on 13th August 1574 to march upon Bengal and thereby to conclude the campaign successfully without giving the Afghans time to rally. Nowhere the Afghans could make a stand against the advancing Mughals. So the Afghan plan of resistance broke and they were put to flight in confusion. Daud could not withstand the shock and he took to flight to Orissa.¹⁵⁹ Munim Khan entered Tanda, the capital of Bengal on 25th September in 1574 unopposed. Although the Mughals occupied the capital of Bengal but it took them many years to subjugate the whole province from the opposition and disturbances created by the Afghan generals. The Afghan generals and soldiers raised disturbances where ever they went.

After the conquest of Tanda, Daud flight to Orissa, Munim Khan devoted his attention to the settlement of the affairs of Bengal, so he sent detachments to Satagaon, Ghoraghat, Bakala, Sonargaon and Muhammadabad which crushed the

¹⁵⁵ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 313.

¹⁵⁶ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.160.

¹⁵⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*, op.cit., pp. 318-319.

¹⁵⁸ *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, op.cit., pp.417-418.

¹⁵⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 323; *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.120-121.

Afghan opposition and established imperial authority but Daud Karrani remained still active in Orissa. So, Munim Khan sent Raja Todar Mal with some other amirs towards Orissa in pursuit of Daud.¹⁶⁰ Daud remained hovering backwards and forwards between Cuttack and Jalesore for sometimes. The Mughals proceeded towards Orissa and made Burdwan their advanced base, whereas the supreme Mughal commander remained at Tanda . The Imperial army on its way to Orissa encamped at the port of Satagaon and took measures to soothe the distracted inhabitants there. At this stage news reached to the Mughal camp that Srihari (Daud's rational soul) parted with his master and took refuge in wilderness of Katwa. Meanwhile, Raja Todar Mal joined the advance army of the Mughals and urged them to speed up their march in order to over throw Daud from Orissa. The Mughal army under Todar Mal advanced from Burdwan to Garh-Mandaran¹⁶¹ in the Hughli district. Here Raja Todar Mal was informed that Daud is at Din-Kasari and increasing his forces daily.¹⁶² So Todar Mal wrote a letter to Khan-i-Khana Munim Khan with full report, on receiving it, Munim Khan sent Muhammad Quli Khan Birlas with reinforcement for the Raja Todar Mal. By their arrival, the huge Mughal army marched from Mandaran to Gowalpara, twenty miles away from Din-Kasari, when Daud got information about this, he stood on his ground at Dharpur¹⁶³ to fight against the imperial army. In Gowalpara the emissaries brought information that Junaid (Son of Daud's uncle) a man of high repute among the Afghans for bravery and resolution, who had formerly come into the service of the emperor Akbar, had fled from Agra to Gujarat afterwards came to Bengal and now at Din-Kasari and seeking to form a junction with Daud Karrani. So Todar Mal immediately sent Abu-l-Qasim Namaki and Nazar Bahadur to attack Junaid but they were defeated by Junaid and bringing disgrace upon themselves.¹⁶⁴ Raja Todar Mal himself marched against Junaid, but before he could arrive, Junaid had fled into jungles. Therefore, Todar Mal stopped at Midnapur,¹⁶⁵ where the able Mughal general Muhammad Quli Khan Birlas died due to illness, which created a great cause of weakness in the imperial forces.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 323.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.324; Garh-Mandaran is situated in the Hughli district between Burdwan and Midnapore. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., H. Blochmann, Bib.Ind, Delhi, 1927,Reprint,(1989),Vol.-I, p. 406

¹⁶² *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 324.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.324.

¹⁶⁴ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.324.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.324

¹⁶⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. Nawal Kishor , op.cit., Vol.I, p.160; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.324.

In concurrence with the remaining amirs, Todar Mal returned from Midnapur to Mandaran, the sudden death of Muhammad Quli Birlas caused great disorder in the Mughal camp. The soldiers refused to continue the forest campaign, Todar Mal's attempts to pacify the troops failed. So, he immediately informed Munim Khan with the state of affairs and requested him to send money to satisfy the troops. Munim Khan sent Shaham Khan Jalair, Lashkar Khan, Mir Bakshi, Khwaja Abdullah and Kujak Khwaja to reinforce Raja Todar Mal.¹⁶⁷ After this, they marched from Mandaran to Jitura. Where, they got intelligence that Daud with his forces had gone into the fort of Katak Banaras and were engaged in preparations for war.¹⁶⁸ So Todar Mal sent swift messenger to inform Munim Khan of the existing affairs, Munim Khan then left Tanda to march against Daud and formed a junction with Todar Mal. Daud had organized his army, to face the imperial Mughal army in Garh-Haripur. He also took special care to strengthen the approaches and barricaded the regular road from Midnapore southwards. The difficulties of the march disheartened the imperial troops and they clamored for some sort of agreement with the Afghans but Munim Khan summoned a council of war and decided to fight against Daud.¹⁶⁹ So with the help of the local people, an obscure path was discovered.

Hence Daud's plans to fortifying the regular roads were failed. Being disheartened, Daud turned back and resolved upon fighting. So he sent his family to Cuttack and lightened his army then advanced from his camp to face the Mughals. The two armies came face to face on the plain of Tukaroi,¹⁷⁰ (six miles west from Jaleswar on the bank of river Subarnarekha) on the 3rd March 1575.¹⁷¹

The Battle of Tukaroi:

After proper arrangement the Afghans under Daud advanced rapidly to fight against Mughals, on the other hand, Munim Khan ordered his firemen to fire upon the advance of Afghan army. The sound of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack. Although Gujar Khan, the Afghan general came

¹⁶⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 324.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.325.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.325.

¹⁷⁰ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1887, Vol.III, pp.122-123; Blochmann has identified it with the village of Mughulmari, a place situated on the road from Medinipur to Jaleswar. The village of Tookaroe is two miles from the left bank of Subarnarekha River. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., H. Blochmann, op. cit., Vol-I, p. 407.

