Kingdom Formation, Legitimacy and Cultural Change: A Comparative Study of the Malla Kingdom of Bishnupur, the Gajapati Kingdom of Orissa and the Meitei Kingdom of Manipur (15th to 18th Century)

Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Arts of Jadavpur University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Kingdom Formation, Legitimacy and Cultural Change: A Comparative Study of the Malla Kingdom of Bishnupur, the Gajapati Kingdom of Orissa and the Meitei Kingdom of Manipur (15th to 18th Century) submitted by me for the Award of the degree of 'Doctor of Philosophy in Arts' at Jadavpur University is based upon my work carried out under the supervision of Dr. Rup Kumar Barman, Professor, Department of History, Jadavpur University, Kolkata-700032, And that neither this thesis nor any part of it has been submitted before for any degree/diploma anywhere/elsewhere.

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Preface

Since my childhood, I always felt intrigued by the local realms of the surrounding places whenever I visited them during excursions of my school and college days. Once during such an educational trip, we went to visit our neighbouring state Orissa, which was almost all over decorated with beautiful temples. I was amazed to see those large number of attractive places of worship. I was also astonished to hear the stories of the magnificient Gajapati kings and the influence they still had on the local masses of Orissa. Finally when I got an opportunity to get admission in Ph.D in Jadavpur University, I was more surprised to analyse that a link with the similar pattern of evolution of this dynasty was present with the Bishnupur kings of Bengal and the Meitei Kings of Manipur. Thus, in order to know the existence of a large number of surplus distribution of these kingdoms and their greater influence in those areas, an extensive study on these three places is taken by me.

The small political power of Mallabhum, the Gajapatis and the Meiteis originated from the early medieval period and was transformed into three consolidated domains in the medieval period. In the present research, I have focused on the transition of these kingdoms to the powerful dynasties. The legitimization process adopted by these kingdoms and the socio-cultural changes due to the effect of its newly form religion named Vaishnavism, are also discussed in the thesis.The research is conducted for achieving a degree of Ph.D in Jadavpur University.

I am extremely thankful to my guide Prof. Rup Kumar Barman of Jadavpur University, for helping me to conduct and complete my thesis.

Mere words of thanks are incapable to convey the feelings of gratitude I have for Prof. Amarendra Kumar. I take this opportunity to record my debt of thankfulness for the inspiring spirit he always bestowed upon me. He was just a phone call away for providing every possible suggestion, regarding varied difficulties of my research. I would also fail in my duty if I forget to acknowledge the utmost guidance and help of Prof. Kaushik Roy. I am indebted to him for providing enormous support while conducting my thesis work.

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Both my parents have been my biggest source of power and strength. I record my indebtedness to my mother Smt. Kaberi Karmakar whose relentless motivation has helped me to conduct the research in all the moments of hassle and distress. I am especially thankful to her for providing constant encouragement in getting my thesis completed. She has suffered as well as cheered with me throughout all the years of my research. I owe my enormous gratitude to my father Shri Arun Kumar Karmakar who has supported me all along, and taken all the trouble to accompany me in the field trips of West Bengal, Orissa and various other places required for my research work.

I am also indebted to Gautam Dey, the secretary of Paschim Rarh Itihas o Sanskriti Charcha Kendra, who has lend me with many valuable sources needed for my research. I am obliged to Mr. Jaladhar Haldar who has abetted me with valuable materials needed for my research. I am also thankful to several libraries like Departmental Library, Central Library of Jadavpur University, National library, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Kolkata, Bankura District Library, Paschim Rarh Itihas O Sanskriti Charcha Kendra, Harekrushna Mahtab State Library in Bhubaneswar. I am indebted to the staffs of these libraries for their active co-operation and assistance. I am also thankful to the SVSGC scholarship scheme which provided very essential funding needed for my research. I sincerely hope that the thesis will earn appreciation from the readers.

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Glossary

Legitimization	Situation where the rulers and the subjects are convinced that the rule of the government is legitimate or correct.
Chiefdom	The territory which is ruled by a chief.
Janapada	The land where the masses settled down
Gangaridai	A term used by the ancient writers of Greco –Roman periods to define a geographical territory
Mallabhum	It was the kingdom which was ruled by the Malla kings of Bishnupur in the 16th century.
Meiteis	The largest and dominant ethnic group of Manipur.
Umanglais	The Village deities of Manipur.
Lailou	The land found for the deities.
Lallup	The free labour system provided to the kings of Manipur.
Soraren	The name of a Meitei god in Manipur.
Cheitharol Kumbaba–	The Royal chronicle of Manipur.
Ningthouja	The name of the dynasty which ruled in Manipur.
Kangla	Ancient capital of Manipur in the medieval period.
Ahallup	Administrative division in Manipur.

Naharup	Administrative division in Manipur.
Keis	The name of the granaries in Manipur
Khagemba	One of the most important kings of Manipur who ruled in the 16th century.
Loisangs	The name of various departments for running the administration in Manipur.
Laipham	Administrative division in Manipur.
Khabam	Administrative division in Manipur.
Charairongba	The name of a Meitei ruler in Manipur in the 17th century. He was the first ruler who was initiated into Hinduism.
Garibaniwaza	Persian name meaning kind to the poor.also king
Mallabda	The specific era started by the Malla kings.
Suddachara	Clean practices by the uppercastes.
Visvabasu	The Sabara leader who worshipped God Nilmadhava
Anantavarman Chodaganga	A powerful king of Orissa who constructed the Puri temple
Vaishnavism	One of the main forms of modern Hinduism, which mainly focus on the devotion to Lord Vishnu.
Gajapati	Regnal title of the kings of Orissa in the 15th century. The word 'Gaja' means elephant and 'pati' means master.
Naivedya	It is a Sanskrit word .It means the exclusive food offered to the God before eating it.

Pakhangba	The Primordial deity of Manipur.
Srinibas	The Vaishnava guru who came to Bishnupur in the 16th century.
Gopal Das	The guru who converted the Meitei king Garibaniwaza to Vaishnavism.
Shanta Das	The Vaishnava guru who came to Manipur in 18th century with strong missionary zeal.
Heigru Hitongba	The previous name given to the annual boat race in Manipur.
Ayang Yoiren Iruppa	The earlier name given for the royal bathing festival in Manipur.
Waira Tenkap	The earlier name given for the Kirtan festival in Manipur.
Kongba Leithong Phatpa-	The earlier name given for the Vishnu samkranti in Manipur.
Panthoibi	Meitei goddess of courage and warfare.
Sanamahi	Meitei god worshipped almost in every household of Manipur.
Bir Hambir –	The 49th ruler of the Malla dynasty in Bishnupur.
Brahmottar	Lands given to the Brahmins by the rulers.
Debottar	Lands granted to the religious idols by the rulers.

Bahoorah	The festival where all the Rathas(cars) are returned to the temple
Sanalou	The land grant which was particularly given to the royal family members.
Pangallou	The land grant which was given to the persons who participated in necessary wars.

Introduction

The creation of new provinces on the basis of ethnicity and linguistic identities has become a common trend in post-colonial India. In this context, the Eastern and North-Eastern India have received adequate attention from the scholars engaged in studying the post-colonial history of Indian subcontinent. Due to the formation of Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura and several other provinces, North Eastern India stood more noticeable. At the very same period, claims for regional political autonomy by various ethnic groups were seen to be quite prevalent. It has been noticed in the framework of Eastern and North Eastern India, that most of the newly created provinces have the experience of chiefdom formation in the pre-colonial period. In order to understand the post-colonial trend of these new states, we must look into the history of the pre-colonial kingdoms.

The kingdom formation, as a subject of study, has received wide attention of scholars from many parts of the country. In this context, the rise of kingdoms in Eastern and North-Eastern India has been studied by several researchers. However, their studies have gone through a certain similar procedural changes in which some common process of legitimization is observed. In this perspective, three pre-colonial Indian kingdoms are considered to be extremely noteworthy. They are the Bishnupur Raj of Bengal (16^{th} to 18^{th} century), the Gajapati Kingdom of Orissa (15^{th} to 16^{th} century), and the Meitei Kingdom of Manipur (17^{th} to 18^{th} century). These three realms conducted some identical political evolution as well as the cultural fabrication of Vaishnavism in the pre-colonial period. The Vaishnava religion, from the 15^{th} century, has appeared there as a means of legitimization process and has acted as a catalyst of cultural alteration in these three kingdoms.

In addition to the legitimization procedures, these kingdoms have also gone through a similar political progress from chiefdom to kingdom and from subsistence economy to surplus producing economy that backed the polity. Once addressing the past of these three kingdoms, it seems that the historical developments, cultural achievements, and social influence of these kingdoms, became a significant part in the medieval history of India. Thus a detailed work is undertaken to understand the whole process.

Survey of the Published Secondary Literature

In the historical studies, the process of study of the kingdom formation is not an unfamiliar theme. Adequate attention is paid by the historians to understand the nature of the state. From the 20th century, several works were conducted regarding the origin and development of kingdoms. The first initiatives were started by Bhupendranath Dutta (1953),[1] A.S. Atlekar (1949)[2], D.D. Kosambi (1956)[3] who elaborated the different phases of Indian history by explaining the nature of the state. After the 1960s, they were followed by the works of various scholars like R.S. Sharma (1968)[4], B.N.S. Yadav (1973)[5], D.N.Jha (1979)[6], Harbans Mukhia (1981)[7], D.C.Sircar (1974)[8] who came up and debated about the feudalism model towards the origin of the states. However, from the 1980s, historians like Romila Thapar (1984) came up with her works of ancient history.[9] The works of B.D. Chattopadhyay (1974) to conduct a study on the early medieval states of India also became very noteworthy.[10]

Later, influenced by Aidan Southhall (1956)[11], the concept of segmentary states in case of South India came up with Burton Stein (1977)[12], Hermann Kulke(1997)[13] and others. With the beginning of the 21st century, several books were published with revised versions, like the works of Irfan Habib (2000)[14], Ranabir Chakrabarti (2016)[15] etc. Rup Kumar Barman(2007) in his writings, have shown how the Koch kingdom altered its nature to state from tribalism.**[16]** Hermann Kulke and Bhairabi Prasad Sahu very recently in their edited book *The Routledge Handbook of the State in Premodern India* (2022)[17] have described in details about the formation of the states in the pre modern Indian society.

Following this notion, a study of the pre colonial kingdoms of Bishnupur, Orissa and Manipur from the 15th to the 18th century is done. There is an inadequacy of sufficient historical sources present in the gazetteers to make an extensive study of the regions. The motives for the emergence of this chiefdom and its sudden conversion to kingdom are also hardly found. Hari Sadhan Mahapatra in his book *Mallabhum In The Light of Bishnupur* **[18]** has described how the region maintained its tradition for quite a few centuries. This book also described how various Vaishnava temples in Mallabhum originated. Hitesranjan Sanyal in an excellent article titled Mallabhum**[19]** in the edited book *Tribal Polities and State Systems in Pre colonial Eastern and North-Eastern India* (1987), has given an excellent description of the political status and nature of Malla polity along with various military operations of the king. Here some fragments of examples of the legitimization process are portrayed. Rathindra Mohan Chaudhuri in his book**[20]**

'*Bankurajaner Itihas Sanskriti'*(2000) shows the emergence of the Radha region and the position and development of the kingdom during the medieval period. The relationship between the Mughal rulers and the Malla Kings are described in his book thoroughly which proves very significant for conducting the research on the study of Mallabhum. The book *Mallabhum Samiksha*[21] by Priyobrata Dasgupta has also described various phases of the history of the Malla dynasty. From the book '*Madhyayuger Itihas Sandhane* (1998)'[22] by Prabhat Kumar Saha, we get to know mainly the influences and consequences of the Vaishnava religion on the Malla Kingdom. Amiya Kumar Bandyopadhyay *in 'Bankura Jelar Purakirti'* (1971)[23] has described about both the temples of Bishnupur and its surrounding areas with its architectural importance.. Sri Anukul Chandra Sen's "*Bankura Parikrama'* (1376 B.S.)'[24] has also described the influence of Vaishnava religion on the Malla Kings. But no diagnosis regarding the formation of the kingdom, the cultural effect is found in the above books.

The book '*Bishnupur Bankura Oitiyher Dhara'*(2015*)* [25] by Achintya Mondal is a collection where description regarding the Kshatriya status of the Mallas, their temples and later the influence of the musical *gharana* are noticed. '*Bankura: Itihas o Sanskriti*' (1997)[26] by Sailen Das has mentioned about the evolution of the region with its festivals, handicrafts etc. In the book '*Bishnupur Tathygrantha*'(2008)[27] edited by Asit Majhi, writings on the temples, festivals and culture of Mallabhum are found. However the historical development and nature of the kingdom of Mallabhum are not mentioned by any author. The book '*Pashim Rarh Bibidha Prasanga' (*1999)[28] has furnished about the history, culture, music of Bishnupur and the book 'Bankura Parichya'(2012)[29] describes the political history of the Malla Kings. 'Bankurar Mandir'(1371 B.S.)[30] by Amiya Kumar Bandhopadhyay has described the details of almost all the temples of Bankura with its architectural importance and pictures forming an excellent work to apprehend all the temples of the district. The book *Hindusamaj O Vaishnavdharma*[31] by Dineshchandra Sen has described about the growth of the Vaishnava religion and also elaborated in detail about the voyage of the Vaishnava guru Srinibas Acharya.*'Bishnupurer Mandir Teracotta*' (1386 B.S.)[32] by Chittaranjan Das Gupta has shown and described the Vaishnava, Hindu and the Mughal influence on the walls of the temple. *The temples of Bankura District*(1972) [33] by David Mccutchion tell the details about the number of temples in Bishnupur, their location, date of building and their present condition.The book *Mallabhum Sanskritir Atit O Bartaman* (2006)[34] by Lakshikanta Paul tell us about the different festivals, religion of this

kingdom.'*Pratna Parikrama: Mallabhum (2009)*[35] edited by Jaladhar Haldar is an admirable book dealing with different socio-cultural and regional aspects of the the empire.

While coming towards the literature review of Orissa, primarily it can be said that various books are noted for this field of study. Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund in *A History of India* (2004) [36] has given how the regional kingdom procedures of the early medieval India was propagated. There is also a description of the Gajapatis, Vijaynagar empire in this book. Along with this, he also wrote about the Mughal empire, the colonial rule as well as freedom and partition of India. Briji Kishore Ghose in his book *The History of Pooree* (2018) [37] has given accounts about the history and the temple expenses of Jagannatha. He has also described about the festivals of Orissa after the influence of the cult. B.C. Mazumdar in the book *Orissa in the Making* (2021)[38] has described about the Kalinga, Kharavela and Gupta empire as well as the dark age of Orissa. J.P. Das in his book *A Time Elsewhere* (2009) [39] has described about the conditions of Orissa in the 19th century after British occupation. J.K. Sahu in his book *Historical Geography of Orissa (*1997) [40] has given details about the ancient Kalinga, Utkala dynasty and the realm of the Gangas. Shishir Kumar Panda in his book *New Perspectives on the History and Culture of Orissa* (2000) [41] has told us about economic conditions of Orissa and agriculture and climate of Orissa from the early centuries. Dr. Santilata Dei in the book *Vaisnavism in Orissa* (1988)[42] has made a comprehensive study about the religion of Vaishnavism as reflected in different literatures. S. Pradhan in his edited book *Orissan History, Culture and Archaeology* (1999)[43] has discussed about the Neolithic and post Neolithic cultures of Orissa and society, religion, belief system in medieval Orissa. B.C. Ray in his edited book *New Light on History and Culture of Orissa* (2004)[44] has taken account of the religious life during the medieval time of the Orissa rulers and also shown the impact of the temple on the life of the people.

In the book *Odissi Dance* (2014)[45] by Chaitali Ghosh the temple of Jagannatha, the Devadasi system, the tradition, and culture of Orissa are described. B.N. Sinha in his *Geography of Orissa* (1971)[46] has described about the physical features, the drainage system, the climate, agriculture, demography, minerals and industries of Orissa in the 20th century. Kartik Chandra Rout in his book *History of Modern Orissa (*2004)[47] has described the political history, culture and festivals of Orissa in the 20th century. Dr. Mayadhar Mansinha in the book *The Saga of the Land of Jagannatha (2020)*[48] has mentioned about the ancient history, and a momentary interpretation of the medieval and modern history of Orissa. Jose Carlos Gomes da Silva in the

book *The Cult of Jagannatha* (2010) [49] has given introduction about myth and history along with Vedic rituals and post Vedic myths. Prafulla Kumar Mohanty in his book *State Formation in Ancient Orissa* (2002)[50] has told about the sub regional kingdom formation upto the Ganga dynasty. Dr. Pranabananda Jash in his book *History and Evolution of Vaishnavism in Eastern India* (1982)[51] has described about a brief survey of Vaishnavism and the Gopala Krishna sub sects. Achintya Kumar Deb in *The Bhakti Movement in Orissa* (1984)[52] has told about Chaitanya Deb and also described about his followers. Prabhat Mukherjee in his book *The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa* (1940)[53] has written about the early history of Jagannatha, given the origin of Radha Krishna idea in Orissa before Chaitanya age, and the description of Chaitanya and his followers. In the book *The Temple Architecture of Orissa* (2014)[54] written by Prof. N.C. Panda and Prof. K. M. Suresh, they have showed and given pictures about different temples of Bhubaneswar and Puri and also described about the rock cut temples of Orissa. Bishnu Prasad Panda in his book *The History of the Imperial Gangas of Orissa* (2005)[55] has written about the rulers of the Ganga dynasty. He has also mentioned about the socio-economic condition, religious policy and administration of the Ganga dynasty. In the book *Historians and Historiography of Orissa* (2005)[56] by Laxmikanta Mishra and Sitakanta Mishra descriptions about Indian and Orientalist Colonialist Historiography along with biased historical writings of Orissa are noted. Upinder Singh in her book *Kings Brahmanas and Temples in Orissa* (1993)[57] has described about ancient and early medieval kingdoms of Orissa as well as discussed about the religious elements in the ideology of Kingship. The Brahmana Beneficiaries of Royal Endowments and the Brahmadeya settlements of the early medieval kingdoms are also mentioned. *Know Your State Odisha*[58] by Arihant publications has also stated a brief account of the chronological history of Orissa from the early to the modern times.

E.W. Dun in his book *Gazetteer of Manipur*(1886)[59] has described briefly about the physical geography, history, agriculture, revenue, administration of justice regarding Manipur and its chronological rulers. B.C. Allen in his *Gazetteer of Naga Hills and Manipur* (2002)[60] has mentioned about a short history of the Nagas and the Manipuris. Along with it, he has also referred to the growth of population, natural calamities, forests and farm implements and communication and trade. Th Nabakumar Singh in his book *Geography of Manipur* (2011)[61] has written about the physical features of Manipur and little bit of political background of the Meiteis. But impressively, he has described the population, culture, settlement, economy and

agriculture, industries of the recent Manipuri society. N. Sanajaoba in his edited book of *Manipur: A British Anthology vol. I and Vol. II* (2003)[62] has described the views of different historians regarding Manipur. Along with this, he has also described about the Naga tribes, old Kuki clans and hill tribes of Manipur. Dr. S. C. Joshi in his edited book *Manipur: The Jewel of India* (2002)[63] has shown the culture, social developments and festivals of Manipur.

Vedaja Sanjenbam in *Manipur Geography and Regional Development* (1998)[64] has mainly told the readers about the geographical profile, growth centres and planning regions of the current state. Gangmumei Kamei in his book *On History and Historiography of Manipur* (2006)[65] has written about the regional history, ethno historical process and state formation concept of North Eastern India. Sir James Johnstone in his autobiography *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills* (2015)[66] has wrote about his experience in the valley and his initially faced problems in the then region. Along with this, he has also mentioned about his friends, the monetary crisis of the valley people and his return to India. Gangmumei Kamei in his excellent book *Lectures on History of Manipur* (2012)[67] has shown the feudal system of Manipur along with different kinds of colonial policy and practice and little bit of ethno-nationalism in Manipur. Sanasam Amal Singh in his book *Meitei Calendar* (2010)[68] has named the months of Manipur, shown the ancestor worship of the clans and also the changing trends in Manipur society. In the book *A History of Manipuri Literature*,(1976)[69] R.K. Jhalajit Singh has described the old and early medieval literature of the Meitei society along with the songs, chronicles and historical importance of those literatures. In the book *Religious Revitalisation Movements In Manipur* (2012)[70] by Naorem Joykumar Singh, the primary religion, Hindu colonialism and the religious festivals of Manipur were mentioned. R.K. Jhalajit Singh in his book *Manipur From 1508 to 1709* (1999)[71] has shown the geography, political background and little bit of description of the activities of the Meitei monarchs. This book has described the relation of Manipur with the other parts of India like Cachar, Tripura, Assam etc.

Balaram Bose in *Explore India's North-East* (2007)[72] has described very briefly about the state, physical features, climate, flora and fauna, people, economy, festivals of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim. Rena Laisram in her book *Early Meitei History* (2009)[73] has written about the social organization and given the description of the different Meitei gods. She has also described about *Lai Haraoba* (God pleasing festival) and other festivals. N. Joykumar Singh in *Revolutionary Movements in*

Manipur (2005)[74] has described about the revolution concepts, genesis and activities of some armed revolutionary organisations of the 20th century in Manipur. Again the nature and character of revolutionary organisations and it's impressions on the society of Manipur in the late 20th century were described. Prof. M. Horam in his book *The Rising Manipur* (2009)[75] has mentioned about the problems, prospects and scope of the tribal areas as well as the administrative changes in the hill areas of Manipur in the 20th century.

N. Birachandra Singh in his book *The Meitei Society* (2006) has described about the marriage system as well as the funerary rituals in the traditional Meitei society.[76] Gangmumei Kabui in the *History of Manipur* (1991) has given an excellent description about the land and people as well as the political evolvements of the Meiteis.[77] This book has also described the zenith and downfall of the Meitei kings of Manipur. Naorem Joykumar Singh in his *Ideas and History of Manipur* (2017) has drawn attention to the kingship and growth of the political system as well as the birth of state, the effects of colonialism and the changed cultural activities in the state.[78] Jarnail Singh in his book *My Tryst with Manipur: A Memoir* (2018) has described about his experience in Manipur in the administration, the power sector and also thrown a light on the public administration issues.[79] Naorem Sanajaoba in his edited volume *Manipur Past and Present Volume I* (2017) has described about different articles of eminent historians regarding Manipur valley where their societal structure, law and customs are expressed briefly.[80] In the volume *New Insights Into The Glorious Heritage Of Manipur* (2009) edited by Dr. H. Dwijasekhar Sharma, the history, festivals, the *sanskritisation* process along with the religion of the Manipuris are portrayed.[81] Thus it is observed, that much more emphasis is given on the origin of the history, the chronologies of the kings, the name of the temples with its architectural characteristics, the description of the then newly form religion etc.

Nevertheless, the studies found relating to these kingdoms are different from the study which is pursued to be analysed. The approaches of the present study show the evolution on one hand and the circumstantial changes on the other hand. The evolution from non-state to state in case of Manipur is comprehended .Whereas in the case of Orissa and Bishnupur, in absence of even any powerful domain, a circumstantial change is seen. Keeping in mind this above approach, the hypothesis for the study is formulated. However, coming to the foremost area of research, both evolutionary and non-evolutionary models in this work are found. In such a background, the study related to these three kingdoms is undertaken. **T**hough numerous writings

are present on the study of the mighty empires, very few observations are made on the formation of the regional kingdoms. The scholarly works analyzing the contributions of the province of Mallabhum, Gajapatis and the Meiteis are lacking. The concerned books on this kingdom have mainly given emphasis on the historical origin, description of the temples, their new religion etc. But the motives behind the construction of so many lavish temples in Bishnupur, Orissa and Manipur, their kingdom formation process, the legitimization of their power or the socio-cultural influence of their newly formed religion on a broader aspect are explicated in this work on a historic basis. Thus the present work is an attempt to show the historical analysis of those regions on the base of these aspects.

Research Hypothesis

The three kingdoms (Bishnupur Raj of Mallabhum, Gajapati Kingdom of Orissa, Meitei Kingdom of Manipur) almost at the same time adopted several legitimizational procedures for evolving and sustaining their powerful realms. Here, the main research hypothesis observed are-

1. These three kingdoms emerged from smaller realms, consolidated their political authorities and gradually transformed into powerful dynasties.

2. These kingdoms accumulated wealth and thus increased the agricultural production, developed the trade and commerce making the economic growth very strong.

3. Due to economic sustainability, these kingdoms could follow the process of legitimization through the medium of the perceptible surplus distributions.

4. They have followed the process of divine connection of kingship, redistribution of surplus and adopted the Indo-Aryan rituals to attain legitimacy for their kingdoms.

5. The patronization of the priestly class was an essential part of the legitimization process. With their vigorous support, the ruling section adopted the religion Vaishnavism and imbibed the Indo-Aryan customs with an aim for making their kingdom legitimate in the eyes of the public.

6. The cultural adoption and diffusion led to the synthesis of one diversified culture in those regions resulting in a wholehearted transformation which influenced the whole society of Eastern and North Eastern India.

Research Objectives

1. The first objective of the present study is to understand the similar procedures for the legitimization aspect which is taking place in the context of three pre-colonial kingdoms of Eastern and North-Eastern India.

2. The second objective is to show the ways and the stages in which the legitimization processes is taking place simultaneously in these three kingdoms.

3. The third objective is to conceptualize the changes which are taking place due to legitimization. Thus, it analyze the source and effect of the alterations in which the broader cultural assimilation in Eastern and North-Eastern India has taken place.

Main Research Questions

The three kingdoms (Bishnupur Raj of Mallabhum, Gajapati Kingdom of Orissa, Meitei Kingdom of Manipur) transformed from the smaller realms to powerful kingdoms. On the basis of the hypothesis formulated for the study, the main research questions articulated are -

On the basis of the hypothesis, the research deals with some of the major questions.

1. How did the three kingdoms grew from such trivial territories and became dominant?

2. What are the approaches by which the economic viability got recognized in these regional kingdoms?

3. How did the economic sustainability of these realms helped in the procedure of legitimization?

4. What are the processes of the legitimization method followed by these kingdoms?

5. How did the Vaishnava religion acted as a catalyst and formulated the comprehensive incorporation of their cultural fabrication in all over Eastern and North-Eastern India?

Data Collection and Methodology

The present research is a combination of field surveys, various secondary as well as primary sources. In the first phase, these secondary sources in the form of books, articles etc. and

different primary sources with archaeological evidences like images of various temple inscriptions are accumulated. These collected sources are assembled and properly investigated and analysed carefully in the second phase. In the third phase, these vigilant references are used articulately and interpreted according to the needs of the research.

Thus, a well required conclusion is drawn based on the critical observation of these sources. The main secondary sources are collected by visiting various libraries like Acharya Jogesh Chandra Purakirti Bhavana, Bankura District Library, Bishnupur Library, Harekrushna Mahtab State Library at Bhubaneswar, National Library of Kolkata, Kolkata State Archives and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Kolkata.Various images of temple inscriptions and land grants are collected. All of these sources are properly explored and scrutinized to use them for conducting the research.

Chapterization

On the basis of both the literary and archaeological evidences, the thesis is divided into six chapters taking up specific themes. With a meaningful introduction, the first chapter titled as the Kingdom Formation: A Theoretical Overview has shown about the several approaches starting from the ancient to the very recent times to understand in general about the formation of state. The trend of the anthropological approaches, later followed by the historians are elaborated through the help of a number of works. The references of the publication of these several works to understand the theory of origin and evolution of the states are elaborated widely.

The second chapter termed as the Geo-Historical Evolution and Consolidation of Malla kingdom in Bishnupur has shown a study of the Radha region and the historical evolution of the Malla kingdom from the ancient times. The early historical analysis and the initial struggle and organization of these kingdoms is also shown in this chapter. Afterwards, the influence of other powerful dynasties on these small realms are elaborated from the ancient till the pre colonial period. The construction of lavish decorated terracotta temples in Bishnupur, the pleasure gardens ,the seven lakes and thus their long term beneficial effect in the society are shown in the chapter.

The third chapter is termed as the Expansion and Advancement of Gajapati kingdom in Orissa. The study has revealed a reading of the historic growth and evolution of the realm of the

Gajapatis from the ancient to the modern eras. Initially, some examples of the survival and existence of mankind from the Palaeolithic to Neolithic age found are mentioned in the chapter. The initial historic review and the early struggle and association of this realm with the other dynasties is also presented in this chapter. The evolution of the Gajapati kings and the difficulties faced by them throughout their reign due to various reasons is shown in the chapter.

The fourth chapter is named as the Progression and Persistence of Meitei kingdom in Manipur. The historical evolution and the origin of the Meiteis is shown in the chapter. It has dealt with the procedures by which the kings of these dynasties consolidated their empire and made it strong and powerful among its neighbouring states. On this note, the taxation policy, administration, development of trade and commerce along with the growth of the Vaishnava religion in this province is discussed in the chapter. Along with these, some internal weaknesses over the religious propaganda which led to the causes of decline for the kingdom is also highlighted.

The fifth chapter termed as the Economic Background of the Realms has dealt with the ways on how the economic viability develop in these peripheral kingdoms. Some of the causes described were increase in the agricultural way of production, huge amount of offerings to the God, influence of trade and commerce etc. This chapter has elaborated how the treasury of these kingdoms raised and aided in the overall development of the region. It showed how the monarchs were profited from these economic sources and how it uplifted their economy. Because of these financial advantages, the rulers became able to legitimize and consolidate their kingdoms.

The sixth chapter entitled as the Legitimization, Ruling Authority with Socio-Cultural Influence has shown the uniqueness and similarities of the legitimization process. It has also shown how through the different modes of public utility, the synthesis of the primordial culture and Indo- Aryan culture, the general mass came closer to the ruling class. It has analyzed the procedures by which the Malla kings legitimized their kingdom. Thus this chapter describe the causes and the ways of building so many temples, lakes, canals, tols, gardens in all over these three kingdoms. The work also showed how through the different modes of public utility, the synthesis of the primordial culture and Indo–Aryan culture, the general mass actually came closer to the kings and supported their policies in every need. The chapter has analysed how the Vaishnava religion appeared, and became the marker of cultural change in these three kingdoms

and how it upgraded the status of them from mere chiefdoms to kingdoms. This chapter has also focused on the ways by which they paved the way for the broader cultural assimilation of Bengal.

Thus, discussing the above chapters in this present research, the summary and the shortcomings of the research in the well required conclusion is provided.

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CHAPTER ONE

Kingdom Formation: A Theoretical Overview

Introduction

Certain essential concepts and important contributing factors have been find out by the researchers in the procedure of the development of the newly evolved kingdoms in both Eastern and North-Eastern India. This chapter has provided a detailed discussion about the kingdom formation process from both the European as well as the Indian contexts starting from the ancient ages to the recent times. The anthropological approach while dealing with the concept of formation of kingdoms and the way its trend being followed by the historians in the 20th century are shown. The several aspects accountable for the development of the realms to large empires are correspondingly explicated. Along with this, detailed theoretical works and understanding about the early and medieval kingdom formation in the precolonial North Eastern and Eastern India are elaborated in this chapter articulately.

For historical research on pre-colonial India or pre-colonial world, there are several approaches so far been developed by the political scientists and the general scholars. Starting from the time of Aristotle (384-322 B.C) and Plato (428 B.C. -348 B.C.), people were concerned about the state. But an extensive study on the nature of the state was carried out in Europe in the medieval period. Particularly in the pre–modern contexts, there are several works starting from Niccolo Machiavelli (1469 C.E.-1527 C.E.), referred as the first modern political thinker in his political treatise named Prince (1532)[1],in the sixteenth century which showed justifications for using several political actions needed to create and protect a state firmly. Thomas Hobbes (1588 C.E.- 1679 C.E.),a philosopher in the sixteenth century in his book *Leviathan (1651)* [2] along with the English Civil wars, also showed the nature of state in which war is most important and remained above every possible thing. Thomas Jefferson (1743 C.E.-1826 C.E.), the American statesman completed a book named *Notes on the State of Virginia (1832)* [3] in the eighteenth century, in which he thoroughly argued about what a 'good society' is. Subsequent mention about the writing of state should be made of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 C.E.-1778 C.E.),a

Genevian writer on the work *The Social Contract(1893)*[4].This book focuses on the general will for the creation of the monarchs in a state discarding the divine rights of the kings to legistate.

But, unfortunately the above writings are not enough to show concern about the origin of kingdoms from the stateless situation. Later, a new approach was developed from the earlier half of the nineteenth century. The works from then on, began to identify some causes for the societal change that played a pivotal role in kingdom formation. Here, we can see some authors writing about the origin and growth of society. While discussing about the arts of subsistence and progress of human societies, it was assumed that all societies evolved from a primitive stage of life and gradually became civilized. The Marxists in this notion gave outmost importance to material conditions of a society to change its political structure. For the Marxists, the material condition was the main leading factor that upgraded the political structure for change of the nature in a state.

Lewis. H. Morgan (1818 C.E.- 1881 C.E.) in his work '*Ancient Society (*1877) [5] described the features of the primitive society and the phases of the evolution of the society. In his writings, it is found that initially the tribal council was in the charge of making decisions for the societies. But later the class system, private property appeared vehemently and slowly the emergence of state came into existence. Marx has opined in his work *Selected writings in sociology and social philosophy* (1964) that the development of commerce did resulted in a slave economy.[6] Frederick Engels in his work *The origin of the Family, private property and the state* (1884), had followed Morgan and opined that due to technological advances, the rise of middlemen and private wealth had come into being.[7]

But it was shown that through works of H.J.M Claessen (1930 C.E.-2022 C.E.) that while the state had to depend for the income to a lot of sources, the rulers had to take control or charge of society for which organized bureaucratic apparatus was needed. It has been shown in the theories that the power in the societies has been more dominant, with the centralization of ruling authorities. However, without denying these theoretical aspects, it should be understood that various factors must have been responsible for the emergence of the state. Thus H.J.M. Claessen has categorically mentioned the following points in his work while writing about the evolution of the early state. Some of them are mentioned here. The first one was that the state had enough population for social stratification and specialization and then that the government had

centralized authority to maintain the law by using enough force. Subsequently, it is mentioned that the state had a common ideology on which the legitimacy of the rulers are based.

In the twentieth century, the origin of the state is found to be studied by the anthropologists. The anthropological approach generally deals with the complications of mankind. It combined the humanist with the social science approaches. This trend was later followed by the historians. Here, initially the name of Morton H. Fried (1923 C.E.- 1986 C.E.) in his work *The Evolution of Political Society*(1967)[8] describes the different kinds of society on the basis of their political structures. He has clearly identified the state with the growth of a stratified society. But E.R. Service (1915 C.E.- 1996 C.E.) in his work(1962) terms the process as the transition of band society to tribe and from tribe to state through the chiefdom.[9]According to R.L Carneiro (1927 C.E.- 2020 C.E.) in his article named *A Theory of Origin of State*(1970)[10] the non –availability of agricultural land caused war and destruction in the autonomous villages. Thus according to his thoughts, warfare was that factor which witnessed the progression of states from the villages. Later, H.J.M Claessen (1930 C.E.-2022 C.E.),specialized in early state, has shown in his work(1984) how slowly the state began to get dependent on different kind of tributes,revenues.[11]As slowly the dominating power of the state has increased, the ruling powers began to get control of all the surplus. Thus the concept of legitimization of the rule slowly came into the forefront. However, it was observed through their writings that no solo cause like production mode or war or material condition can play any major role in the origin of the state theory.

