CONCLUSION

The process of the State formation in late ancient or early medieval Orissa synchronized with conflicts and efforts at their resolution in Oriya society at various levels. Orissa was principally tribal, the process of state formation gradually developed with the expansion of Sanskritic culture, growth of land grants to Brahmins, officials and temples. Simultaneously there was integration of the tribes and the features of the tribal life, instead of their being totally decimated, their Assimilation and not their "sustained displacement" was the hallmark of this sanskritization. A new synthetic culture flourished with an ongoing exchanges of the cultural traits between the 'Aryans' and 'tribals', in which the former dominated, but it could not succeed in annihilating the latter altogether. In the new socio-political structure the ruling chiefs of the local tribes were admitted as kshatriyas, but the vast majority of their tribal kinsmen were degraded to the status of the sudras. The kshatriyaised members of the tribes fought and commanded the battles for the kingdom and defended the borders, while their sudraised kinsmen supported the maintenance of the court circle (i.e. priests, officials and
soldiers) and the construction of gigantic royal temples of the Hindu Rajas with their agricultural surplus. In this way, the state formation was accomplished, the Brahminic culture was superimposed and the king achieved his legitimated authority both inside and outside of his kingdom.

With the growth of the Sanskritic culture the Varn system came to be imposed. Continuous land-grants and sub-infeudation led to unequal distribution of land and power on a large scale and created new social groups and ranks which did not quite fit in with the existing four-fold Varna system. The Brahmins enjoyed the tax-free lands while the burden of the taxation fell chiefly on the traders and peasants. They monopolized the Sanskrit education and treated the rest of non-Brahmins as Sudras, unknowledgeable and degraded them below the pollution level of the social layer. Importance and social status were inextricably attached to birth, not to merit or personal achievements. Thus, degrading ritual status, an acute sense of powerlessness and grinding deprivation conjointly shaped the consciousness of the exploited and neglected sections of society, who launched a protest movement against the ruling class, authoritarianism and impositions. The leadership of this movement was taken up by a team of the saint-poets, chiefly from amongst the Sudras.
There were also other factors to create conditions for the acceptability of the teachings of these masters. Fourteenth-fifteenth centuries witnessed in Orissa a vast empire, founded by Gajapati Kapilendradev stretching from Ganges to Kaveri. Political stability, the sense of patriotism and love for own language and literature facilitated the poets of the soil to write in their own language and create their own literature. Sudramuni Sarala Dasa, the pioneer of this movement, rendered the most distinguished epics like the Mahabharata, the Vilanka Ramayan and Chandi Puran in the vernacular of the people. Sarala Mahabharata was not a mere translation of the Sanskrit original rather it was a unique literary document, with information on and suggestions for the social organization, politics, religion and economy, of the late fifteenth century Orissa, narrated along with the bare skeleton of the events and the stories of Sanskrit Mahabharata.

Influenced by the teachings and writings of Sarala Dasa, the Panchasakhas (Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa, Yasobanta Dasa and Ananta Dasa) in the sixteenth century, dedicated themselves to combat with their pens for the educational and cultural upliftment of the deprived sections of the society. They strove for a new social order by removing the social barriers that separated
man from man and community from community. Four of these Panchasakhas were Sudras, only Jagannatha Dasa was a Brahmin. They lodged protest against caste, untouchability, indignity of sudras and women, and above all, against all exploiting feature of the Brahminical order. Puri, the great pilgrimage centre and the heart of the Jagannatha culture, was the nucleus of their movement. They criticised the prevailing religious ethos through their writings, discourses and propagations. Balarama Dasa and Achyutananda Dasa, the most outspoken and radical of the Panchasakhas, challenged the Brahmins of the Mukti-Mandap of Jagannatha temple and asserted the Sudras' right to access into the Vedic literature and dharmasastras. Amongst a lot of literary creations, Balarama Dasa's Jagamohan Ramayan, and Luxmi Puran, Jagannatha Dasa's Bhagavata, and Achyutananda's Harivamsa are the most notable. Their writings are the major early contributions to the literature of Orissa.