¹⁷¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op. cit. Vol.-I, p. 364.

up boldly with his division in excellent order and drove back Khan-i-Khana Munim Khan's advanced force upon the Altamash¹⁷² but Khan-i-Alam, who was commanding the advance guard held his ground and was killed. The Altamash division was next defeated and driven back upon the centre, which in its turn was in great difficulty. Munim Khan did all in his power but could not restrain his men. At this time, Gujar Khan attacked and wounded Munim Khan and Munim Khan's horse took flight.¹⁷³ The Afghan pursued Munim Khan for a mile. In the meantime, Qiya Khan Gang attacked the Afghan and showered arrows upon them. The Afghans were exhausted by this long ride and could not move of this conjecture, Munim Khan fortunately got his horse under control and rallying his men led them back to the battle field, meanwhile an arrow struck Gujar Khan who fell to the ground and died. Hence the Afghans turned their back and fled but many of them were killed during flight. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victorious Mughal army.¹⁷⁴ Munim Khan laided his camp on the battle field and remained there few days, to have his wounds tended and sent a report of the victory to emperor Akbar but Lashkar Khan Mir-Bakshi died of his wounds before the army moved. This battle was one of the most important battles fought by Akbar's general because it crushed the Afghan and decided the Mughal possession of Bengal and upper Orissa.

After the death of Gujar Khan, Afghan army defeated and Daud fled to Katak (Cuttack). Though Munim Khan had received wound¹⁷⁵ but Todar Mal, Shaham Khan Jalair, Qiya Khan along with other Mughal amirs pursued Daud and halt at Kalkalghati¹⁷⁶ where they got intelligence that Daud and Afghans with their wives and children were shut up on the fort of Katak Banaras (Barbati fort).¹⁷⁷ So Raja Todar Mal informed the state of affairs to Munim Khan and call for support to complete their invasion against Afghan.¹⁷⁸ Munim Khan moved the whole army to Katak and

¹⁷² *Altmash* is a Turkic word meaning 'sixty', Qiya Khan Gang, Abdullaha Khan, Alam Shahi were in charge of Altmash. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.325.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.325.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.325.

¹⁷⁵ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.126-127.

¹⁷⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.326; Abul Fazl calls the place 'Bhadrak', Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op. cit., Vol-I, p. 407.

¹⁷⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.326.

¹⁷⁸ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 128-129.

put his camp on the bank of the river Mahanadi, one mile from Katak and prepared to siege the fort in which Daud and other Afghan has fortified.¹⁷⁹

Daud realizing his critical situation sought for peace and sent a messenger to Munim Khan with a message that “it was not the course of greatness , to try extirpate a body of Musalmans and that this slave (i.e., he himself) like all the other slaves wished to serve the threshold, which was the next of the angels. It was his prayer that a corner of the extensive territory of Bengal, which would be sufficient for their support might be fixed, so that contenting themselves with it, they would not turn their heads from the lines of service”.¹⁸⁰ After receiving the message sympathy was created in the heart of Munim Khan and he after considerable discussion with his amirs determined to accept the proposal upon two conditions, firstly, Daud should come in person and render homage, and secondly, he should confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths.¹⁸¹ Raja Todar Mal was not in favour of this peace treaty with Daud.¹⁸²

On very next day (12 April 1575) a grand court was organized with all the nobles and troops in front of the tents of Munim Khan.¹⁸³ Daud came out of the Barabati fort along with his Afghan nobles and officers, and proceeded towards the tent of Munim Khan. Munim Khan with great courtesy and respect rose up and walked half-way down the tent to meet him. When they met, Daud loosened his sword from the belt and handed over to Khan-i-Khana.¹⁸⁴ Then Munim Khan seated him by his side and made some kind of fatherly inquiries.

After that the term of peace was discussed. Daud Karrani promised to be loyal to the Mughal Padshah Akbar and made his homage of service by sending his nephew Shaikh Muhammad (son of Bayazid) and some best elephants to the court of Akbar.¹⁸⁵ Then Munim Khan gave a sword with a jeweled belt of great value to Daud, accepted him as a loyal subject of imperial throne and requested his majesty to be granted him

¹⁷⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 326.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.326.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.327.

¹⁸² *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, p.131.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.130.

¹⁸⁴ According to Abul Fazl 'When Daud met with Khan-i-Khana, he loosened his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldering and had made himself over to the sublime court and do whatever the pillars of the empire thought it right for him to do. The Khan-i-Khana Munim Khan, made it over to his servants. Cf. *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, pp.130-131.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

the country of Orissa as tankhwah. Akbar greatly delighted with the conquest of Bengal and Orissa and sent splendid robes with jeweled swords and a horse with a golden saddle to Munim Khan and confirmed all the terms, he had made with Duad.¹⁸⁶ Now Munim Khan started his return journey and appointed Murad Khan and Nazar Bahadur as the governor of Jaleswar and Bhadrak respectively.¹⁸⁷

While Munim Khan was busy with Daud, the sons of Jalaluddin Sur, in consent with the local zamindars of Ghoraghat had attacked and defeated Majnun Khan (the Mughal in charge) but Munim Khan soon recovered Ghora-Ghat from Afghan and captured Gaur¹⁸⁸ (the ancient capital of Bengal) the Afghan insurgents scattered and hide themselves in the jungles. Munim Khan made Gaur the Mughal capital of Bengal and shifted imperial authority and administration to Gaur.¹⁸⁹ But the air of Gaur was extremely unhealthy, so, many Mughal officers fell in sickness and died¹⁹⁰, even Munim Khan himself affected and died in the month of Safar in 983 A.H.¹⁹¹

After the death of Munim Khan, Akbar appointed Hussain Quli Khan entitled as Khan-i-Jahan as governor of Bengal.¹⁹²

The Second Phase of the Mughal-Afghan Hostilities (1575-1593 A.D)

Although Daud Karrani had surrendered to Munim Khan and signed the humiliating treaty at Cuttack but he was looking for suitable opportunity to regain his independence which he got after the death of Munim Khan in 1575 A.D. Thus the second phase of the Mughal-Afghan hostilities began in Orissa and affected both Bihar and Bengal provinces.

After the death of Munim Khan, Akbar appointed Hussain Quli Khan Khan-i-Jahan as the governor of Bengal. The Mughal generals posted at different places in Bengal and Bihar had accumulated huge amount of wealth from illegal means. So when the new Mughal civil officers attempts to check illegal gains of the old officers,

¹⁸⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 327.

¹⁸⁷ As Munim Khan left Thanedars in Bhadrak and Jaleswar, Duad must have been restricted to Cuttack proper. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op.cit., Vol-I, p.404.

¹⁸⁸ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, p. 131; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.327.

¹⁸⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.330.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-331.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.331; Munim Khan died of fever at Gaur. Cf., *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op. cit., Vol.-I, p. 334.