The secondary states, consequently evolved from the primary states and it almost witnessed the same process in its formation. The model of having the war and the state formation which continued together in instance of the early state, was even followed in the case of the secondary states. Following the European context, Charles Tilly (1929 C.E.-2008 C.E.) in his work (1985)[12] showed that the internal warfare and productive extraction undertakings had a direct role in the state formation. Barbara J. Price has again argued in his work (1978) that the secondary states were formed as a result of expansion of other states.[13]

Thus the theoretical aspects in the world context have developed since ages, and various writings are continuously been written regarding the nature of state both worldwide and in India even in the present day. Some of the recent works can be mentioned here. Oliver P. Richmond, Gezim Visoka in their edited book *The Oxford Handbook of Peace Building, State Building and*

Peace Formation (2021), has given in details a systematic overview of many conceptual foundations, implementations of policies in building of states.[14]This handbook is divided into four major themes. The role of peace building, the role of globalisation, terrorism, the role of peace agreements, democratization, fourthly the key features of civil society procedures of peace formation in the formation of states are described in the book. Grace Davie, Lucian N. Leustean in their edited book *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Europe* (2022)[15], have given a systematic idea about the role of religion and religious structures in making of the survival of the states in Europe from ancient times. Jorgen Moller in his book *State Formation Regime Change and Economic Development* (2017) has very recently discussed why the country China was surpassed by the European Powers discussing the relationship between geopolitical pressure and state formation.[16]

In Social Memory and State Formation in Early China (2018)[17], Li Min shows the foundations and development of Chinese society in a completely new perspective.. Sverre Hakon Bagge in *State Formation in Europe* (2019)[18] has analysed Europe as a single unit not dividing it into many nation states. He, mentioning the influence of religion, showed how different kingdoms evolved in these states. Sebastian Mazzuca in the book *Latecomer State Formation: political geography and capacity failure in Latin America* (2021)[19], did contribute in comparative state formation of Latin America's governments. Tuong VU in *Studying the State through State Formation* (2010)[20], focuses on the bureaucratic centralization and emergences of authoritarian rule from the ages. Peter Gelderloos in *Worshiping Power: An Anarchist View of Early State Formation (2017)*[21] shows the role that kinship, religion have played in stifling self organization through the ages.

Since the days of Kautilya (375 B.C.-283 B.C.) to till date, several noticeable works have been produced by the Indians regarding the nature and origin of the state. Kautilya had opined that the state is comprised with seven elements which are – the sovereign head, the minister, the territory, the fort, the treasury, the coercive power and a friend.[22] It is noticed that since the later Vedic ages and with the introduction of iron, the societal difference was established decisively. The Mauryan empire established in around 321 B.C. covering large part of the country India, was the first historical empire state. Different scholars with different approaches have dealt with the nature of the early Indian state differently. Whether the Romanticists had described it as a 'spiritual land', the nationalist historians had seen it as a strong centralized power, the Imperialist

historians, on the contrary, had tried to adore the British rule.[23]The works of the Utlitiarian, James Mill (1972) and his followers in the nineteenth century, while defining state, are important in this regard.[24] But these works are barely in a straight line connected to our study.

The research on the early states of India have stressed more on the 'state system'. But the scholars have investigated more critically about the formation of the medieval states of India. The historians have shown a major concern in regard to the study of the influenced concept of Marxism. One major cause of the feudalization of early medieval Indian state could be found in the ever increasing number of (rent-free) lands, which were granted to the Brahmins and religious institutions and subsequently to the government officials. Among them, R.S. Sharma (1957) is especially mentionable for his works. Though the concept of feudalism was of European origin, later the concept was also discovered in India with some basic changes. In the summary of the Indian Feudalism model, R.S. Sharma showed how the land grants policy helped in the rise of landlords and he also discussed the lord-peasant relationship. His several books starting from the 1960s is proven to be very important to study the culture and nature of both the early and medieval Indian states.[25] Later various works of B.N.S.Yadav (1973) [26] D.N. Jha (1979) [27] Harbans Mukhia (2000) [28] came up on this concept. D.C. Sircar (1966) somewhat refuted and gave his opinion on the concept of landlordism which he described as a topic often confused with feudalism.[29]

The central powers of the Indian subcontinent are often termed as the patrimonial bureaucratic state. They are the Mughal Empires, the Delhi Sultanate originated from the war struggles and creation of new administrative structures. These large empires overtook the small states under their sway. Many studies are conducted on their origin and administrative endeavours. After their decline, some small kingdoms have evolved in many parts of the subcontinent. Subsequently, coming to other notions, it is noticed that the concept of segmentary states was originated in the case of South India. The different theoretical aspects show that South India had seen an another type of state formation procedure. Aidan Southhall (1956) became the originator of the segmentary concept of state and it was conducted by him from the Alur society of Africa in the 1960s .[30]Burton Stein (1977) got influenced by him and began to show his concept in the formation of medieval south Indian states.[31] The multiple locations of the ruling powers having diverse social formations inside are the key feature of the segmentary states. Variation in sizes and capacity of these domains were arranged pyramidally with central,

intermediate and peripheral zones in the segmentary state system in the Chola times. It is still a vital model of the state formation for understanding the medieval history of South India.

However, from the mid twentieth century, we have noticed the publication of several works which have dealt with the origin and evolution of states. This strength was initiated by Bhupendanath Dutta as well as by D.D. Kosambi in the 1950s.Bhupendranath Datta in his book *Bharatiya Samaj padhdhati* (1953) [32] has discussed different events of Indian history explaining the change of the nature of the state. On the other D.D. Kosambi (1956)[33] gave his own view on the feudalization of early medieval Indian states. In the 1960s, they were followed by a group of scholars dealing with early and medieval Indian history like R.S. Sharma, B,N.S. Yadav, D.N,Jha, Harbans Mukhia discussed previously. The contributions of the historian, R.C. Majumdar (1967), in the aspect of the formation of states in India is also notable as he intensely described the historical origin and culture of the Indian people.[34] From the 1980s, some notable works regarding the nature of the State in India came into being. The preeminent historian of India, Romila Thapar (1984) started writing mainly on ancient Indian history.[35] The contributions of B.D. Chattopadhyay formed our outset of early medieval Indian state more pleasantly. B.D. Chattopadhyaya (1985) in his works [36] have firstly reevaluated the nature and political formation of early medieval Indian states and mentioned the concept of feudalism as a synonym for political fragmentation.

In the 1990s, the writings of Hermann Kulke (1997) also got much recognition.[37] From the 2000s,the writing of Irfan Habib (2000) on Mughal Empire were reprinted.[38] Rup Kumar Barman (2007) in his work [39] has shown us how the Koch Kingdom shifted its nature from tribalism to State following legitimization. The very significant works of Ranabir Chakrabarti (2016)[40] regarding the nature of state also came up. Hermann Kulke and Bhairabi Prasad Sahu in their edited book *The Routledge Handbook of the State in Premodern India* (2022)[41] very recently have included various discussions and debates on some conventional practices and the Brahmanical system. They have also conducted a multidimensional work on the formation of states in pre modern India.

The North East Indian kingdoms like the Ahoms, the Kachari, the Meiteis etc have been seen to follow different variables of kingdom formation like changing from a subsistence economy to a surplus generating economy and legitimizing their political power through imbibing the exogenous traditions. So from the historical notion, some internal factors of

kingdom formation are provided. In our research, we have taken the study of the Meitei kingdom of Manipur. But unlike the other states of North East India, it has grew without any exogenous forces. In the state of Manipur, much inter clan struggles occurred throughout the historical past. However the Meiteis defeated the other clans living in the state. The Meiteis also adopted Vaishnava religion like the precolonial Orissan and Bishnupur kingdoms. However the Meiteis did not completely forget their primordial culture. Similarly in the case of Eastern India, the two kingdoms, i.e. the Bishnupur kingdom of West Bengal and the Gajapati kingdom of Orissa are taken into account. At that time of reference, the Mughal dynasty was almost at its peak. However Bishnupur and Orissa have witnessed one substantial developmental process. They similarly along the same time followed certain features which led them to continue their rule for a long time.

In the recent works of pre colonial states, Farhana Ibrahim in *Settlers, Saints and Sovereigns: An Ethnography of State Formation in Western India* (2009)[42], has explained the concepts of migration, border as well as religion in the formation of Western Indian states. Vanlalringa Bawitlung in State Formation in Mizo Society (2022)[43] has firstly given a conceptual analysis on state formation and mentioned how these regions have attained chieftainship to modern state forming systems. Paolo Eugenio Rosati in *The Cross Cultural Kingship in Early Medieval Kamarupa:Blood, Desire and Magic* (2017)[44] has shown how some cross cultural negotiations which originated in the ancient times became the centre of the emergence of Yoni cult of Kamakhya temple and how it also resulted in the systemization of non Aryan cult of the Yoginis playing a fundamental role in Brahmanic traditions and tribal ideologies. This book also described how the concept of kingship was influenced by Brahmanic traditions and various tribal cultures and how the king played a role as a cross cultural mediator in Assam throughout the early medieval ages. Jayanta Bhusan Bhattacherjee in *State and Wealth: the early states in northeast India (2010)*[45], has described the concept of wealth as a wider term for property and showed the natural wealth of the rulers of pre-industrial states. Rashmi Rekha Bhuyan in *Divine or Cursed: Understanding the Conflict Syndrome in Royal Myths of Pre-modern Northeast India* (2022)[46] showed how like other areas in all over India, the Brahmanas created a false divine genealogy for the rulers in return of some favour for themselves. The rulers played the role of mediator between the tribal traditions and the Brahmanic rituals. Thus some

contradictory nature of royal myths and political processes formed by Brahmanas in the case of Ahoms, Koches of pre modern kingdoms is shown in his work.

Observation

Therefore from the above analysis, it is implicited that there are certain processes involved in formation of kingdoms to the empires. The first procedure showed how from a primitive stage of life, the society slowly became civilized. The works of the scholars showed how the ruling authorities with the assistance of not only warfares, but several bureaucratic systems, political structures have made the transition from their smaller realms to the establishment of the kingdoms possible. The subsequent works have then evaluated how the kingdom with the help of various revenues, productive agricultural extraction and collection of tributes have made the solidification of the economy and organized the procedure of the legitimization of the kingdoms in numerous provinces. For the study of these medieval Indian kingdoms, it is also perceived that these regions have followed several processes like following the divine origin of kingship, redistributing the surplus as well as the following of the Indo-Aryan rituals to attain the legitimization procedures by the ruling authorities. By succeeding the phases of legitimization, it is observed that some cultural alterations and modifications took place in the society of those kingdoms. This present study for the research in the subsequent chapters has shown these processes by presenting all the economic backgrounds, the procedures followed for their legitimization along with the socio-cultural effects on the kingdoms on a broader basis.

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CHAPTER TWO

Geo-Historical Evolution and Consolidation of Malla Kingdom in Bishnupur

Prior to actually reviewing the historical position of any territory, it is noteworthy to emphasize the geography of a state as it generates the process of maximum series of incidents in historical past. The geographical location of a state, thus specifies numerous course of action of history. In this context, before interpreting the historical origin of the kingdom of Mallabhum, the geographical evaluation of the area must be done. The Mallabhum, which rose in the 7th century A.D., prospered as a significant kingdom mainly during the medieval period. It is basically situated in the South-West fringe of Bengal[1] and consists of the whole district of Bankura with some parts of West and East Midnapore district and Purulia district of West Bengal. The city Bishnupur was made its capital. It was situated in the South-East of the District, a few miles south of the Dwarakeswar river, in $23^0$4'40" north latitude and $87^0$22'0"east longitude.[2] The kingdom Mallabhum was shielded with forests which protected it mostly from the external invasions. Consequently, the location of Mallabhum became a very big advantage for the process of the formation of the kingdom. The Mallabhum mainly covered the foremost portion of the contemporary existing Bankura District of West Bengal. The Bankura District was labelled as an attaching connection between the plains of Bengal as well as the highlands of Chota Nagpur plateau.It has the most varied inheritance of temple architecture in Bengal.[3]

Nevertheless, the Mallabhum kingdom is carrying its glorious legends for several centuries. The history of Mallabhum does not only cover the history of the Bankura District. To know the historical transformation of Mallabhum from a stateless situation to a ruling kingdom, the history of evolution and development of the Radha region should be known. Among the central point of this Radha area, stood the region of Bankura.[4] The stretch of Radha is bounded by Ganga in the North, Bhagirathi in the East, Chotanagpur in the West. It includes the states of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Murshidabad, Midnapore.The contemporary Bankura district which was also designated as the middle Rarh region[5] got influenced by the art, music, and literature of all of the above areas. The territory of the Radha region has continuously evolved

from the pre-historic times. Even the earliest form of culture like hunting, food gathering is noticed in this district. The examples of the palaeolithic age like cleaver, scrapper, chopper and even hand-axe are found here. In 1865,V. Ball, the celebrated geologist, reported the finding of a number of palaeolithic objects made of gneiss and quartzite in some sites of Purulia, Bankura and Burdwan districts while on the other hand D. Sen unearthed many palaeolithic tools and implements in 1962.[6] The examples of the Palaeolithic sites are found in Gopinathpur, Hatikheda, Buddin, Hapania, Gorabari etc. In this region, the microlithic stage show no substantial changes in the economy and culture, though the collection and the gathering process became more intensive. Subsequently, the discovery of the polished Neolithic celts in period III of Pandu Rajar Dhibi (present Burdwan District) was observed thus signifying the persistence of the Neolithic economy till the proto-historic times.

Since the ancient periods, much interference from the North-West Central power was not noticed in this region. During those times, the rivers Padma, Ganga, and Bhagirathi divided the entire Bengal into four parts or four regions. These lands were recognized by the four communities namely the Poundra, Banga, Radha and Sushma who mainly lived in these four lands. In the text of the *Vaivishya Purana*, the reference of Radha as a *Janapada* was mentioned. Though being a land of jungles, it was found that this region had a trade contact with some areas of South Bengal since the ancient period.[7] The Jaina writers of the *Acharanga-Sutra* describe the land of the *Ladhas* (Radha) in West Bengal as a pathless country inhabited by ill-mannered people who attacked the peaceful monks.[8] However, the foremost political history of this region has evolved from the time of 16 *Mahajanapadas,*as the reference of Radha province can be traced from the *Jaina Vaghabatisutra*.

The Radha area is not given major attention in the *Rig Veda*, *Satpatha Brahmanas* and various other texts. Bengal was considered for many centuries an unpleasant land by the Aryans.[9] As a result, this place appeared to be relatively unknown to the people of the North. Thus the great king Alexander (336 B.C.) had no desire to visit the Gangaridai region. The exact location of Gangaridai could not be determined in particular. The evidence of Ptolemy suggests that the kingdom of which Pataliputra was the royal residence, apparently extended as far as the Ganges and might have included Tamralipta. The land of Gangaridai lay beyond this territory.[10] Though according to other notions, it might derive as *Ganga- Hrd* land with Ganges in its heart.

Later when the Mauryan empire was firmly established, the region of Bengal was annexed into their empire. The prominence of the region of *Pundavardan* can be observed from the contemporary Buddhist literatures like *Divyabaddan*. At Susunia Hill, which is almost 12 miles away from the town of Bankura, the earliest epigraphic evidence regarding the history of Bengal was found. After abundant research, it was found that the inscription was dated at nearly 4th century A.D. The inscription, comprised of three lines. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the *script* is the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet.[11]From it, it is depicted that *Maharaj* Chandrabarma, lord of Pushkaran built one independent empire there. He was also described as a lover of Sanskrit culture.[12] It was almost certainly at this period when Gupta empire was losing its power. Nevertheless, it is mainly acknowledged that about 25 miles North-East from Susunia, there was a village named Pokharan, which was ancient *Puskharan*. Later, the portions of Bankura, Birbhum and Murshidabad fall under the kingdom of Shasanka, the powerful king of Bengal. From the description of Hiuen Tsang (602-664 C.E.), four important places of Bengal were known as the Pundavardan, Karnasubarna, Samatat, Tamralipta. Tamralipta was then recognized as an important port. As *Tamralipta* was situated in the south-west boundary of North-East India, it can be assumed that Mallabhum was divided between the then state karnasubarna and Tamralipta.

During the age of *Matsyanaya*, there were probably small kingdoms formed at the Mallabhum region. Bengal saw very little of the stable government and the whole region was affected by internal conflicts and disturbed by invasions from outside. During the Pala rule, when Dharmapala established a vast empire[13] and was ruling Bengal, the then king of Utkal region of Bhoumakar dynasty Shivkar I attacked the Radha area and married its princess Jayabati. During 1021-23 C.E., at the time of the attack from the Chola kingdom, Mallabhum was under another certain kingdom. Although, it cannot be clearly identified whether Mallabhum was under *Mandaran* or *Dandabhukti.*

There were several minor autonomous states which evolved in Bengal during the 10th-11th-12th centuries. In the 11th century, the emergence of Kottabi Kingdom came into being. During the time of the Sena rules, Vijayasena might have entered into an alliance with Anantavarman Chodaganga and profited by it in establishing his supremacy in *Radha*.[14] Later during the time of the Sena rule, the Panchakot kingdom evolved annexing maximum portions of Mahisara Pargana, Gangajalaghati etc. By witnessing the temples at Bahulara, Sonatapal, Kendua, Salda, it

can be assumed that a strong rule with a solid economical base was prevalent in this region. Though the history of the origin of the Malla dynasty is shrouded in mystery and it usually traced back its origin to the 7th century A.D, no solid historical evidence is found to claim the consolidation of the Malla kingdom. Thus for the early history of Mallabhum, one need to also depend on the chronicles. Most of the chronicles agree that Raghunath Singh was the founder of the Malla Dynasty. He ascended the throne of Mallabhum. He was born in 715 A.D.[15] He is celebrated in history as the king of the Bagdis (aborigines). He founded the city of Bishnupur. For long his kingdom passed under the name of Mallabhumi, and then as the Jungle Mahals (forest country)[16] He was also known as Adi Malla. He derived his origin from the kings of Jainagar near Brindaban.[17] Thus he is claimed to be a son of a Rajput Kshatriya kingdom from North India. His father abandoned him and his mother in a forest, due to his mother's abrupt delivery pain on the route to a pilgrimage. He was raised by a Brahmin. In his youth, he was employed as a cowherd.

Numerous tales were mentioned to claim the Kshatriya status and to foster the valid legitimacy of his kingdom. On one part of their story of origin, Adi Malla in his childhood founded a golden ball while fishing in a water course.[18] Later, he curved a small principality in these land of forest. But according to another story of origin, the Bagdis of Mallabhum regard the Malla *rajas* as of Bagdi in origin. A prevalent story among the Bagdi says that Adi Malla was the first Bagdi born by Siva and parvati.[19] Thus it seems that the kshatriya status was intentionally fostered to cover up their aboriginal origin and to deny their relationship with the Bagdis. Adi Malla's descendants had remained engaged in warfare with the neighbouring chieftains and had in many cases annexed their territories.[20]Adi Malla was succeeded by his son, Jay Malla, who invaded the Padampur region nearby. He removed the Capital to Bishnupur.[21]During the time of the invasion of Bhaktiyar Khilji, the Radha region came under the influence of the Muslim kingdom. He planted military outposts in every place, and set out for the town of Nadiah, which at that time was the capital of the *Rajahs* of Bengal.[22] It was then ruled by Laxman Sen of the Sena dynasty. Suddenly, Muhammad Bakhtiyar, with eighteen horsemen, made an onslaught there. Before the king could be aware,

> "Bakhtiyar burst inside the palace, and unsheathing from the scabbard his sword that lightened and thundered, engaged in fighting, and put the harvest of the life of many to his thundering and flashing sword."[23]

Thus the old king was left with no option and he had to run away.

> "The whole of his treasures, his wives, and (other) females, his domestics and servants, his particular attendants, were taken, and the Musalmans captured a number of elephants, and such a vast amount of booty fell to their lot, as cannot be recorded."[24]

The effect of these dominations also fell on Mallabhum. Rama Malla, the Malla ruler reigned in his territory. But

> "In his reign the fort was improved … A governor was appointed with orders to prepare uniforms for the army. The soldiers learned the use of arms more perfectly``.[25]

Baktiyar Khilji then followed the customary practice of the Muslim conquerors by pulling down idol-temples. Evincing his zeal for religion by converting the infidels continued**.**[26] However, the Malla kings succeeded to uphold the independent rule of their realm.

During the reign of the Mughal rule, this region of West Bengal was also partly under the domains of their administration. Though, it was mainly under the independent kingdom of Bishnupur, but in 1722 C.E., the then nawab Jafar Khan reconstructed the administration of the Bengal Subah and Bishnupur came under the Bardhaman Chakla.[27] During that time both Gopal Singha and Chaitanya Singha,the Malla kings could not save the suzerainty of their kingdom. After the grant of Diwani right of East India Company by the British, the formation of various districts like Birbhum, Hooghly, Bankura took place. Some areas of this district came under the direct control of the British like Mednipore and Bardhaman in 1760, and the rest part of the district in 1765 along with Birbhum .[28] Prior to colonisation, the entire Rarh region, notably the south-western part, never totally came under Muslim rule.[29] The Malla dynasty proceeded to be ruled by 56 Malla rulers since it was always difficult for the outsiders to collect taxes from this land of the forest.[30]

However, starting from the early medieval times, the Radha region began to witness an evolvement in the consolidation process by various strong historical realms. Among the widespread area of South-Western Rarh and the various Semi-independent principalities called Bhum, which meant a territory defined by certain limits of political control,[31] the Mallabhum's political, social and cultural sphere created a very big qualitative change. The earliest historical reference to the Mallas found in the late 16th century text *Akbarnama,* indicates Malla *Raja* as a

powerful prince.[32] The history of Bishnupur began to attain intrinsic importance from the time of the first Malla king Adi Malla, who continued his reign for 34 years. Since his childhood, he began to be trained as a warrior and he became excellent in wrestling. His fame reached far and wide,[33] and his skill in this art endeared him to an aboriginal ruler called the Raja of *Panchamgarh.*[34] Because of his excellency in wrestling, the king of *Panchamgarh* used to like him very much. He even granted him the land of *Laugram* and some villages in its vicinity.[35]This *Panchamgarh* king conferred on him the title of Adi Malla.[36]

2.1. Extending the Political Boundaries of the Kingdom

The Malla ruler Adi Malla did not left any opportunity when he got a chance to fight with the nearby chief of Jatbihar, Pratapnaryan. This increased his power and prestige in the locality of the old sites of kotalpur and Indus.[37] He also built a temple of Punteswari.[38] He married Chandrakumari,[39] the daughter of Indra Singh, a western prince of the solar race.[40] This marriage claimed and elevated the status of a chief to that of a Kshatriya king more efficiently. His son Jay Malla succeeded him. Though initially he continued the friendship with the Padampur *Raj*, the lord paramount of the locality,[41] later this Padampur *Raj* tried to control his power. Thus a big conflict arose between them in which Jay Malla became victorious. Jay Malla did not hesitate to siege the fort of Padampur and make his first step to the formation of his kingdom through warfare. He also married princess of western solar race. His kingdom thereby began to increase in size,[42] by warfare or other matrimonial alliances. Thus a long list of 56 Malla kings ruled over this kingdom. The 3rd king Beni Malla though did not increase this kingdom, but continued to make arrangements for the defence of his frontiers. The fourth king Kalu Malla defeated the king of Indus**,**[43] and annexed his kingdom. Mention may be made of the sixth king Kanu Malla who conquered the Kakatiya kingdom and the eighth king Sur Malla who captured the powerful Bagdi kingdom of Midnapur.[44] Thus warfare against these states began to be continued by the later kings, which was essential for the extension of the kingdom.

Among the next significant kings mention may be made of Jagat Malla, who was crowned at 1033 C.E. He protected the domain and shifted his capital from Padampur to Bishnupur.[45]The supremacy of the 33rd king Rama Malla proved to be very important. He was crowned in 1277 C.E. During his period, the fort was improved and various sorts of fire engines were brought into it. All of these preparations were probably taken to save from the attack of the Muslim rulers. Thus these kings got engaged in increasing their kingdom, and governing their own areas. They

established various temples, through which their glory spreaded to other nearby areas.Thus from the very early times underneath the rulers, this area has been an amalgamation of different cultures.[46]

During the medieval period, the conquest of the Muslim rulers could not directly affect the kings of Bishnupur as the realm was little known to those rulers. One of the reasons for the non-interference of the external powers was that this area was extremely dry, parched and unproductive. Later when the rule of the Muslims began to get consolidated on all sides, they came with demand of tribute, which were tactically paid by the rulers of Mallabhum.The supremacy of the 49th king of Mallabhum namely Bir Hambir proved to be the most important among all the other rulers. No uncertainty about the existence of this great king can be made, as sufficient proofs are available about his being from different sources.[47] He not only erected 3 big temples but also reconstructed the fort along with the placement of guns. Formerly his alteration to a new faith, he was labelled as an fraudulent and tyrannous ruler. The king slowly developed a fondness for the sanskrit texts. Under him Bishnupur turned into the foremost centre of knowledge and culture. For the foundation of the new dawn of civilization in Bishnupur, one of the major occurrences was the acceptance of the religion of the Vaishnava guru Srinibas Acharya. It produced a new societal power in Bishnupur**.** The king becoming an ardent Vaishnava spent much resources to spend this religion. Even the colonies of the city Bishnupur were named as Krishnaganj, Madhavganj, Shyamrai market, Rathtala etc.The canals were also named as Kalindi, Jamuna. There canals were erected at Bishnupur mainly to meet the essentials of the drinking water for the publics.Thus the king looked after the welfare of the state and he also took initiative to bring all the people under one common influence by this Vaishnava religion.

Owing to the spread of this conviction, the Malla rulers mixed with the general people in various festivals like Ras, Dol etc. Thus an identical vigorous relationship developed in his reign, which were expressed in the building of various temples, like the Shyamrai, the Radhashyam and the Rasmancha. In this dimension, an innovative depiction was obtainable by the kings in Bishnupur for the people in Bengal. The common people began to obey every policy of their king whole heartedly. The Mughal sovereigns gifted the Malla *rajas* with certain zamindaris, which indirectly increased the financial fund of the kingdom. Thus due to the rise of money, the spread of trade increased. Consequently, the ruler conceding their suzerainty, paid an annual

tribute. But this reverence was paid by the monarch as per his desire since the Mughal emperors never forced for them for taxation. The consequence of this friendship fall even on the temples like Jor Bangla, which comprises of a lot of terracotta work on the luxurious life of Amir Omaradaha.There was also evidence of influence of the Portuguese in the temples of Bankura.[48] Various social activities and existence of the general public were also noticed in these temples.[49] The effect of the Muslim influence also fall on the social life of the people.

Plate 1: The Malla Kings acknowledging the Suzerainty of the Mughal Emperors

Source: Photo taken by self in September, 2018 from Jor Bangla Temple, Dalmadal Para, Bishnupur, West Bengal.

2.2. Administration of the Kingdom

To commendably run the administration of this realm, the Malla kings distributed the realm into four managerial divisions. Those were the samanta terrains, the talukdari, the ghatwali and the khalsa areas. The Samantas on being the subordinate chiefs, had to help the Mallas with tributes and army when required. The Malla rulers had numerous service groups. To collect revenue from the talukdari or ghatwali areas, each of them were divided into several parts, known as taraf. Each taraf was positioned under a tarafdar who used to accumulate the rents. The agents of the realm also collected rents from the khalsa area, which was additionally much productive and nicely cultivated. Underneath the inspiration of the Malla *Rajas*, numerous occupations were prearranged for the people of diverse castes. The craftsmanship in addition with trade remained also an imperative profession in Mallabhum.

2.3. Administrative Weakness

The administration of Bishnupur though nominally entitled as monarchical but was actually democratic.[50] Though initially the administrative policies of the Malla kings were very strong, some difficulties later arose in their organization. The lands, in the later time of their

administration, were never further surveyed or assessed. As the kingdom was divided into several divisions arbitrarily,[51] the total amount of the land was not anticipated by the kings. No complete rent toll was fixed by the Malla kings. The rulers built several temples for a large number of deities. For the legitimization of the rule, a large quantity of land mainly rent free lands like debottar, vaishnavattar, brahmottar and mahatran lands were granted to the Brahmins. In return, the Brahmins also had to work as priests in the newly erected temples.

Nevertheless, gradually the internal flaws began to evolve during the date 17th and early 18th centuries. One of the foremost reasons of this decline was too much devotion to the religion of Gauriya Vaisnavism. The more enthusiastic the Mallas were to this mild and self-sacrificing doctrine, the more unskilled they turn out to be to grasp the supremacy of the administration. Thus the religion which brought them glory also became a cause of its downfall. Throughout the rule of the Nawabs of Bengal, the last 3 Malla monarchs governed in this terrain. Those rulers were Raghunath, Gopal and Chaitnaya Singha. However after Bir Hambir, Dhari Hambir ascended the throne. But he was soon dethroned by his brother Raghunath Singha I who ascended the authority in 1626 C.E. He also stood very firm in his endeavor to consolidate the Malla kingdom. But under his rule, the social and political conformity of the realm changed vastly. The influence of the later Mughal governors on the then political status quo affected the power structure of the whole region of Bengal. Many smaller powers initiated to evolve and the Malla kingdom slowly began to loose its individuality. However, just like the ancestors of the Malla kingdom, the ruler Raghunath Singha was also a great devotee of Lord Krishna. During his reign, the trade flourished extensively among Bankura, Mednipur and Hooghly. The inscriptions of the temples built by him are an important source of his kingdom. During his time, the trade flourished extensively among Bankura, Mednipur and Hooghly. Thus geographically this province turn out to be very significant. He decorated the capital Bishnupur and built several temples.

After the completion of the tenure of Raghunath Singha, his son Bir Singha began to rule the Malla dynasty from 1657 C.E. Just like his father, he proved to be a very efficient ruler and tried in various ways for the glorification of the kingdom He also tried his very best to conquer the rest of his areas. During this segment, the conquest of the kingdoms like Chandrakona deserves special mention. Among other various occurrences, one of the important political upheaval took place when the Malla kingdom was attacked by the Mughal governors. Under his son Durjan

Singha, the Midnapur, Garbeta and Chandrakona area was seized. Along with these, the area of Raipur which then fall under Orissa was annexed by this king. Various inscriptions at Radhalaljiu temple of Garbeta at Bamanpara give evidence of the control of Malla dynasty over them. Under his son, Durjan Singha, the military glory of the Mallas rose into fame. The next authority was passed to the king, Raghunath Singha II in 1701 C.E. During his time, Shova Singha Rahim Khan, the *zamindar* of the Chetna and Bardar area revolted against the Mughals. But Raghunath Singha comprehended that the upsurge of power of Rahim Khan might cause anxiety for his realm. Thus Raghunath Singha with applied awareness supported the Mughals and later at the anticipated time, he himself subjugated Chetna and Barda regions.

Gopal Singh ascended the throne in 1712 C.E.[52] During the early years of his rule, Murshid Quli Khan increased the amount of revenue. Maratha Raids – From the 1740 C.E., the Marathas continued to attack the whole of the Rarh region. Though the jungles at Bishnupur saved the Malla kings from the external attacks since ancient times, these forests became the resting centres of the Marathas. Additionally the Marathas underneath Bhaskar Pandit endeavored to attack Bishnupur. Thus because of the fearful attitude of these rulers, the Marathas probably understood that these kings did not have the power to protect their subjects. Thus they even increased their raids and plundering activities. But to an utter astonishment, the forts of Bishnupur could not be captured by the Maratha raiders probably because of the strong walls and structure of the fortresses. There is a custom perceived that God Madan Mohan afired the renowned Canon Dal Madan and drove away the Marathas. But this does not seemed so, as for the protection of the forts, the military had to fire the canon. But for the fear of committing sin, the help of the story seemed to have been taken. Thus the kings became very much dependent on religion. Due to the destruction triggered by the Marathas, a large number of people escaped from their homes and travelled on the way to the eastern side. Thus the steadiness of the Malla polity got disturbed. Moreover, the realm got unstabled militarily, politically and financially. Nevertheless, the ruler ignored these problems. He made the oration in the name of Hari obligatory among the masses. Even his open actions of piety surpassed those of his precursors. Because of these forceful implications for recitation, much resentments were caused among his subjects.

Plate 2: Image of the Dal Madal Canon

Source: Photo taken by self in September, 2018 from Dalmadal Para, Bishnupur, West Bengal.

Throughout the reign of Chaitanya Singha from 1748 C.E., no attempt to fortify the capital was seen. Thus the continuation of grants to Brahmins and attempts to make welfare of the subjects were continued. Therefore, the kings spending time in religious meditation, could not tackle the newly arousing troubles of the British era.

One of the foremost causes for the speedy development of Bishnupur, was the spread of trade and commerce. Bishnupur was well-known for its silk, timber etc. The East India company had to gather these belongings from there. After the grant of Diwani, the British acquired the right to assemble revenue from Bengal. Even during the terrible famine of 1769-70, the company continued to collect the taxes. After 1765, Chaitanya Singha became to lose his effective control on the kingdom. Due to inability of providing taxes, the kingdom of Bishnupur came under the rule of the English in 1766 C.E.[53] He was deeply affected by the Maratha raids. They were joined by the starving people in the villages. At the time of the Decennial settlement, Chaitanya Singha got settlement of Bishnupur on an annual revenue of 4 lakhs of rupees. But the humble king spent all his treasuries to help the people in starvation. Consequently, the revenue system failed as he could not pay the high revenues. The Malla kingdom was thus divided into smaller states by the East India Company.

Observation

This chapter showed how the Malla kingdom in Bishnupur evolved through the early medieval ages and occupied several of its neighbouring chiefdoms with Bishnupur as its capital. The study also showed how Bishnupur being a land of jungles and arid uplands, became able to maintain its realm for so many long years. The various upheavals and political turmoils faced by the region from the ancient to the medieval times have been mentioned. The methods implied by the Malla kings like AdiMalla, JayMalla to extend the political boundaries and remain in power and the measures taken by them especially the 49th ruler Bir Hambir in the erection of several temples to get validation from the local masses are shown in the chapter. However, later the defects in administration, extreme adoration to the Vaishnava religion neglecting the government works, the repeated Maratha raids, the unfortunate famines together made the rulers lost their realm later in the 18^{th} century. Finally, it is shown how towards the later stage of their kingdom, the Malla kings failed to meet the revenue demands which resulted in the annexation of the realm by the East India company. Thus the origin, accomplishments, survival strategies and consolidation process of the kingdom have ended up making Mallabhum a noteworthy episode in the past. These kind of achievements are also found in the case of the other two kingdoms which will be discussed in the next chapters.

Map No. 2.A. Map of Bankura District of West Bengal

Source:https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.researchgate.net%2Fpublication%2F328041551%2Ffigure%2Ffig1%2FAS%3A677527995572225%401538546670185%2FLocation-of-the-Study-Area.png&tbnid=8LhEBJ3ARm5uEM&vet=1&imgrefurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.researchgate.net%2Ffigure%2FLocation-of-the-Study-Area_fig1_328041551&docid=Z_p3rk5jQBkfLM&w=850&h=955&hl=en-IN&source=sh%2Fx%2Fim%2Fm1%2F4&kgs=6d0767c319650941&shem=abme%2Ctrie, Access Date, 12th March, 2023.