The pattern of literature left by Sarala Dasa and Panchasakhas, however, judged from many viewpoints, are non-flattering in character. They do not sing the praise of the uncommon glorious deeds of heroism of the then illustrious Oriyan kings, Kapilendradev, Purushottamdev and Prataprudradev. Some lines composed in their eulogy are met with in some inscriptions, but they were all engraved at the instance of the rulers themselves and their ministers, on the
occasion of recording some religious or semi-religious acts. Kapilendradev strongly resisted the invaders and organised a good-government in the country, but nothing relating to his prowess and wisdom appears in any of these literary work. The incidents of the Kanchi Kaveri expedition of Raja Purshottamdev was recorded in the Madalapanji by those of the scribes of the Jagannatha temple, who had to look up to the Raja for his favour. It is also on a wall of the audience hall of the temple at Puri that a pictorial representation of the incidents appear. However, the saint-poets of medieval Orissa composed their epics in vernaculars, far away from the court without enjoying any political patronage. Theirs was the literature for the people. In tune with the medieval Indian mystic tradition, the Panchasakhas proclaimed that the liberalising knowledge is in our hearts itself, we have to search for it, grow up to it and translate it into life. They declared that knowledge of the divine is not at all a remote thing, but is in the very temple that is in each one of us.

The period of Chaitanya's long stay in Puri was remarkable for bhakti ideology and movement in Orissa. He was welcomed by king Prataprudradev and his concept of bhakti received fillip with the extension of royal patronage. He popularised the cult of Radha-Krishana based on the prema-bhakti. Complete surrender of the self to a personal deity
with Gopibhava was the essence of the prema-bhakti he preached. By preaching the love between the man and man and between the man and God he endeavoured to bring out the unity of humanity, leading to social integration and universal brotherhood. His association with the Panchasakhas added momentum. The Panchasakhas had enough knowledge of Sanskrit, but they preferred to write in the spoken language of the people, through which their feeling, thought and message could reach the common folks. Chaitanya also preached his philosophy in Oriya, sang Oriya songs and accepted disciples irrespective of caste and creed. His acceptance of yavan Haridasa, a Muslim and Kanai, a sweeper of Puri as his disciples, and unhesitantly expressing love and affection to them, shows his broad social outlook and egalitarian attitude. In the countryside, Chaitanya is remembered as the redeemer of the fallen and a reformer of society.

In Chaitanya's devotional cult and in his samkirtan movement there was immense appeal for the rural masses. His kirtan introduced a new type of emotional and devotional worship, the essence of which was singing and dancing together as parts of prayer. Chaitanya emphasized on universal love and brotherhood as the first step to attain communion with God. Though he did not care for rituals, yet he did not discard the sacred scriptures and idolatry. He
disregarded all distinctions of caste and creed so far as the religious institution was concerned. Of course, he did never allow himself and his followers to have any type of social relation with women, but he never opposed the cultural upliftment of women and their right to sanyas. The Vaishnavism propounded by him very soon acquired nearly the status of "States Religion". Together with the king, many state officials, military commanders and Samantas also embraced the faith of Chaitanya. The simple and lucid compositions of the Leela (deeds) of Krishna, for example, the Bhagavata of Jagannatha Dasa and the Harivasma of Achyutananda Dasa, propelled the themes of love and devotion and the movement to spread over the country.

Medieval Orissa witnessed two different trends of Vaishnavism which gained momentum particularly during the period of Gajapati Prataprudradev. When the Gaudiya Vaishnavas propagated premabhava to effect reform in society under the authority of Sri Chaitanya, the Utkaliya Vaishnavas under the Sudramunis advocated Sudrabhava to be the primary channel for communion with God. 'Knowledge could not be the preserve of any particular section of society nor it could be expressed in a particular language' was the revolutionary message of the Sudramunis. They challenged the legitimacy of the prevailing Brahminical social order with the sources from within the Brahmanical religious texts
(i.e. Maharabhrara, Ramayana and Harivamsa etc.). Their total rejection of the old and advocacy for a new, in fact, threatened the socio-political hegemony of the contemporary elites (the king, priests and the land-lords). The king thus invited Sri Chaitanya, an unorthodox Brahmin saint and extended him the patronage. Although the position of the priests declined with the ascendancy of the Gaudiya Vaishnavism, they accepted it to encounter the challenges of the Sudramunis. We have observed earlier that king Prataprudradev invited Sri Chaitanya only to check the growing power of the priests of the Jagannatha temple, Puri.