¹⁹² Khan-i-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan was the governor of Punjab, Akbar recalled him from Punjab and sent to Bengal. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.331.

they broke out into rebellion in Bihar and Bengal, it provided encouragement to the dispossessed Afghans to raise their head again.¹⁹³

Daud also utilized this opportunity and broke out his oath and rose in rebellion in Orissa. He fell upon Nazar Bahadur (Akbar's Tahanedar of Bhadrak) and treacherously killed him but Murad Khan (the Mughal officer of Jaleswar) wisely retreated to Tanda.¹⁹⁴ Thus Daud occupied Bhadrak and Jaleswar and also re-occupied his lost territories in Bengal. So the surviving leaderless Mughal officers and soldiers left Gaur in fear and then abandoned Bengal altogether retreating to Bhagalpur in route to Delhi.¹⁹⁵ While Akbar got intelligence of Daud Karrani's rebellion, he immediately sent a letter to Hussain Quli Khan who was in his way to Bihar by Subhan Quli Turk¹⁹⁶ directing him to take with him all the amirs and Jagirdars who had abandoned Bengal and to march against Daud Karrani. Subhan Quli travelled rapidly and complete nearly thousand mile journey in only twenty two days and delivered the royal farman to Khan-i-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan, who immediately advanced towards Bengal and met by the Amirs of Bengal at Bhagalpur.¹⁹⁷

The Imperial army under the command of Khan-i-Jahan easily recovered the Teligrahi pass (which was blocked by Daud's men) and captured Grahi and reached to the vicinity of Tanda.¹⁹⁸ Daud had never imagined that, the imperial army would come so soon, hence he fell back on Raj Mahal.¹⁹⁹ Which was well defended on one side by a river and other by a mountain. Khan-i-Jahan marched against Daud but faced strong opposition at Rajmahal. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghans, even Khawaja Abdullah Naqshbandi (a Mughal officer) lost his life in the encounter.²⁰⁰ So Emperor Akbar sent an order to Muzaffar Khan (the governor of Bihar) to assemble his troops and march for the assistance of Khan-i-Jahan.²⁰¹ Akbar also sent five lakhs of rupees by Dak-Chauki for defraying the expenses of the army and boats laden with grain were dispatched from Agra to Bengal

¹⁹³ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol-III, p.160.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.161; *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op.cit.,Vol.-I, p. 404.

¹⁹⁵ *Akbarnama*, op.cit.,Vol-III, pp.161-162.

¹⁹⁶ While the emperor was at Ajmer, the news of Daud's rebellion and abandoned of Mughal officers from Orissa and Bengal reached. The emperor immediately sent Subhan Quli Turk to Hussain Quli Khan. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 332.

¹⁹⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op. cit., Vol-I, p. 350.

¹⁹⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.333.

¹⁹⁹ Nizamuddin Ahmad called it as *Mouza Ak Mahal* afterwards. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.333.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.333.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*,

for the use of army.²⁰² Muzaffar Khan joined to Khan-i-Jahan with his 5,000 horses on 10th July 1576 A.D only after then Khan-i-Jahan defeated the Afghans in an immediate engagement. Daud Karrani was captured and beheaded by the order of Khan-i-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan but Junaid Karrani was received wound and left the battle ground with the Afghan army.²⁰³ So, a huge amount of spoils and many elephants were fell in the hands of the Mughals, which were sent to emperor Akbar.²⁰⁴

Although in the battle of Rajmahal Daud Karrani was beheaded and Orissa was nominally annexed to the Mughal province of Bengal but due to apathy of the Mughal generals, the Mughal area was not secure in Orissa and the Afghans were still active in this province.

After the return of Raja Todar Mal to Delhi, the Afghans again became rebellious in Bengal. Although Khan-i-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan (the governor of Bengal) defeated them in the battle field of Sapta grama but they fled away to Orissa, which became their safe refuge. Thus Khan-i-Jahan was engage more than two year to suppress the rebellion and finally died in 1578 A.D. Then Muzaffar Khan Turbati was appointed as governor of Bengal in April 1579²⁰⁵ and Masoom Khan (Afghan) was appointed as administrator of Orissa.²⁰⁶ In the meantime some Afghans (who were helping in the administration) had been granted Jagirs in Orissa by the Mughal government.

When Muzaffar Khan asked the Afghan Jagirdars for the accounts of income and expenditures and even not left some senior Jagirdar like Baba Khan Kakshal, Masoom Khan and Khaldi Khan (the Jagirdar of Jaleswar). So these Jagirdars became rebellious and Masoom Khan became their leader.²⁰⁷ The officers of Bengal, Bihar also joined in this rebellion. Muzaffar Khan being indulged in suppressing this rebellion was finally killed in the hands of the rebels in 1580 A.D.²⁰⁸

When the news of Muzaffar khan's death and re-occupation of the whole of Bengal,Bihar and Orissa by the rebels reached to Akbar. He sent Raja Todar Mal,

²⁰² *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.334.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*,

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*,

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

²⁰⁶ Mishra, K., *Utkal Itihasa*, 2nd edn, Cuttack, 1933, p. 195.

²⁰⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op.cit., Vol-I, pp. 374-375; See also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., pp. 345.

²⁰⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*, op. cit., pp.345-346.

Muhammad Sadiq Khan, Sheikh Farid Bukhari, along with other amirs from Fatehpur Sikri to repress it.²⁰⁹ Todar Mal defeated the rebels and persuaded them, the Afghans fled towards Orissa and took shelter in its forest. Raja Todar Mal also marched to Orissa and reached at Khurda, where Ram Chandra Deva was ruling with the title of Gajapati and introduced his own Anka era.²¹⁰ He was also proved himself as the right successor of the Gajapati throne by restoration of the image of Jagannath in the temple of Puri, which had been destroyed by the Afghan general Kala Pahar.

Raja Todar Mal might have completed the conquest of Orissa after defeating Ram Chandra Deva but he recognized him as a semi-independent king and the true successor of the Gajapati kings of Orissa by this act of liberation,²¹¹ he created a good impression of the Mughals in the minds of Oriya people and superintended the introduction of his land revenue settlement or the Taksim Jamma and Tankhwa Raqmi.²¹²

Thus after regularizing the administration of Orissa, Raja Todar Mal returned to Delhi in 1582 A.D. After his return the Afghans once again raised their banner of rebellion, this time under the leadership of Qutlu Khan Lohani (an officer of Daud), who occupied Puri after defeating Ram Chandra Dev at Khurda.²¹³ Then marched towards Bengal and a part of Bengal came under his authority, Masoom Khan Kabuli (An Afghan general of the East Bengal) also entered into a league with Qutlu Lohani to defend Afghan dominions against the Mughals.