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CHAPTER THREE

Expansion and Advancement of Gajapati Kingdom in Orissa

In the previous chapter, it is shown how the Malla kingdom of Bishnupur have witnessed the early human settlements and growth of civilization from the pre-historic times. This trend of human establishment similarly continued in Orissa and in this chapter it is linked with the formation of the Gajapati kingdom. Coming to the historical evolution of Orissa, it is seen that in the recent political map of India, it is a part of Indian subcontinent and lies at the eastern side of it. Since very ancient times, Orissa was called by different old names like Odra, Utkal, Kalinga etc. In this chapter, it is shown that the reign, sphere of kingdom, political, economic, social, cultural sphere of the Gajapati kingdom in Orissa created a very big qualitative change all over eastern and north eastern India. This kingdom ruled over Orissa in the 15th century C.E. and meanwhile adopted the Vaishnava religion ardently. The historical evolution and the structural changes in Orissa from the very early times to the Gajapati period is intricately shown.

Throughout all along the ancient period, the boundaries of Orissa was very different from the present state. Orissa extends from 17 degree 49' to 22 degree 34' North latitude and from 81 degree 29' to 87 degree 29' East longitude.[1] The present state Orissa was created in 1936 and the contemporary state Bihar was differentiated from it. The word Orissa is of English origin, which has arrived from the Oriya word 'Odisa'.[2] Orissa is bounded by West Bengal and Bihar in the northern side, Madhya Pradesh in the western side, Bay of Bengal in the eastern and Andhra Pradesh in the southern side. Various types of survey have revealed that there was a combination of both the Aryans and Dravidians as well as there was a lot of diversity in the culture. Along with these, there was a dissimilar method of life amongst the communities of Orissa. It was noticed that migration of human from different areas is traced back to different historical epochs in Orissa.

Many pre-historic sites have been discovered by some eminent scholars of Orissa. The oldest discovery of the palaeolithic implements in Orissa was done by V.Ball, who reported four different palaeolithic specimens from Kudebaga, Kalikota, Harichandapur and Dhenkanal.[3]The sites of the Middle stone age culture are also discovered in all over Orissa. They are found in the undivided districts of Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Keonjhar and Puri.[4] Around 9000

B.C., the neolithic culture spreaded across the world. At Chhilpa, the polished stone artifacts include interesting tools like burins and borers.[5] In this age, a great development of different kinds of knowledge and skillfulness of tool manufacture was found. In 1923-24, P. Acharya first reported the presence of many celts in Baidipur village in Mayurbhanj district.[6] According to findings, N. Datta Majumdar in the Sundargarh district obtained nearly six celts from the valley of two rivers, Ib and Brahmani in 1951-52.[7] The existence of an actual megalithic culture in Orissa with stone memorials and iron armaments is questionable. But it was discovered by Prof. Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf, that there were megalithic edifices in the villages of Gadaba, Ponosha and Sodar, Rona areas.[8] The early paintings and engraved designs made by the pre historic man on the rocks and caves epitomize the creative actions and a replication of their observances. Similarly of late, a number of rock paintings are found in the Kalahandi, Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts.[9]

The political history of Orissa can be traced from the Nanda dynasty in the fourth century B.C. The Hathigumpha inscription of emperor Kharavela at Udaygiri refers to a Nanda king twice.[10] During the time of the rule of Chandragupta Maurya, Kalinga could not be captured by him.He extended a mighty empire extending from the Hindukush to Mysore.[11] But Kalinga continued to maintain its own freedom and independence. However, the Mauryan emperor Ashoka did capture Kalinga in 261 B.C. He individually led the battle of Kalinga after eight years since his accession to the throne. Several holocaust and terrors of the war of Kalinga are elaborated in various historical texts. One lakh of soldiers died in the battlefield and one lakh fifty thousand of the soldiers were taken as captives.[12] But this war left a deep impression in the minds of Ashoka and turned him into a believer of Buddhist religion. This change in Asoka changed the course of the religion and cultural history not only in India, but the whole of Asia.[13] Thus this whole episode changed the way of life of Ashoka and non-violence became the central part of his ruling morals and integrity.

The history of Orissa centering Kalinga gained an era of obscurity after the reign of Asoka. The Shunga dynasty under the leadership of Pushyamitra Shunga captured the Magadhan empire and annexed its domains, of which Orissa was also a part. But during this time, there was hardly any effect which fell on Orissa. Eventually the Chedi rule reached Kalinga and a subsection of the Chedis arrived in Orissa. The migration might have taken place long before the time of Kharavela and that is why the Chedis identified themselves with Kalinga.[14] Kharavela ruled

Kalinga for a brief period of 13 years only from the capital Kalinganagar between the Khandagiri Hills and Tosali.[15]He was a believer of the Jain religion and later in his life he retired to Khandagiri in Orissa.He also defeated the Satakarnis, the Musikas, the Rashtrikas,the Bhojakas and king Brihaspati Mitra of Magadha.[16] But the history of Orissa for several centuries after Kharavela is dark.[17]There was a theory about the Satavahana occupation of Orissa, put by R.D.Banerjee in the first century B.C.[18]

After the collapse of the Satavahana empire, an influential and evolving tribe named the Murundas revealed its hegemony over Kalinga. The Indo-Scythian coins were discovered in Orissa proving their dominance over Kalinga. The Bhadrak stone inscription, assigned to the second half of the third century A.D.,refers to king Maharaja Gana who has been identified as a Murunda ruler.[19] Ptolemy, the famous Greek geographer of the second century A.D., testified to the existence of flourishing trade marts on the Orissa coast.[20]Towards the fourth century B.C., Orissa was distributed into many small domains and no specific powerful ruler existed during this time. The rulers of the Orissan territories enjoyed independence acknowledging the nominal suzerainty of the Guptas.[21] The fourth century A.D. marked the commencement of a sustained process of political development in Orissa.[22]From the 5^{th} and the 6^{th} centuries C.E., various minor dynasties like the Nalas, the Manas and the Vigrahas had raised their dominion in Orissa. The Nalas ruled over the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh and the Koratpur district of Orissa.[23] The Manas ruled over the North Orissa in the 6^{th} century C.E. When the Manas or the Mudgalas were ruling over Tosali, northern Kalinga, known as Kalinga rastra,was under the rule of the Vigrahas.[24]During the reign of Harshavardhana (590-647 C.E.), the southern Orissan came under his empire. Harshavardhana held a Mahajana Conference in Orissa where a number of Buddhist scholars from Nalanda had participated.[25]

The Early Gangas ruled in Orissa during the latter half of the fifth century A.D. and after them,the Sailodbhava dynasty came in the sixth century C.E.When the Bhaumakaras became the paramount rulers of coastal Orissa in the 8^{th} century C.E.,a number of minor dynasties ruled in the interior tribal belts as their feudatories.[26] In the tenth century A,D, the Somavamsis of South Kosala (the modern Rajpur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur area) expanded their dominions and came to carve out an empire that included large parts of northern and central Orissa.[27] During the 11^{th} century C.E., the later Eastern Gangas rose to prominence in Orissa. They constructed many

stone monuments patronizing the Jagannatha cult as a state deity.[28]The decline and fall of the later Eastern Gangas, led to the rise to power of another dynasty, the Suryavamsi Gajapatis.[29]

Orissa encountered a very significant era in the historical record when the Gajapati dynasty evolved in the 15th century C.E. The boundary of the Kalinga empire during this period was extended from Bengal to the river Krishna and Kondavidu fort of the south – a vast and gigantic empire the India has never seen in the past.[30] The Gajapati dynasty patronized the Jagannatha Cult and established a strong and large kingdom extending from river Ganga northwards to Kaveri in the south in the eastern side of the Indian subcontinent. The patronization of the deities helped in the socio-religious necessities and represented a healthy connection between the ruler and the masses. All this military expeditions evinced the truth that the Oriyas were a historic race- a race of the valiant warriors.[31] However the disintegration of this dynasty gave a scope to the outside invaders to attempt to attack it. In October 1803 C.E, the British made a triangular attack upon the Maratha soldiers in Orissa.[32]The British did not unite Orissa and divided it into several fragmented territories. Despite of these drawbacks, Orissa to this day, is one solid evolving nation as its unified culture still persists in the nation.

However, the history and rise of the medieval kingdom of Orissa begins with King Anantavarman Chodaganga, the renowned king of the Ganga dynasty. But the later Eastern Ganga's downfall and demise led to the establishment of a new one naming as Gajapati dynasty. The Gajapati is a title used by the kings in Odisha as a royal honour and status, and as a dynastic privilege and practice.[33]Orissa achieved its apex of magnificence during their century of rule, despite the fact that they could only governed for a century. This dynasty maintained an ambitious empire strategy, stretching Orissa's territorial borders from the Ganga mostly in north to the Pennar within south.

To make their kingdom secure and unassailable from the neighbouring forces, the Gajapati kings had to follow a policy of contest and armed struggle.The first Gajapati ruler Kapilendradeva (1434-1468 C.E.), or Kapilesvara, was among Orissa's foremost benevolent monarchs who expanded the political dominions of the territories and increased the grandeur of the dynasty. His grandfather also entitled as Kapilesvara, had originally been a nayaka and nripa, according to the grant of Raghudeva, Kapilendradeva's nephew in 1456.[34] Kapilendra's grandfather was a chief of the nayakas (a subordinate of the armed services). Jagesvara, his son, was also a renowned warrior. Balaram, Kapilesvara, Parsurama, and Rama were the children of

Jagesvara. In 1434 C.E., Kapilendradeva, the originator of the empire seized power and established the Kapilavda era.[35]

Initially the ruler Kapilendradeva started his career by becoming the commander of the Nayakas. He was not a lineal descendant of the Gangas but claimed to belong to the Suryavansha dynasty.[36].He then planned a strategy in the realm to get the wanted power and authority. Since Bhanudeva, the then ruler of Orissa was away from town, Kapilendradeva used a stealthy coup to seize the kingdom of Orissa. Unhappy troops and ministers under Bhanudeva thus assisted him and the common people embraced Kapilendra as their new monarch, especially those who had been oppressed during the final decades of the Ganga legislation. But after ascending the throne, Kapilendradeva encountered a variety of difficulties. Both domestic and foreign threats existed regarding his rights to the throne. On one hand, the Reddi rulers of Rajahmundry were planning to expand their holdings to the north, on the other side, the Muslim rulers of Bengal also challenged Orissa. Again some regional chiefs refused to recognise the authority of Kapilendradeva at home. Apparently there also rose an uprising by the loyal followers of the Ganga dynasty. However Kapilendradeva's legitimacy to the throne was based on a claim that he became the ruler by an *adesa* (order) of Lord Jagannath.[37] Kapilendradeva built the Meghananda wall in the 15th century to save the kingdom from the external attacks.

Plate 1: The Meghanada wall in Puri

Source: Photo taken by Self in May, 2022 from Jagannatha Temple, Puri in Orissa.

The Bengal Sultan's expedition was then prevented by Kapilendradeva's secretary, Gopinath Mahapatra.[38] Gopinath Mahapatra was a very able minister who decisively deposed and expelled Sultan Ahmad Shah. Kapilendradeva also to avoid the internal destructions ,vanquished the rebel officials such as the Gangas of Khimidi, the Silavamsis of Nandapur, the Matsyas of Oddadi, and the Vishnuvardhana Chakravartins of Panchadharala in the year 1443.[39] Kapilendradeva thus began to solidify the power of the Gajapatis after suppressing his local and external opponents, and afterwards began an invasion of the south.

Kapilendradeva initially shifted his focus to the south, to deal with the stubborn Reddis of Rajahmundry. He had previously taken possession of the land up to Korukonda, in the Vishakhapatnam district. Virabhadra was the legal monarch of the Rajahmundry kingdom during the period. At that time when the Orissan soldiers were engaged in battle with the Reddis and Vijayanagar forces, Mahmud Shah, the Sharqi Sultan of Jaunpur, launched an invasion on Orissa.As a result, Kapilendradeva was forced to return to check on the Muslim onslaught. The Orissan forces were defeated by Mallapa Odeyar as a result of this.[40] Nextly, Hamviradeva, son of Kapilendradeva, comfortably beat the Reddis. On 1448, Rajahmundry had already been annexed to the Orissan empire, and Raghudeva Narendra Mahapatra had been made the governor of the province.

According to the Anantavarman plates of Prataprudradeva, Hamvira raided Vijayanagara's headquarters and demanded homage from it's own monarch. [41] The Gajapatis also dominated the entire Kondavidu kingdom, Addanki, and Vinukonda by 1454 C.E. Kapilesvara, Hamvira's son and Kapilendradeva's grandson, had also created a series of temples. He also gave endowments to the Brahmins and the local people to make their dynasty powerful. Kapilendradeva had also chosen Tamma as the ruler of the Udaygiri rajya after capturing a fraction of it**.** During that period, the Telengana army had attempted to expand .They also wanted to be free from the oppressing Sultans. The Orissa army's successful campaigns in the south boosted the morale of the Telengana people. Thus the Telengana army joined arms with the Orissan army.

In the Bahamani period, Nizam Shah, Humayun Shah's minor son, seized power after his father's death in 1461 C.E. Nizam Shah had only been eight years old at the stage. Kapilendradeva took advantage of this occasion to conquer the Bahamany state once again. The landlords of Telengana and the Velama chief backed him up. Sultan Hussian Sharqi of Jaunpur entered Orissa from the north whereas the Orissan military remained occupied in the south,

preparing for the downfall of the Bahamany kingdom.[42] To protect the land, Kapilendradeva summoned his troops from the south. Later also Kapilendradeva resumed his war against the Bahamany realm bringing tranquility in Orissa. He took on the titles like Gajapati Gaudesvara-Navakoti-Karnata-Kalavargesvara.

According to the claim of one story, Lord Jagannatha popped up to him and chose Purusottamadeva (1468-1497 C.E .) to be the king of Orissa. Presumably his story was invented afterwards to provide religious support for the choosing of Purusottama as Orissa's successor. In 1456-66 C.E., Kapilendradeva proclaimed his youngest son Purusottama for the ruler on the shores of the Krishna River.[43]On the death of Kapilendra Deb, the succession of Purushottama Deb was marred by a war of succession and dispute.[44]Purusottamdeva bolstered his authority by winning the confidence of the ordinary populace. He eliminated the Brahmin choukidari levy and revived the land grants. To reclaim the kingdom of Orissa, he enlisted the help of the Bahamani Sultan Muhammad Shah. He was an ardent devotee of Sri Jagannathdev, and because of their devotion his descendants came to be known as the descendants of the Purushottam dynasty.[45]

In 1472 C.E., the Sultan ordered Nizam-ul-Mulk Hassan Bahry to proceed into Orissa and vanquish Purusottamadeva.[46] Purusottamadeva was deposed, and Hamvira was crowned as Orissa's new monarch. Hamviradeva, on the other hand, never could stay on the crown of Orissa for much time. Purusottama quickly identified his troops and attacked Hamvira with the support of certain feudatory leaders. Purusottamadeva beat Hamvira in June 1476 C.E when at one situation he was left alone.[47] Prataprudradeva (1497-1538 C.E.) was also a very efficient ruler of the Gajapatis. He inherited a vast kingdom from Ganges river in the north to Nellore(on the banks of the Pennar in Andhra Pradesh) in the south.[48] He was also forced to make one treaty with Golkunda by which Godavari was termed as the boundary line between Orissa and Golkunda kingdom. A religious and cultural upheaval took place during the reign of Prataprudradeva. However his suceessors Klauadeva and Kakaruadeva were killed by Govinda Vidyadhara who sat on the throne of Orissa in 1542 C.E and established the Bhoj Dynasty. [49]

3.1. Administration of Gajapati kingdom

According to a review of available source materials, the Gajapati system of governance was, to a certain degree, an extension of the old system of governance .It actually existed during the moment of the Later Eastern Gangas, the Reddis, and the Rayas, of whose region the Suryavamsis dominated.Their relationships with the Mughal administration was doubtless

militarily a subordinate one,yet the emperor could not replace the Gajapatis, nor could he interfere in their functioning.[50]

3.1.i Enlargement of the boundaries: Throughout the reign of Kapilendradeva, the Suryavamsi dominion reached its pinnacle, ranging anywhere along shoreline from either the Hooghly in the north to the Pennar in the south. The eastern limit was just the Bay of Bengal. The western line of demarcation lengthened into what is now Andhra Pradesh's Telengana piece of land. The Gajapatis were unable to effectively capture the area beyond the Pennar River within their realm. The monarch was the chief of government and had total authority, although, such as Gangas, they believed that Lord Jagannatha was the rightful ruler of Orissa and that they were only his representatives.[51]Lord Jagannatha was regarded as the absolute master by Kapilenderadeva, Purusottamadeva, and Prataprudradeva. The kingship was perennial in the lineage, although the king occasionally chose a son other than the eldest as his successor, breaking the primogeniture law. Purusottamadeva had been named heir to the crown of Orissa by Kapilendradeva, putting his eldest son Hamviradeva's claim to the throne on hold. Maharajadhiraja, Paramesvara, Gajapati, Gaudesvara, and Navakoti were among the king's titles.[52]A number of officials are identified in the Gajapati kings' land grants. They were recognized as Patras, Mahapatras, and Behera-Mahapatras, with Patras serving as ministers and Mahapatras representing as higher-ranking ministries and Samdhivigrahika was the minister in control of external matters.

3.1.ii. Provincial Administration and Defensive Structure: The monarchy was subdivided into dandapatas or rajyas, or provinces. Rajyas were the name for the southern provinces. These provinces were broken even more into Visayas, or districts. A district was sharply divided into khandas, or sub-divisions. The grama, or village, was the smallest institutional arrangement of Gajapati government. The governors named as Pariksha oversaw the provinces. Regional governors were usually princes of royal lineage. Kapilendra’s successors could not defend such an enormous realm and Orissa soon lost most of its territories in the south to the Vijayanagar and the Bahamani sultanate. The Gajapatis used to have a multitude of feudatories who were loyal to the central government. The Gajapati rulers could not always believe their feudatories. Getting the benefit of the central ministry's incompetence, they frequently attempted to express their freedom. They even rose in resistance during the era of Kapilendradeva. The Gajapatis received not just homage but also military support from the feudatories. Among the most significant divisions of the government was the military. The army's leader and superior commanding

officer was the monarch. Infantry, cavalry, and elephants made up the troops. The elephants corps was really the Gajapati army's strongest asset. This is proven by the designation of Gajapati which meant the lord of the Elephants.[53]

3.2. Excessive Rise of the Feudatories

The emergence of the feudal lords furthermore attributed to the Orissan region's demise. The Ga ngas and Gajapatis resulted in creation of strong tenants in Orissa by adding numerous land grant s to authorities and officials. Such property owners were not at all greatful to the centralised pow er.They always searched for the scope to assert their autonomy. Getting the benefit of Muslim an d Vijayanagara empire wars of aggression, the feudal lords frequently rebelled against Gajapati r uling elites.Within a week of his annexation, Kapilendradeva, the first Suryavamsi Gajapati king, advised these landlords in the title of Lord Jagannatha to avoid creating conflicts with them and this process was continued even later. Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a marked expansion in the number of feudatory states in Orissa.[54]

To complicate the ill fortune, Orissa was commonly attended by natural catastrophes such as mass starvation, dry spells, and river flooding, when foreign invaders were threatening Orissa. During the rule of Kapilendradeva, Orissa experienced two terrible famines. The repeated occurrence of natural calamities and famines had a significant impact on the state and its economy, especially when Orissa was under attack from foreign enemies.[55] Thus, the common natural disasters had a detrimental effect on the Orissan monarchy's economic structure and society contributing to its demise. Thus we can indeed say that no specific cause, but these all lasting effects attributed to the fall of the Orissan empire in 1568 C.E.Some of them include various politics, the nature and activities of duplicitous authorities and commanders, insufficient predecessors, the state's financial deterioration, the position of feudators, and natural catastrophes. After the occupation of Orissa in 1803 C.E, the British made Puri as their Head quarters.[56] Despite the emergence and decline of many dynasties, peace and stability prevailed for the vast bulk of history in Orissa.

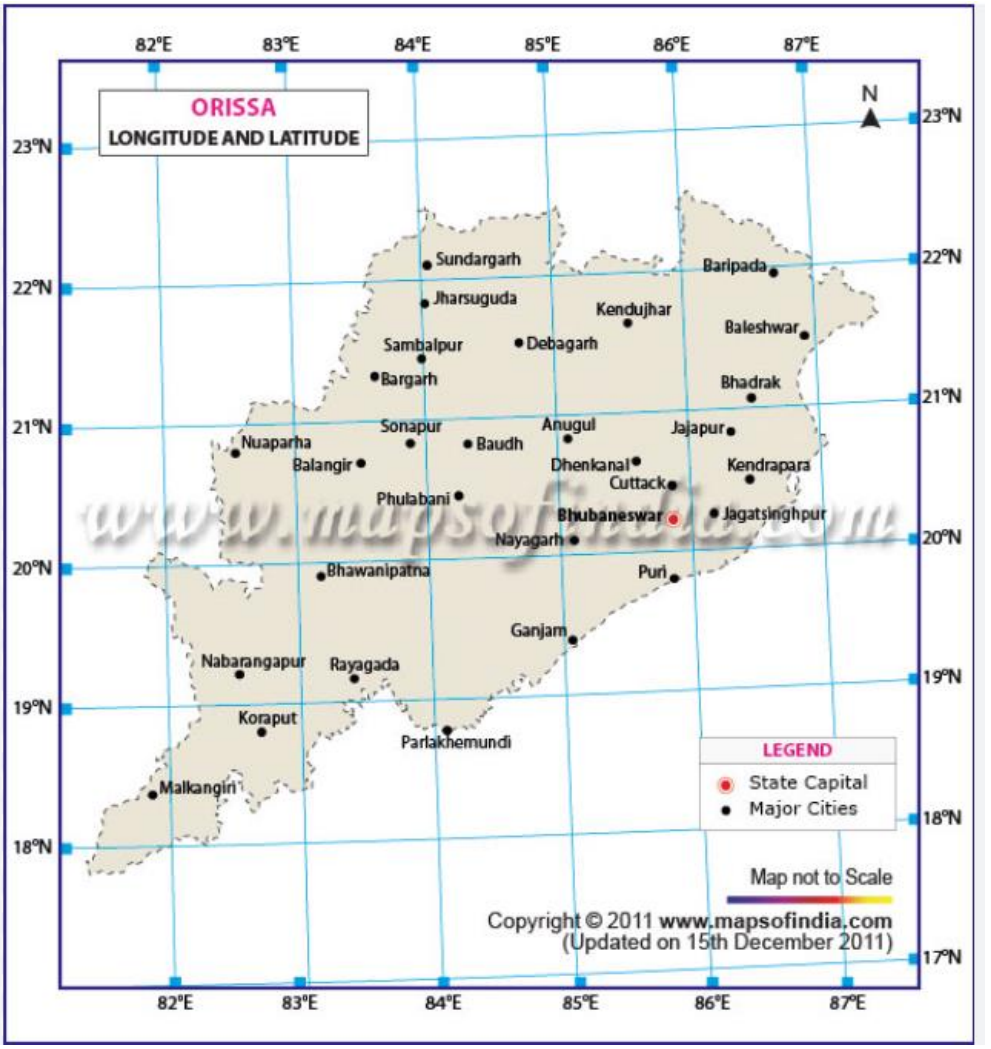
Observations

In this chapter, initially the migration of mankind from various places to Orissa since the early times is elaborately discussed. The pre historic sites found all over the state are shown and this chapter also displays how the state of Orissa got influenced by the several dynasties from the very ancient times. The impact of the Kalinga region over the great Mauryan emperor Ashoka

and its later consequences are elaborately discussed. After the fall of the later Gangas, the process by which the Gajapati dynasty started its rule are shown. Even the political formation of Orissa from the time of the Gajapatis and the patronization of the Jagannatha cult are perceived in the chapter. The Gajapati kings proceeded their army campaigns through spontaneous military operations and frequent expeditions from the early stages in order to keep their sovereign rights.

To safeguard their empire from any sort of external invasion, they rebuilt forts and canons. All the military expeditions and the temple constructions by the Gajapati kings are shown throughout the work. The provincial administration and defensive structure during the rule of the Gajapati rulers like Kapilendradeva, Purusottamadeva, Prataprudradeva are revealed. But it also exhibited how the extreme rise of the feudatories and some weaknesses in the administrative system led to the collapse of the Gajapati dynasty. Later the East India Company completely managed to conquer the kingdom in the late 18th century.

Map No. 3.A. Map of State Orissa



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CHAPTER FOUR

Progression and Persistence of Meitei Kingdom in Manipur

Throughout the historical past, there has been a general pattern of waves of immigration from various parts of the world as shown in the previous chapters. The physical trends and the cultural processes of tension and constriction, as well as the movements of people from one part of the world to another boosted and even sometimes altered their means of living, culture and heritage in every manner. On this note, the upsurge and development of the state of Manipur in the north eastern India, is being shown throughout this chapter. Manipur lies in the North-Eastern side of India bordered by Nagaland in the North, Mizoram in the South, Myanmar in the east and Assam in the west. The Manipur valley was mainly ruled by the Meiteis and the rulers were successful in originating and consolidating their realm. The place Manipur has come under the dominance of many individual cultures of various ethnic groups since ancient times. The consolidation and survival procedures of the Meitei kingdoms in the medieval ages are analyzed thoroughly.

Manipur literally means the city or the land of gems.[1] This state was described by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the "Jewel of India''.[2]This state is distributed into the hills and the valleys, located on a branch of the eastern Himalayan ranges. Manipur is one of the entryways from India to South East Asia.[3] Those groups came to Manipur since the very early times and helped in the development of the civilization in this place. The Native state of Manipur is situated between 23 degree 50' and 25 degree 41' N and 93 degree 2' and 95 degree 47' E and covers an area of 8456 square miles.[4] The soil of Manipur is fertile and the rainfall from the monsoon is plenty.[5] Manipur culturally from about 300 B.C. upto the present time, has been in close contact with the rest of the country.[6] It is found that various ethnic groups belonging to southern Mongoloid group, the Tibeto-Burmans, the Indo-Aryans and a sizeable section of Tai (Shans) came to Manipur from pre-historic times down to the present day.[7] It was possible that a migration of different ethnic groups occurred in this area from the very ancient times due to various political reasons. Manipur and its central valley provided the ecological setting for building up a civilization.[8]

The present ethnic groups of Manipur ,viz.,the Meiteis, the Naga tribes, the Kuki Chin tribes and other Indian communities are the descendants of those migrating people.[9] Various kinds of explorations were done to find the evidence of pre-historic sites in Manipur majorly since independence **.**It was O.K. Singh, a young archaeologist of Manipur who first systemically excavated the Khangkhui caves, which are basically the limestone caves.[10] Thus the pre-historical site primarily was confirmed in Manipur. It is proved that many old caves in Manipur area actually provided shelters to the pre-historic humans. Surprisingly, it is noticed that the sites found in the hills, in majority, are of the Old Stone Age periods. But many examples of the New stone age relics are found in the valleys. T.C. Sharma also argued that the Khangkhui cave yielded evidences of upper or late palaeolithic period.[11] Again, O.K. Singh found one pebble chopper(tool) on a hill top of the Maring Naga village of Machi in Chandel district**.**[12]

Throughout Manipur, various neolithic celts were also found which are even now-a-days stored in the State Museums and in the Department of Archaeology. The celts are mostly edge ground pebble and flake tools and even potteries of the same culture.[13] The potteries found in Napachik, a small hillock near the Meitei village of Wangu in southern part of Imphal valley, has affinity with those of neolithic culture of China.[14] But ,it has also been proved that the other features of the neolithic culture of the Chinese were not found there. The trace of a megalithic culture is also found in Manipur. The stone megaliths of Willong village have been described as the stone henge of the Nagas by T.C.Hodson.[15] The stone megaliths of Salangthel which are the relics of a Rongmei Naga village which have been recently discovered are a class in itself**.**[16]

Generally, there is hardly any reference of the region of Manipur found in Ramayana, the oldest Epic of India. However, in one episode of the Kiskindhya kanda of Ramayana by Valmiki, Sugriva gave the direction of the search party of monkeys with reference to the Kirtas, the inhabitants of Manipur.[17] The epic Mahabharata composed around 400 B.C. to 200 C.E. by the great sage Vyasa has given four references to the land of Manipur. The first reference of Manipur was in the Adi Parva on the occasion of Arjuna going from Hiranyavindu to see the eastern region**.**[18] The second mention appears in the Aswavamedha Parva when Arjuna tried to protect the ceremonial horse.The third reference to Manipur in Mahabharata is also in Ashwamedha Parva but in a later part.[19] It happened when Arjuna despatched a message for Yudhisthira that Bhadruvahana would go to Hastinapur to visit the horse ceremony. He also

asked the king Yudhisthira to treat Bhadruvahana with honour and respect. Vabhruvahana arrived in Hastinapura with Chitrangada and Ulupi and they were received with honour and affection.[20] The fourth reference was in the Mahaprasthanic Parva.[21] While describing the visits of Arjuna to Manipur, it was observed that this land referred is situated near Kalinga and Mahindra mountains near the Eastern Ghats. Thus though in terms of location, the state is difficult to address, however the historical significance of the region cannot be denied.

Since the historical periods, many important monarchs had successfully ruled over the land in Manipur. However, according to one notion, the valley was originally occupied by the primitive tribes of Mongoloid stock.[22] Again according to another notion, some prominent scholars and researchers believe that the Meiteis are of the Tibeto-Burman stock.[23] These primitive tribes most possibly have mixed with the Aryan race, when the latter were in a voyage to go to Burma because of political or religious reasons. A brief account of some important rulers can be cited to elaborate the glorious historical developments of Manipur since ancient times. Manipur was originally a very ancient kingdom which had deep commercial relations with other countries like Burma and China. The foremost communities of this land were Khumans, Luwangs, Angoms, Khaba-Nganbas, Chengleis, Moirangs and Meiteis. Several stories or rather myths are found to describe the evolution of these communities. However, the residents of Manipur were majorly born from one of these clans. These communities had ruled in different parts of the region guided by their council of nobles. But slowly, these principalities began to fight among themselves for power and authority. The Meiteis (Ningthoujas) became the most powerful and gained the supremacy of all other principalities and subdued them to rule administrative affairs of all principalities or clans.[24]

A group of people from the Tang-Shan dynasty of China passed through the Somrat hill range and settled down somewhere at the places of the origin of the Iril river in Manipur.[25] The leader of Tang-Shan group is said to have engaged in a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of chief of the Lei-Hou tribe. He then became to be known as Tangja-Leelha Pakhangba (1445-1405 B.C.).[26] His son Kangba ruled the domain for 46 years .After him, his son Koi Koi or Mariya Fambal-Cha (1359-1329 B.C.) acquired the power and from him,the dating of Meiteis Calendar (Meitei Cheiraoba) known as Mari- Fam (FM) was introduced.[27] These issues were solved when Korou Nongdren Pakhangba (--934 B.C.) occupied the throne and initiated a very

nonviolent control with some efficient administration. After his rule, some initial phases of struggle and chaos occurred in the valley which led to the accession of a lot of rulers less significantly. The formation of the Kangla kingdom under Nongda Lairen Pakhangba (33-154 C.E.) was of great significance for the emergence of this kingdom of the Meiteis. Since Manipur was one of the migration and trade routes between South Asia and South East Asia, the existence of small tribes and sub-tribes speaking similar or different languages and dialects is beyond doubt.[28] It was observed that that the Meiteis were actually a tribe or an ethnic group who used to speak in a specific dialect. They executed the political hegemony over other groups. Nongda Lairen Pakhangba formally formed the Ningthouja dynasty. He emerged successful and ascended the throne of Kangla.[29]

As per the royal chronicles, Pakhangba's son Khuyoi Tompok(154-264 C.E.) succeeded him.[30] The queen Laisna abandoned the capital after her husband Pakhangba's death and sought safety in the Nongmaiching highlands. Certain legends characterize Khuyoi Tompok as a murderer for killing his own father, although this is not validated by most historical datas. Khuyoi Tompok was a person of progressive thinking. Thus in his tenure, modernization and technological advancement could be seen. He was credited with a number of improvements and the most notable of which is the invention of the drum, that has been used throughout battlefield, entertainment, dancing, and certain other social and religious activities.[31] Some narratives of that age, also mention that the bell metal was produced as a scientific innovation in metallurgy. During his kingship, weaving, imprinting of decorations, and dyeing were all improved. His era is also credited with the creation of silk growing watercraft with the assistance of the Luwang Chief, as well as mineral research. Khuyoi Tompok was survived by two boys. His second son Taothingmang, on the other hand, was crowned as heir to the throne, whereas his elder son Lairok Lembi aided him in the governance of the realm.

Taothingmang (264-364 C.E.) was well-known for his inventive work, such as draining the wetlands of Manipur Valley and digging the valley's river systems for the benefit of the inhabitants.[32] These all kings eventually started large-scale irrigation projects in their kingdoms and built a few canals to expand the riverbeds that drained rainwater from the swamps. The ruler was reported to have served peacefully for 110 years. Khui Ningomba (364-379 C.E.) succeeded the Kangla Throne after the demise of his father, Taothingmang .He carried on his father's efforts

of dredging the riverbank and improving the river system of the kingdom .He was even claimed to have built a five-room palace at Kangla.

The son of Khui Ningomba known as Pengsiba (379-394 C.E.) ruled only for 15 years.Though his reign was very short, he defeated some of the adjacent kingdoms very successfully. His son Kaokangba (394-411 C.E.) ruled for 17 years, but there was hardly any incident worth mentioning during his reign. After him, arrived the rule of Naokhamba **(**411-428 C.E.) who also ruled for 17 years in the land expanding the kingdom**.** The chronicle records, Naokhamba, as the name rightly indicates, the last of the divine rulers returns to divinity like the morning star fading away and merges into the light of the approaching dawn heralding the coming of the Sun.[33] He is said to have defeated a Chenglei chief named Thangji Khongchrooba and forcibly married his wife of the Luwang clan.[34] This incident made the relation of the two principalities more strong. Naokhamba made initiatives to make bunds to regulate floods in his domain. But he also adored all the Meitei gods. His death caused much disputes in the land for the power and throne of Kangla. Naophangba's half brother Naophang Ahanba claimed that as he was the elder Prince he should be coronated as the king.[35] But the common people of the land did not responded to his proposal. Naophangba (428-518 C.E.) also made a 7 storied structure at Kangla.

After the demise of Naophangba, his son Sameirang **(**518-568 C.E.) ascended the throne. An epoch of dominance of political authority occurred at the valley by the Ningthouja dynasty by suppressing other Clan principalities. He involved his half brother Thamanglang in administration of the country whose role was so important that in Khoibu inscription, the names of king Sameirang and Thamanglang are recorded as if they were of equal status.[36] Thus various rulers from the early period ruled in different places of Manipur. A chronology of various rulers of Manipur since the ancient times is provided in the appendix (**See Appendix)**. However, the reign of king Loiyamba marked the end of ancient period in the history of Manipur and the beginning of medieval period.[37]

During the medieval period, there came a ruler named Loitongba (1112-1150 C.E..) whose several military campaigns were sent by him towards the eastwards region. After him, arrived his son Atom Yoiremba (1150- 1163 C.E.).But he very soon left the throne as there arose a conflict between him and his brother Hemton Iwanthaba, (1163-1195 C.E.).During his reign, he got

involved in a strong conflict with the Khumans. Subsequently, came Thawanthaba(1195-1231 C.E.) whose rule was considered as one of the major landmarks while discussing the historical development of the Ningthouja dynasty. He was able to penetrate the hill areas inhabited by the various tribal groups surrounding the valley of Manipur.[38] The next ruler was Chingthanglanthaba (1231-1243 C.E) who defeated the Kabaw, a Shan group from the Chindwin river basin at a hill village known as Mapithen in Eastern hills.[39]After him, came Puranthaba (1247-1263 C.E.), who also attacked the settlements along the Thoubal river.