If he really intended to bring out changes in the ritual structure, in which his own position was lower than of priests, then could have acceded to very well to the ascendancy of the Sudramunis in place of the Brahmin priests. He did not do this. Instead, he looked for a compromise which he saw in the ideology of Sri Chaitanya. The king believed to preserve and protect the existing 'dharma' but he could not also have ignored the challenge of the Sudramunis. Sri Chaitanya who came from a Brahminical background, had radical ideas, but with the difference, namely, the premabhava vis-a-vis the Sudrabhava, thus offered the solution.

The period also witnessed the political instability and violence due to imminent threats from the northern and southern sides. On the one hand the sultan of Bengal as-
pired to make inroads to Orissa and on the other the ruler of Vijyanagar empire was knocking at its southern door. There were also the other reasons, besides the royal patronage for a greater acceptability of Sri Chaitanya's mission. The people in Orissa, many of whom had lost members of their families craved for tranquility and peace, which they must have found in Sri Chaitanya's teachings.

Chaitanya's contribution to the devotional music is unparallel. His introduction of the devotional music with the help of mrudanga and kamsal collective chanting of hymns and singing and dancing together from village to village helped to be a distinguished and most creative communication to reach the very heart of the common men. The devadasi dance, introduced from the period of Chodagangadev (12th century) was also widely popular during the Gajapatis and consequently it evolved into the present form of Odissi classical dance, paintings and palm-leaf etchings were also developed and popularised with the themes of Radha and Krishna, was the contribution of the Chaitanya movement. Chaitanya became tremendously successful in popularising the Radha-Krishna cult in Orissa and many vassal chiefs also patronised it corroborating to the motive of Gajapati Prataprudradev. They organised the melan (get-together) festivals, where the idols of Radha and Krishna were brought from different chiefdoms on the occasion of Holi to be celebrated.
with pomp and grandeur. The tradition is still current in Orissa.

However, the ascendancy of Vaishnavism could not eclipse completely the other sects, namely, Saivism, Saktism, Saur and Ganapatyabad. In this way, Orissa became the centre of the conglomeration of various sects, cults and philosophies. The multi-faceted development took place in the Oriya culture with the growth of discourses on the philosophies of various religions.

The movement of Sarala Dasa and Panchasakhas had a remarkable impact on society and culture and it also brought out significant changes in the religious doctrine and popular beliefs. By describing the origin of the Jagannatha cult by an assimilation of the sanskritic and tribal culture Sarala Dasa advocated a synthetic culture, universal brotherhood and social harmony. His mission was to remove all social barriers and discriminations between touchable and untouchables, Brahmins and Chandals. (Mahabharata, Mushali Parva, pp.24-41) In Sarala Dasa's writings there is a strong advocacy for love for Orissa. This, however, did not mean to be pleaded parochialism. He also believed in the ideals of "vasudheiba kutumbakam" (one Universe on family norm).
Impact of Sarala Dasa's writing was noticeable both inside and outside of Orissa. His style of literary creations and traditions were followed by the Panchasakhas (16th century) who made a notable contribution to the efflorescence of Oriya literature. Sarala Mahabharata became extremely popular in Bengal, it was translated into Bengali and widely read out in the early sixteenth century.