When the news of Qutlu's rebellion reached at Imperial court Akbar sent Khan-i-Azam as the governor of Bengal to curb the Afghans in the eastern provinces of Bengal and Orissa. Khan-i-Azam after reaching Bengal made strenuous preparation to the Afghan menace and recover the lost area of Bengal from the rebels. The Mughal army under Khan-i-Azam attacked the Afghan in 1583 A.D. at Garhi and Killed Kalapahar (a skilled Afghan general) then Afghan army fled to other part of Bengal in search of safety. Then Khan-i-Azam set about finding a remedy for the

²⁰⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*, op. cit., p.346.

²¹⁰ Rajguru,S, '*The Chalukya Family of Orissa*', *O.H.R.J.* VII,(April),1957, 11-50; '*An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*', op. cit., p. 85; See also Asiatic Researchs, XV, (1924), p. 42ff.

²¹¹ Todar Mal went to Puri and at the requests of the Brahmans, nobles and monks, conferred on Ram Chandra Dev, the kingdom of Orissa. Cf. *Madla Panji*, op.cit., p. 62, But date which has given in *Madla Panji* was not correct, Sterling has corrected it as 1580 A.D. Cf. '*An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*', op. cit., p. 85.

²¹² *Asiatic Researcher*, Vol.-XV,(1924) p. 43.

²¹³ Mishra. K.,*Utkal Itihaas*, op. cit., p. 194.

crafty Qutlu Lohani. According to Abul Fazl "Qutlu brought forwarded a proposal of peace and sent eloquent and skillful persons to court and made use of blandishment. The answer (from the Mughals) came that if his work corresponded to his words, they should admit him as a servant and restore Orissa to him".²¹⁴ Thus the Afghan submitted to Khan-i-Azam and joined the Mughals against Masoom Khan.

In the mean time Khan-i-Azam was desirous of returning home and also got order of his transfer, so, he left the matter of negotiation to his subordinate officer Wazir Khan and left for Hajipur (his own Jagir). Akbar ordered Shahbaz Khan to proceed to Bengal to crush Masoom Khan's rebellion. In this changed situation, Qutlu again turned his sides that, he put forward unfitting conditions with regard to the proposed peace, which the Mughal could not accept. Therefore, the Imperial army marched from Sherpur to Burdwan crossed the river Damodar and stood facing Qutlu's army towards the end of June 1583 A.D.

Shahbaz Khan determined to end Masoom Khan's raising first, So he wrote to his officers from Tanda that as Qutlu was not strong enough to face the Imperial army in the field. Some of them had better to join the army which was opposing Masoom Khan, accordingly Wazir Khan and a number of officers remained in Orissa and Sadiq Khan with other came to Bengal.²¹⁵ Then Shabaz Khan marched against Masoom Khan who had taken refuge in Bhatti and had joined by Isa Khan. Here the Imperial army faced disastrous failure due to mutual jealous of the imperial commander, which prevented them to take concerted action on their part in overcoming the Afghan successfully, so the Afghan in the east-Bengal became more aggressive and raided the Mughal territories up to Malda city.²¹⁶

On the other hand Wazir Khan along with Sadiq Khan defeated the Afghan army in Orissa and they were obliged to seek refuge in the forests of Dharampur, with the arrival of Shahbaz Khan in Orissa both the Isa Khan and Masoom Khan submitted, many of the Afghans also left Qutlu Khan and joined the royal forces. Then Qutlu left no other alternative except for submission. He offered submission and made huge presents to the Mughal officers. So, Qutlu was left to enjoy Orissa in

²¹⁴ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, pp.402,406, See also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari.*, op. cit., p. 355.

²¹⁵ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol..III, p.416.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.438-440.

peace²¹⁷ and in turn as a mark of gratitude, he sent his nephew with sixty noted elephants and other presents to court of Akbar, which reached on 11 June 1584. Now Wazir Khan ordered back to Tanda and Sadiq Khan to proceed to Patna.²¹⁸ Thus Qutlu was left to rule Orissa independently on condition that, he acknowledged himself as tributary of the Mughal emperor.²¹⁹

Raja Man Singh's Orissa Conquest:

Akbar was not satisfied by the treaty concluded with the Afghans. Therefore, he ordered Shahbaz Khan to return to the Mughal court in 1587 A.D. Accordingly, Shahbaz left the charge of the government of Bengal and Orissa and returned to the Mughal court. This left Qutlu Lohani (former officer of Daud Karrani) to enjoy Orissa in peace. He now broke his promises and proclaimed his independence and became the champion of the cause of Afghans. He also occupied some areas of the Mughal territory and drove away the Mughal faujdars from their posts. When the news of the fresh rising of the Afghans was brought to the notice of Akbar, he decided to send Raja Man Singh (son of Bhagwan Das) to settle the Afghan problems in Orissa once for all. After settling the matter in the province of Bihar, Raja Man Singh thought of invading Orissa by way of Jharkhand. As his army was exhausted, Man Singh invited the cooperation of Sayeed Khan (the governor of Bengal) but due to rainy season Sayeed Khan postponed his assistance and sent order to Pahar Khan and Rai Patra Das to reinforce Man Singh. As soon as the Mughal army under Man Singh reached Yaman-Katwa, the letter from Rai Patra Das of Tanda reached to Man Singh under instruction from the governor of Bengal that the road through Jharkhand was full of jungles and have scarcity of drinking water in that route, hence his army should better march through Burdwan, then Raja Man Singh changed his route and marched by the way of Burdwan and halted at Jahanabad.²²⁰ Later on Pahar Khan and Rai Patra Das joined the Mughal army against Qutlu Khan Lohani.

Qutlu Khan Lohani was also an able Afghan general and took necessary action to check the advance of the Mughal army into the Afghan territory. So he raised his banner in Orissa and boldly marched to Dharpur to fight a battle with the Mughal

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 435.

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp.435-436.