The regions of the Ningthouja dynasty was further directed towards the eastern side during the reign of the king Khumomba (1263-1278 C.E.). After him, arrived his son Moiramba (1278-1302 C.E), and later his grandson Thangbi-Lanthaba (1302- 1324 C.E.) on the throne. Thangbi-Lanthaba was succeeded by Kongyamba, who defeated the tribals of Kongyang village in the western hills.[40] During his reign, several invasions occurred from the westward part in the kingdom. They were probably the droven out Bengali refugees by the Muslims.[41] The next important king was Punshiba (1404-1432 C.E.), whose reign showed the extension of the kingdom into interior tribal areas of the surrounding hills. After his reign, the Ningthouja dynasty covered most part of Manipur valley, north- western, north and north-eastern hills.[42] During the rule of his son Ningthou Khomba (1432-1467 C.E.), a special political tactic was adopted by him. He instigated the Shan principality and the Moirang principality against each other. Thus the Meitei state was totally formed despite the autonomy of Moirang.[43]

4.1. Political Rise of the Meiteis in Manipur

The political and social prosperity of the Meiteis was concentrated around the ruling family after the formation of the Ningthouja dynasty.The Meitei society is a kinship and lineage based society.[44]The Chronicles of the Ningthouja dynasty, certain literary works and other clan geneologies were also used to reconstitute the historical development of Manipur. But the history of other ethnic groups were also no less important to understand the development of the valley. Thus the progression of the cultural and financial side of the Meiteis and the system of governance should not be interpreted as only a rudimentary portrayal of their political history. The chiefs of the different clans and local tribes were also ruling over this country along with the Ningthouja clan.[45] It is focused to the transition of the kingdom from a basic tribal state to a feudal state in the 15th century A.D.[46] However concentrating on the objectives of the present

work, the process of formation and consolidation of the kingdom of Manipur under the Meiteis is analyzed.

4.1.i Conquest and Territorial Expansion by the Meitei Rulers

The Meitei Rulers by conducting different socio-political and cultural activities attempted to consolidate their power in the valley from the 15th century. The endeavors of those important Meitei rulers who helped in the formation of the Ningthouja dynasty are mentioned below.

4.1.i. a. Reign of Kyamba (1467 A.D.-1508 C.E.)

Thangwai Ningthouba also known as Kyamba, assumed power in the valley in 1467 C.E. The Meiteis referred to the Shans of upper Burma as Pongs, while the Shans of the Chindwin basin were referred to as Kabaws. Nevertheless, in during the 3rd year of Thangwai Ningthouba's time, the combined power of Manipur and Pong penetrated the Shan principalities in the Chindwin basin. Later King Ningthouba was officially renamed Kyamba to commemorate his success over Kyang. The Pong king provided a mouth organ player to Kyamba in exchange of a drummer named Sekta.[47] To avoid conflicts, the two rulers of Manipur and Pong signed a peace accord that defined the border among Manipur and Pong. Thus the first pact was signed between Manipur and a foreign State. This was also the first international acknowledgment of the Meitei kingdom by the external power through the treaty. Manipur then became a complete separate nation with international and domestic sovereignty. Kyamba led the army voyage into the highlands and looted the Liangmei village of Makhan, positioned in the Koubru range. He also vanquished the leader of Makhan, named Loithang. He invaded the township of Chingsong in the north, which had previously been a vassal of the Meitei ruler.

In 1504 C.E, the Mayangs attacked the realm of Kyamba, and Kongyamba backed the Mayang revolt. Initially, the Mayangs slaughtered several Meiteis and the Mayangs were among the first Bengali settlers to establish a principality in Lammangtong (later on known as Bishnupur).[48]All the conquerors came with well-armed, but Kyamba dispatched his son, Prince Nongthomba in the war against Mayangs. On the battlefield, he admonished the Angom noble for refusing to prevent the aggressors. Kyamba and later the Angoms countered those opponents,

however, with new confidence and became successful. Kyamba is also accredited to annex the Shan kingdom of Kyang (now in Myanmar).

Restructuring the Pana Scheme: Being an immense ruler and also an excellent administrator, he set up two revenue or organizational districts or circles known as Ahallup and Naharup panas in 1497 by appointing two people as supervisors or lakpas of the Panas.[49] From 1485 C.E., Kyamba made a notable effort to Manipur's cultural legacy by initiating the preservation of the royal chronicle known as the Cheitharol Kumbaba (the year counting method).He also created the Cheithaba scheme, which constitute the basis for the Meitei calendar. All through his phase in power, the Brahmins were hired to take care of the Hindu places of worship. The Lairikyengbams were non-Brahmin Hindu migrants who collaborated as royal scribes.[50] Manipuri women were wedded by Brahmins and the Brahmins created a single social organization beyond the Meitei society. But they later became religious and intellectually rigorous figureheads who also served as the Hindu priests.

The quarter following Kyamba's demise was characterized by remote insecurity and stagnant growth in Manipur. This was largely attributed due to the insufficient leaders, who did succeed Kyamba during first quarter of the 16th century.However a queen of Kyamba gave birth to Nongthonba and Koiremba and his another queen gave birth to Lam Kyamba.[51] During 1508 to 1562 C.E., there were six kings with various timeframe of ruler ship. Those rulers were Kyamba's second son Koiremba (1508-12),followed by Lam Kyamba (1512-42), and succeeded by Kabomba (1524-42).[52] Tangjanba, who ruled from 1542 to 1545 C.E., managed to succeed Kabomba. After him, came Chalamba (1545-62), the son of Kyamba's brother Sanongba. Chalaamba established a new line of monarchs who were a branch of the Kyamba's connection. In 1536 C.E., a gateway to upper Assam was formed by them. All through his time in charge, there was interaction in both Manipur and the Ahom dominions of Assam, widely recognized to the Meitei as Tekhao (derived from Dikhu river).[53]

4.1.i.b. Reign of Mungyamba (**1562-1597 C.E.):** With Mungyamba's access to power**,** a new era of vibrancy and intensification occurred in Manipur. Mungyamba was a fantastic warrior who led a series of armed forces and explorations throughout his rule. Mungyamba, who was also known as Thangwai Ningthem Kyamba, raided Mungkhong Mungyang in the eastern fringe of the Kabaw valley and defeated the Shan ruler of Mungyang**.**[54] The Khamran was established

as the border between Manipur and Shan kingdoms in 1578 C.E .The Kabaw Shan were subdued in 1572 C.E and Mungyamba raided Samsok once more in 1582 C.E . He also captured Kyang and Shan Yathek in Kabaw valley in 1597 C.E .In the year 1563 C.E, he invaded the twin cities Mungkhong and Mungyang and conquered both of them.[55] Mungyamba dispatched many combat troops to the different tribal settlements in the western koubru highlands. In the hills of Koubru, he invaded the Lamhang village. Thus he destroyed their village and set their homes on fire. Mungyamba destroyed Tosen village of one hundred dwellings and kidnapped its ruler Nashilo and also routed the men of the Moyon tribe. In 1592 C.E , he plundered Ningen and Anal and in 1595 C.E., he defeated Anal Khullen with major setbacks. Mungyamba dispatched an army to Changbi Lakonphai, a settlement in the southern hills.[56] He ravaged the tribes along the Tuivai river, which now adjoins the Chin Hills and Mizoram. The Meitei monarchy then acquired total overlordship over Manipur valley including the Tangkhul hills and Kabaw valley. Among the organizational changes,the monarch formed Ametpa Loishang, which was a sort of medical department. The department was led by the queen.[57]

Granary and Road Construction: Mungyamba set up multiple granaries to stockpile the agricultural goods. These granaries were called as Keis, and they were developed in a variety of locations, including Mongsangkei and Chajing. [58] During famines or dry periods, the state would donate food grains to the poor. Those network of roads by the individuals were made from diverse governmental groups. The Panas were under the Lallup system.[59] Manipur was an autonomous and strong state throughout the second half of the sixteenth century till Mungyamba's demise in 1597 C.E. His rule was called a prosperous one of thirty-five-year tenure.

4.1.i.c. Reign of Khagemba (1597–1652 C.E.)

Khagemba was the most distinguished monarch of Manipur. He was one of the greatest kings of Manipur.[60] His father, Mungyamba, had left him with a secure and formidable state, which he enlarged with great vigor and power. His father took significant effort to educate his son in army fighting, international diplomacy, religious and philosophical accomplishments and negotiating policies. He was taught in artillery, sword and field warfares and the use of the cavalry equipments.

Victory by Military Forces: Throughout his 55 years of leadership, Khagemba aimed to solidify his dominance in Kabaw valley, halt the Muslim incursion from the west, and secure his control over the entire highlands territory. He also tightened the ongoing political authority well over tribal groups with regular combat activities and assaults on rebellious clans and communities in the empire's rural areas. Emperor Ningthouhanba also called as Khagemba launched a vast military expedition in the trans Chindwin basin in 1602.According to T.C. Hodson, the Chinese invasion or triumph occurred in 1630 .[61] Perhaps it was an attempt of the Chinese to enter the trans Chindwin basin to conquer the valley. But Khagemba who'd been fighting in Kabaw valley, discovered and crushed them. His expeditions in the Kabaw valley were aimed at the subordinate powers. He attacked Samsok (Thangdut) in 1607 and seized 60 prisoners. The last expedition by him on Samsok took place in 1649 C.E . Sapradas Narayan,the king of the Kacharis ordered his general Takharek and his brother Bhimbal with a Kachari troop to Lamsang in west Imphal in 1604 C.E .As per the Puya, several courageous Meitei lords launched an unprecedented counter-attack, and the attackers were imprisoned. In 1606 C.E,a joint Kachari and Muslim onslaught on Manipur occurred.

Thus, for an attempt to solidify his control across the hill inhabitants, Khagemba conducted continuous wars of conquest over the tribal groups across all areas of the highlands. From 1598 C.E, he penetrated into the Koireng-Kabui region, to overthrow the Marams. Finally he made it possible, and defeated the Montheis in 1646 C.E .He led a great series of armed operations against the tribes. He attacked the Maring village of Meiyengching in the eastern foothills, totally ruining it in 1605 C.E. Nongphou and Tompi were both seized in 1636 C.E. The king invaded the Kabui settlement of Nungtek in 1640. The Marams were beaten in 1644 and their chief, Charoi Kapeng, was taken captive.[62] Monthei was also subjugated in 1646 C.E. In 1648, Khagemba defeated the Burmese without much difficulty.[63] It is to be noted that no previous Manipur ruler had undertaken such a large armed war as effective as Khagemba. His governmental influence thus was extended even to the hill tribes.

Polity and Social Strategies: Khagemba as a Country Maker possessed both organizational and kingdom building skills. He was the driving force for all of the kingdom's societal advancements, technological improvements, legal and social innovations, and religious and cultural growth. He enjoyed theology, entertainment as well as literature and was a fantastic country creator to whom

the Meitei people indebted a great deal. Economic professions were mainly assigned to the Muslims.[64] They wedded the native women, but Manipur's liberal social policy permitted the Muslims to practice their beliefs and maintain their unique style of living. An organization was established under the supervision of a Kazi to manage the Muslim personal law for such immigrants. These Muslims, by effect, boosted the financial condition of the country.

Khagemba was a pioneer in governance who instituted every detailed social decorum and procedures for the fulfillment of the responsibilities by various court employees. On ceremonial events or social and cultural gatherings, Khagemba instituted the habit of nobles and government members for riding in procession on the palanquin which was acknowledged as the nobleman's rank and grandeur. Khagemba may have believed that exhibiting royal splendor would inspire the nobles to be diligent and devoted to him. He selected the persons involved in palanquin riding and palanquin supervisors to serve as police. The landowners were ordered to contribute to the state a rental levy of paddy. The custom of buying in small amounts of money was developed.

Establishment of departments-He established various departments known as the Loisangs. He set the following departments: Shumu Shang (elephant stable), Sagol Sang (aristocratic stable), Lanmi Yareksang (fraction defensive end of the army), Dolai Paba Loisang (the department of Palanquin riders or police), Mayang Hishba Loisang (department of boat manufacturers), Shangom Sang (royal dairy), Pangan Shanglen (department of Muslim).[65] He trusted the course of justice to the local chiefs. Inside the royal workshop, he devised the production of weapons. The king and the queen visited the different royal granaries and distributed paddy to the people free of cost.[66] Khagemba was willing to give irrigation to the population. Waterways were excavated, and the canals such as Kyang Kong (Canal of Kyang), Takhen Khong (Canal of Tripura), and others were erected. [67] Bunds were built to regulate floodwaters caused by streams. In 1634, with the enhancement of agricultural productivity, the income system was standardized and the producers payed revenue to the king in terms of paddy. Khagemba brought bell metal currency into the kingdom.[68].

4.1.i.d. Reign of Khunjaoba (1652–1666 C.E.): It must have been gone to Khunjaoba to fortify and develop the capital's status as a trade hub. Khunjaoba dispatched numerous missions to tribal settlements in the hills. Some military missions had been dispatched to Machou, Yangoi,

Mayangkhang, and Karou in 1652, and against the Tangkhuls of Itok in 1653.[69] Khunjaoba led small war efforts in Kabaw valley and various hill locations throughout the realm. He attacked Samjok twice and also sent an expedition to Mangsha, a small principality in the Kabaw valley.[70]

4.1.i.e. Reign of Paikhomba (1666-1697 C.E.): When Khunjaoba died without any children in 1666 A.D., he was succeeded by Paikhomba, the son of his brother. Paikhomba's kingship was quite calm and peaceful. An expedition of Manipur was undertaken by their enemies guarded in the east by Avas (Burmese), in the south-west by Tripuris, and in the north-west by Cacharis.[71] In 1692, he attacked Samsok and took 15 prisoners as well as their armor, weapons, and animals. An operation was dispatched to Samsok by him to collect paddy. The cultivated paddy was preserved at the royal granary in Mangsha. During his time, the state's operations appeared to have been significantly extended with more administrative charges delegated to the four administrative divisions (Panas) of Ahallup, Naharup, Laipham, and Khabam.[72] During his time, there occurred the trading relationships between Manipur and the other adjacent monarchies including Tripura, Assam, and Burma. In this trading mode, the elephants and horses were the most commonly traded animal. He always maintained a liberal humanitarian agenda. Justice was dispensed severely and the death, robbery, and crimes of state rules were all reported to him.

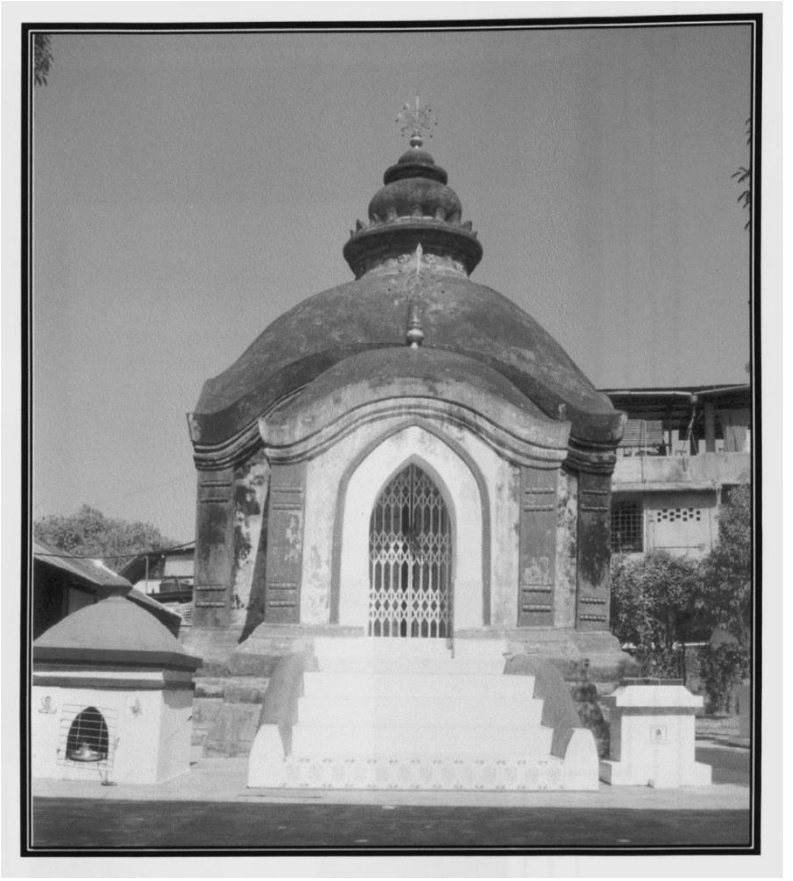
4.1.i.f. Reign of Charairongba(1697-1709 C.E.)

Charairrongba was the first Manipuri king who was not only initiated into Hinduism but also given a Sanskrit name called Pitambar Singh.[73] The 13 year old tenure of Charairongba was a changeover period in Manipuri history and culture. It was a change from the original socio-economic position of the Meiteis to a Hinduised Meitei civilization. Since this Meitei kings did not implement direct rule on the tribal communities, persistent monitoring was necessitated. Charairongba was a knowledgeable ruler whose approach to the tribes and other people was a mixture of militarism as well as goodwill. During the storm and drought, the monarch donated paddy stockpiled in the imperial granaries known as the Keis to needy peasants. The king personally walked out in front of the fields to inspect harvesting of the farmers. He imposed harsh sanctions for offences and even lead death sentences for robbers. Charairongba led the marriage of his daughter Chakpa Makhao Ngambi to the Burmese monarch. Several Burmese experts were also recruited by him who collaborated on the building of many temples devoted to Meiteis and Hindu divinities.

4.1.i. g. Reign of Garibaniwaza (1709-1748 C.E.)

Some Muslim refugees granted him the Persian name Garibaniwaza, which means "kind to the poor".[74] This name was chosen for use on his coinages. Nevertheless, on a few of his coinage released for following his adherence to Hinduism, he was referred to as Mekleswar and was granted the Hindu name Gopal Singh" (a protector or friend of the cow).To attain wide appreciation from the common masses, Garibaniwaza built a Krishna temple at the East of Imphal in the Manipur valley in 1722 C.E.

Plate 1: Shri Krishna Temple at Manipur



Source: Sougrakpam Dharmen Singh: Hindu Temple Architecture in Manipur, (Manipur University, unpublished thesis, 2004), p. 118.

Garibaniwaza's wartime successes were divided into three aspects: the first was a military excursion to the tribal communities for domestic unification. The second one was warfare with Burma, and the third was battle with Tripura.[75] His influence over tribal people and political backing from them provided a strong foundation for his administration. However, his religious approach eventually marginalized the indigenous inhabitants. His application of the Lallup system was a massive strain on the hill folks of the valley.

The hill people got unified under the king and the well-developed professional army was the most crucial component in the administration of Manipur. Manipur might not have a formal army, yet it was a combative nation. It was a prepared force, contributing their own weaponry and ammunitions when needed against the external forces. With a decent economic footing and a stable society, the Lallup militia was extremely structured. Manipur's infantry warriors were noted for their individual fearlessness.

Burmese Wars and Kabaw Valley Campaigns: Garibaniwaza's frequent assaults of Burma displayed the mountain region's military competence. It also effectively ended the Toongoo dynasty. Garibaniwaza's Burma wars spanned over 3 decades.During 1723, Burma invaded Manipur in collaboration with Tripura. To defend against the Burmese invaders, Garibaniwaza dispatched a huge force led by three commanders: Kopeng Keirunghanba, Gaibhiram Huidromba, and Brahmin Chakravartin Sidhanta. Garibaniwaza had made a solid governing system in Manipur and the Kabaw valleys which was centered on a functional economy and ample natural reserves. In 1725,he attacked and defeated a Burmese force at the mouth of the Maglang river.[76]

Garibaniwaza, an outstanding administrator, brought the Hindu structure of ministers called the Mantris in his court . The position of the ministry, was formed by the monarch in supplementary to the old Meitei judicial officers designated as Ningthou Pongbas. Throughout the lengthy career of Garibaniwaza, the king minted several coins. Sel, a bell metal coin, was in existence and money economy was overtaking the barter system.[77]A vast number of coins have been recovered in various locations around Manipur. Both king and queen Gomti's names were imprinted on the coinages. The money was primarily gathered in the sort of paddy from productive agricultural fields, activities from dependents, and payments from the tribesmen. Maharaja Bhagyachandra (1749 C.E -1798 C.E.), distributed various coins during his reign.

Coins bearing the identity Jai Singh, alternative nickname for this ruler, were recovered in several locations throughout Manipur. During Bhagyachandra's reign, the Chaitanya sect of Vaishnavism was established and the religion got a new vigour in the land of Manipur.Later in the 19th century, amongst the Manipur princes, Gambhir Singh (1821 & 1825-1834 C.E) fully supported the British rule. When the Burmese threat erupted, the most dangerous period in the history of Manipur arrived. The ruler Marjit Singh (1819-1838 C.E) did not wish to join the crowning of Bagyidaw, the new Burmese king .Gambhir Singh eventually pushed the Burmese back up to the western bank of the Ningthee riverbed in 1826 C.E.

Observations

Thus throughout the whole chapter, it is elaborated widely how Manipur has evolved historically through the formation of the Meitei kingdom. In this chapter, the circumstances of Manipur from the pre historic epochs and the reference of the valley in the historical times is revealed. Among the various communities of Manipur, the Meitei community under the Ningthouja dynasty gained supremacy. It is found throughout the chapter how the rulers of this dynasty have made territorial conquests and extended their supremacy over the regions. The political rise of this kingdom extending the dominions has been elaborated in those sections. The process by which they have run their administration and uphold their polity along with the cultural legacy is also made aware of. Their benevolent activities like the road construction and development of agriculture proved efficient in connecting with the masses. As a necessary consequence, a sturdy and healthy connection established between the monarch and his subjects, assisting in the tangible formation of the kingdoms. Nevertheless, inherent issues in administering, institutional vulnerabilities, and extreme adoration to the Vaishnava religious practice did lead to the demise of the kingdom. Subsequently, it is shown in the chapter how in the 19th century, the British made treaties with Manipur with an aim to restrict it. The British vanquished the Burmese in Manipur and signed the Treaty of Yandaboo in February 1826 C.E. and from this time Gambhir Singh was made the king of Manipur with the support of the British administration.

Map No.4.A. Map of Manipur

Source: https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fm.media-amazon.com%2Fimages%2FI%2F51fTJUOd-%2BL._AC_UF1000%2C1000_QL80_.jpg&tbnid=_gPeDHPMi3zZvM&vet=1&imgrefurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.amazon.in%2FManipur-District-Map-36-Width%2Fdp%2FB0B76RFRNL&docid=fQ71Xgc-pm8oAM&w=823&h=1000&itg=1&hl=en-IN&source=sh%2Fx%2Fim%2Fm1%2F4&kgs=edaa0dab572cfd8f&shem=abme%2Ctrie, Access Date, 12th March, 2023.

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28. Gangmumei Kabui: *op.cit*, p.70

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CHAPTER FIVE

Economic Background of the Realms

The three kingdoms, as shown in the previous chapters, expanded largely due to different military operations, effective administrative policies and consolidated their realms with the support of the newly accepted Vaishnava religious doctrine. But to effectively attain these accomplishments, the creation of a strong economic background was very much essential. This chapter has thus shown how the economic viability of these kingdoms developed due to various factors in the medieval era. Some of them were the increase in the engagement for agricultural source of income, huge amount of offerings to the God in the newly erected temples etc. Thus, the dynasties became able to legitimize their kingdom and to distribute the surplus among the masses. The treasury of these small realms got increased and it helped in the overall development of the domains. The monetarist background and the method of financial stability of those realms in every domain of existence for the organization of those states are revealed throughout the chapter.

5.1. Immovability Behind the Growth of the Malla Rule

When the rule of the Mughals got recognized in all over the Gangetic delta of West Bengal, many semi-independent principalities still sustained to continue their rule in the nearby areas. The Mallabhum which started its reign from the 7th century A.D., can be recorded as one of the important principalities. Initially, it was a small chiefdom under Adi Malla, the first Malla ruler. However, surprisingly, the status of the Malla kings shortly elevated from the 16th century onwards. With the expansion of their territory, the Malla kings began to erect a large number of temples both in Bishnupur and in other parts of the empire. The massive number of the temples of Mallabhum were not only significant as mere places of adoration, rather these temples created a huge socio-cultural influence on the king and the people. Behind the construction of a large number of temples, pleasure gardens, canals in Mallabhum there were some large amount of economical support which they got from the Mughals. Furthermore, the collections from the land grants and income from the people, by their offerings to the God, also supported the economy of the Bishnupur kings.

5.1.i. Patronage from the Mughals

The chief source originated for the economy, is the enormous financial endowment given to the Malla king Bir Hambir by the then Mughal Emperor Akbar. During the 16th century when the Afghans declared war against the Mughals for the right of Orissa, a very difficult period arose for the Malla ruler Bir Hambir. He became confused as to which group he should support. Finally very purposefully, Bir Hambir supported the Mughals. He even rescued the son of Man Singha named Jagat Singha. Therefore in return, he was gifted with 12 zamindaris and 29 forts.[1] Among these 12 zamindaris Tamluk, Mahisadal, Bamanbhum, Raipur and Manbhum (today's Purulia and Dhanbad district), these 5 zamindaris were under the control of the zamindars which were looked after by Bir Hambir. Other 7 zamindaris were also directly controlled by the king, who became the lord of the whole Mandaran and Jaleswar government.[2] Consequently, due to the extension of their kingdom, the treasury of the Malla kings began to increase. The Malla kings initiated to possses a lot of surplus. To make their kingdom resilient, they originated to adopt the policy of redistributing the concentrated surplus and thus became able to build many temples.

5.1.ii. Debottar Grants: Shifting of Economic Duty from the Kings to the Brahmins:

The Malla kings used to arrange for enormous extent of debottar and brahmottar grants for the Brahmin community**.** These brahmottar grants were seemingly given for the maintenance of the Brahmins. Thus, the rulers not only made huge number of temples in the 17th and 18th century but also made all probable preparations for its maintenance. The Brahmins, therefore, could not sit indolent by taking these type of awards. The Brahmins of Mallabhum found this duty of spreading the religion as a profitable proposition.[3] They also had to execute many kinds of responsibilities. Apparently, this religion cut across various ethnic groups and social levels in Mallabhum and created a link between *Raja* and his people.[4] Generally the beneficiaries of the brahmottar grants performed certain kinds of services for the community, for which they did not obtain any remuneration from the villagers, and thus they required grants for maintenance.[5] Hence, the Malla kings tactically used the Brahmins in the temple works. The Brahmins functioned as priests even in the temples of the village. Not only that, even in the numerous festivals of the kingdom like Gajan puja, Indra Puja, the Brahmins had to be present, and they had to finish their commitments.

The Brahmins were very influential section of the society and were also the beneficiaries to read the Brahmanical texts and to chant the mantras. Furthermore, the *sebayats,* who chiefly looked after the deities were occasionally given extra load of managing the temples if their deities received the debottar grants. Thus with the resources that the royal temples commanded, the *sebayats* naturally came to exert substantial influence within these societies[6]. Therefore, the *sebayats* might even have appeared and were given the liability to organize the spiritual existence of the villages. Through the grants of the land, the king settled for the alternative focuses of power and at the same time provided the management duty and economic duty for the preservation of the temples to the Brahmins. The Brahmins also had to work as *gurus* in the tols, chatushpathis, pathsalas etc.

Nevertheless, the daily expenditures of the temple like regular worship, offerings[7] and maintenance were thus somehow fulfilled by the grants of the land. Afterwards the formation of the Vaishnava religion to Bishnupur, all the Malla kings became very tolerant and generous towards their subjects. Thus from the 17th century, there was a rapid upsurge in the grants of the debottar land. In the rent free villages, for the maintenance of the temples, 19, 669 Bigha 7 Chatak Debottar land were available.[8]

5.1.iii. Income from the Tributes

The second significant source of the temples maintenance was the enormous quantity of tributes. It was an ancient system[9]. Lord Madanmohan, Murulimohan, RadhaShyam etc. were offered gold, silver and many other valuable belongings. Madanmohan was the most well-known deity of Bishnupur. He was in one way the deity of the town[10]. From the source of the company, it is recognized that god Madanmohan "constituted an important source of income not only to the raj family but also to the country"[11]The offerings to the God were a very important feature not only for the economic background of the temples and conserving all the temples, but it proved to be a convenient motive for the consolidation of the kingdom. During the time of the collapse of the realm, the conflict between the Malla rulers Chaitnaya Singha and Damodar Singha regarding the power of the throne arose for the control over of the God Madanmohan. However, Chaitnaya Singha carried the idol of Madanmohan to Calcutta. But he had to keep the idol of Madanmohan to Gokul Mitra, the merchant of Bagbazar in lieu of money.

5.1.iv. Expenses of the Temple

Alongside the rulers, the large number of temples of Mallabhum were mostly preserved by the people possessing the debottar grants. Throughout the Ras festival, all the Radha Krishna idols were carried to Bishnupur.[12] A huge quantity of money was paid out from the treasury for the Ras festival. Even the monarchs of Bishnupur used to take part in this celebration. Apart from these, on the eve of festivals like Janmastami, Radhastami, Rath festival, a large percentage of money were spent both by the king and the local powerful zamindar. During the Malla rule, the expenditure of the treasury was noticed from Sinha Chowdhury's personal papers.The amount of money spent in the temples for the expenditures of numerous commodities are given below.[13]

For the daily spent of Radha Gobinda, the expenses were –

Sl. No.	Name of the commodities	Amount
1	UsmaChal	5 Pai
2	Laban	1 Poa
3	Dal	10 Chokat
4	Posto	1 Chotak
5	Jira	10 tola
6	Lanka	1 Chotak
7	Haridra	1 Chotak
8	Torkari	10 ser
9	Dudh	1/2 Ser
10	Gur	1 poa
11	Ghee	1 Chotak
12	Tel (Oil)	1 Chotak
13	Pan –supari	1 Ana

Velaidihar's Radhagovindajiu's Janmastami and Radhastami's cost at every festival:

Sl. No.	Name of the commodities	Amount
1	Moida	20 Ser
2	Ghee	5 Ser
3	Gur	5 Ser

4	Dal	5 Ser
5	KanchaTarkari	20 Ser
6	Masala	8 Ana
7	Salu Cloth	1 Hath
8	Charhath Dhoti	1

Cost of RasYatra Festival

Sl.No.	Name of the commodities	Expenses of the commodities
1	Tel	1 pail
2	Sandesh	2 ser
3	Full Chori	25
4	HarinamSankirtan	0

Source**:** Prabhat Kumar Saha: Bishnupurer Modhojuger Mandir: Kichu Kotha in Jaladhar Haldar (ed): *PratnaParikrama: Mallabhum, Vol.4*, p.119,120.

5.1.v. Administration of the Temples

The Malla rulers had to look after all the temples which were located in all over Bishnupur. Many *sebayats* were also prearranged for this work. But various members of Raj family were also hired in the far situated temples of Mallabhum. For e.g. in Jamkur Indus areas, the relatives of the *Raj* family used to take care of the temples as being the *sebayats*. As the Brahmins had to construct the temples, they had to execute the requirement of various works in the construction of the temples, *sebayats* and priests by themselves. For e.g. the Jaipur resident Banerjee family near Bishnupur built the temples of Basudev and Gopeswar Shiva temple. Thus they became both the Sebayat as well as the Purohit of the temples.[14] In various cases, the significant persons of the villages were given the running management of the temples. Furthermore, they used to administer the temples, like the village of Ambika may be mentioned. For the worship of Lakshmi Narayan temple in this village, the *sebayats* used to collect money from the villagers[15]. Even some of the Non-Brahmins like the Sodgops, the merchants etc, also built many temples. Therefore apart from the kings and the zamindars, various other classes of individuals also used to patronize the construction of the temples. But they mostly recognized themselves as the possessor of the small land.

According to Hites Ranjan Sanyal:

> "The rise of Nabasshak etc. castes to social importance and leadership involved a much stiffer ascent and a more elaborate process which included the strenuous effort to project a refind image of the castes behind the society. This is exactly why temple building which is an important means of acquiring social eminence in the traditional society,had, in the case of the aspirants from the Nabashak etc, castes a much wider social significance than their upper castes counterparts."[16]

Dr. Dulal Chowdhury opined that the Malla kings built a large number of temples to get rid from their numerous kinds of sin.[17] Actually at that period, violating the customary religious rites was considered as an offence of religion. Some reasons can be cited out for the construction of so many temples in Mallabhum.

i) In this age, building of temples was considered to be a pure and religious act.

ii) Occasionally, the desire of a son or inheritance of property by the influential classes made the erection of the temples unavoidable.

iii) To display the massive amount of treasury to the other Bhum states, it might have been seemed legitimate to built the temples like Ekratna, Pancharatna, Navaratna etc. in Mallabhum.

The masons did not work during the rainy seasons. Thus, the necessary mechanism of repair was only done during the rainy seasons. They did not even make construction at random process. Therefore, the efficient techniques were used by the Malla masons for the construction of these beautiful temples. The huge prosperous trade during the reign of the Malla kings also ascertained efficiency for developing a solid financial background of the Malla kings. The Rarh region had a flourishing trade, even before 200 years ago from the Malla age. The trade was even spreaded to Patna and gold, silver, horses, salt were among the imported things. The exported items were honey, sweets etc. Bishnupur was renowned for its silk and it received wide appreciation for its silk products. Furthermore, the economy was also generated upon the surplus generating agriculture. Rice was the staple food of the Malla kings. Apart from these *chira,* oil, were surplus producing foods and the rearing of cows was a gainful occupation. Fishing and birds selling was an extremely lucrative business. Thus, the Malla Kings had enough scope of surplus distribution. Thus the kings almost effortlessly got engaged in the construction of temples.

5.2. Economic Circumstantial Behind the Flourishment of the Gajapatis

The Gajapati dynasty marked new developments in Orissan economy, society and culture.[18]They also constructed large temples with a solid polity as well as economy. They were one of the mighty Hindu contemporaries of the Delhi sultanate.[19] In this section, the study of the economical situation of Orissa from the primitive to the medieval ages will be shown. It will also be demonstrated how despite the upsurge and decline of the royal families, the financial structure succeeded to stay abundant in the region. Despites many disparities, it was not until the Turko-Afghan invasion of Orissa in 1568 A.D., that the economic factors of the province started to deteriorate. Kakharua Deva became the last ruler of this dynasty. [20] Nevertheless, coming to the financial system of Orissa, it was noticed that the economy was mainly centred on the irrigation-fed agricultural production. Along with this, the trade and commerce as well as the income from various types of offerings to the God also helped in the evolution of separate and unique identity in Orissa.