The writings of the Panchasakhas, besides conditioning the course of later Oriya literature mobilized the neglected communities of society and aroused an awareness of their right and dignity. Balarama Dasa upheld social equality by writing on friendship between Rama and Guhaka, a tribal chief and criticising the Brahminical priesthood in his Ramayana. He has also asserted equal status and equal dignity of women along with the men in his most popular treatise Luxmi Puran. The dumb Haridasa or in other way illiterate Haridasa's recitation of Vedanta before the king and priest of Puri, was certainly the educational contribution of Balarama among the untouchable classes of Orissa. Jagannatha Dasa's Oriya Bhagavata inspired the growth of the Bhagavata Gharas in every Oriyan village. The institution, in course of time, became the nucleus of the Orissan socio-religious and cultural life, moulding the pattern of education and the value system. As a matter of fact, the Oriya culture is, in many respects Bhagavata culture. Integrally
linked to the subcontinental culture, it, however, retains its Oriyan uniqueness. The spirit of liberal humanism, tolerance, sacrifice and humility, so characteristic of Oriya social life are the gifts of this epic. The poets of 18th century, namely, Dinakrushna Dasa, Upendra Bhanja and Abhimanyu Samanta-Simhar were deeply influenced by the literary traditions of Jagannatha Dasa. Achyutananda Dasa was the most outspoken and active social reformer of the Pancha sakhas. In course of his movement he endeavoured to elevate the status of the different backward classes by emphasizing self-respect, honour and dignity. Apart from the Harivamsa (the leela of Krishna in lyrical form) he wrote Gopalanka Ogal for the cowherds community, Kaivarta Gita for the fishermen and Bhavanabar for the black-smiths and carpenters. Achyutananda made a lasting impact on the society of the people of the lower rungs; he is still remembered as Gopal (cowherd) Achyuta, Kamar (Black-smith) Achyuta, Kaivarta (Fisherman) Achyuta and Dina (poor) Achyuta.

In the field of religious doctrine the resonance of the Sunya philosophy of Sarala Dasa could be heard in many major treatises of the later years like the Brahmanda Bhugol of Balarama Dasa, Tulabhina of Jagannatha Dasa, Sunya Samhita of Achyutananda Dasa and Stuti Chintamani and Brahma Nirupan Gita of Bhima Bhoi (19th century). Sunyabada was intitiated
by Sarala Dasa and it flourished and acquired a full shape through the writings of the Panchasakhas of sixteenth century. The development of the Saint literature in the 18th and 19th centuries was also bore the pronounced marks of the Panchasakhas. To them, Lord Jagannatha, the nucleus of Oriya culture was an apostle of social equality and in his abode (i.e. Sri Kshetra) all sectarian zealotry extinguished and all caste lost significance. Lord Jagannatha was the messiah of the depressed and down-trodden. His flag came to be known as the 'patita-pavan-bana' (the redeemer of the fallen). The priests, in a measure, conceded to the message of the panchasakhas, and convincingly a casteless atmosphere came up, at least, in the temple premises of Lord Jagannatha where the people of different denominations received mahaprasad without any discrimination.

The period of our study signified an era of cultural and literary development in Orissa. 'Sudramuni' Sarala Dasa, the Panchasakhas and Sri Chaitanya's movement was of great significance, in reconstructing the society and culture and awakening its people into life, honour, dignity and self-respect. In their own way, each of them tried to reform society and create a man who would have the inner strength to fight against injustice and Brahminical orthodoxy. The torch bearers of this movement were the Sudramunis accompanied and supported by Jagannatha Dasa and Sri Chaita-
nya, the two distinguished unorthodox Brahmin saints of our period. They directed their revolt against Brahminism, rituals, priesthood, caste, untouchability and against all forms of disabilities of the Sudras and women, through their impetuous writings, discourses and disputations. They carried out a sustained campaign to protect the common people from injustice, exploitation and deprivation; their message was for self-respect and dignity for the lower-strata of society. In the process, the saints had to face the opposition, criticism and even conspiracy of the orthodox pundits who induced the king to put them through various tests. Most of them, were banished from their places of residence during the period of Prataprudradev. Balarama Dasa was banished to samagara pata, Jagannatha Dasa to the sea-shore. Balibantar and Achyutananda to Puri. In spite of these repressive measures, the movement could not be curbed fully, even if it had to compromise eventually with the Brahminical system. True they all became parts of the Brahminical order which shows its remarkable flexibility. But it must be emphasized that they also succeeded in changing its direction.