²¹⁹ *District Gazetteers, Cuttack, 1933, p. 32.*

²²⁰ Jahanabad is now named as Aram-Bagh in the Midnapore district of West Bengal, at a distance of 9 miles from Jaleswar in Orissa.

army. He also sent his general Bahadur Kuruh with a big force to Raipur in the Bankura district.²²¹

When Man Singh got the intelligence of march of Afghan army from the side of Raipur, he immediately dispatched a detachment of the Mughal army under his son Jagat Singh²²² to meet the advancing forces of Afghans but Jagat Singh neglected his duty and waste his time in pleasure, on the other hand Afghan army of Bahadur Kuruh was reinforced by Omar Khan (nephew of Qutlu) and other prominent Afghan officers like Miru, Khwaja Isa and Jalal Khan, the reinforced army of Bahadur Kuruh made a sudden attacked on the Mughal army of Jagat Singh at Raipur. The Imperial army faced great loss and Jagat Singh was fled and saved by Raja Vir Hambir who took him to Vishnupur in the Bankura district.²²³

The news of the Mughal reverse at the hands of the Afghan army brought discouragement in the Mughal camp, therefore some officer suggested to go back to Salimabad but Man Singh rejected such proposal and determined to proceed against the Afghans, fortunately for the royal cause that in the meantime Qutlu Lohani died, (due to illness) and his young son Nasir was placed on the throne, to act as king and leader.²²⁴ After the death of Qutlu a nervous situation created in the Afghans camp because Nasir had neither commanding personality nor able generalship, to guide the Afghans to bring success against the Mughals. So, on the advice of Khwaja Isa Khan (the Wakil of Qutlu Lohani) the Afghans sued for peace. As the rainy season was not yet terminated and Raja Man Singh also found himself unable to undertake any active measure in this situation, so, he readily responded to their proposal.²²⁵ But the real cause behind the acceptance of the peace proposal of the Afghans by Man Singh was many. Firstly, the tired army from Bihar, (though partly reinforced by the Mughal soldiers of Bengal) was not sufficiently strong to curb the pride of the Afghans. Secondly, the Bengal soldier's who were hard hit by their previous experience in Orissa were eager to patch off the matter. Thirdly, Man Singh was reminded of the tragic fate of his predecessors. Hence, he did not like to carry the matter too far with the Afghans without being prepared with invigorated and refreshed soldiers. Lastly,

²²¹ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.III, pp.580.

²²² Abdul Qadir Badaoni mentions Sakat Singh as the name of the son of Man Singh. Cf. *Muntakhab 'u-Tawarikh*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.385.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p.385.

²²⁴ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.III, p.580.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.580-581.

his incomplete task at Bihar diverted his attention for return to that province. All these consideration made Man Singh eager to agree to the treaty of negotiation.²²⁶ The terms of treaty of 1590 was comprised the following.

- I- The Emperor's name should be used in the Khutba and on the coins.
- II- The Afghan rulers of Orissa should be obedient and loyal vassal of the Emperor.
- III- Jagannath, the celebrated place of worship along with its surrounding districts would be ceded to the royal exchequer or crown land²²⁷.
- IV- No injury should be done to the loyal Zamindars.

Accordingly, Nasir attended by Isa Khan met Man Singh and presented him with 150 elephants and many other costly articles, which were offered as tribute.²²⁸ Man Singh gladly accepted these terms and young Nasir was treated with every mark of respect and was permitted to return to Orissa and ruled it as loyal vassal king of the Mughal emperor. Having settled the affairs of the Afghan and great victory in Orissa²²⁹ Man Singh returned to Bihar and out of the 150 elephants presented him by Nasir, 120 elephants were sent to the Emperor Akbar by Man Singh.²³⁰

Raja Man Singh was a Shrewd Mughal politician that he not only understood the position of the Afghans in a predominantly Hindu territory of Orissa but also the sentiment of the Oriyas to the worship of Lord Jagannath, So in order to win the goodwill of the Hindus and alienate the Afghans from Hindu Sympathy, he laid much more emphasis on the point in the peace treaty that land Jagannath should not be disturbed and no harm should be done to the royal zamindars. This was actually a stroke of diplomacy of Raja Man Singh which aimed at conciliating the Hindu sentiment and create a congenial atmosphere for posing the Mughals as the saviour of Hindu religion against the brutal aggression of the Afghans and there by preparing the ground for the crushing of the Afghans.²³¹

The treaty of 1590 was neither favorable to the Afghans nor to the king of Orissa (Raja Ramchandra Deva). So Raja Ram Chandra Deva was highly displeased

²²⁶ 'Proceedings of Indian History Congress', 1950, p. 244.

²²⁷ Akbarnama, op. cit., Vol..III, p.581.

²²⁸ Ibid.,

²²⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.387.

²³⁰ *Muntakhab 'u-Tawarikh*, Vol-II, op.cit., p.386; 'One hundred and twenty elephants, taken by Raja Man Singh in Orissa, now arrived at court and were presented to the emperor in the 38th reignal year' Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.648.

²³¹ 'Proceeding of Indian History Congress', (1950), pp. 244-245.

with the Mughal way of deciding peace because in this treaty, there was neither any reference to the position of the king of Orissa nor he was recognized as the custodian of the temple of Jagannath rather the charge of the temple with its surrounding areas was brought under the direct administration of the Mughal emperor as crown land.²³²

The same treaty also brought an unexpected change in the political situation of Orissa that, Telinga Ramachandra Deva and Chhakadi Bhramber, (the two sons of the late king Mukunda Deva), who were disappointed in their effort to recover their old throne, now got encouraged and decided to place their legitimate claim to the throne of Orissa before Raja Man Singh for favour of necessary action.²³³ Madla Panji describes that 'In the 12th Anka (10th year) of Ramachandra Deva, a son of Telinga Mukunda Deva complained to the Padshah of Delhi. The Padshah sent Raja Man Singh to Orissa saying, "He who is the leader (naika) of Orissa should be made the Raja of Orissa."²³⁴

The Afghan opposition to the Mughal rule did not come to an end with the death of Qutlu nor with the treaty of 1590. The peace was maintained by the Afghans so long as Khwajah Isa (the wise regent of the young king Nasir Khan) was alive, soon after his death, Nasir Khan with his followers broke the treaty, captured the temple of Jagannath from the Mughal custodian and seized the crown land of Puri. He also attacked Vir Hamir Singh of Bishnupur. who had proved himself loyal to the Mughal emperor and plundered the estates of those, who had refused to join the Afghans in their rebellion.

The Afghan risings were looked with grave concern at the imperial court. Raja Man Singh was again ordered to proceed to the affected area to suppress the Afghan rebellion. Man Singh left Bihar for Orissa on 3rd November 1591 A.D. This time Man Singh divided his army into two divisions to harass the enemy from both directions. One division under his command marched by water route down the Ganges, which was also joined by the local zamindars. The other division proceeded by the land route through Jharkhand under the commandership of Yusuf Khan Chak (the former king of Kashmir). Later Sayeed Khan (the subedar of Bengal) also joined it with his contingent and 6500 horsemen. The Mughal army occupied all the country up to Jaleswar. The crafty Afghan again sought to make peace but experience had shown what their professions were worth, so a deaf ear was turned to their proposition by

²³² Ibid., p.245.