5.2.i. Agricultural Economy

The land revenue was the main source of income of the state. [21] There was no dearth of fertile soil in Orissa. Along with this, the hot climate helped in prosperous and varied agriculture in the realm. In both the inscriptions and literature of the period, references of a large number of crops in Orissa were found.[22] Hiuen Tsang also mentioned the soil of Odra as very rich and fertile.[23] In Orissa, rice was the main staple food, which used to grow plenty in this region. Kalidasa reported that Magadha and lowlying plains of Vanga and southern plateau produced sufficient paddy.[24] Among the other fibrous things, cotton grew abundantly in Aparanta, Madhura, Kalinga, Kasi, Vanga, Vatsa and Mahisa. Fruits and palm, betelnut, coconut were also available in Orissa. Thus there was no such shortage of fruits in all over the kingdom. Hiuen Tsang once said that Odra was ‘‘yielding fruits larger than those of the other lands’’.[25] Plenty of betelnut plants were also grown in coastal Orissa. Thus, probably Kalidasa in Raghuvamsa wrote that Raghu drank the coconut juice in betel leaves after their victory over Kalinga.[26]

5.2.ii. Trade and Industrial Growth

The surplus in the form of agrarian and industrial products led to the growth of trade and commerce in medieval Orissa. [27] In Orissa, a growth in inter-state and intra-state trade occurred in medieval times. The entire Orissa from the Ganges to the Godavari was united under the rule of both the Gangas and the Gajapatis.[28] Trade contacts were even developed between Orissa and

Burma and the state routes of Orissa were extended at the time of the Gajapati rulers. Thus, various Brahmins from all over the world as well as the great Vaishnava Saint,Sri Chaitanya could come to Puri from Navadweep by following that existant route. [29] The Muslim inroads from Bengal, Bihar (Jaunpur) and even from Delhi led to the opening of some new inter-state routes.[30]

The rulers mainly used the seas for trade as it gave more benefit in terms of land route. Various port towns of Orissa were Kataka Varanasi (Cuttack), Jajpur, Suvarnapatana (Sonepur), Vinitapura (Binika), Kalingapatna.[31] These towns were mainly located along the riverbanks. Along with these,various type of industries also grew in the Gajapati period. From the very early times, environment for the growth of different industries in Orissa was prevalent.

5.2.iii. Income from Offerings

Numerous Hindu pilgrims arrived in the temple throughout all the seasons and offered certain money through the priests of the temple. But they were taken by the *pandas* into the temple areas to visit the idols. These holy visits, started from the initiation of the temple by the Ganga dynasty and gained momentum during the Gajapati periods in the medieval era. Mostly, the priests appropriate the whole amount to their private purposes and for the maintenance of their families.[32] In the 19th century, the registry records of arrival of pilgrims kept by the priests is exhibited below on a chart. [33]

Year	Number of Pilgrims
1839-40	53,345
1840-41	51,571
1841-42	112,567
1842-43	149,438

Source: Brij Kishore Ghose: *The History of Pooree,* p.106.

The amount annually received by the temple superintendent for the support of *Juggunnath* and to keep his festivals was 46,291-3 rupees, which is distributed as follows[34]

	Rs.	AS	P.
In cash, from the Public Treasury	23,321	0	0
On account of Suthaees Huzaree Mahal	17,420	2	4
Ditto of Sale of Nirmal,about	4043	7	5
Ditto of commission,or Dhiya Pindika,			

&c.,about	1006	9	3
Ditto of sale of wood, &c.,of ruths,about . .	400	0	0
Ditto of sale of broad cloth	100	0	0
Total Rupees . ..	46,291	3	0

Source: Brij Kishore Ghose: *The History of Pooree,* p 67.

The annual account of expenses which are incurred in the temple of Juggunnath, on account of Bhoge and other miscellaneous charges. [35]

On account of Kotebhog for 356 days minus 9 days for car festival.[36]

	Rs.	AS.	P.
Rice for Khichree.	534	0	0
Pounded rice for cakes	400	8	0
Kullye, or pulse…..	367	2	0
Moong or small grain	133	8	0
Molasses and Kund.	2,314	0	0
Clarified buffaloes' butter……	6,919	12	0
Salt……..	166	14	0
Spices and asafoetida	233	10	0
Lamp oil……	1,157	0	0
Ginger, vegetables, &c…….	422	12	0
Milk, cream, &c……	445	0	0
Firewood……..	1,424	0	0
Earthen pots……..	89	0	0
Ghusa Bheria……	89	0	0
Gopal-bullubh…..	400	8	0
Sandalwood, camphor, musk, &c…..	623	0	0
	15,719	10	0

Now the total expenses is shown with the help of a chart. [37]

Expense of the Table of the Idols…….	15,719	10	0
Ditto of his dress, or wearing apparel……	4,650	0	0
Ditto of his wages of his servants……..	3,170	8	0

Ditto of contingent charges at different seasons…….	3,150	8	0
Ditto of his elephants and horses…….	915	0	0
Ditto of ruths, or annual cars……..	1,453	12	0
Ditto of broad cloth and silk…….	855	14	0
Ditto of other idols in and out of the temple…….	209	0	0
Ditto of Khyrat……	464	0	0
Ditto of repair of bundhu of suttaees hazaree muhal…	418	7	0
Total Rupees…..	31,006	11	8

Source: Brij Kishore Ghose: *The History of Pooree,* p. 73

5.2.iv. Influence of Jagannatha Temple in the overall society

Traditionally, Lord Jagannath became the emblem of the lordship of the Hindus and the imperial power in all over the kingdom. Thus, those monarchs who became able to own the region as well as adore the God, were acknowleged as the legitimate leaders of Orissa. The Puri temple was a last magnificient assertion of autocratic devotion.[38] All the primitive monarchs who ruled Orissa had place a great emphasis on their honourable control of the temple. The splendour and excellence of Jagannath and the computation of the Anka decades of the Gajapati ruling elites of Orissa were greatly acknowledged. For nearly two centuries,(1568-1751 A.D.), they functioned not just as an united connection for Oriya speaking sections, but rather as a creative force and resilience to bravely endure the frequent assaults of the Muslim troops . During this period, the looming threat of Muslim encroachment to the temple of Jagannath at Puri forced the local chiefs and holy men to construct monuments for the single figures of Jagannath (Dadhivamana) or for the entire holy spirit .This event as performed with the aim of noticing *Devadasayatra* or twelve cultural events were acknowledged as major holidays both in Orissa and in Bengal.

The economic condition of Orissa also got developed from the fertile areas of Godavari and Mahanandi deltas. Those areas were very efficient in producing rice. This land administration was under one minister designated as Sasanadhikarin.[39] Thus the economic fulfilment was mainly dependent on the land revenue system. Progressive development of industrial arts and crafts got developed.[40] Even from the 12th century, lot of factors helped in the industrial growth in Orissa. The increase of the royal capitals, the rise of urban and trade centres were some of them. The textile production, ivory craft, jiggery as well as the salt manufacturing

industries were included among them. The iron beams in Puri and Bhubaneswar temples suggest that iron technology was used in their construction.[41] Due to the building of the temples, other industries like brick, stone carving industries got flourished. Thus, the temples helped in the means of livelihood for the masses. This religious policy came from a Vaishnavite cult. However this policy became a synthesis of various cults.[42]

5.3. Economic Background for Flouishment of Manipur under the Meiteis

The main population at the time of pre-colonial economy were engaged in different agricultural practices. However, more increase in population led to bring more land under cultivation. In the medieval period, certain crops and vegetables proved to be a good source of economic support for the Meiteis. During the 16th century, Manipur lacked in manpower to efficiently grasp the natural resources of that region. Rice was their staple agricultural crop which they used to mainly cultivate through manpower using *langol* (plough).Probably this Sanskrit name was given after its introduction to the local people by the foreigners. Some indigenous vegetables like elang, kengoi, pulei, kampreg, loglei grew plentifully in that region.[43] Maize was introduced during the Meitei ruler Paikhomba's reign and tobacco, chillies, guava were brought during the rule of Khagemba.[44]

The middle part of the Manipur plain consists of the area of Imphal, Bishnupur as well as Thoubal. These lands are still a very fertile place. The new inventions of technology were made, and diggings of canals were done for much more agricultural production and farm productivity. During 1508-1709 C.E., a valuable dye crop called Kusum-lei which used to yield a beautiful pink colour came from Bengal and was used for dyeing yarn for high grade garments of Manipuri women.[45] The introduction of this dye made the dress of Manipuri women much more colourful and pleasing.[46]Along with this, fishes were collected from rivers, canals and *Sareng* was called as the most costly fish. In Manipur, a technique of wet paddy cultivation was present since the ancient times.

The typical wet farm comprised of land leased out by the monarch in return for military service whenever required by the king was limited to 10 days of every 40 days i.e. subject to *lallup* or forced labour feudal system.[47] Till 1892 C.E, all revenues upon the land cultivated or other forms of tax were to be paid in kind, i.e. paddy in case of land revenue.[48] As a representative of the king, the leader of each village would gather these revenues. However, the headmen of the village could not possess any right over the soil. Under the monarchy, the main

revenue sources were land tax, house tax, revenues from fisheries, salt, ferries, elephants, forest produce etc.[49]In 1675 C.E, initially the king Paikhomba improved the roads from Chingba to Mongsangei and dredged the Nambul river downwards from Chinga in 1679 C.E.[50]

With the development of the communication systems, Manipur formed trade links with the neighbouring countries like Burma, Cachar and Tripura. The Manipur kings mainly used to import elephants along with many imported commodities as their indispensable resource. Due to the influence of this newly formed religion, some of the imported elephants were given special Sanskrit names like Paban Singh.[51] The elephants were gathered both for the war as well as for showing the grandeur of royalty in the kingdom.[52] The Manipur monarchs were benefited largely because of the exports and imports taxation system on natural forests, cattle, horses, elephants etc. The silk route, that was famous in the 5th century C.E, was the best approach for inland trade. Moreover taxes were also on imports and exports of oil seeds, cotton, rubber, ivory, bee wax.[53]All of these proved to be enough to run the royal household as well as to fulfill the other extra expenditures. Moreover, the annuities and tributes from the ethnic group chiefs in the hills were taken mostly in kind.[54]Other than these regular taxes, people were subjected to lallup or forced labour (10 days in every 40 days).The Manipur kings were not directed to utilise the economic surplus of their realm for their own use, but rather they meant to circulate it among his subjects. Many places of Manipur were covered with hills as well as huge forests, so it indeed would have been difficult to travel for the people to travel from one place to another. But the Manipuri kings wanted to improve the communication system with the Surma and Brahmaputra valley.[55] So in 1536, the road of Manipur to Assam was improved.[56]

5.3.i. Land Grants Structure- The Meitei rulers in the medieval period were observed to grant different lands to people for different purposes. Some of them sorted are as follows[57] -

5.3.i. a. *Manalou* Land Grant: This land grant was gifted to one particular social class of people. The rewards of paddy fields were given in recognition of a person's contribution to the State and especially the king.[58] The word Manalou came from 'Mana' meaning reward and 'lou' meaning paddy field.

5.3.i. b. *Brahminlou* Land Grant: At the sacred thread ceremony, one hectare of land (*pari*) was given by the state to the Brahmins.[59] This land grant is actually an alternative name for the Brahmin land.

5.3.i. c.Temple Grant Land: The *lailou* or the temple grant land was given for the management of the temples. The Govindaji temple of the royal family was granted 100 *paris* of land being cultivated by the slaves.[60]

5.3.i. d. *Sanalou* (Royal Land) Grant: This grant was provided to the persons of the royal family. In 1891 A.D., the Manipur queen possessed 600 hectares of land.[61]

5.3.i. e. *Pangallou* Grant: The persons who usually served in some necessary wars were given such lands.

The lands were also provided to the soldiers and officers instead of their salary. The community lands included community forests, the grazing grounds and play fields.[62] The land tenure in Manipur was highly stratified almost on the lines of feudal classes.[63] In return, these classes were bound to pay some duties back to the society. Thus this land grant system directly helped the whole structure of the society to retain its identity.

Observation

Thus, it is noticed throughout the whole chapter, that the creation of the above discussed factors, resulted in a significantly increased economical solidarity in these kingdoms. Along with this, several significant backgrounds, shown throughout the chapter like the economic support from the Mughals, the shifting of the financial responsibility from the kings to the Brahmins, the huge income from the offerings to the Gods surfaced the way for the financial stability of those realms which were initiated throughout their ruling period. The extraction of agrarian economy by the realm reduced the plundering activities through confrontational fighting by kingdoms such as Manipur, Orissa and Bishnupur. The hill tribes or local aboriginal people were motivated to involve in crop production, which accelerated the surplus rate. Due to the development of various communication system in Manipur, the trade also developed to a large extent. Along with these, various taxes were accumulated through imports and export system over a lot of commodities. The surplus agrarian products helped the growth of trade and commerce in Orissa. Thus the monarchs of these three realms got benefit from all of these sources to uphold their economy. Therefore subsequently, in the next chapter, it is shown how through the economic support, the kings became able to legitimize their kingdoms through construction of temples, redistribution of surplus and endure their rule for such long eras.

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CHAPTER SIX

Legitimization, Ruling Authority with Socio-Cultural Influence

The theory of the legitimacy of a kingdom has been given the most importance by the scholars while attaining the procedure of the formation of the kingdoms.The word legitimacy can be termed as equivalent to legal or even lawful. Legitimacy is simply the quality of government that is reasonable and acceptable to the general public. It is a situation in which both the rulers and the ruled are convinced that the government's rule is correct .[1]Inside the specific context of this chapter, it is quite significant to observe how the small chiefdoms of Orissa,Manipur and Bishnupur grew to encompass the entire north eastern zone of the subcontinent. The transformation of the chiefdom to a state, as well as the concentration of political power in a small segment of the tribal community, raises the question of the legitimacy of wielding such power.[2]. In regards to the state power, the term legitimacy is generally used to explain and justify the existence of concentrated socio-political power wielded by a portion of the community.**[3]** The state validates its own organizations and establishments by acquainting different cultural systems.This legitimization aspect for the state formation eventually resulted into the new social formation which brought some sort of cultural homogeneity.**[4]** The royal families are thus found to attempt in every way for legitimization of their kingdom.

In this chapter, the model and concept of the legitimization of the kingdom previously popularized by Morton H. Fried, H.J.M Cleassen, Hermann Kulke, Surajit Sinha, and Hitesranjan Sanyal is monitored.On this note, the work of Prof.Rup Kumar Barman in his book *From Tribalism to State* is mentionable where the model by which the legitimacy of the power attained by one pre-colonial kingdom was shown.Nevertheless, in our work, the common features for legitimization of power are apparent in these three kingdoms like most of the other pre-colonial kingdoms of India.The establishment of the divine connection of kingship with any mythical hero was a common trend for legitimization of kingship of the pre-colonial India**[5].** Redistribution of surplus through building of temples and construction of the public works were another step for legitimization.**[6]**The rulers of Orissa, Bishnupur and Manipur proved very efficient in this by building a lot of temples. They built many temples during their reign, which

are even today places to get amazed at. The next step of legitimization was the adoption of Indo-Aryan rituals.[7]

6.A. Process of Legitimization

As discussed above, the kings of these dynasties adopted many rituals of the Rajput to claim themselves as descendants of the *Kshatriya* origin.They had taken the following steps for legitimization.

i) Establishing Divine connection of kingship, ii) Redistribution of surplus and iii) Adoption of Indo Aryan Rituals

6.A.1. Establishing Divine connection of Kingship

The Malla kings thus following these procedures tried to establish a divine connection of their kingship.

Legitimacy of Kingship through implying Kshatriya status: As the actual historical origin of the Malla dynasty is veiled under numerous chronicles genealogies, gazetteers for its background, most of the Chronicles claimed that Raghunath Singh who was also regarded as Adi Malla was a Kshatriya descendant. They perpetually projected him as a descendant of the Rajput origin and always tried to establish a link with them. The gazetteers of O' Malley found the link of the Malla dynasty with one of the royal houses of the Northern India. In 695 AD, a prince of one of the royal houses of Northern India made a pilgrimage with his wife to the shrine of Jagannath in Puri[8]. At the village of Laugram, 6 miles from kotalpur,[9] his wife gave birth to a child. But he left the mother and the baby behind.This act was conducted as it would be problematic for the king to carry them in pilgrimage.

W.W. Hunter also claimed the king of Jainagar, near Brindaban as the father of Raghunath Malla.[10] Though various chronicles explain the story in their own way, one thing is mutual that a linking with the Rajput family was continuously tried to be established. Thus more stories to show the emphasis on the link is perceived. According to one story,when the boy was growing 'a huge cobra shaded him from Sun's rays by raising its hood over his face'.[11] In this plot of dense forestry, the snake was an effective symbol of integration and collaboration between the culture of the Brahmins and the culture of the aborginals. Thus the hooded Naga Protector acted as a supplementary phenomenon for aboriginal foster and promoter on one hand, as well as it also acted as the Brahmin foster father and supporter on the other hand.[12] The genealogies, gazetteers

and chronicles of the Malla dynasty display the significance on the bond between the Rajput family of North India and the Malla Kings.

Nevertheless, it is uncertain whether the foster father theory is made-up to cover up their aboriginal origin or to justify the usurption of the Rajput voyagers. It is not conceivable, that some of the royal dynasty of the Chotanagpur plateau have their predecessor of Rajput origin. On the other hand, it is also correct that many dynasties have their indigenous origin. Thus some local Bagdis of Mallabhum regard the Malla rajas as of Bagdi in origin. According to Oldham, the Mallas were acknowledged as the common sovereign of the Bagdis and their cognate group of the Mals.[13] But the Malla Kings did not acknowledge any ritual relation with the Bagdis.

Patronage to the Brahmins of Mallabhum: The Malla Kings always procured interest in patronizing the Brahmins and adopting the Indo Aryan culture through their support. For legitimacy of the local rule, the Kshatriya origin of the kings was very important.The Brahmins only could upraise the status of the Malla King from local Bagdi rulers to the status of the Kshatriya origin. Thus, with the help of Brahmins, the king developed knowledge by understanding the Sanskrit religious texts. The ruler was unacquainted of different Brahmanical rules,[14] which was not expected from a ruler to his subjects. Accordingly, the king underneath the supervision of the Brahmins, began to absorb the rules and regulations, which an upper caste individual or a ruler must follow. From the very beginning of the reign, lots of Brahmins began to come in Mallabhum from nearby areas. But the inquest arises as why did so many Brahmins began to come to Mallabhum to upgrade the position of these local rulers? Lucrative grants allured all the priests to make Mallabhum their homeland. While building several number of temples in Mallabhum, they granted lands like *brahmottar* (land dedicated to the Brahmins), *debottar* (land dedicated to the temple), *vaishnavottar* or *mahataran* lands.

The Brahmins were given *Brahmottar* grants for their contentment. Occasionally, these Brahmins had to deliver facilities for the general people without any wages. Thus they functioned as priests in the temples of the village and as *pathsala* teachers. The priests were given responsibility for maintenance of the temples and thus the economy and offerings of the daily adoration by the people were departed to them. They had to be given huge amount of *brahmottar* grants. Besides, they were also provided with *devottar* grants which were stretched to the private deities. They were even designated as *sebayats* of those majestic temples.[15]

As the full accountability of giving grants to all the Brahmins was not possible for the king, the rent farmers and even sardars, employees of the Raj of outlying areas of the kingdom were well-ordered to provide maximum grants to the Brahmins. Thus, it boosted the reputation of the Brahmins and they were given a control of the temples. Maximum gifts which were given to God were actually taken by the Brahmins. Thus legitimacy of the rule was continued. But in a hurry for wanting their support no record or deed of grant was kept.[16]Even the Bishnupur Kings used to give grants to each and every house for protection of their kingdom and dispersed the possessions equally among guards, ministers and commander in chief .In the year 1061 C.E and *17 Magha* of Bengali Calendar, Chaitanya Singha contributed land grants to the *sebayats*.

Adopting New Religious Philosophy: To consolidate the Malla Kingdom and to differentiate themselves from the local Majhis, Bagdis and the other lower caste people, the Malla Kings adopted certain non-tribal socio-religious philosophy. Jagat Malla (994-1007 C.E.) the 18th ruler of the dynasty started the Mrinmayee Puja**[17]** or the famous Durga Puja in the capital Bishnupur. The assistance of a story is obtainable for the support of his actions. It was told that one day while hunting in the woodlands of Bishnupur, the king observed certain spiritual activity.

> "Seeing a heron on a tree he despached his hawk on it. But to his utter surprise the Raja saw that the gentle and feeble bird struck the trained hawk and killed it".**[18]**

The king by this action, realized the presence of Goddesses Durga on that place and during midnight the king is supposed to have dreamt of Goddesses Mrinmoyee who order him to worship her.

> "I am Devi. I exist here. If you consecrate me at this place and worship me then you will prosper. Worship me for the benefit of your subjects."**[19]**

Therefore, it is perceived that the king through the assistance of all these narrations, became successful in building the shrine of the Goddesses in the land of the tribals. The king thus segregating with the local people constructed a town there and even started the *nityapuja* (daily worship of the deity). The ruler in the name of the Goddesses guaranteed the prosperity of the general people.

Special reference was observed for the main religion of Mallabhum known as Gauriya Vaishnavism, which was originated by the 49th ruler Bir Hambir. The consolidation procedure of the Malla kings became more real after the rise of this religion in Mallabhum. Though formerly, they were supporters of Shiva and Sakti, they initiated as being the ardent followers of Krishna

or Vishnu during this phase. There was a difference in the character of the Vishnu found later in Mallabhum. This Vishnu is full of love and devotion, and he was portrayed contrarily in personality which was different from the Vasudev of Mahabharata.[20] When Srinibas Acharya came to Bengal and passed by Bishnupur with box loads of GauriyaVaishnava manuscripts, it were all looted. Srinibas ran here and there in quest of his treasured manscripts. He was entertained by a Brahmin named Krishna Ballava Chakraborty.[21] He consequently went to the court with the assistance of this Brahmin. At the court, it is believed that Bir Hambir, the Malla King asked him to read and explain the significance of Gita. At Court, his remarkable scholarship led him into argument with the *Raj Pandit*. Srinibas with his profound devoutness, humanistic principles of approach and excellent interpretations attracted the audience and enthused them in tears. The kings thus felt in him a new basis of hope for legitimizing his rule by reaching the hearts of the people. Thus, Bir-Hambir chose to turn into the disciple of Srinibas Acharya and devoted all his resource and his energy to propagate this religion.From his time, the proper history of the dynasty began to be written.[22] Thus the Chaitanya religion became the main religion of Mallabhum, and this religion created a new age in Bengal.[23] Not only the king but his wife, his son and soon many persons from the court became followers of this conviction.

This religion had a spectacular liberal approach which proved useful for the king to unite all their subjects. The incorporation of the liberal approach to the Bhakti movement with the idioms of *smarta Puranic Bhahmanism* offered the higher castes a prospect to influence the lower castes like of the *NabaSakh, Ajalchal, Antyaj* ranks. These people were politically and economically very important.[24] The king was the nodal point of linkage [25] between the Brahmins and the people.The king left no scope to patronize his Guru Srinibas.[26] Thus he consumed a huge amount of money in the wedding of his guru Srinibas, so much so that Sri Gopal Bhatta, one of the Swara Goswami leaders of Brindaban, expressed his astonishment and concern about the purity of the religion.

Under the inspiration of the religion, the kalachand idol was built and Srinibas was given the responsibility for the initial worship.[26] Not only that, he even carried a new deity of Madanmohan to Bishnupur. For inaugurating and establishing the religion in the domain and to elevate Mallabhum in the light of Vaishavism, the King even went to Brindaban at his old age and died there. The simplistic philosophies with humanistic approaches appealed almost all the people of Bishnupur. They inaugurated to progress one attachment as well as love for the new

undominating religion of the Malla Kings. Thus the consolidation of the kings began to get stronger. With the support of the common people, Bir Hambir, decorated his own capital in the manner of the Vaishnavas of Brindaban and named the tanks (Jamuna, Kalindi, Radhakundu) and the villages (Dwaraka, Mathura) after the terms of the Gods succeeding the ritual of Brindaban.[27] Even the famous Dol, Ras festival of Bishnupur were a creation of the influence of this religion. Thus undeniably through the assistance of the religion, the legitimization of the kingdom becomes more influential.

6.A.2. Distribution of the concentrated Surplus

From the 16th century, the kingdom began to get more prominence from the other Bhum Kingdoms. *Akbarnama* states that king of Bishnupur, Hambir had joined the forces of the Mughal General Man Singh in their expeditions against the Pathans in North Orissa. He was given the position of a killjajat zamindar i.e. autonomy of the tributary vassal who have the right to build fort.[28] When the Mughals started to fight with the Afghans, Hambir purposefully sided with the Mughals. He also made a lot of efforts to save the wounded son of Man Singha and to sent him to Delhi. This event shaped a very strong bond between the Mughals and the Malla Kings. As the Mughals became very greatful to the Mallas for this, they provided them a lot of zamindaris and new forts. Even the Mughals provided a lot of economic support which increased the treasury of the Malla Kings. Thus the Malla Kings assembled a lot of surplus. The kings then fundamentally started to redistribute the concentrated surplus by constructing temples of the deities.

The Malla Kings completed making a lot of temples in the capital Bishnupur and some other parts of the kingdom. After they accepted the Vaishnava religion, they began to built many terracotta temples from the 17th Century. The principal reference may be made to the extraordinary beautiful Rashmancha built by king Bir-Hambir around 1600 C.E. Throughout the annual ras festival of the Malla kings, all idols of Lord Krishna was carried there to display them in public. The next earliest temple in Bishnupur is the Shyam Rai temple (locally called Panchchura) built in 1643 C.E. by king Raghunath Singha. In this temple, the Malla King made the most richly decoration of terracotta compared to any temples in West Bengal. It has innumerable terracotta artwork on both exterior and interior walls. Consequently, the Jor Bangla or Kesto Ray temple with ornate terracotta carvings was constructed by king Raghunath Singha Dev II in 1655 C.E.It was the finest movement in Bishnupur with lavish terracotta

decoration.The Madanmohan temple was built by king Durjan Singh Dev II in 1655 C.E. It was the finest movement in Bishnupur with lavish terracotta decoration. The year after he had completed the Jorbangla temple, Raghunath Singh built another temple named the Kalachand temple in 1656 C.E.

Apart from these temples, the Mrinmoyee Temple was built by Jagat Malla in 997C.E.This old temple observed the Durga Puja for more than 1000 years and is continuing to celebrate the worship even today. The lineage of offering homage to the God Mrinmoyee is inherited by the 57th generation of Malla descendant Salil Singh Thakur. Salieswar and Sareswar temples are Orissan style influenced temples built during the time of Prithvi Malla in 1346 C.E. It is situated in Dihar Village.The Gokulchand temple made of laterite stone is probably the oldest temple of Bankura.[29] It is the Pancharatna temple and thus famous for its decoration. It was built in 1643 C.E. during the reign of Raghunath Singha I. The largest stone temple in Bankura District is octagonal in shape, moreover the siddheswar temple of Bahulara is famous for its architectural design. But due to lack of inscription the correct date of its construction is debatable. Kumarswami refer it to 10th and Sri Saraswati refer it to 11th century. Scholars also refer that it was a separate temple for the worship of God Shiva. Moreover, the Malleswar temple was constructed at 1622 C.E. by Bir Singha. He dedicated this temple in the name of his father Bir Hambir. The Chinnamasta temple at Bankura Town and Bishnupur was also made by them. There were many other temples build by the kings. (Note: The images of some of the temples are given in the appendix).

These worships of the deity brought social unity among the people. The temples of the vaishnavamaths, akharas became the centres of religious and cultural activities in the villages. Many people had much share in the proceeds of the debottar and vaishnavottar endowments. Through the construction of these temples, it went back to the general masses. Thus the return of the surplus was always made to the people. For the worship of the deities, social gathering used to occur. The more offerings for the deity made the treasury more solid. From the inscriptions of the temples, it is proved that those were built by the Malla kings themselves.

Moreover, the social and political life are depicted from the temples of Mallabhum.The influence of Hinduism, Vaishnavism and even the Muslim effect can be seen through these temples. Being a Pancha –Ratna temple, ShyamRai is the most richly decorated terracotta temple. The effect of the Vaishnava religion can be seen in this temple in the images of

Rasmandals of the South and East facades. The image of the Krishna between two gopis can be seen.

The effect of Hindu Gods, Goddesses like Siva, Kali, Durga are also notable. Moreover, the battle scenes of Ramayana between Ram and Ravana is notable, the image of Arjun killing Visma from Mahabharata is seen. In the Jor Bangla temple, the Krishnalila scenes, the life of Krishna, the raslila seenes are found. The Malla kings welcoming the Mughal emperors with flowers are observed. Consequently, it is understood that they used to follow the Mughal rulers. The numerous depictions in the internal domain of the Bengali House and the then contemporary life are shown in these temples.The effect of Portuguese life is also perceived as the picture of them holding guns are noticed. Thus the then contemporary English lifestyle had also been focused on these temples. Even the temples of Bankura have slightly Orissan influence. In the Shyam Rai temple, the image of Buddha and effect of Buddhism are also available. Thus, not only the consequence of the Vaishnava religion falls on the temples, the effect of the Mughals like the Jahangiri caps are also drawn in the images of the temples.

Public welfare: Construction of several canals: Not exclusively temples, but the Malla kings gave prominence to agriculture, fishing and water conservation. The king did not hesitate to spent a lot of amount from his treasury for these maintenances. Even the ruler used to take consent from the experienced people of all strata of society. These people suggested the king concerning the soil and its nature. The Malla kings thus constructed bandhas[30] or canals namely chaugan Bandh, Lal Bandh, Shyam Bandh, Krishna Bandh in the southern area. The influence of the Vaishnava religion even falls on the names of the bandhs. On a similar way, Yamuna Bandh, Kalindi Bandh were constructed in western area and Gatat Bandh in East-West area.[31] At the middle of the city, Bir Bandh was constructed which is now known as Poka Bandh.[32] Thus, they stored the rain water and met the water crisis of the people.The Chaugan Bandh is dried and is no more found in Mallabhum.

Establishment of Higher Sanskrit and Junior Sanskrit School: Under the direction of the Brahmins and encouragement of the kings, Mallabhum developed into a centre of culture. The earlier name of tols were chaupari.[33] Various chatushpathis (Junior Sanskrit Schools), Tols (Higher Sanskrit Schools) were also noticed. When the king gave grants, many recipients used to be the persons who worked as teachers in these schools. These were generally two kinds or group of tols- i) tols established by Zamindars and ii) tols established by the teachers.[34]The

second group mainly used to be the maintained by the Brahmins.The first group of the tols was maintained by the zamindars and the second group was generally maintained by the different social activities like marriage, shraddha ceremony etc. Various list of chatuspathis and tols were found. The name of some of the chatuspathis were [35] -

a. Belut Narayani Chatuspathi.

b. Bishnupur Sundarban Chatuspathi.

c. Gadhadhar Chatuspathi.

d. Madanmohan Chatuspathi.

e. Yogendra Chatuspathi.

f. Raghunath Chatuspathi.

Various dramas used to be arranged on the eve of the occasion of Ras festival. Even king Bir Hambir with no hesitancy, used to participate in these dramas. King Bir Hambir, his minister Chandaneswar Mahapatra,the wife of Nibas Thakur,Iswarmani and his daughter Hemlata, Dhari Hambir, Ramchandra Kaviraj, Hridayanasen and various other followers used to take part in the role of 'Asta Sakhi'. The Malla King Bir Hambir even translated the 'Gobinda Lilamrito' by Yadunandan, student of Hemlata Devi. This was also performed in the Rashmancha.

To make their rule stronger, even the Malla Kings started their own era. The era was termed as Malla era.The Malla era had huge time differences with both Bengali and English calendars.[36] By adding 695 years from Malla era, we get the christian era and by adding 100 years from the era of the Mallas, we get the Bengali era. The Malla era started from *Indra Dwadasi* of *Bhadra* month in the 102 Bangabda and the whole list is calculated and found out.[37]

Mallabda + 100 years = Bangabda.

Mallabda + 694 years = Christian Era .

Sakabda + 78 = Christian Era.

Bangabda + 593 = Christian Era.

Bangabda + 516 = Sakabda.

Mallabda + 616 = Sakabda.

In the 17th century, the Malla Kings built a lot of temples. Almost all these temples ought to make use of these Mallabda era. In 1603 C.E (903 Mallabda), Bir Hambir Malla constructed the Shyamchand temple. In the inscription of this temple, we first get the use of this Mallabda era. Bir Hambir mainly introduced this mallabda era with an aim 1) for instituting the Malla

Kingdom as one of the ancient kingdoms of India 2) to approve the legitimacy by introducing one new calendar. 3) to upsurge the prestige of the realm towards the outsiders.The Malla kings accepted the 'Singha' title from the reign of Bir Singha and rejected the Malla title. They primarily used these titles to conduct more matrimonial alliances from Rajputana and to claim their Kshatriya status more formidably.[38]

Adoption of Indo –Aryan Rituals

The Malla kings appeared to use the internal resources for reforming their cultural conditions and to get eligible for high identity[39] status. When a friendly association grew up between the army of one high born Rajput named Man Singh from Mughal Dynasty and the Malla kings in the 17th Century, certain types of their practices regulations and norms were speedily implemented by Bir-Hambir, the then Malla ruler. Man Singh was a Rajput from Kachchwai clan of North West India and thus monitored many rituals of them. Thus by following their traditions, Bir-Hambir to a large extent succeeded in making his rule legitimate.The Karnananda, a Gauriya Vaisnava text of the mid 17th century indicates that a number of Brahmin, Baidyas and Kayasths lived in Mallabhum at that time. Along with this it also states that the Malla raja had developed a taste of Sanskrit religions texts which were recited and explained to him by the learned Brahmins.[40] Thus the upper caste men in Bishnupur appraised the king to approve the *smartaPuranicBrahminical idioms* by which the king could absorb the proper conduct as understood by the term suddhachara i.e. clean practices and to perform rituals which the upper coste should do.

During the *Ind* Puja, the tribals offered the kings gifts which the king had to agree to take. The king also provided the majhis cloths which the majhis later used as turban accepting the authority of the king. These reciprocal gestures made by the king and the majhis in the Ind puja of Bishnupur expected additional significance as AdiMalla, the first king of Malla dynasty ascended the throne on Indradvadasi.[41] Subsequently, the presence of the king in the Gajan or the chota parab was notable. The lower class domination was adequate to determine the character of this festival. It was evident as certain puranic and semi Puranic rituals got rationalized by a set of myths, these were overshadowed by Primitive rituals and practices by the lower caste without the aid of the Brahmins.

Even, the Durga Puja of the Malla kings for the Mrinmayee shrine incorporated certain features which may be identified as tribal in origin. The touch of the tribal mode of worship was kept in Durga Puja. The Paintings there named Bara Thakur (Eldest Lady), Meja Thakur (Second

lady) and chhota Thakur (youngest) Lady) are worshipped by the kings. But the chota Thakur is still the most special and unique Puja on the *Nawami* day. This God is worshipped in a painting and the deity is called dreadful.[42]

6.A.3. Cultural Synthesis

The state though embraced Vaishavism, it also preserved the culture of the local people. The character of the kings in the organization of the major religious cults of Indra, Siva, Durga, Vishnu was an significant aspect in the process of consolidation of the social and moral authority of the king. Even the society of Bishnupur was established on the basis of these religions.[43]From Shiva, Sakti to GauriyaVaishnavism, the king on no occasion became sectarian. Even the king gave grants to both the Hindu and Vaishnava deities at the same time. They granted lands for Manasadevi, Dharma Thakur and stimulated the adoration of the local Gods. Thus they maintain both sides and came close to both of them. The Malla king always striked out a balance between the tribal society like Dom Bagdi, Mal, Bhar and higher castes. During the 17th century, from the temple like Jor Bangla along with terracotta carvings, the influence of the Muslims was clearly noticed. Thus the luxurious life of Amir Omarallha was perceived in Jor Bangla temple. Even the Muslim influence like hunting also came in the culture of the Malla kings.The Dasavatar cards' of the Malla kings are even well-known today. Thus the gratitude for the Mughal emperors are undoubtedly indicated in the temple.