²³³ Ibid.,

²³⁴ *Madla Panji*, op.cit., p. 63; See also, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII-I, (1927), p.24

Man Singh, though some of the amirs of Bengal were in favour of an amicable settlement. Due to this difference in the tactics of war to be adopted, the Bengal officers instead of cooperating with the plan of Man Singh sat down at long distance while the Afghans had entrenched their position. However, Man Singh further advanced his army to crush the Afghans.

The Afghans in alarm assembled all their forces and retreated across the Suvarnarekha river and waited there for approach of the imperial army. The contending armies continued for sometime encamped opposite of each other but daily skirmishes took place between their light troops. At length, the Afghans crossed the river and placing too much dependence upon their elephants rushed with violence upon the imperial army. So, a severe battle was fought. At the beginning of the fight, the Mughal rank was not properly co-ordinated, hence the Afghan charge seemed to bring discomfiture in the imperial force. The situation was saved however due to the march of soldiers from the rear at the right moment. The Afghans who were mainly depended on the elephants were subjected to great inconvenience at the incessant fire poured on them by the Imperial artillery. The superior artillery and archery of the Mughals brought disaster in the Afghans, so a large number of Afghans died and some fled into the interior of Orissa. The victorious army pursued the enemy and took possession of the city of Jaleswar, many local Hindu zamindars also paid reverence and submission to the Mughal general, while Man Singh was engaged with the Afghans, Sayeed Khan (the Deputy Governor of Bengal) tired of campaign and retired to Bengal withdrawing all his forces.²³⁵ But Man Singh chased the Afghans with his army.

Ramchandra Deva (the king of Khurda) was ever suspicious of Raja Man Singh. The appeal of Telinga Ramachandra Deva to Man Singh for placing him on the throne of Orissa confirmed his suspicion to a greater extent. He apprehended that in case the Mughals would be victorious in the battle, he would be deprived of his 'gaddi(throne). In view of this, he decided to try his lot with the Afghan and fortified the fort of Sarangarh (near Barang railway station), which appears to have been under his control.²³⁶

When the victorious Raja Man Singh reached Bhadrak, it was reported to him that the Pathans had assembled in the fort of Sarangarh.²³⁷ Man Singh posted one

²³⁵ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.-III, p.611.

²³⁶ *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, (1950), p. 246.

²³⁷ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-III, pp.615-616.

division at Bhadrak and chased the Afghan towards Cuttack. Soon Cuttack (the capital of the Afghan) fell into the hand of the Mughal. The Afghans as their last resort took shelter in Sarangarh fort of Ramachandra Deva. During this time, the Mughal army also occupied the fort of 'Aul' from Alwa Khan (the commander of Qultu and incharge of Aul fort). Near Kalkalghati²³⁸ the Tila Raja (who is distinguished land owner in the past) joined the victorious army. This Tila Raja was probably Telinga Ramachandra Dev (the son of late king Mukunda Deva).

As it appears, the fort of Sarangarh was well fortified and ably defended by the Hindu Raja. It was situated about five miles south-west of the town of Cuttack. Being situated on a bank of a river, the east was defended by natural boundary. So it occupied a strategic position and was regarded as a second line of defense of the Raja of Orissa after the fall of Cuttack. During this time, when it was the primary duty of Man Singh to demolish the fort of Sarangarh and occupy all other forts which were still under the sway of the enemy, he proposed to go on a pilgrimage to Puri. It was Man Singh's diplomatic move that while proceeding to Puri, he had two things in his mind.

Firstly, he saw the capitulation of the fort of Sarangarh was a very difficult task, even though with hard fight he could capture the fort, it would not give him final victory over the Raja, because a large number of forts to the south-west of Sarangarh was in the enemy's possession, where he could take shelter. So, Man Singh thought, if he could launch an attack on the homeland (the capital of Khurda) the Raja would be deluded and forced to submit.

Secondly, as the attack would be made at the capital, the reinforcement would not be forthcoming from Khurda to the fort of Sarangarh, believing to achieve two things at one stroke. He was going to pilgrimage to Puri.²³⁹

The advance of the Mughal army in the neighborhood of Khurda after crossing Pipli infused fear into the heart of the Raja Ramchandra Deva. He clearly saw the diplomacy of Raja Man Singh and his intention to advance towards his capital. That is why, he wished to come to terms with him. So Raja Ramchandra sent his son Birbar

²³⁸ *Kalkala* is 15 miles north of Cuttack, lying on the direct road from lower Keonjhar to Cuttack. Cf. *District Gazetteer Cuttack*, 1933, p. 245.

²³⁹ Abul Fazl has narrated the detailed events which Raja Man Singh followed after the capture of Cuttack, That when Raja Man Singh came to Cuttack, he left Yusuf Khan and others to guard it and himself went off to pay his devotion to Jagannath, his idea was that he would be nearer to Rajah Ram Chandra and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him. Cf. *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-III, p.616.

with plenty of presents in order to win the favour of Man Singh and also expected that such voluntary submission would ensure his position as king of Orissa. Thus the temple of Jagannath with its neighboring places would legally pass into his hands.

But Man Singh did not trust the proposal of Raja Ramchandra Deva because he was unwilling to be generous to a man, who is fighting hand in hand with the Afghans against the Mughals. The attitude of the Man Singh was very much disappointing to the expectation of Raja of Khurda. As no suitable reply was forthcoming from Man Singh to his proposal, the Raja of Orissa changed his mind and made necessary preparations to fight against the Mughal general, other circumstances were too favorable to him for such a decision.²⁴⁰

While Man Singh went towards Puri on pilgrimage, he left Yusuf Khan Chak in charge of Cuttack. The encampment of Man Singh at Pipli in his way to Puri induced the Afghans to re-establish their power in the north part of Orissa. So, the dispersed Afghans attacked Hijli in the command of Fath Khan, Habi Khan, Darya Khan, Sujawal Khan and Mewa Khan and invaded Jaleswar and forced Babu Mankali to give up the place.²⁴¹ Now, the problem for Man Singh raises from two sides that, he was not able to destroy the powers of Ramchandra Deva and Sarangarh was still in the hand of enemy, on the other side, the fresh Afghan rising in Jaleswar created new problem for him. At this stage, Man Singh demanded the personal attendance of the Raja Ram Chandra Deva of Orissa before him but Ramachandra Deva, who had already studied the mind and attitude of Man Singh now decided to wait because the fresh attack of the Afghans on Jaleswar offered him an opportunity to defy the command of the Mughal general.