Thus, the cultural features of the local people are not totally abandoned and was completely assimilated. The modification among the culture of the tribes was found. Through this process, the kings got two told legitimacy:

i) From the persons who get *kshatriya* status owing to all the policies of the king.

ii) From the local people and the tribals as the ruling section had declined them from their tribal control. Apart from these, under the inspiration of king Raghunath Singh, the musicians from Delhi were invited to Bishnupur later establishing the well-known Bishnupur Gharana.[44] Therefore, assimination of even music from central India were evident. Consequently the Malla kings implemented these approaches to legitimize its rule within the state.

6. A. 4. Establishing Divine Connection of Kingship in Orissa - While coming to the theme of Orissa, initially mention should be made of one of the magnanimous Gajapati kings of this region named Kapilendradeva or Kapilesvara (1434-1468 C.E). According to one version of Madala Panji, a temple chronicle of Puri, Kapila was a man of low birth who had been picked

up by Bhanudeva in the Vimala temple complex when he would still have been a kid.[45] He had also been brought up at the royal capital as the heir to the throne. It was noticed that after Bhanudeva's demise, the Mughals threatened the nation and demanded a huge payment from them.[46]

Bhanudeva could only avail to left Kapilendradeva as a hostage to the Mughals because he was not the real son. He held Kapila there until he was able to meet the demands of the Mughals.Thereby, after his passing, the Mughals granted Kapilendradeva's authority over Orissa. As a result, these references emphasise the portrayal of Kapila as a poor man to the crown and an individual of low roots. It was also probable that Kapilendra seized power when Bhanudeva IV relocated to a new location for expansionism. As a result, according to those version, the beginnings and annexation of the crown by Kapilendra were not held in high regard.But the Gajapatis of Orissa, had always wanted to foster a Kshatriya status for their kingship.The ancestors of the Gajapatis actually claimed to belong to the solar race.[47] They believed to be the children of the Sun and said to rule the subjects according to the wish of Lord Jagannatha and by the guidance of the Brahmins.

Patronage to the Brahmins of Orissa

While taking the particular instance of Orissa, it is seen that the key purposes of the then Brahmanas there were temple glorification and performance of religious rituals. The political flux that characterized the political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa was paralleled by the formulation of claims to legitimacy and prestige. [48] Aside from that, due to the development of the empire, underneath the Gajapatis, a significant amount of Brahmanas came who were being represented in the management affairs. The Brahmana land holdings actually led to the formation of new Brahmana colonial areas as well as their new possessions in Orissa. The Brahmanas throughout the country were all encouraged to come to Orissa.

The donation of the land grants has formed very important in the history of this period.[49] Due to this, the propagation of learning and the advancement of culture and religion were assigned as the key functions of the Brahmins. The Brahmins thus created the learned elites in their kingdom. For fulfilling there own societal responsibilities, the rulers awarded them with various land grants and Agrahara villages. The land grant system started in Kalinga basically from the time of the Matharas.[50] In tribal regions,the Brahmanas proved instrumental in bringing all of the local leaders into the edges of Kashatriyahood by linking them to the highly esteemed

Rajput clans of North-Western India and attributing a mythical and fictionalised genetic history to them.

This same monarchs who were at that time in urgent need for legitimization by the Brahmins would occasionally grant them lands.The primary objective of such land grants was to help the Brahmanical pockets at the expense of the nation, and it also aided in the growth of agriculture and the financial betterment of the individuals. The Brahmins were largely benefitted by using work opportunities in the primitive or aboriginal lands, where they instructed and trained the local people and even made them aware about the weeks of the season and seedlings. Thus many settlements and territories were given to the religious entities.

6.A.5. Adopting New Religious Philosophy

The Gajapati rulers implemented new religions and social initiatives which differed from the other ruling elites of their soil. Thus Purusottama Jagannatha of Puri is one of the most popular Vaishnavite deities of eastern India.[51]This sentiment regarding Jagannatha has managed to stay at the centre of every opinion, political ideologies and social rules among the people of Orissa starting from the Gajapati period to till date.The patronization and large scale dispersion of the Jagannatha cult distinguished the growth of the Gajapati dynasty. Marking the tracks of the later Gangas, the ruling classes of the Gajapati dynasty announced for themselves to just be the deputies of Lord Jagannatha. For instance, soon after assuming power, Kapilendradeva institutionalised his authority by asserting that he'd be the king of the state at the instruction of Lord Jagannatha. According to the Madala Panji, Kapilendradeva built the outer compound wall of the Jagannatha temple. [52] The Gopinathpur inscription of Gopinath Mahapatra, Kapilendradeva's potent minister, expresses of the ruler's progress and commitment to Lord Jagannatha. Inside the village of Gopinathpur, Gopinath Mahapatra furthermore built the temple of Jagannatha as well as the Gundichabadi temples. [53]

Concept of Tribal Heritage: The idols worshipped in Puri are of crude wooden logs and they are renewed from time to time in a special ritual in which tribal priests still play an important role, thus indicating the tribal origin of this cult,later identified with Vishnu-Jagannatha. [54] Actually the god was first honoured in the forest by the aboriginal Sabara leader named Visvabasu.The Jagannatha emblem also preserves a tribal image, and the wooden images show a tribal origin. There are so many classics encompassing the provenance of the Jagannatha cult, that also fluctuates around.There are many opinions regarding the origin of Jagannatha.However

the tribal link of Jagannatha which is known everywhere could not be denied.The Vanaparva of Sarala Das' Mahabharata and Oriya work Deula Tola provide a different version about the origin of the Jagannatha Cult. [55] The most famous legend is that of Indradyumna, who appears dominantly among all of them. According to the Purusottama Mahatmya, Nilamadhava's shrine was situated on Blue Hill , which itself was encircled by the woods.Indradyumna, the ruler of Avanti, realized about the holiness of the venue and greatness of Lord Nilamadhava.He then dispatched his trustworthy person Vidyapati to the specific location to collect data about Nilamadhava.The Savara Chief Visvabasu secretly adore Nilamadhava in a forested area..

Vidyapati opted to stay as a visitor with Visvabasu and began a relationship with his daughter, Lalita, with whom he eventually ended up marrying. Despite this, Vidyapati initially was unable to obtain data about Nilamadhava.Therefore he very tactfully requested his wife of his eagerness for seeing the deity. Visvabasu was initially hesitant to take Vidyapati to God Nilamadhava, but later decided to take him blindfolded on his daughter's request, to basically preserve the pathway to that holy place. However, after a lot of efforts Vidyapati finally identified the route and came back to his instructor Indradyumna, notifying him of that specific location.

The ruler Indrayumna immediately set out for the Blue Hill for a visit, but he was unable to locate the actual image. The king then had a vision during night where he saw a noble tree coming from the Svetadvipa and God Vishnu appeared in his blue form. [56] The king was made aware by his subjects in the early hours that a long wood impressed with the indications of Vishnu had sailed in across the sea. Indrayumna duly worshipped the log. [57] The long wood was brought to shore and carved into four images of Jagannatha, Balbhadra, Subhadra, and Sudarsana chakra.[58] The ruler Indradyumna constructed a temple on Blue Hill and conscreted the images.[59] Thus this story gives us some ideas regarding the Hinduization of a tribal God.[60]

On the other hand, while referring to the early medieval times, it is seen that from the later Eastern Gangas to the Gajapatis time frame, there had been a religious group concentrating on Jagannatha. Pretty shortly after the invasion of the Utkala region, Anantavarman Chodagangadeva, the excellent king of the Later Gangas, relocated his capital. He also strengthened the nayaka system. [61] Lord Jagannath had started receiving patronage from the Somavamsis even from the forefathers of the Later Gangas. The Eastern Gangas were the first rulers who first built a massive temple in the town of Puri to adore the local deity Jagannatha in

the 12th century A.D. The Ganga kings also utilized the worship of the Jagannatha cult not only for the religion but also for the political purposes.[62] The powerful king Anantavarman Chodaganga of the Ganga dynasty constructed the temple at Puri.[63] He even changed his royal epithet Parama Mahesvara to Parama Vaishnava.[64] Because of the attracting self sacrificing attitude of the religion, this strong Shaivite got interested in this religious conviction.

Kapilendradeva called himself the first servitor of Jagannatha.[65] Purusottamadeva bestowed precious gifts for Lord Jagannatha immediately after getting authority of Orissa from Kapilendradeva.

To pacify the Brahmin priesthood class, he proclaimed in Lord Jagannatha's name,

> "Oh Jagannatha, Thou knowest everything of mine both external and internal. Whatever precious things I have, I will bestow on the Brahmanas as much as I can". [66]

By these lines, it is revealed that Purusottamadeva always tries to regulate the priesthood category in the title of Jagannatha .The renowned Kanch-Kaveri legend, which would be associated with Purusottamadeva, tells us of Jagannatha's involvement in the battle of the king even against enemy.[67] It furthermore acknowledges the ceremonial sweeping of Jagannatha's car throughout the celebration of Rath festival, that is still heading on today. It seems to be the greatest crucial component and service to the Jagannatha cult from the Gajapatis. The ceremonial cleaning was somewhat new entrant to solidify the royal sway in this religion matters. Thus the Gajapatis got approval to be included in the priestly functions which helped them in legitimization actively.

Vaishnavism tends a little bit of decrease under the Sailodbhavas,Bhaumakaras and the Somavamsis because they basically idolised Lord Shiva and supported Shaivism in their monarchies. However, during the Gajapati era, it was noticed that Prataprudradeva became the next king of the Gajapati dynasty.He actively promoted Vaishnavism and highlighted the worship of Jagannatha.Sri Chaitanya Deb,the great saint from Bengal arrived in Orissa during his tenure. This incident became a remarkable episode in the religious heritage of Orissa.Under his request,Chaitanya ended up staying at Puri for 18 years. He envisioned Lord Jagannatha in the shape of Krishna, and his neo-Vaishnava notion had a massive effect on the society. Impressed by the generous attitude, Prataprudradeva and his relatives became great admirers of Sri

Chaitanya. The core principles of Sri Chaitanya's spirituality were thoroughly integrated into the Jagannatha religious order under the strong initiative of the king.

Vaishnavism and Tantricism togetherly converted the religious movement of Bhakti towards a more ecclectic shape of Vaishnavism.Under the influence of the rulers, Sri Chaitanya's adherents dispersed his religion via many literary works. Mostly through their texts, the Panchasakha poets broadcast this religious movement throughout Orissa. They also promoted the idea of Radha as Krishna's consort. Thus as a necessary consequence, a new school of Vaishnava writings evolved in Orissa. The Radha-Krishna cult got very prominent in Orissa, so they were regarded as a complete incarnation of Vishnu.The Panchasakha texts were instrumental in popularising the Krishna legend among the masses. [68] Besides that, Sri Chaitanya initiated the nagarkritana, or the street songs of holy identities by organisations of all castes, which started drawing massive gatherings. It turned into an integrated component in the realm. Thereby, even during Suryavamsi Gajapati time frame, the Jagannatha cult assimilated the concepts of the spirituality of Sri Chaitanya Deb.

As mentioned earlier, the Jagannatha cult was arosed by the Gangas and was established in Puri.But this religious doctrine was not limited to that spot. The rulers continued to expand this Vaishnava faith to all over Orissa and sometimes even beyond their realm. The temples were also build in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Assam, Manipur, and Madhya Pradesh.This cult became ingrained in the life of the people and manifested itself in the art, architecture, and literature of the period**.** [70] The Jagannatha cult was basically the primary religious strength of the individuals during the Suryavamsi Gajapati age. Prataprudradeva's reign became the pinnacle of Vaishnavism's advancement in Orissa.He defeated the soldiers of Bengal and occupied it.[69] Sri Chaitanya Deb, the excellent Vaishnava saint, happened to come to Orissa from Bengal in 1510 and decided to stay for the rest of his life at Puri.Most of the routes inside Orissa and the routes which connected it with other states was difficult and dangerous to cross. [71] Still Chaitanya Deb came and became the most prominent exponent of the Krishna-Bhakti cult.He was also known as the father in the eastern lands for the neo Vaishnavite cult. [72] In Bengal, Kavikarnapura and Vrindabana Das had not only just identified Chaitanya with Lord Krishna but also regarded him as the full incarnation of Radha and Krishna.[73] Krishnadasa Kaviraja popularised this unique incarnation of Chaitanya's holiness. The impact of Sri Chaitanya’s influence upon the social life extended upto distant villages.[74] It is presumed that Krishna-Bhagavata is, by far, the most

perfect manifestation of the individual Deity. Those disciples under the patronage of the Gajapati kings blended this kind of Vaishnavism to Chaitanayaism. A few of his disciples presumed Chaitanya as Lord Krishna's incarnate, whereas others considered that he was just an epitome of Jagannatha. Thus, Vaishnavism became the most prevalent belief in middle ages Orissa.

Nagarkirtana, or street side songs of holy identities in Oriya and Bengali, was initiated by Chaitanya Deb. Vidyapati of Mithila,the famous poet, had by then written many songs in the Brajabuli local languages about Radha and Krishna's eternal love. The travellers who arrived from Mithila propagated those same songs all across the realm. The then mainstream poets in Orissa who were inspired by them wrote songs in Oriya regarding the same narratives. Achyutananda Das and his collaborators wrote poems about rasa, or Krishna's love game with Radha as well as the other gopis. Raya Ramananda, the governor of Rajamahendri under Prataprudradeva, was indeed a supporter of the Prema-bhakti cult and authored the great work Jagannatha vallabha.[75] Raya Ramananda resigned his position and ended up spending the final years in the organisation of Sri Chaitanya Deb after meeting him. He recognised Sri Krishna with Jagannatha, and eventually the togetherness of Krishna and Jagannatha awareness combined into one belief in medieval Orissa, becoming the significant religious creed of the citizens even up to modern day. Krishna cult is the most influential one among the Vaishnava sects.[76] Orissa also became rich in literature during this time.The most outstanding feature of the Oriya literature appears to be the fact that essentially it is a literature of the common people. [77]

6.A.6. Distribution of Surplus

In Orissa, adequate temples are present which were built from the very early periods. Some of these were Lingaraj temple, Ananta Vasudeva temple, Kedargouri, Megheswar, Laxmeswar, Bharateswar, Bakreswar Rajarani temple, Kotititheswar temple, Mukteswara, Siddheswara temple which mostly were constructed during the ancient to the early medieval times, and not by the Gajapati rulers. However Jagannath turned into a representation of Hindu kingship and imperial power in Orissa. Those rulers who were in possessions of Puri and the Jagannath temple were recognised as the legitimate rulers of Orissa.[78] During the reign of the Gajapati rulers,several modes for the welfare of the people were made.The first Gajapati ruler Kapilendradeva erected the Kapileswara temple,which is still existing in old Bhubaneswar. Alongside this, he also founded the famous Narendra Tank in Puri and Meghananda wall around the famous Jagannatha temple to protect it from the external threats. The Gajapatis also granted

lands for maintaining the proper service of the Lingaraj temple.[79] The subsequent king Purushottama Deva built the Kurma Bedha i.e. the inner wall of the temple and finished the Meghanada wall. Prataprudradeva built the Dhavalesvara temple at Mancheswar in Cuttack district and Sarpeswar temple at Balarampur village in Kakhadi. Similar temples were erected in other parts of Orissa during the Ganga and the Gajapati periods. There was a constant danger of Muslim invasion to the temple at Puri during this period.[80] So the urge for erecting temples for the single figures of Jagannatha inscreased continually in their realm.

Some of the name of the temples concerning this line are the Balarama Temple at Tarintara (c. 1195),Ananta Vasudeva temple at Bhubaneswar, Jagannath temples at Ranapur (1485) ,Vira Pratappur near Sakhigopal Railway station (1497-1531),Jaipur (13th centuries), Valadevji temple at Kendrapara, Jagannath temple at Gopinathpura, the Dadhivamana temples at Patapura, Saiyapura, Gopinathpura, Elamapura, Satyabhamapura in Cuttack districts (1471).[81] During the period considered, different shrines for Jagannath were developed in numerous parts of Orissa. The phenomenon of erecting shrines for the deity stretched further than the frontiers of modern Orissa.Some of them were the Mandir at Vizianagara (1711) Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh, Midnapur, Dantan, Hijili, (1584), Kesiyadigada, Mahisadala, Bankara (1358), Vishnupurana (1450), Mahesh, Chandernagar and Jagannathpur all in West Bengal.[82] Even Jagannatha monuments were present in Ranchi District of Bihar,Rajhim in Madhya Pradesh and Dacca in Bangladesh.[83]

The presence of Jagannath shrines in various places demonstrates the prominence of the Jagannath cult and its implications on people's lives throughout history. The king presented a number of ornaments to the Jagannatha temple making it lavishly endorsed with gifts of lands,jewels,money and articles of luxury.[84] *Naivedya*, or food for the god, was divided up between the poor tourists and, in some instances, between the helpers of the shrines.The Gajapati ruler Prataprudradeva himself controlled the dance presentation in the holy place.[85] Those ladies who performed the dances in front of the God were called Devdasis. From the temple literature,we find that there were six classes of Devadasis namely Bikrita,Vritti,Vakhta,Datta,Hrita and Alankara.[86] A number of male attendants were appointed for performing the temple services such as fanning or carrying the tub for the deities' daily bath.[87] These persons were rewarded sometimes with territories and meals for their efforts.The Kings hired special deputies to improve the worship related governance system. Kasi Mishra was

in charge of all the affairs of the temple,who was appointed as the temple superintendent by the king.[88] Sikhi Mahanti and his sister Madhavi Dasi were scribes of temple.[89] During Prataprudradeva's rule,religious people accumulated wealth and resources along with cash(Tankas) in the temple finances.

6.A.7. Establishing Divine connection of Kingship in Manipur

The Meitei rulers of Manipur adopted several policies for the legitimization of their kingdom.The Meitei kings of Manipur attempted to set up a divine linkage to their kingship.The rulers and their successors were observed to link the establishment of their kingdom in accordance with the instructions from God.According to one chronology,once a guru titled Sidaba drifted down a river in the shape of a deceased cow to evaluate the devotion, knowledge and understanding of his two sons Sanamahi and Pakhangba.[90] The Atiya master Sidaba then requested these sons to participate in the leadership contest of surrounding the human world.Leimaren Sidabi, the mother of Pakhangba recommended Pakhangba not to go and just to walk all over his father's pedestal. [91]

Thus by serving his father, Pakhangba won and the other Gods decided to make Pakhangba the ruler of the earth. Therefore there was founded the legacy of Pakhangba as the supreme lord of the planet, and his brother Sanamahi as a Meitei spiritual entity. The Ningthouja dynasty was founded by Pakhangba.Thus the tradition of Pakhangba as being the divine king of the earth was created by the rulers of the Ningthouja dynasty.[92] Consequently, this narrative was generated to assert the legitimacy of their kingdom.The ruler was awarded the supreme status and also the position of Kshatriyas or warrior.According to another tradition which was supported by the Meitei kings was once various views were shared between God Pakhangba of Manipur and one renowed scholar named Langol Lukhoi.[93] In this mystic conversation of themselves,the god Pakhangba mentioned himself as the real God of the nation.Pakhangba also disclosed himself as Lord Govinda. [94] It was claimed that god Gobinda would protect the country for 100 years.[95] By permission and desire of these gods, the Meitei kings claimed that they sat on the throne of Manipur. They were gifted the honour of Kshatriyahood by the Brahmins who came to the valley.Thus it can be understood that this image installation scheme of the Hindu God Govinda was to enhance the societal value of the valley.

Patronage to the Brahmins of Manipur

With the late 17th and early 1800s, there started a speedy Hindu prozeltising movement in almost all over North East India. The repression of Hindus by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb ended up driving the Brahmins of the Mughal court to migrate to the north eastern nation staying outside the grasp of Mughal empire. Simultaneously, the massive war between the Mughals and the Ahoms in the seventeenth century motivated the Hindu revivalism movement in those provinces. The Shakta Hinduism and Vaishnavism had been the two Hindu subgroups at those area. The Ahom court of Assam,Tripura and the Kachari nation had been effected by the religion Vaishnavism and Shakta Hinduism. Manipur also came in touch with Hinduism for praise of Lord Vishnu since the mid-fifteenth era.Thus various rituals of this Sanskritization process started in Manipur under the then Meitei rulers.

The subsequent ruling elites offered huge royal patronage to the adoration of Vishnu, but the Brahmins who were relocated to Manipur appears to have done more to propagate Hinduism in this valley nation. In 1704, King Charairongba had already become the first Meitei supreme ruler to generate to Vaishnavism.Thus, at that time there was a regular flow of Brahmin immigrants to Manipur.[96] They started to inscrease the Sanskritic impact on various administrative and religious affairs.In April 1704., king Charairongba was formally converted into Vaishnavism by the Brahmin Krishnacharya who came from Puri.[97] The school adopted the adoration of Krishna as its main philosophy. To brought about religious restructuring in a conservative with solid societal structure like the Meities, it took a man of profound religious dedication and groundbreaking spirit, which were all found in the king Garibaniwaza. Garibaniwaza was a fantastic warrior, but he was sometimes greater as a religious modernizer in the advent of Hinduism throughout Manipur. Manipur had a diverse population at the 17th century when the Meities of Imphal valley practised primitive Meitei religious doctrine.But however the highland tribes of the nearby countryside practised the ancestor tribal faith, and the Shans of Kabaw valley on the eastern horizon exercised Buddhism.

The Shakta Brahmins were attempting to transform Charairongba to Shakta Hinduism, according to Sanamahi Laikan, a text having dealt with the Sanskritization process during the era of Garibaniwaza.It seemed that a competition emerged between many Brahmins of numerous Hindu schools of thought in attempting to manipulate the king. Charairongba was a follower of the Nimandi or Nimbarka school of Vaishnavism. According to Sanamahi Laikan, his son,

Garibaniwaza, acknowledged the Sakshya spirituality of the Madhavacharya school of Vaishnavism.

Nevertheless, according to the chronicle Cheitharol Kumbaba, Garibaniwaza was initiated into Vaisnavism by Guru Gopal Das in October 1717.[98] Prior to the transformation, 39 Bairagis landed in the capital and they include a Brahmin called Sitaram.Very little is known about Guru Gopal Das, the man who converted Garibaniwaza to Vaishnavism. According to the royal documentary, Guru Gopal Das returned to his homeland in 1720. [99] The king's new religious fanaticism was evidenced by the fabrication of temples mainly dedicated to Lord Krishna and Kalika. Shanta Das Mahanta Beiragi seemed to be the new mentors who took the active role after the retirement of Guru Gopal Das in spreading Vaishnavism in Manipur. For 20 years, King Garibaniwaza cultivated and helped in spreading Vaishnavism. The religion Vaishnavism was then proselytised on a massive dimension. The Brahmins and other pilgrims came in an inscreased frequency than ever before. The king retained a greater connection with Assam and is also credited with promoting the Bhagavat. Some holy men including the religious practitioner of the ruler of Assam, arrived in Manipur.Manipur's dominant state religion thus became Vaishanavism. It is probable that Gopal Das left Manipur in 1720 and that time only Shanta Das came from Sylhet to settle in the valley.

When Garibaniwaza was practising Gaudiya Vaishnavism, Shanta Das arrived and requested the ruler to acknowledge the Ramanandi cult.Thus it becomes clear that a competition got started among Gopal Das and Shanta Das.[100] Garibaniwaza got attracted to the Ramanandi cult.Gopal Das thus left Manipur probably due to the emperor's change in attitude. Quite unlike Gopal Das Shanta Das came with a strong will and true missionary zeal. [101] However under the energetic supervision of the guru Shanta Das, the transmission of a new religion began after 1720. The king bestowed various donations for the Brahmins.He proclaimed that the people's consumption of meat as a forbidden act.[102] Pig breeding and poultry rearing were prohibited in his capital. The people who raised such livelihood were exiled to the opposite side of the main town. The shrines of nine Umanglais were also demolished. Nevertheless, the kings directed that the Brahmins should be utilised in the devotion of royal divinities.Those deities were Nongshaba, Yimthei Lai, Panthoibi, and Taibangkhaiba (Sanamahi),etc.Thus it snatched the right of the conventional priests of the Meities who were then not allowed to worship those deities. [103]

On Sunday, 1725 C.E., the graves of the departed monarchs, queens, and royal families were decided to reopen, and the skeletal remains of the rotting corpses of the family were dug up and creamted once more. The cremated remains were engrossed in the Chindwin river.[104]According to Meiteis religious tradition, the decision to open the graves was a sinful act. The king did not listen to these mass objections.The funeral service of the dead was initiated from the same year in the tradition of the Meiteis.

The chronicle Cheitharol Kumbaba gives no indication about the barbarous act of putting books of Meitei script in fire. However, this notorious ritual is mentioned in a series of works authored by the Brahminical experts. Khumanthem Kaomacha, a ballad songwriter turned historian, made the first reference to book burning (popularly known as Puran Meithaba) in his Manipur Ittibritti book (1934), and he named the 123 books in manuscripts that were burnt.[105] This fact is reinforced by the essence that some of these manuscripts were known to 20th century authors even earlier than 1934.Throughout the glorious years of Brahmanical Hinduism, an indication occurs that some documents were retained in private personal belongings by the pundits. According to one perception, when the texts were destroyed, some precise manuscripts were fire resistant and floated away in multiple distinct ways.It actually suggest that those recruited to set the manuscripts on fire,may have protected several of these manuscripts. The ruler and his practitioner thus had clearly committed this as an immoral act. The fantastic theologian scholar of the Meitei religious doctrine, Lourembam Khongnangthaba,the greatest scholar of the Meiteis,voiced opposition to this disastrous assessment of the king. [106]

The abodes of the Conventional Deities were being largely dismantled. In 1726., where the king erected temples for Lord Krishna and Kalika which were close to the big tank dug up at Wangkhei leikai, he was also engrossed in a zealous activity of destroying images of Umanglais (deity of villages) and other essential divinities such as Laiyingthou Panthoibi, Sanamahi,Soraren, and Moidonpokpi. These cracked images were buried at Mongbahanba, in which a Hanuman temple was built.[107] There was an unfortunate incident of occurrence of fire which occurred at the castle, where several constructions were destroyed. This probably seems that the people were enraged by the king's impulsive behaviour and the fact that he was under the trance of the foreign preceptor or guru who was also solely responsible for this religious zealotry.

6.A.8. Adopting New Religious Philosophy

Shanta Das ended up attempting to dismantle the domicile of the goddesses at Heibokching in south Imphal, as shown in a tradition. But Shanta Das was terrified by the God and he later vowed to protect the monument of the goddess Hiyangthang Lairemma (also known as Devi). Following this year of ferocious damage, the chronicle documents that the temple of Laiwa Haiba (Sanamahi) with the deity figurine was dedicated in 1729, and the temple of Sanamahi, which had been destructed pretty early, was restored in 1733**.** [108]

Shanta Das' and King Garibaniwaza's sanskritization propaganda was severe and comprehensive.It is said that Shanta Das asked him to accept Ramanandi cult because it has contained the character of heroism of Kshetriya or warrior.[109] Throughout one transition of period, the Meities social and even cultural traits were drastically sanskritized. Shanta Das was a brilliant Brahmin theologian who decided to generate Manipur's entire sociopolitical structure into a Hindu society and government. It began with renaming the valley into Manipur, which was suggested by Shanta Das and acknowledged by the king and court, as a reference to the Manipur of the Mahabharata, which was governed by Babruvahana, son of the Pandava legend Arjuna.

The king Garibniwaza was awarded the designation of 'Maharaja' in 1724 under the title of "Manipureswar." [110] Gopal Singh, a Hindu forename, was provided to the king by the Brahmins of Manipur. The queen's name was changed to Gomati Devi. Nevertheless, the name 'Garibaniwaza' appeared in the Nagari script on the coins. He was alluded as 'Manipureswar' and 'Mekleswar,' making reference to the country's name as 'Mekle.'[111]The title of Queen Gomati was present on coins after being authorised by the ruler. The implementation of the title "Manipur" for this old civilisation basically marked the starts of the Sanskritization activities.[112]

According to the chronicle Cheitharol Kumbaba, the family lineage of the Meitiei clans was completed in 1731 underneath the guidance of Haobam Pukhranba. However, another geneology of the royal house known as Vanhsavali was organised, with its mythological linkage to the rulers like Arjuna of the Mahabharata.King Garib Niwaz introduced the Hindu Gotra system on the advice of Shanta Das.[113]According to Sanamahi Laikan, Shanta Das established the Gotra for the seven Salais, or the Meitei clans. [114]

Salai	Gotra
1. Ningbhouja (The king’s dynasty)	: Shandilya

2. Angom : Kaushika
3. Chenglei (Sarang Leishangthem) : Bhardhwaja
4. Luwang : Kashyap
5. Khuman : Madhugalya
6. Moirang : Aitereya
7. Khaba-Nganba : Gautam

Source - Gangmumei Kabui: *History of Manipur Volume* I, p.256.

Since the transformation, all the rulers were asserted as the Kshatriyas. The Hinduised Meities also got merged into a single caste structure.Garibaniwaza's bloodline was founded by Pakhangba, who pertaining to myth was conceived of a divine cloud egg from the Sun and the king's dynasty was attributed with the solar dynasty of Sri Ramachandra of Ramayana.At the instance of Shanta Das Gosai, the Manipuri Hindus scooped up bones of their ancestors from their respective burial graves and dropped those collected bones in the Chindwin river.[115]

Amalgamation of Meitei and Hindu Festivals

The Meitei celebrations were rebranded in Hindu style. As a result,the annual boat race,previously known as the *Heigru Hitongba* celebration,which did take place in the month of September was recalled as Jal Yatra.The *Ayang Yoiren Iruppa* celebration was transformed into a yearly snan festival at Lilong Sahonpat.The *Waira Tenkap* celebration in February was changed into a Kirtan festival. The *Poirei Apakana* festival occurring in the month of March was then transformed into the Loipam celebration.Vishnu Samkranti replaced the *Kongba Leithong Phatpa* festival.

Ratha Jatra was associated or swapped with the Ahong Khongching in the month of June.The *tarpan* supplanted the forefather offering festival in the month of September.The *Dasana Kwaktanba* of Durga Puja replaced the *Wakambhung Chingnung Nongombi* festival whereas the Govardhan worship took the place of *Chanou Hui Chintu* or the New Harvest festival. Thus all the general mass started to enjoy these various kinds of religious festival. It also gave strength to the religious identity of the Meitei state.Nevertheless,the attempt of the crown and his preceptors to remove the ancient Meitei religious practice ceased due to various protests from the conventional supporters of the indigenous religion.As a result,the king and Shanta Das decided to attempt Sanamahi as essential God,as well as they allowed the exercise of the old religious rituals.But the Hindu patterns were implemented and acknowleged

superficially.The chronicles mention the king's first transition to Hinduism in 1717. The king took his second transition to Hinduism in 1729 .In 1737 C.E., the king and 300 other people were converted into Vaishnavism.[116] Thus Manipuri Vaishnavism either of the Rama cult or the Chaitanya school of practice had to reach an agreement with the Meitei religion.The royal chronicle of Manipur records that the king accepted Pramanth Dharma.[117]

The Meitei civilization had no caste structure at the very beginning. All the Meities, along with the king, were asserted the Kshatriya status after their transformation to Vaishnavism. Outside of the Meitei civilization, the Brahmins established a distinct caste, and the non-Hindu hill indigenous peoples and Shan Buddhists constituted completely different social groups. The advent of a princely organization named as the Rajkumars, who have been the children of the king's spouses, turned into an important element of the Sanskritization process.[118] With the widespread dispersion of Vaishnavism by Shanta Das, Manipuri wives began dying at the death of there own spouses which was known as Sati burning.Previously in the marriage system of the Meiteis,both polygamy and polyandry were present.But later the practice of Polyandry got discontinued and the practice of polygamy was continued in the society.

Many chronicles refer to sati burnings being voluntarily performed by the wives of the ruiling elites.[119] To save the glory of this new imposed religion, numerous Sati burnings were started and performed knowingly and willingly by the wives of the royals and the court nobles. The Sati Burning was first documented in 1726 .[120] When Prince Murari passed away, his wives also adopted the Sati system by trying to burning themselves to death in the funeral pyre of that prince. Another record was founded of Sapam Khwairakpa who was dropped dead in 1733, and his wife died with him. [121] Keirungba Thanogai died in 1737, and his two wives also burned themselves to death. [122] Sati was pursued by upper class because the state religion instilled a powerful feeling of pride in this activity.

But around this same identical moment, inter caste wedding became extremely uncommon. In 1746, the king ordered a Shan family to marry people with the Lairikyengbam household, and when they declined, the Shan family was deported to Sugnu. [123] However the king ordered in that identical period that the Barbers could tie the knot with the Dawan caste.Thus the cultural interaction of the Meiteis with the Hindu world was founded.The Pilgrimages to the Hindu sacred sites also became prevalent. A quantity of representatives from

the imperial family, including the princesses, went for pilgrimage under the guidance of Brahmin priests. The exercise of immersing the bone fragments of cremated people was also pursued.

6.A.9. Circulation of Concentrated Surplus

The Meitei rulers dedicated much of their time and energy for the benevolent works.Thus the whole valley slowly turned into a much better habitable place and attracted more people to reside.In 1660 .,king Khunjaoba dug a moat round the palace compound and in 1661 he built a bund across the course of the Naga stream as a flood controlling measure.[124] In 1666.,he improved the site of Khwairamban Bazar by improving the drainage system and even raising bunds to protect it from inundation.[125] During Paikhomba's reign,many developmental works were conducted.The river bund of the right bank of the river Imphal from Singjamei to Kiamgei was built.[126] During the time of drought,the fields were irrigated with river water. Paikhomba even improved salt wells in 1694.[127] Even the rulers Charairongba sustained the works of Paikhomba for cleaning the jungles of the forested area and making it habitable.The Meitei ruler Charairongba erected many temples for the Meitei goddesses like Panthoibi,Sanamahi and for the Hindu deities like goddesses Kali and Lord Krishna.There is a Krishna temple which is still in a decent condition at the place Brahmapur in Imphal.

Rajarshi Bhagyachandra's greatest significant event was the building and erection of Shri Govindajee's wooden monument.Various chronicles comment on the arrival of Govindajee differently. Lord Krishna advised King Bhagyachanda in his dream to start making his monument from a Jackfruit tree. [128] He was able to identify the Jackfruit tree which was to be in the Kaina hill after discussing the source of the place with educated intellectuals.The king ended up going to Kaina in February 1776 in hunt of the Jackfruit tree. After discovering the tree on the mound, he provided presents to the Panganbam family in appreciation for their guidance in the finding of the tree. Sapam Lakshman Singh, a wooden statue maker, created images of Shri Govindajee, Shri Bijoy Govinda, Shri Advaita, and Shri Gopinath from the Jackfruit tree. [129]

Shri Govindajee was worshipped at the temple at Langthbal palace under the care of Maharaja Bhagyachandra and Shri Bijoy Govinda under the care of the minister Ananta Shai, the king's uncle.[130] On the other hand,Shri Advaita was worshipped at the second palace at Bishnupur, and Shri Gopinath was worshipped by Shri Krittidhwaja, who was also given the title of Kala Raja by the king.[131] Nevertheless it was only after some years in 1780 C.E., that the king

steadily established his kingdom at Langthabal and from then the ceremonial placement of Shri Govindajee occurred at the Langthabal palace in a very big and festive way.