In this grave situation, Man Singh first sent Pahar Khan with a division of army against the Afghans. The Mughal army under Pahar Khan defeated the Afghans and Jaleswar was re-conquered. The Afghan now surrendered and waited upon Man Singh. The Mughal victory of Jaleswar brought fresh reinforcement to Cuttack and after a hard fight, the fort of Sarangarh was surrendered to the Mughals.²⁴² Even before the fall of Sarangarh, Man Singh had sent a division of the Mughal army under the commandership of Jagat Singh against the Raja of Khurda.

The advancing army of the Mughals towards Khurda, necessitated terrible fight against the enemy at each fort, many forts and cities also fell into the hands of

²⁴⁰ *Proceedings of India History Congress*, (1950), pp. 247f.

²⁴¹ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-III, pp. 615-616.

²⁴² *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-III, pp.615-616.

the Mughals viz- Sahajpal, Kharagarh, Kalupada, longarh (situated near Delang Police Station of the Puri district) and Bhumall, Kahnna (near Jatni Police Station of Puri district). At the approach of the Mughals, the Raja of Khurda shut himself in the well fortified fort of Barunai at Khurda. The fort of Barunai was well protected on one side by the Barunai hill, and on the other by the dense jungle. It was a formidable fort. In spite of the hard fight, the Mughal failed to capture the fort of Barunai. Now Man Singh made vigorous preparation to force the Raja to surrender, but he was in pressure of the Afghans, who were looking for an opportunity to rise their head again. On the other hand, Raja of Khurda had already complained before Emperor Akbar against the uncompromising and aggressive design of Man Singh and assured his loyalty and obedience to the emperor. As a result, Man Singh, now, received censure from Akbar to be liberal towards the Raja of Khurda. So, Man Singh ordered to withdraw the troop which was engaged in besieging the fort of Khurda. Abul Fazl has narrated a detailed of this event in his work Akbarnama.²⁴³ Now, Raja Ramachandra Deva being expressed with the liberal and kind policy of Akbar, met Man Singh in person, which he had refused to do previously.

The decision of Raja Man Singh over the rival claims to the throne of Orissa by Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and Telenga Ramachandra Deva has been very nicely described in the Madala panji that 'When Man Singh went on a pilgrimage to Puri both Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and Telenga Ramachandra Deva accompanied him. It was a time when the Chandan Yatra was celebrated. The priests of Jagannath asked Man Singh, to whom would they should offer *gaddi-prasad*²⁴⁴. Man Singh looked towards them and asked them to bring the *gaddi prasad*. In the presence of Goddess Bimala, Man Singh offered *gaddi-prasad* to Ramchandra Deva of Khurda and recognized him as the king of Orissa.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ 'Ram Chand is one of the famous zamindars of Orissa and by the glory of this Majesty's star he became obedient and sent his son to do service. Raja Man Singh summoned him but he objected, Raja from in appreciativeness sent Jagat Singh, Mir Sharif Sarmandi, Mir Qasim Badakshi, Barkhandar, Abul Baqa, Mehmud Beg Shamlu, Shihabuddin Diwana and others to wage war on him. A commotion arose Ram Chand entered the part of Khurda which was the strongest of his fortress. The imperialists took up their quarters the forts Sahajpal, Khargarh, Kalupara, Kahuar, Langarh, Bhunmal and many populated places fell into possession, on hearing of this, His Majesty became angry and issued censures. The Rajah recalled his troops and apologized. Ram Chand on seeing the graciousness of his Majesty took the thought of paying his respects. On 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah Man Singh and was treated with much respect. Cf. *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, p.631.

²⁴⁴ *Gaddi prasad* was share of offering to the Jagannath of Puri given only to a person who has to claim of the '*gaddi*' or throne. Cf. *Madlapanji*, op.cit., p.64.

²⁴⁵ *Madlapanji*, op.cit., p.64.

According to the term of the treaty, Raja Ramachandra Deva was allowed to retain the principality of Khurda, comprising seventy one forts which had been given to him by Todar Mal. Apart from this, Man Singh also made him the master of the estates of thirty other feudal lords containing 129 Qillas or forts.²⁴⁶ It was settled that, Ramachandra Deva would pay the revenue to the imperial treasury instead of paying to the Afghans. He was also conferred with the title of Maharaja and was promoted to the rank of a commander of 3500 horse.²⁴⁷ All the responsibility of the temple of Jagannath also remained in the hands of Ramachandra Deva.

Though the claim of Telinga Ramachandra Deva as king of Orissa was forfeited, Man Singh wished to gratify him in other way. Because, the man reposing so much confidence in Mughal general was to please otherwise, the Afghans who did not fully suppress would get the better of the situation and utilize the sympathy and cooperation of the discontented Hindu chiefs for their own ends. Again by placing both Hindu chiefs in same estates, the mischief of one Hindu chief would be balanced by the loyalty of other to the emperor in case of future trouble in Orissa.²⁴⁸ considering this, Telinga Ramachandra Deva, (son of Telinga Mukunda Deva) was acknowledged as the Raja of the fort of *Aul* with its dependencies. Whereas Chhakadi Bhramber (another son of Mukunda Deva) was made the hereditary chief of Patia and a large number of Qilajat estates in different parts of the district were also brought under his control.²⁴⁹

Then Man Singh dispatched an army against Manpur fort, which existed between Orissa and Telingana. Perhaps, to check the advance of the sultan of Golconda from the south to Orissa, it was occupied and given to Ramachandra Deva of Khurda.²⁵⁰

After the final conquest of Orissa in 1593, it was annexed to Bengal Suba. It is only after a very small interval, Man Singh ruled over Orissa directly as the Subedar of Bengal for period of five years i.e. 1594 to 1598 A.D., then indirectly from 1598 to 1605 A.D., through his deputy Maha Singh (son of Jagat Singh).

Although, Orissa remained under the Mughal territory up to 1751 A.D. but sometime as a part of Bengal Suba and sometime as a separate Suba. During the time

²⁴⁶ 'An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack', op. cit., p. 86.

²⁴⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.I, p.163.

²⁴⁸ *Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, (1950), p.252.

²⁴⁹ *An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack* ', op. cit., p. 969.