Thus, it is noticed how these kingdoms have legitimized their rule effectively by following these policies.These legitimizational procedures created an existing influence in every aspect on all over their kingdoms. Therefore, a study of the effect of legitimization among the three dynasties has been analysed. Initially taking the case of Bishnupur, the paramount thing to be stated here is that the temples changed the whole life structure of the region. After the initiation to Gauriya Vaishnava religion by Bir Hambir, an architectural movement arrived in Bengal which continued till the middle of the 18th century.

Influence on the literature

Though the cultivation of learning was present on Mallabhum even before the spread of Gauriya Vaishnava religion, the Bengali as well as the Sanskrit language received new incentive after its evolvement. The kings after the building of the temples stimulated the Sanskrit learning, predominantly, the knowledge of the Vaishnava religious texts[132] Thus frequent copies of the Vaishnava manuscripts were translated into Bengali. Many noteworthy poetic works were even translated in Bengali [133]. Consequently, in every new writing the effect of Radha Krishna and Vaishnava texts fall predominantly. Even the king Bir Hambir, composed many hymns and songs on Vaisnavism.[134] During the phase of his son Dhari Hambir,the patronization of the poets like Sankar Chakraborty[135] was done largely. Even the ladies of the family learned the Brajabuli language.The development of miniature painting[136] was meticulously linked with the development of knowledgeable texts. Thus the wooden covers of the manuscripts called *pata* were often adorned by miniature paintings. Even the Mallabhum manuscripts are found to have painted pata.[137] The miniature paintings in Bishnupur had certain influence of Orissa, Gujarat and even Rajasthan.[138]

Adoption of New Festivals

The Mallabhum as a consequence of the construction of so many temples began to follow Vaishnava religion ardently. Thus a new festival called *kirtan* became an essential feature of Gauriya Vaishnava worship.[139] Thus Narottamdas, one of the colleague of Srinibas specialized in North Indian classical music developed Drupad based high level *Kirtan* songs. These diversity of *kirtan* songs thus reached Bishnupur under the patronage of the Malla kings. As an effect, the tradition of high music thus began and was developed into the definitive Bishnupur school of

Dhrupad.[140] Under their influence, the Rath Festival was celebrated. Though Rath festival is the festival of rainy season, it is celebrated in Chatra and Rajbaghini in the autumn season. Imitating the tradition of sudden Durga Puja by Ram, the Ravankata festival started in Mallabhum.

Growth of Cordial Relationship between the kings and Religious Leaders

The rulers were intensely devoted to both the Gods and the Brahmins. Therefore the king on auspicious occasions, went to the houses of his Guru in order to seek their blessings. By dint of their behaviour, the kings also wanted to get appreciated from their masses. Thus the suffix of Deva was added to the title of Singha to complete the name of king. The king even did not hesitate to spent a lot of money on the marriage of his Guru Srinibas. The king along with his Guru and his family members participated in the Ras festival.

Muslim Influence on the Amusements of the kingdom

Apart from the Vaishnava and the Hindu influence, the effect of Muslim influence also is present on the temples. Thus the people of Mallabhum witnessed the spread of one famous card named *'Dasavatar Tas'*. Though these card playing technique was clearly adopted from the Mughals, it became very famous among the kings of Mallabhum. The *'Kalki avatar'* of the Dasavatar Card bear the picture of Mughal Barpurush. One another type of card playing was known called the *Naksha Tas*. It bear the design of two Malla fighters. It also contain the image of elephant riders. Even today the Faujdar family of Shakari market are producing Dasavatar cards.

The priests had to work as religious teachers to the general mass and as formal teachers in tols, chatuspathis. Therefore the effect of the temples brought Mallabhum in the limelight of culture and literature. These tols were sometimes feudal lords dominated or sometimes controlled by the zamindars.The *bandhs* served the triple purpose of defence,irrigation and amusement.[141] The carvings in the temples show that the Malla kings had pleasure boats, gladiatorial contests in amphitheaters[142] and even religious as well as royal precessions. They had big bandhs which served the triple purpose of defense irrigation and amusement.[143] The 8 bandhs assisted in the purpose of drinking water. Moreover the kings of Bishnupur had made pleasure gardens on the banks of lakes, king Bir Hambir is said to have brought flower and fruit trees from Brindaban to Bishnupur.[144]

Growth of friendship between the Mughals and the Malla rulers

The relationship of the Mughal rulers with the Malla kings became more cordial. Though the Malla kings paid the tribute to the Mughal emperor according to their wish[145] they always

obeyed the suzerainty of the central authority. At one time, when Rahunath Singha, the Malla king was arrested by the Mughals, he showed some signs of bravery and thus himself got the title of Singha. In Jor Bangla, Shyam Rai temples and some other temples of Mallabhum, the influence of the Muslims become very prominent. Due to these influences, the Jahangiri Cap and various types of Muslim dress began to get renowned in Mallabhum. The people of Mallabhum got more habituated with these cultures after the construction of such temples.

While coming to the case of Orissa, it is observed that there are numerous annual festivals which developed due to the worship of the cult of Jagannatha. Some of them which are worthy of mentioning are referred below. [146]

Chandan Jatra: The celebration of Chandan Yatra begins on the 3rd day of the emergence of the moon in Baisakh month and lasts for 21days.At this time, Madan Mohan and five Mahadebs are carried on chariots to a tank called Nurrunder, where a temple is built for their repose.[147] The holy turmeric water is spreaded at the last day of the tenure.

Rukmini Haran Festival: This celebration is organized on the eleventh day of the moon's rise.According to available versions, Madan mohan kidnaps "*Rookunee*" for the reason of getting married to her after a fight with her brother "*Rokun*."[148] The marriage event is held at night in the temple.

***Snan Jatra*:** This festival is also called the Celebration of bathing**.** On the day of the full moon in the month of *Jeth,* the idols *Juggunnath, Bulbhudder, and Soobhudra* are brought from their throne to the *Snan Mundup,* where they take a bath.[149] After that various celebrations are conducted, the priests beautify the images with petals, and conduct of several rituals.

***Rath Jatra*:** This celebration is also known as the Car festival**.** Three large cars or *raths* are built for three idols and they are positioned on all of them and taken to the Goondeecha Mundup temple.[150] The image of chariot making which is still relevant today is provided in the appendix. This tradition is even continued today.

Hara Punchumee: On the 5th day of the car celebration, Godesses Laxmi (*Lukheedebee)* is chosen to taken by her car to meet Jagannatha.

***Joolun Jatra*:** The Jagannatha swinging celebration is held for five days on the Mukut Mandapa in the temple.

Bahoorah: This is the festival where all the cars which were taken away from the temple returns to the temple.They are brought from Goondeecha mandap.[151]

***DolJatra*:**On the day of the full moon in the month of Falgoon, the priests consider taking the images *Mudun Mohun, Lukhee, Surasuttee, Ram, and Kishen* from the Dole Munchup near the temple.[152]They are tried to swing on a small litter and then the red powder is offered to them .This red powder is actually the colour (the *rang)* needed for the *yatra* or activity.

***Ram Nabame*:** This is witnessed on the 9th day of the moon's increase. [153] It is the time when Jagannatha wears the outfit of Lord Ram, who defeated king *Rava*n of Lanka or Ceylon in a battle.This is Lord Rama's birthday festival.[154]

Jagannath's car is 45 feet tall, with sixteen wheels of 7 feet diameter, and a platform of 35 feet square. [155] *Balabhadra's ruth* is forty-four feet tall, with fourteen wheels six and a half feet in diameter and a platform of thirty-four feet square.The car of *Soobhudra's* is forty-two feet tall, with twelve wheels of six feet-diameter and a thirty-three-feet-square platform. [156] When the cars take their first movement during the festival, an extreme joy is felt among the crowd. The cherishment of thousands of people create an astonishing influence in the environment. The whole system of writing of Oriya literature was based on palm leaves before the invention of printing press.There was the existence of palm leaf library system in Orissa which was continued for many centuries. [157] These libraries consisting of palm leaf manuscripts are even today seen in every Orissan village.Every influential household in a village possessed a private library of these ancient books as a proud family heirloom. [158]

The economic consequences of the temples are still felt now-a-days. The temples require different farm goods such as rice, khoya, ghee, fruits and veggies to arrange the *Mahaprasad* for the Lord Jagannatha. There still are settlements around Puri where the locals make a living by delivering products to the temple administration and travellers.There still are rural areas nearby that produce pottery solely for the usages of the temple.The temple needs a huge portion of those potteries everyday, and it is also the sole purchaser of these kind of materials The Temple thus engages the bulk of people in the nearby neighbourhoods, and the temple is the greatest significant employer in the territory. Thus the magnificent culture of Orissan Works of art remains awake and it is in a very rich state. The works of artists are needed in the temple on multiple events, and they're still the provider to the temple now. The artists or the *chitrakaras* are the inherited appointees in the shrine. Raghurajpur, near Puri, is a village that specialises in the preparation of paintings and the plastering of masks.[159] The popularity of this cult led to the employment of the local artists for decorating the basement of the temples.[160]

The works of art in the temple always depict the various religious themes which are also associated with the Jagannath praise. Those very drawings were generally made for the growing market for several pilgrims who visit Puri.Once Shri Bishnu Dutta Mohapatra who was a hereditary painter in the temple was given a special right of Chamara Seva in the temple by the Raja of Puri for his sincere service.[161] For there own given facilities to the temple, the inherited artists of the monument were gifted with lands and funds. The requirement for those painters in the *Mandir* or the temple eventually started the royal patronage for them. This inherited category of painters had also retained this artwork upto the current times.

The temple of Jagannath also made valuable innovations for dance forms all over the region. In Orissa, dance appears to be already an intense component of the rituals of the temple.Dances are the most important performing art of all the people of different periods in history.[162] The historical evolution of this Odissi dance can be traced back to even 1000 years or more.Thus this dance turned out as one of the assests in the heritage of Orissa. The Deva Dasis were girls who danced and worked for the temple.They were intended to start dancing in front of the god at some designated moment.These girls were mostly taken from the poor families and were not allowed to marry to any other person.[163] But it is unidentified when the Deva Dasi process first appeared in Orissa.

In Orissa, the god Jagannatha still is worshipped in every house and is treated just like one member of the family. Jagannatha is considered as Ganadevata,Rastradevata.[164] In the temple,especially 56 categories of Bhoga are prepared for Lord Jagannatha.Thus Jagannatha is considered as the original ruler of the Gajapatis.The king of Kalinga is just considered as his deputy.[165] One distinguishing feature of the Jagannath worship is the absence of class distinction in sharing the holy food between them. Jagannatha forms a basis for cultural identity of different social caste and class in our society.[166] The issue of social unity thus obviously made a solid attraction to the lowest class of culture and the purity of holy meals surpasses all obstacles, such as caste hierarchy, racial group, and agressive beliefs.

Thus Jagannatha is often regarded as also the unique synthesis of Hindu religious beliefs of India.[167] Apart from other influences, the above identifying feature of Jagannath adoration created a significant social effect. One more unique quality that has fascinated and significantly affected all sectors of society is the method of sweeping the Car of Jagannath. It was done by the Gajapatis of Orissa during the Car festival. [168] Every year this tradition is still followed by the

Gajapati ruler of Orissa.He wields the symbolic golden brace stick like a scavenger to sweep and clean the road before Jagannatha's chariot begins, proclaiming to the entire world,by the very act,that he was no higher than his subjects.[169] The above ceremonial service of the Gajapatis had such a great deal of effect on the society.

A solid emotion was there was there among the people that conducting this Seva by the king is essential in the sequence of devotion and observing the Jagannath religious festival.The religious movement which Chaitanya Deva set in motion gave no doubt a new impetus to the literary activities of the land.[170] This impact of Chaitanya brought a radical change in social life and renaissance in literature. [171] Thereby, from every angle, the temple of Jagannath showed up to be the central hub of Orissa's contemporary culture.In 1568 C.E., the last Hindu empire in India was wiped out of existence. [172]

Influence of Vaishnavism on Manipur

There was a huge impact of Vaishnavism which effected the valley and led to the growth of several literary works and different customs of people. The emergence of Bengal Vaishnavism thus resulted in creating new names for locations, waterways, highlands, woodlands, as well as the renowned divinities. After the mass implementation of NeoVaishnavism, Sanskrit, Bengali, and Brajabali Vocabularies arrived in Manipur with full vibrancy. Inventive Manipuri thoughts were mostly derived from Bhagavatism and the concepts of pralaya (dissolution), mukti (Salvation), murti (idol), and ekanta dharma in general, while books of Manipuri translation of the Gita and the epics have registered the first logical but crucial step in assimilating the exotic religion.[173]

Advancement of Manipur Dance

Manipuri music, dance, and painting gained momentum during the Vaishnava period, which lasted at its peak for two and a half centuries (1709-1950).[174] Before the arrival of neo-Vaishnavism, Manipur also used to have a rich traditional culture and heritage. The Manipuri style of classical dancing was the most important form in which the neo-Vaishnava movement manifested itself.[175]There were some essential features of Manipuri Vaishnava traditional dancing. Firstly, the theme of the dance was the concept of activity (leela) of Radha-Krishna, that also offers the pinnacle of Manipuri brilliance. Lord Krishna's dance in Vrindavan, surrounded by the gopis, was also brought into fullest play.[176] As the principal feature of Manipuri celebration is love, appreciating Vrindavan leela is comparable to the love concepts of

the Manipuris which were mainly of the god Nongpok Nighthou (Siva) and Nongpok Panthoibi (Parvati).The method of outfit,instruments such as the bamboo flute,Meitei pung (a unique type of drum) and so on were all provincial.[177] Thus the translation works and copying of Vaishnavite scriptures into Manipuri used to be esteemed on par with achieving religious distinctions.[178] The Sanskrit writings were completed by Manipuri scholars, such as Krishna Rasa Sangit Sangraha, Dharani Samhita,etc.[179] Some khandas of the Mahabharatam and Chaitanya Charitamrita are also highly regarded as nineteenth-century landmark achievements.[180] Manipur also saw the emergence of bhakti literary works.

A branch of historical literature arose which were known as Charitas (Vijay Panchali), which dealt with the lives and deeds of kings such as Garib Niwaz, Bhagyachandra, Chandrakirti, and others.[181] Local compilations include Astikala Lila, Lakshman Digvijay, Krishna Bhakti, 64 Rasas, Laiming Louba, and others.[182] Manipuri Vaishnavas have interpreted and embraced the vast bulk of Vaishnavite sacred books. Manipur has an uninterrupted heritage of learning and composing Vaishnava publications, that has formed as a trade mark to add value to the flourishment of modern Manipur.

From the reign of King Khagemba, the concept of textual activities started to thrive on a massive scale. However, it is worth noting that almost all of the ancient written works known as 'Puya' did not include the identity of the writer. However, based on the benchmark of written style, it is indeed completely obvious that the scholars of these writings were all intellectuals with unique traits of intellectual capabilities. According to the available sources, the large works were started during the reign of King Khagemba. These textual concepts originated in the thoughts of the individuals in the pattern of folk and oral literature. With the good command of King Khagemba, these folk and oral literature were translated into a written mode. At that period, some literary works started which are worthy of mentioning. [183] These are Khagemba Yumbi, which handled with the theory and formation of clans, Khagemba Singkak, which interacted with the elements of predictive analysis about future and Nongsaba Laihui, which tried to deal with the origins of Nongshaba idolizing it as god. Khagemba also constructed a temple for the Nongshaba deity in 1633 .[184]Besides this, Khagemba emphasised a few other works of literature on the compilation of myths and legends, tradition and genealogies, which were covered in the book 'Leithak Leikharol' (of heaven and Netherworld).[185]

The notion of literature appears to have been heavily inspired by the concepts of Sanskrit as well as Bengali literary works. King Garibniwaza's conversion of the Hindu epics like Mahabaharat and Ramayan into Manipuri was among his most important accomplishments.It is stated that Angom Gopi, a great scholar and poet of the court of Garibaniwaz, translated the entire work off Mahabharat and some important portions of Ramayan such as Aranya Kanda, Kishkindya Kanda, Sudar Kanda, Lanka kanda and Uttar kanda.[186]

'Takhel Ngamba' (the annexation of Tripura) and 'Samjok Ngamba' (conquest of Samjok) were two very significant novels during that era. Laishram Aroi and Yumnaba Atibar togetherly collaborated on the work of 'Samjok Ngamba.' Nungangbam Govindaram, an excellent writer of that ruling timeframe, wrote the famous work called 'Takhel Ngamba.' Two of these existing literatures made a significant effort in the field of writing, as well as in giving a overview to the country's distinguishable diplomatic and social living.During the reign of King Bhaigyachandra, the tendency of the progression of literary activities thus started to change. It is well known that his reign saw more of a growth of the Vaishnava religious belief system. The religious worldview of the Vaishnava Cult tremendously inspired a number of texts and their writing style. Various books including 'Sanamanik' by Wahengbam Madhabram, 'Arong Nandakumar Laibu Ningba,' 'Dhananjoy Laibu Ningba,' 'Virat Santhuplon' by Madhabram, and so on were written.[187]

During that time the condition of the valley got enormously effected by all the political turmoils occurring in the neighbouring area.Under these circumstances, perhaps the monarchs of Manipur seemed to be conscious that the cultural identification of Manipur would not be able to get sustained or kept for a long time. Taking that into consideration, they were adamant that promotion of the then prevalent Vaishnava culture and religion might be the only method to safeguard Manipur's historical uniqueness. The beginning of Vaishnava Cult as just a religious manner of living could well be viewed as a crucial step forward in the advancement of Manipur's primordial religion's ethnic and ritualistic processes. Travelling on the new chariot of this fresh religious manner of life, King Bhagyachandra for the first time took the historic and cultural individuality of his kingdom to the land of surrounding areas, especially Bengal.Raja Bhagyachandra installed a statue of image of Annuprabhu at Nabadwip (Bengal).It was the biggest proof of his intention to spread the cultural identity of Manipur to its neighbouring regions.[188] The king even went to Nabadwip at the time of his death in 1799.[189]

Thus, despite the ongoing political turmoils, the unique feature of the historical and cultural individuality became able to accelerate to an impressive situation for King Bhagyachandra.Despite having a difficult experience with political view, Manipur has been capable of sustaining a distinguishable cultural and historic authenticity.In the 18th century A.D.,Hinduism thus developed and got a new form in Manipur.[190]The Meitei festivals which got associated with the Hindu celebrations were:

1.Heikru Hitongba: This is one of the best preserved gatherings and a type of ceremony associated with King Punshiba of Luwang.It can also be called as an impartial ethnic gathering of persons, presenting the concept of building of a boat. It is a type of boat race contest wherein sailors place a garland of 'Heikru' (Emblioca officialis) on the head of the boat (in botanical term it is called myeobalam).[191] The 'Heikru Hitongba,' as noted, began as a festival near the Imphal River, east of Kangla.It is always held on the 9th of the Hiyangei month (September/October).[192] This festival was recalled as 'Jal Jatra,' after a Hindu festival.

2. Ayang Yoiren Iruppa: A further conventional celebration which was celebrated in the month of Wakching (December/January) was the Ayang Yoiren Iruppa.This festival was first performed at Sahoupat in Lilong under the new Hindu name of 'Snan' or ritual bathing or ablution.[193] It was a celebration whereby all peoples took bath while conducting their religious ritualistic traditions.

3. Waiba Tenkap: This was a type of archery festival that took place in month of *Phairen* (January/February). It was retitled as Lord Rama kirtan of Manipur.

4 Poirei Apakma: A religious event held during the month of Lamda (February and March).

5. Kongba Leithong Phatpa: This ritual and festival has been conducted since very early times on the 7th of Sajibu (March/April) at a location called Kongba with thegoal of bringing stability and prosperity to the region.This festival wasrenamed as 'Vishnu Samkranti.'.

6. Ahong Khonching: This was a further ritualistic event held during the month of Ingel (July/August). It changed its name as 'Ratha Jatra'.

7. Tara Chakluk Katya: This was yet another major ritualistic celebration associated with ancestor worship. This ritualistic festival took place during the month of Langban (August/September) and was renamed as'Tarpan' (offering to Pritulok).[194]

8. Wakambung Chingnung Nongombi: This is the type of ritualistic event which is held on the 10th day of the month of Mera (September/October).It had a purpose of bringing the welfare of the country.[195] It also is stated that from the rule of King Kiyamba, various Brahmins arrived in

Manipur and they decided to settled there with their family members. Some of their specified identities were.[196]

Subhi Narayan of Western Takhen (Tripura) who married Thoinu, a Haokei woman. His family was recognised as 'Phurailatpam.'[197] Secondly, Mishri Pitambar of Takhen (Tripura) agreed to marry Hongbi of the Ngapu tribe. His surname was 'Pitambar Cheithaba Mayum.'[198] Mishri Pand of Takhen (Tripura) decided to marry a Mayang girl and a Kumbi girl. His surname became 'Panda Mayum.' Shri Ridhur, a Gujarati, arrived in Manipur with his family and relatively young brother. Shri Mayum became his family name. Sarangina from Nepal made a matrimonial alliance with Kumbi, a Heikhong girl. His surname became 'Gotimayum.'[199] Gangaram, of Takhen (Tripura) was a fisherman (Dum), who married Mainubi, a Sekta girl. His family name was 'Shijagurumayum.'[200] Ghanaram Tantradhar of Takhen (Tripura) married Kumu, a Mayang Hekhong woman. His family name became 'Kakching Tambam.'[201]

Rangacharam of Takhen (Tripura) agreed to marry Tingbi of Haokei. His family name was Adhikarimayum.[202] Sitaram who belong from Nadia (Bengal), married Maitekpi, a Langnung girl. His family name became 'Sitram.'[203] Tennana who also came from Nadia (Bengal) married Samdenbi of Kumbi. His family name was 'Bachaspati.'[204] Jabasing from Takhen (Tripura) married Dhani, a Perekhongbam girl and his surname was 'Leikhunchangbam.'[205] Raghunath Das of Takhen (Tripura) married Chaobi, a Samupan girl and his family name became 'Sanjuki Mayum.'[206] Haridev of Takhen (Tripura) married Samphabi of Kumbi and his surname was 'Dhyandas Mayum.'[207] Haribidyalangkar of Takhen (Tripura) married Tangkhamkei girl Maimubi and his family name was 'Takhen Changbam.' Chaob of Toubul was being married to Ganesh Giri of 'Takhan' (Tripura) and his surname is 'Leihaothabam.'[208]

Cultural Impact of the Bengalis on the Meitei Society

The Hinduisation of Manipur was largely impacted by Bengali language and literature because the religious leaders were the Bengali persons proclaiming Bengali school of Vaishnavism.[209] The impact of those Brahmins' rose explosively.The process Sanskritization, which began in the first half of the 18th century, had become deeply ingrained in the society of Manipur. Thus it manifested itself in the changes of attire, eating patterns, and the use of Bengali as a form of media in religious interaction, whether it would be through different kind of chant singing or composing literature. The religious and cultural interaction with Bengal, especially places associated with Shri Chaitanya's history was given more importance. The power of the Brahmins

grew tremendously. Rajarshi Bhagyachandra absolutely preceded the Kshatriya ideal of lordship, which compelled the king for fulfilling the dual responsibilities of safeguarding the cow as well as the Brahmins. Meanwhile the ruler himself decided to resign from the throne of Manipur for about two times.This incident happened in 1763, when one Brahmin Brahmachari was killed by a servant and in1798 when a young Brahmin boy named Kokpei Sharma was executed with his unintentional knowledge.[210]

Bhagyachandra dedicated his dynasty to Lord Govindajee and presume to govern the kingdom as His mere executor. His religious dedication was imitated by his own daughter Princess Bhimbavati Majuri, who was also given marriage to Lord Govindajee. She was a follower of this Vaishnava cult. Thus she also followed her father to Nabadwip, where she worshipped Shri Anu Prabhu.[211] Gaudiya Vaisnavism, with its focus on Sankirtana, chant songs, and dance and music began to get appreciation from the ordinary folk as well. The emotional feeling of the Meiteis were voiced through different melodies composed for Shri Govindajee.

The Bengali Brahmins thus slowly got total control over Manipuri societal structure. During his time in power, there arose some inter-caste conflict among the Hindus and the non-Hindus.Nevertheless, the Manipuri Hindu women just weren't simply supporting Sati's ideal of Hindu femininity.This sati burning procedure, which used to be prevalent all through Garibaniwazi's period, fell into disuse. As per many chronicles, a prince ended up dead in 1776 and his wife did not wanted to die with him.[212] However, some other Satis were continued and documented in 1784. The Brahmins still formed a distinguishable and upper caste who were granted dispensation from agriculture and Lallup feudal activity.The ruler and the royalty supported their religious operations. The Brahmins on the other hand, got established in every neighbourhood and all across the dynasty. The temples controlled by these Brahmin priests were backed by the local people of the village.Thus, the temples served as the centres of religious circulation and also feudal controlling network. As a show of respect, the Brahmins were referred to as 'Eigya.' Hindu Meities were recognised as Kshatriyas. The Maharaja and his royal sons, known as Ningthemachas or Rajkumars, were addressed as Sankhya.[213]

Because of its influence, the people began wearing Bengali garments, such as Kurtas, dhoties etc. In the ceremonial instances, nevertheless, the conventional Meitei attire and outfits were worn. The aristocrat class and nobles of Manipur who had a scope of conducting a direct meeting with Bengali vendors, embraced more of their dress style.The Meitei society had

continued to make silk and different sorts of handloom attire for their people. The Manipuri women also seemed to be able to sustain their individuality in their dress. However, the nobility had just about wholly embraced the Bengali style, with only a few Meitei ceremonial clothes and outfits left as their old tradition.

The Meiteis mostly turned down the Ramandi cults but acknowledged the Chaitanya Vaishnavism.The Vaishnavite Sankirtanas were a form of worship of Krishna and Radha through hymns of praise dramatisation of scenes from their lives and sporting in the Vrindaban gardens.[214] Sankirtanas are still the heart of Hindu Manipuri culture. However the Meiteis also worshipped the indigenous gods like Soraren, Pakhangba, Sanamahi, Leimaren, and Umanglais. The worship of these deities are also spreaded all throughout Manipur.

Syncretism in Religious doctrine

A religious syncretism happened in Manipur, resulting in a fine fabrication in the Manipuri society during the medieval times.Simultaneously,the indigenous Meitei gods and goddesses were recognised with those of the Hindu gods and goddesses. Thus, Soraren, the Ruler of Heaven, was identified with Lord Indra, Nongpok Ningthou with Shiva, and Panthoibi with Durga .Wangbaren, the god of water, along with Varuna and many others. The Manipuri religion and derivative works were not simply a brand taken from Bengal rather it was imbibed to fit the individual culture and concepts, proving the resilience and tolerating character traits of Hinduism.

A new process of striking an intermediate path has also been noticed, where the Meitei cult devised a pragmatic task to introduce or establish such gods and goddesses similar to those of Hindu pantheons. [215]

Comparable Deities in Sanamahi & vaishnavite Hierarchies

Sl No.	*Name of Deities under Religious:*		*Reference(s) of similarity in terms of modes and models*
	Meiti Sanamahi	*Hindu Vaishnavite*	
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*
1.	*Atiya Guru or Guru Sidaba*	(i) Prajapati; & (ii) Siva	*Nongkhong Koiba (parambulating where rainbow meets earth)*
2.	*Leimaren*	*Parbati/Himabati/*	*-do-*

	Leisheerenbee	*gouri*	
3.	*Ashiba*	*Brahma*	*Leishemlon or Creation Genesis Theory of both Meities & Hindus*
4.	*Konjin-Tingthokpa*	*Maheswar (Destroyer)*	*-do-*
5.	*Nongthang Leima*	*Kalika/ Jogini/ Yogini*	*(i) awa ngamba (script)* *(ii) Subika Achouba (script)*
6.	*Koubru*	*Kubera*	*Both being treasure-keepers;*
7.	*Wangbren*	*(i) Varuna;* *(ii) Yamaraja*	*(i) Both as Gods of water;* *(ii) (a) God of Justice;* *(b) God of Death*
8.	*Kasa/ Soraren* *Or Kasa/ Soraren*	*(i) Indradeva;* *(ii) Vidhi Brahma*	*(i) Both as God of Sky;* *(ii) Both as God of Fate/Fortune*
9.	*Puthiba*	*Indradev*	*Both God of Rain/Monsoon*
10.	*Pureiromba*	*Indradeva*	*-do-*
11.	*Nongpok-Ningthou*	*Siva Mahadeva*	*Panthobi Khongul (script)* *(Kainou Cheengshomba)*
12.	*Apanbee*	*Gouri*	*Fair spouses of same god*
13.	*Panthoibee*	*(i) Parbati* *(ii) Radha;* *(iii) Durga*	*(i) Panthoibi Khongul (script)* *(ii) Local mindest*

Source: H.Dwijasekhar Sharma (ed.): *New Insights into the Glorious Heritage of Manipur*, p.451.

Among one of the very important effects of kingdom formation in Manipur during the time of the Meiteis, the ras festival and its impact deserves special mention.Ras is at the core of Manipuri traditional dance, which really is a fusion of conventional Meitei dance form and Vaishnava concepts. According to one notion, when the essence of Vaishnavism overpowered the entire Hindu society of the dynasty of the king, the formation of the Ras Leela was disclosed in his dream. His daughter, Princess Bhimbati, also known as Shija Laioibi, assisted him in composing the dance, which she also performed in a devotional dance form.[216] These dance forms were developed by the king himself. Shri Rup Paramanda Thakur first initiated Rajarshi

Bhagyachandra into Gaudiya Vaishnavism. Ganga Narayan, Chakravartin, Krishnacharan, Kunjabihari, Nidhiram Acharya, and Ramgopal Beiragi were the five preceptors for the spread of this Vaishnavism sect.[217] Ngangbam Selungba was the first convert, who was initiated by Ramgopal Beiragi and was followed by Krishnadas Thakur, Adhikari Kamdeva, and Shri Rup Paramanda Thakur. [218] Thus Manipur valley greatly prospered under the Meiteis in the medieval period.

Observation

Throughout the above chapter, it is observed that the common characteristics of the legitimization of power could be seen to be followed by the three kingdoms namely the Bishnupur,Gajapati and the Manipur realms.The above strategies were used by the these monarchs almost at the same time at three different places.Initially the establishment of the divine connection of kingship were tried to get recognized commonly.In the case of the Malla kingdom in Bishnupur,a link with the Rajput family of Northern India was accredited as its ancestral connection.The Gajapati rulers of Orissa claimed their origin to the Solar race and made several stories to call themselves as the children of the Sun.They proclaimed that they were ruling the masses of the region according to the wish of the Lord Jagannatha and by the permission of the Brahmins.Similarly in Manipur,the king Pakhangba was termed as the divine entity by the rulers of the Meitei kingdom.The rulers of all of these dynasties patronised the Brahmins as they understood that the Brahmins were needed to change the status of the local rulers into the edges of Kshtriyahood by creating various fictionalized stories of their origin.The kings of all these territories divided up the concentrated surplus through a significant number of temples as well as several tanks or canals. Furthermore, the regulated utility undertakings for the mass such as the construction of tols and canals were visible in those kingdoms. This resulted in an improved output for both the province and its subjects. The legitimacy of the kings was further reinforced by the adoption of Indo–Aryan culture and the continuation of primitive community traditions.As a consequence,the Kshatriya status of the king or the caste hierarchical organization became much more dominant. Thereby, the legitimization component of kingdom formation brought about a new social structure and influenced the culture of all these realms. The long term cultural effects were also evident in these kingdoms which resulted in different kinds of new Vaishnava influenced celebrations and festivals. After the adoption of the Vaishnava

religion by the Malla ruler Bir Hambir in the 16th century C.E, the Sanskrit language got new impetus and the effect of Radha and Krishna almost fell in every religious texts of the realm. The popularity of Lord Jagannatha during the Gajapati kingdom, helped in the organization of various festivals like *snan jatra*, *rath jatra* with chariot making activities,which are even prevalent today.These all characteristics influenced and brought a wholehearted change in every sphere of their society in all over eastern and north-eastern India.

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Conclusion

The historical progresses along with the cultural achievements and social influence of the three kingdoms namely the Mallabhum, Gajapatis and Meiteis on the adjacent areas would always be an important and remarkable episode in the history of Eastern as well as the North Eastern India. Throughout the whole discussion in this thesis, certain factors regarding these three realms initiated in the forefront. This transition of these three dynasties from the mere identity of a local power to the founder of some large kingdoms certainly became a notified occurrence. The process of legitimization was adopted by the kings for the centralization of their power as well as for the entrenchment of their kingdom.

Initially throughout the analysis, it is found that the chiefdom founded by Adi Malla, the first Malla king in the 7th century C.E., began to expand in size by his successive generations. During that period, many big and small independent states came to light in the land of Bengal. After the outrage of Matsyanaya, lack of stable government appeared in Bengal. Some kingdoms like the Kottabi, Panchakot expanded and often grabbed the areas of Mallabhum. Thus it is understood that the kingdom of Mallabhum was not so powerful back then. However, still under this instability, the next 56 Malla kings managed to rule the kingdom and extend its areas to Midnapur and even Burdwan. On this note, it is found that the policy of warfare abetted the Malla kings in the collection of tributes. Even the kings like Jay Malla did not hesitate to break the long friendship with the Padampur Raj for more power. The kings like Beni Malla, Sur Malla, Kanu Malla, Rama Malla maintained their sovereignty through regular expeditions in the conquered areas. Adding to these, the matrimonial alliances of the Malla kings with the Rajputs, improved their social status and highlighted their claim to be the descendants of the Kshatriya origin.

The same features were noticed in the case of the Gajapati kingdom of Orissa in the 15th century. In Orissa, the Gajapati kings having practical, political and diplomatic attitude began to legitimize their kingdom by using the most popular deity of the region Lord Jagannath in various aspects of their rule. Kapilendradeva (1435-1466 C.E), the founder of the Suryavamsi Gajapati dynasty of Orissa became the deputy of Lord Jagannath and provided a number of gifts to this temple. Gopinath Mahapatra,the powerful minister of Kapilendradeva was also given responsibility for the construction of temples in Orissa. The Gajapatis like the Malla kings bore

the high sounding titles like Paramasvara, Gandesvara etc. To legitimize their interference in the temple affairs, ritual sweeping was done by the kings in the Jagannatha temple of Puri.The coming of Chaitnaya Mahaprabhu during this time attracted people of all castes and the king also became his devotee. Thus the Jagannath cult absorbed the ideas of Chaitanya faith into its fold to continue the legitimization of the Gajapati kingdom.

Manipur, one of the 8th North-eastern states of India have more than 60 percent of its inhabitants as Meiteis who have their own language, culture and tradition. During the reign of Meitei king Kiyamba (1467-1507 C.E), an influential Brahmin advised him to follow the rituals of the Hindu God Vishnu to bring good fortune to his kingdom. From then onwards the royal patronage was given to the worship of Vishnu by its successive rulers. The next important king Meidingu Pamheiba (1708-1747 C.E) himself got converted to the Ramanandi sect of Vaisnavism. Under the influence of the then Vaishnava guru Santi Das Gosai, the Meiteis made Vaishnavism the state religion of Manipur. The Meitei kings provided much of their potency for the generous works which were conducted for the wellbeing of the common people. The kings constructed several temples both for the Meitei deities as well as for Lord Vishnu. Lord Govindajee was adored under the patronage of King Bhagyachandra and consequently the worship of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses became prevalent in the region. The kings began to give charities to the Brahmins and eating of meat were forbidden by the rulers. The Meitei festivals like Heiglu Hitongba or the annual boat festival were given Hindu names like Jal yatra .Intense sanskritization was started but a compromise also had to be made with ancient Meitei religion. Under the influence of Vaishnavism, the Manipuri classical dance came into being which is even continued today. Some important characteristics were initiated in this kind of traditional dance form. The subject of the dance was love between Lord Krishna and Radha encircled by the other girls termed as the gopis. The effect of Bengal Vaishnavism also occasioned in forming new designations and names for roads, highlands, woodlands etc.