²⁵⁰ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol-III, p.632.

of Akbar, Orissa was annexed into Bengal Suba with its five sarkar²⁵¹ - Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga dandapat and Rajamuhendry, but Jahangir made it separate Suba in 1606 and appointed Hashim Khan as its Subedar since then, it was ruled by many Mughal Subedar till 1751A.D. After Aurangzeb's reign, it was again came under the jurisdiction of the Bengal Suba and ruled by the governors of Bengal through their deputies. This can be understood better by the tables of Mughal governors of Orissa, which has given in subsequent pages of this chapter.

²⁵¹ In the revenue list of Ain we found the revenue calculation of Sarkars of Orissa along with the Bengal Suba. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.-II, pp.62-64.

LIST OF MUGHAL GOVERNORS OF ORISSA

Table-1.1
AKBAR

| Sl. No. | Name of the Governor | Period of Governorship | Sources |
|---------|---|------------------------|--|
| 1. | Raja Man Singh* (Ruled by his deputy) (a) Maha Singh. | 1594-1605 | Ain-I, p. 223; Akbarnama, III, p. 650 |

* After the conquest of Orissa by Raja Man Singh it was attached with the Subah of Bengal. Raja Man Singh ruled it directly as Subehdar of Bengal upto 1598 then by his deputy Maha Singh. Cf. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ed. Maulavi Ashraf Ali, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1891, p.150

Table-1.2
JAHANGIR

| Sl. No. | Name of the Governor | Period of Governorship | Sources |
|---------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Qutbuddin Khan Kokah (Saikh Khuban) | 1606-1607 | Tuzuk, p. 37. |
| 2. | Hashim Khan* | 1607-1611 | Tuzuk, p. 60; B.G, p. 11(b) |
| 3. | Raja Kalyan | 1611-1617 | Tuzuk, p. 98 |
| 4. | Mukarram Khan | 1617-1620 | Tuzuk, pp. 214-215 |
| 5. | Hasan Ali Khan Turkman | 1620-1621 | Tuzuk, p.308. |
| 6. | Ahmad Beg Khan* | 1621-1622 | Tuzuk, p. 332. |
| 7. | Asaf Khan | 1622-1623 | Tuzuk, p. 361 |
| 8. | Ahmad Beg Khan | 1624-1627 | B.G, p. 291(b) |
| 9. | Baqr Khan Najm Sani | 1627-1628 | Qazwini, Badshah Nama, p. 131(b) |

* During the reign of Jahangir in 1607 Orissa became a Separate Subah and Hashim Khan son of Qasim Khan was appointed as its Subehdar. Cf. *Tuzuk*, p.60.

* During the time of Shahjahan's coming to Orissa as rebellious prince Ahmad Beg fled to his uncle Ibrahim Fath Jung in Akbarnagar. So prince Shahjahan made Shah Quli Khan the governor of Orissa. Cf. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.367

Table-1.3
SHAHJAHAN

| Sl. No. | Name of the Governor | Period of Governorship | Sources |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Baqr Khan Najm Sani | 1628-1632 | Lahori, I, p. 125 |
| 2. | Mutaqad Khan | 1632-1640. | Lahori, I, p. 431 |
| 3. | Shah Nawaz Khan | 1640-1642 | Lahori, II, pp.182-183 |
| 4. | Prince Muhammad Shuja (Ruled by his deputies) (a) Md. Zaman Tehrani (b) Samsam-ud-daulah (c) Rashid Khan (d) Tarbiyat Khan | March 1642-1657 | Lahori, II, p. 283; Futuhat-i-Alamgiri, trs., p.4. Maasir-ul-Umara, ed. Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Vol.I, p.494 |

Table-1.4
AURANGZEB

| Sl. No. | Name of the Governor | Period of Governorship | Sources |
|----------------|--|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Ihtisham Khan | 1658-1660 | Muraqat-i-Hasan, pp.45-49. |
| 2. | Khan-i-Dauran | 1660-1667 | Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 62 |
| 3. | Tarbiyat Khan Barlas | 1667-1669 | Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 63 |
| 4. | Safi Khan | Oct. 1669 | Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 90 |
| 5. | Said Khan | 1670-1675 | Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.I, op.cit., p. 497. |
| 6. | Rashid Khan | March 1676 | Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 150 |
| 7. | Shaista Khan | 1676-1677 | Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 150 |
| 8. | Prince Muhammad Azam (Ruled by his deputies) (a) Nurullah (b) Shaista Khan (c) Abu Nasar | 1678-1688 | Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 168-169. |
| 9. | Ibrahim Khan | 1689-1698 | Maasir-ul- Umara, Vol.I, p.299. |
| 10. | Ghaznafar Khan | June 1698-1700 | Fort St. George Dairy, 24 May, 1698. |
| 11. | Askar Khan | 1701-1702 | Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, p.116 b, 117 b, 220 a. |
| 12. | Murshid Quli Khan | 1703-1710 | Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.288. |

Table-1.5
LATER MUGHALS

| Sl. No. | Name of the Governor | Period of Governorship | Sources |
|---------|--|------------------------|---|
| 1. | Sipahdar Khan* (Ruled by his deputy), (a) Hasan Beg Safshikan Khan | 1711-1714 | Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.III, p.951. Ibid., Vol.I, p. 323 |
| 2. | Jafar Khan(Murshid Quli Khan) (Ruled by his deputy) (a) Shujauddin Muhammad Khan | May 1714-1724 | Riyaz-us-Salatin, trs, pp.273-274. Seir-ul-Mutakherin, p.469. |
| 3. | Shujauddin Muhammad Khan (Ruled by his deputies) (b) Md. Taqi (c) Murshid Quli Khan-II | 1727-1739 | Riyaz-us-Salatin, pp.285-286. |
| 4. | Sarfaraz Khan (Ruled by his deputies) (a) Murshid Quli Khan-II | 1739-1740 | Riyaz-us-Salatin, pp.307-308. |
| 5. | Alivardi Khan (Mahabat Jang) (Ruled by his deputies) (a) Said Ahmad Khan* (Saulat Jang) (b) Shaikh Masum* (c) Raja Durlab Ram* | 1740-1751 | Riyaz-us-Salatin, p.321. |

* Sipahdar Khan had received the title of Khan Jahan Izz-ud-Daula Bahadur by the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah. Cf. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.951.

* Said Ahmad Khan was the nephew of Alivardi Khan.

* During the time of the Mahratta invasion of Orissa under Bhaskar Pandit Sheikh Muhammad Masum was the Nazim of Orissa under Alivardi Khan. Cf. *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, pp.505,519.

* Raja Durlab Ram was in charge of Orissa during the Mahratta invasion under Raghoji Bhoslah. Cf. *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, pp.545-548.