While discussing about the economic background, behind the construction of so many Vaishnava temples in these three regions, it is found primarily that the huge prosperous trade again in these three areas proved very useful for a solid financial base. Moreover the surplus generating agriculture in the form of rice, oil also stabled the economy. Not only these, even the trade revenues and the taxation policy were the other sources of income which were used by these kingdoms. In case of the Malla kingdom of Bishnupur, it was found that the Malla rulers

got a huge economic support from the Mughal dynasty in the medieval period. Along with these the tribute or the offerings to God and the strategies of consuming the indirect service from the priests by providing land grants to them, proved very useful for these rulers. In case of Manipur, it was noticed that the local people were encouraged in the production of crops under the influence of the Meiteis and thus slowly the surplus rate increased. During this period, the Meitei kings improved the communication system in the valley. Thus the valley got very enriched in trading activities. The patronage of the Brahmins by all these kingdoms in continuing the Primoridal culture as well as adopting the Indo –Aryan rituals resulted in the synthesis of the culture in these kingdoms. These traditions are even today followed in many of these temples in Bishnupur, Orissa and Manipur.

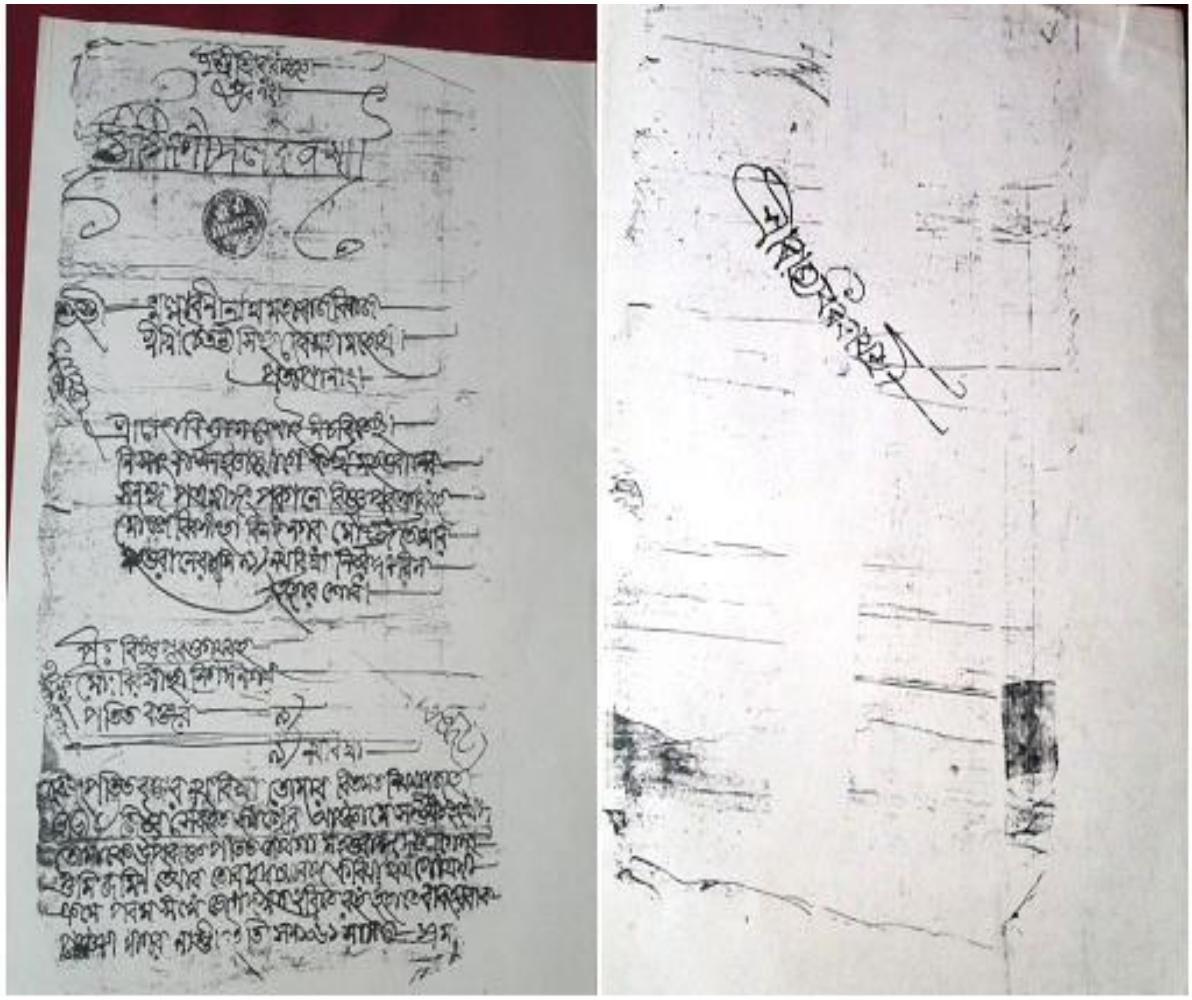
It is noticed that the policy of consolidation of the Malla kingdom reached its zenith under the 49th ruler Bir Hambir. Thus creation of a new socio-cultural force occurred in the Malla kingdom. The Gajapati kings also showed their magnificence from the 15th century onwards. The Meitei kings of Manipur wholeheartedly accepted Vaishnavism from the 17th century. Along with following the policy of legitimization, these kings created an excellent bond with his subjects. Moreover the policy of legitimization resulted in the formation of various surplus producing properties. Several canals, tolls were also constructed by them which are even present today. Consequently, the modes of public utilities made by the then rulers are even serving the contemporary people.

Throughout the study, some identical characteristics of the legitimization of power structure were perceived by the mentioned three kingdoms. The above significant comparable approaches were used by these three dynasties like the establishment of the divine connection of kingship, the redistribution of surplus and the adoption of Indo-Aryan rituals almost at the same time but at three diverse dwellings. It is comprehended how the influence of the temples of Mallabhum, Orissa and Meiteis changed the whole life pattern of the region. These affected the literature, festivals, and amusements of these kings in a new approach and gave a new life to those regions. Throughout the study, it is perceived that only the political dominance of these kings was never enough to control the subjects, rather a combined role of surplus extraction and utilization was done together. Thus the legitimization process by constructing these edifices along with making an assimilation of both the Primordial and the new culture, accelerated the

formation and growth of the kingdoms and helped to continue their dominion for such long periods.

Appendices

A. Image of Land grant



Description: In 1061 A.D. (17th Magh of Bengali Calendar), Chaitanya Singh gave 9 *bighas* of land to the *Sebayats.*

Source: Collected from the Descendants of the Malla Family of Bishnupur.

Appendix – B: Images of Some of the Temples and Structuresof Mallabhum

B.1. Rasmancha

B.2. SHYAM RAI TEMPLE

B.3.GUMGARH

B.4. MAHAPRABHU TEMPLE

B.5. JUGAL KISHORE KRISHNA VALARAM TEMPLE

B.6.JOR BANGLA TEMPLE

B. 7. MRINMOYEE TEMPLE

Speciality – It celebrates the oldest Durga Puja in Bengal.This place of worship was formerly built by JagatMalla in 997 C.E.However, this structure is erected in the recent times.

B.8. RADHA SHYAM TEMPLE

HISTORY-This temple was built by the Malla ruler Chaitanya Singh in 1758 C.E. It was fabricated in Ekratna Style.

B.9. LALJI TEMPLE

B.10. MADANMOHAN TEMPLE

A WELL BESIDES THE MADANMOHAN TEMPLE

B.11. GOUR NITAI TEMPLE

B.12. MADANGOPAL TEMPLE

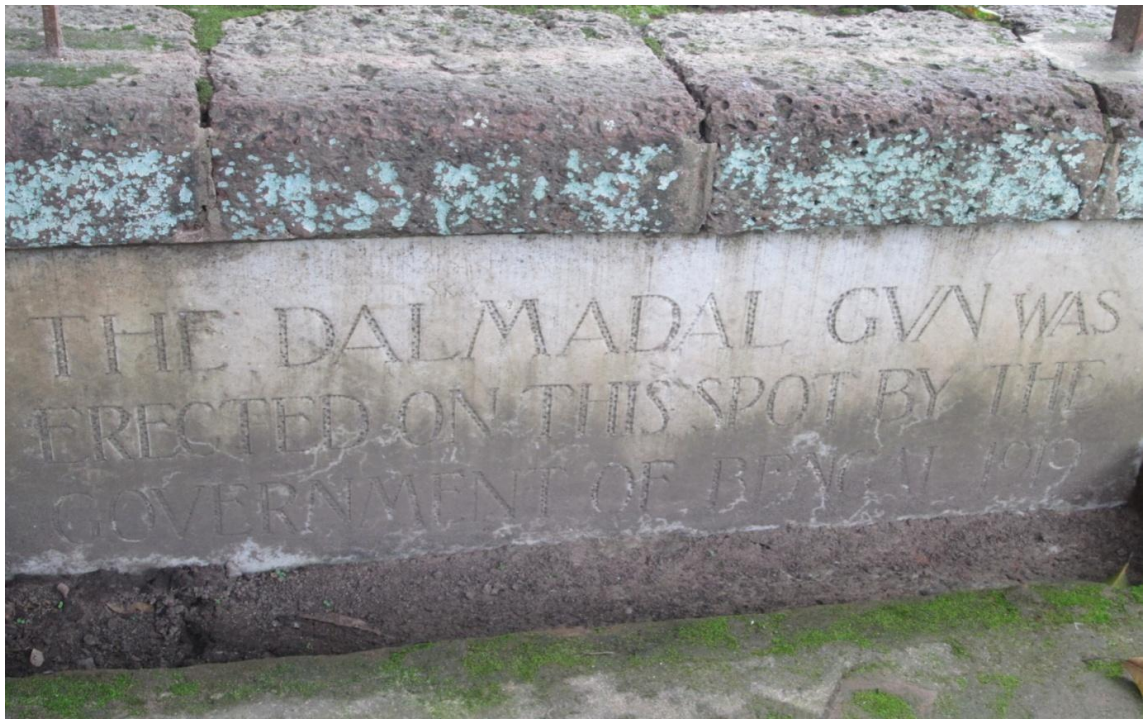
B.13 MALLESWAR TEMPLE

B.14. MURULI MOHAN TEMPLE

B.15. RADHAVINOD TEMPLE

B.16 SAILESWARA AND SARESWARA TEMPLES

B.17. DALMADAL CANON



The word Dalmadal has come from dalmardan.dal means enemy and mardan means supress.it is said that in 1742 god has fired the canon against the bargis.it is almost 112 quintals.it is 3.8 m long.

B.18. STONE CHARIOT

B.19. WELL AT LALGARH (NOW AT LALGARH NATUREPARK)

B.20. HAWA MAHAL

B.21. MEMORIAL OF SHRINIBAS ACHARYA

B.22. KALACHAND TEMPLE

B.23. RADHA MADHAV TEMPLE

B.24. RADHA GOBINDA TEMPLE

B.25. NANDALAL TEMPLE

B.26 GOKULCHAND TEMPLES

Appendix- C: Images of some of the Temples of Orissa

C.1. Kapileswar Temple

C.2. Sarpeswar Temple

C.3. Dhavalesvara Temple

Appendix- D. Inscriptions of the Temples

D.1. ShyamRai Temple

Sanskrit Text

Sri Radhika Krishna Mude Sake nko Bedanka Yukte Nabaratna Ratnam.

Sribir Hambir Naresh Sunu Do Duo Nripa Sri Raghunath Singha. Mallasake 989. Sri Raja Bir Singha.

Translation

The ‘Naba’ word is used here in new sense and the word ‘Ratna’ is used for decoration sense. The second ‘Ratna’ word is used for Ratna temple.

It is a Pancha –Ratna temple. 949 Mallabda means (949+694 = 1643 A.D.)

Thus Raghunath Singha, son of Sirbir Hambir Naresh offered this temple to Sri Radha Krishna.

D.2.Jorbangla Temple

Sanskrit Text

Sri Radhika Krishnamude Sudnangshu Rashanka Gay Soudhagrihang Sake hobde.

Sri Bir Hambir Naresh Sunudeduo Nripo

Sri Raghunath Singha 961

Translation

In 961 Mallabda (1655 A.D.) king Bir Hambir's son king Raghunath Singha offered this temple to Sri Radha Krishna.

D.3. Kalachand Temple

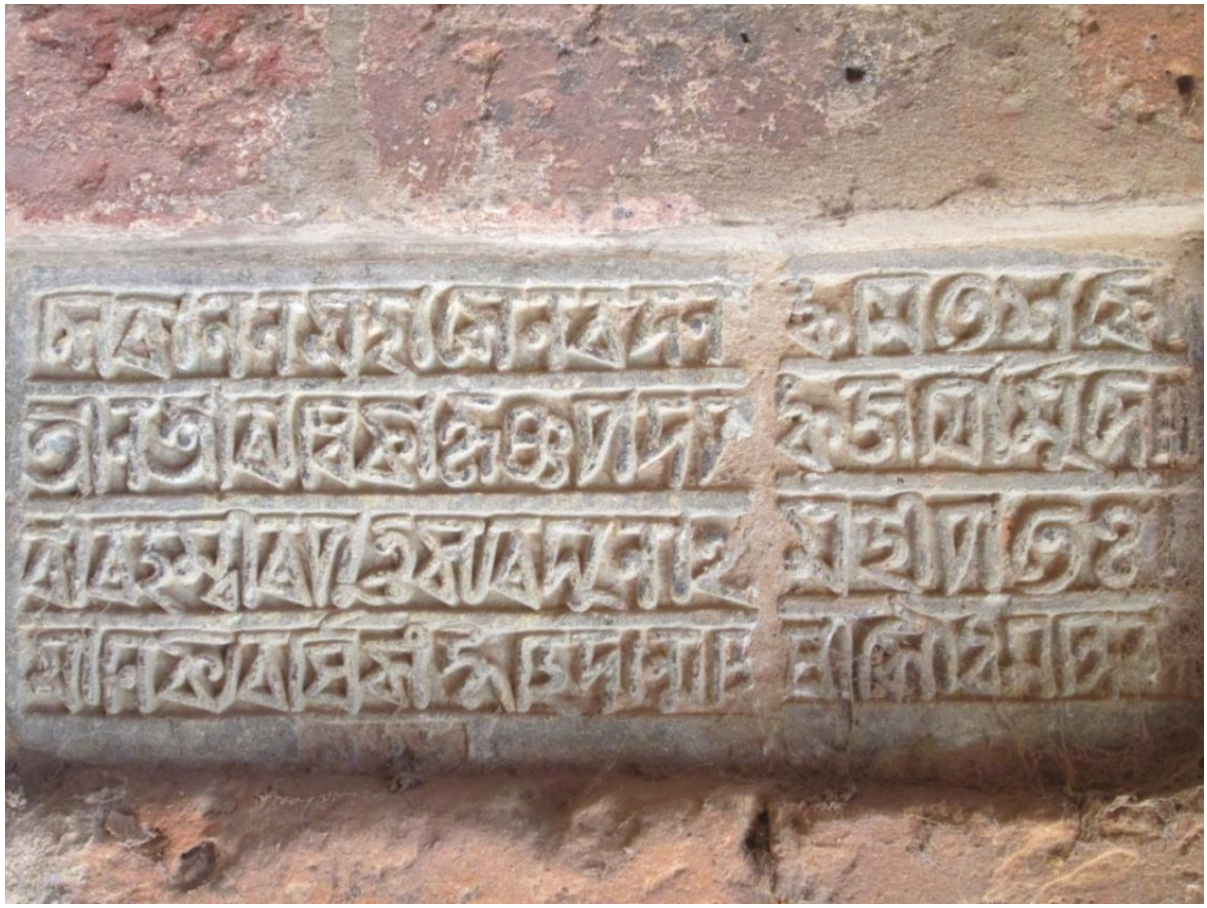
Sanskrit Text

Sri Radhika Krishna Mude Sake Di Rasankaynka yukteNavaratna Metat
Sri Bir Hambir Naresh Sunodo duo Nripo Sri Raghunath.962.

Translation

Di means 2, Ras means 6 and Anka means 9. If these number are seen from left side, it comes like 962 Mallabda. Thus (962 + 694 = 1656 C.E.).Thus king Raghunath son of king Sri HambirNaresh offered this ratna temple to Radha Krishna.

D.4.Radhavinod Temple



Sanskrit Text

Sibananan Mahasen Badnanka Mite Sake Sril Sri Radhika Krishna Padankajayamude

Bir Hambir Putrassa Raghunath Mahipate Manikabarsi Sangrahidanma Mahisi Soudha Mandir 965

Translation

965 Mallabda (1659 A.D.) .The Son of Bir Hambir Naresh Sri Raghunath Singha's Mahisi dedicated this temple to Radha Krishna.

D.5.Murulimohan Temple

Sanskrit Text

Sri Sri Durjan Singha Bhupa Janani Mallaboni Ballav

SrilSrijujto Bir Singha Mahisi Sril Churamoni

Mallabde Shasi, Saptarandha Bimit Sri Radhika Krishnyaye

Pritoye Soundogrihong Nabyedyet Midong Purnendu Tohepujjalam

Translation

Nabyadyet – dedicated

Tohopujjalam – very bright

The mother of Durjan Singha, the Malla King and the wife of Bir Singha Sril Churamoni Devi dedicated this bright temple for Radha Krishna Worship .

D.6. Madangopal Temple

Sanskrit Text

Radhakrishna Padaprante Som Saptanka

Gay soke Raghunath Mahinath Tonoyo Sannatosoya BirSingha Naresassa Birabman Sansyaya Mahisat :Promode Nabaratna Samopitong

Translation:

The wife of Mallaraj Sri Raghunath's daughter –in- law and Bir Singha's wife Sril Churamoni dedicated this beautiful temple to the foot of Sri Radha Krishna.

D.7. Kapileswar Temple

Oriya text:

Kapileswar Saran
Dandabati Goswain
Rahibabu Alekh
Ushahar Sri Divyasing Dev

Meaning of the Inscription:

The Kapileswar Temple was constructed by the Gajapati Ruler Kapilendradeva.

Appendix-E: Tables showing various Constructive Activities

E.1.Constructive works conducted by Gajapati Rulers in Orissa

Rulers	Temples	Constructive Works
Kapilendradeva (1434 – 1468 A.D.)	Kapileswar	Narendra Tank (Puri) Meghananda Wall (Puri)
Purushottama Deva (1468 – 1497 A.D.)	Inner Wall (Kurma Bedha) of Puri Temple	Completed – Construction of Meghananda Wall.
Prataprudradeva (1497 – 1538 A.D.)	a) Dhavalesvara b) Sarpeswar	

E.2.: The Notable Temples Built by the Malla Kings

Patrons	Deity	Temples	Date of Establishment
Bir Hambir	Radha Krishna	Rasmancha	1600
Raghunath Singha	Krishna	Shyam Ray Temple	1643
Raghunath Singha II	Krishna and Gourango	Jor Bangla Temple	1655
Durjana Singh Deva	Madanmohan (Krishna)	Madanmohan Temple	1694
Bir Singha	Radha Krishna	Lalji Temple	1658
Chaitanya Singha	Radha Krishna	Radha Shyam Temple	1758
17th Century	Krishna	Nandalal Temple	17th Century
Raghunath Singha I		RadhaVinod	1659
Raghunath Singha		Kalachand Temple	1656
Shiromani Devi, Queen of Veer Singha II		Madengopal Temple	1665
		Muruli Mohan	1665
Krishna Singha		Radha Govinda	1729
Churamoni Devi, daughter In law of Gopal Singh		Radha Madhab	1737
Krishna Singh		For Mandir (Complex of 3 temples)	1726
		Krishna Valaram	
Queen of Raghunath Singha	Radha Krishna	RadhaVinod	1659
PrithviMalla	shiva	SareswarSaileswar Temple	1346
Raghunath Singha I		Gokul Chand Temple	1643
Bir Singha		Malleswar Temple	1622
Jagat Malla		Mrinmoyee	Not Known
Not available		Chinnamasta	

E.3: Notable Temples Constructed by Meitei Kings in Manipur

Rulers	Temples Construction
Kyamba (1467 – 1508 A.D.)	Vishnu Temple (Bishnupur District, Manipur).
Charairongba (1697 – 1709 A.D.)	Krishna Temple (Imphal).
Garibaniwaz (1709 – 1748 A.D.)	a) Shri Krishna Temple (Imphal East) b) Hanuman Thakur (Imphal East)

E.4. Constructive works conducted by the Meitei kings

Rulers	Constructive Works
Khunjaoba (1652 – 1666 A.D.)	a) Dug a Moat round the Palace compound (1660 A.D.) b) Built a bund besides the Naga Stream (1661 A.D.) c) Raising Bunds across Khwairamban Bazar (1666 A.D.)
Paikhemba (1666 – 1697 A.D.)	a) Built a river Bund from Singiamei to Kiamgei. b) Improved Salt Wells (1694 A.D.)
Charairongba (1697 – 1709 A.D)	a) Shri Govindajee Monument

Appendix-F. Chronology of Different Dynasties

F.1. List of Malla Kings with their year of coronation

Sl.No	King	M.E.	A.D
1	Adi Malla	1	694
2	Joy Malla	16	709
3	Benu Malla	26	720
4	Kinu Malla	39	733
5	Indra Malla	48	742
6	Kanu Malla	63	757
7	Dhaw Malla	70	764
8	Sura Malla	81	775
9	Kanaka Malla	101	795
10	Kandarpa Malla	113	807
11	Sanatan Malla	134	828
12	Kharga Malla	147	841
13	Durjan Malla	174	868
14	Jadav Malla	212	906
15	Jagannath Malla	225	919
16	Birat Malla	237	931
17	Madhab Malla	252	946
18	Durgadas Malla	283	977
19	Jagat Malla	300	994
20	Anana Malla	313	1007
21	Rupa Malla	321	1015
22	Sundara Malla	335	1029
23	Kumud Malla	359	1053
24	Krishna Malla	380	1074
25	Rup Malla II	390	1084
26	Prakash Malla	403	1097
27	Pratap Malla	408	1102
28	Sindhura Malla	419	1113
29	Sukbamoy Malla	435	1129
30	Banamali Malla	448	1142
31	Jadu Malla	462	1156
32	Jiban Malla	473	1167
33	Ram Malla	491	1185
34	Gobinda Malla	515	1209
35	Bhim Malla	546	1240
36	Kattar Malla	569	1263

37	Prithwi Malla	601	1295
38	Tapa Malla	625	1319
39	Dinabandhu Malla	640	1334
40	Kanu Malla	651	1345
41	Sura Malla II	664	1358
42	Shiva Singh Malla	676	1370
43	Madan Malla	713	1407
44	Durjan Malla II	726	1420
45	Uday Malla	743	1437
46	Chandra Malla	766	1460
47	Bira Malla	807	1501
48	Dhari Malla	845	1539
49	Beera Hambeera	893	1587
50	Dhari Hambeera	926	1620
51	Raghunath Singha	932	1626
52	Beera Singha	962	1656
53	Durjan Singh	988	1682
54	Raghunath Singh II	1008	1702
55	Gopal Singh	1018	1712
56	Chitanya Singh	1054	1748
57	Unknown	1108	1802

Source: Abhay Pada Mallik: *History of Bishnupur Raj*, (Bishnupur, The New Minerva Press, 1982), pp. 126-129

F.2. Royal Chronology of Manipur

1	2	3	4	
Sl. No.	**Name of the Rulers**	**Period of region in AD**	**No. of years on the throne**	
1.	Nongada Lairen Pakhangba	33-154	121 year	
2.	Khuyoi Tompok	154-264	110	
3.	Taothingmang	264-364	100	
4.	Khui-Ningomba	364-379	15	
5.	Pengsiba	379-394	15	
6.	Kaothangba	394-411	17	
7.	Naokhamba	411-428	17	
8.	Naophangba	428-518	90	
9.	SEmeireng	518-568	50	
10.	Urakonthaba*	568-658*	50	
11.	Naothingkhong	663-763	90*	*5 years have no ruler after Urakonthaba
12.	Khongtekcha*	763-773*	100	
13.	Keirengchna	784-799	10*	*11 years have no ruler after Khongtekcha.
14.	Yaraba	799-821	15	
15.	Ayangba	821-910	22	
16.	Ningthoucheng	910-949	89	
17.	Chenglel-Ipan-Langthaba	949-969	39	
18.	Keiphaba Yanglou	969-984	15	
19.	Irengba	984-1074	90	
20.	Loyumba	1074-1122	48	
21.	Loitongba	1122-1150	28	
22.	Atom Yoiremba	1150-1163	13	
23.	Iwanthaba	1163-1195	32	
24.	Thawanthaba	1195-1231	36	
25.	Chingthang Lanthaba	1231-1242	11	
26.	Thingbi Selhongba	1242-1247	5	
27.	Puran Thaba	1247-1263	16	
28.	Khumomba	1263-1278	15	
29.	Moiramba	1278-1302	24	
30.	Thingbal Lanthaba	1302-1324	22	
31.	Khong-Yamba	1324-1335	11	
32.	Telhelba	1335-1355	20	
33.	Tonaba	1355-1359	4	
34.	Tabungba	1359-1394	35	
35.	Lairenba*	1394-1399*	5*	*5 years has no ruler after Lairenba
36.	Punshiba	1404-1432	28	.
37.	Ningthou Khomba	1432-1467	35	
38.	Kiyamba	1467-1508	41	
39	Kairemba	1508-1512	4	
40	Laikyamba	1512-1523	11	
41	Nongin Phaba	1523-1524	1	
42	Kabomba	1524-1542	18	
43	Thangjamba	1542-1545	3	

1	2	3	4	
Sl. No.	**Name of the Rulers**	**Period of region in AD**	**No. of years on the throne**	
44	Chalamba	1545-1562	17	
45	Mungyamba	1562-1597	35	
46	Khangemba	1597-1652	55	
47	Khunjaoba	1652-1666	14	
48	Paikhomba	1666-1697	31	
49	Charairongba	1697-1709	12	
50	Garibaniwaz	1709-1748	39	
51	Chitsai	1748-1752	4	
52	Bharat Sai	1752-1753	1	
53	Marimba	1753-1759	6	
54	Chingthang Khomba	1759-1761	3	
55	Marimba	1761-1763	2	
56	Chaingthangkhomba	1763-1798	35	
57	Labanya Chandra	1798-1800	3	
58	Modhu Chandra	1800-1803	3	
59	Chourajit	1803-1813	10	
60	Marjit	1813-1819	6	
61	Takuningthou (Herachandra)	1819-	1	
62	Yumjaotaba	1820-	1	Sl. No. 61 to 67 were the rulers during the 7 years of Burmese (Myanmaris) aggression better known as ‘Chahi Target Khuntakpa’ in the history of Manipur.
63	Gambhir Singh	1821-	6 (Months)	
64	Joy Singh	1822-	1 years	
65	Jadu singh (Nongpok Chinglen Khomba)	1823-	1	
66	Raghab Singh	1823-1824	2	
67	Bhadra Singh	1824-1825	1	
68	Gambhir Singh (Chinglen Nongdren Khomba)	1825-1834	9	
69	Chandra Kriti (Ningthempishak)	1834-1844	10	
70	Nara Singh	1844-1850	6	
71	Debendra Singh	1850-	3 (months)	
72.	Chandra Kriti	1850-1886	36 years	
73	Surachandra Singh	1886-1890	4	
74	Kulachandra Singh	1890-1891s	1	
75	Churachand Singh	1891-1941	50	
76	Buddha Chandra	1941-1955	14	

Source : Th. Nabakumar Singh: Geography of Manipur, (Delhi, Rajesh publications,2011), p. 73 – 75.For details see Cheitharol Kumbaba, a Royal chronicle of Manipur.

Appendix-G. Images of the 7 Bandhs or canals provided bellow

G.1. SHYAM BANDH

G.2. KRISHNA BANDH

G.3. GATAT BANDH

G.4.KALINDI BANDH

G.5.YAMUNA BANDH

G.6. POKA BANDH

G.7. LALBANDH

H. Narendra Tank in Orissa

I. Meghananda Wall (JagannathaTemple, Puri) in Orissa

J. Images of Chariot Construction for Rath Festival in Puri, Orissa

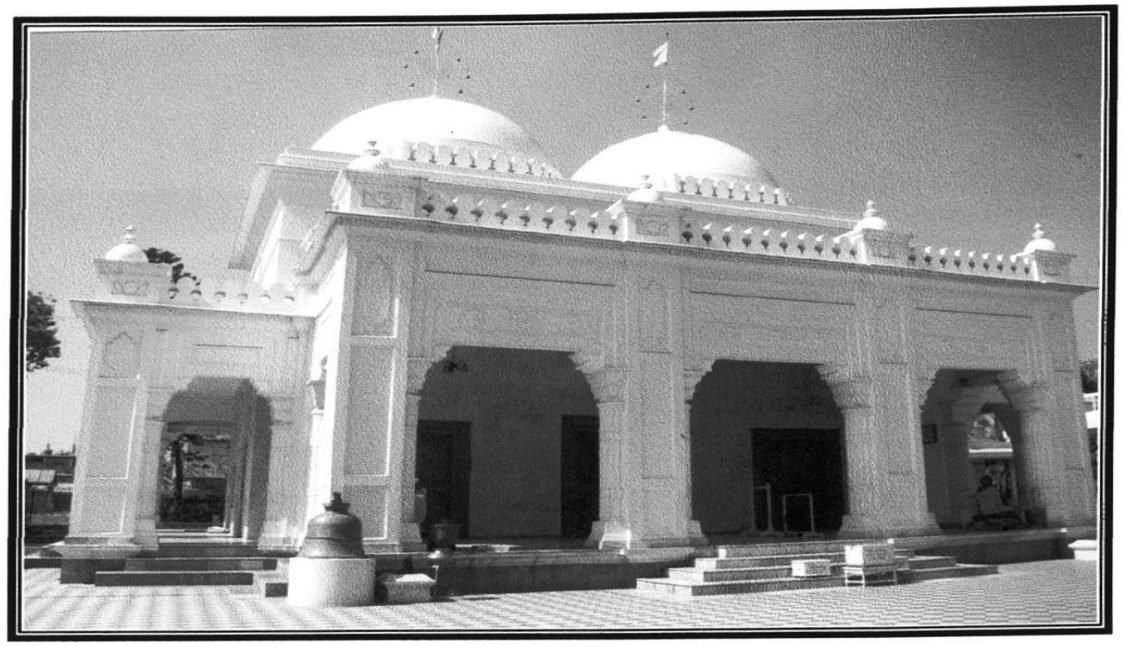
Source: All Above Pictures are exclusively taken by the Research Scholar during her field survey.

APPENDIX-: K : Images of some of the Temples of Manipur

K.1. Temple of Brindabanchandra

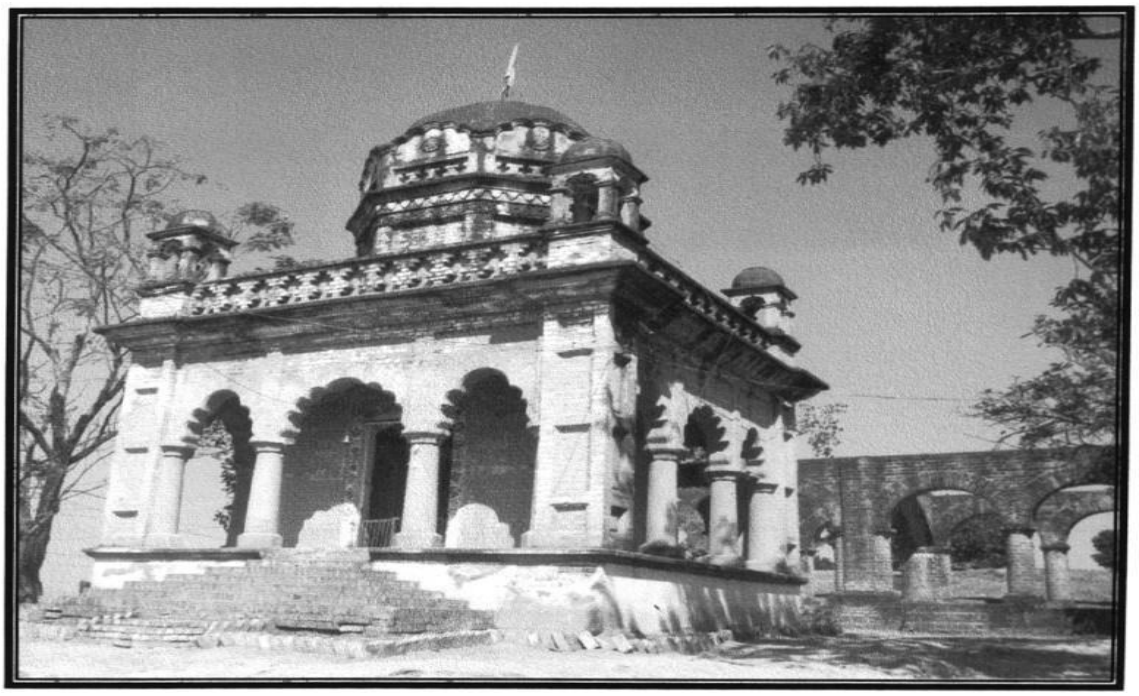
Source: Sougrakpam Dharmen Singh: Hindu Temple Architecture in Manipur, (Manipur University,unpublished thesis,2004)., p.151.

K.2. Govindaji Temple



Source: Sougrakpam Dharmen Singh: Hindu Temple Architecture in Manipur, (Manipur University,unpublished thesis,2004), p.162.

K.3. Radha Mohan Temple



Source: Sougrakpam Dharmen Singh: Hindu Temple Architecture in Manipur, (Manipur University,unpublished thesis,2004), p. 156.

K.4. Thangal General Temple

Source: Sougrakpam Dharmen Singh: *Hindu Temple Architecture in Manipur*, (Manipur University, unpublished thesis, 2004), p.144.

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The Jor Bangla Temple Inscription: The inscription engraved in the temple has recorded the building of the temple by Malla king Raghunath Singha II in 1655 A.D. (Mallabda 961).

The kalachand Temple Inscription: The inscription engraved in the temple has recorded the building of the temple by Malla king Raghunath Singha in 1656 A.D. (Mallabda 962).

The Radhalal Temple Inscription: The inscription engraved in the temple has recorded the building of the temple by Malla king Bir Singha in 1658 A.D. (Mallabda 964).

The Radha vinod Temple Inscription: The inscription engraved in the temple has recorded the building of the temple by the wife of Raghunath Singha in 1659 A.D. (Mallabda 965).

The Kapileswara Temple Inscription: The inscription engraved in the temple has recorded the building of the temple by Kapilendradeva, the Gajapati ruler.

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C. Land Grant:

The image of the land grant is provided in the appendix which shows the gift of the lands to the sabayat of the temple.

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