



Information & Public Relations Department Government of Odisha Bhubaneswar

First Edition: 2nd November, 2022

Copies Printed: 1000

Price: Rs.50/- (Rupees Fifty) only

Published by: Information & Public Relations Department,

Government of Odisha

Bhubaneswar

© Copy Rights Reserved

Advisory Board

PRADIP KUMAR AMAT

Minister, Information & Public Relations

SANJAY KUMAR SINGH, I.A.S.

Principal Secretary

INDRAMANI TRIPATHY, I.A.S.

Director

Editorial Board

DR. LENIN MOHANTY
KASTURI MOHAPATRA
DIGAMBER MOHANTY, I.A.S.
DR. JATADHARI MISHRA
PROF. NARAYAN RAO
PROF. GANESH CHANDRA RATH
PROF. PRASANNA JENA

Editorial Assistance

Bikram Maharana Sachidananda Barik **Cover Design & Illustration**

Manas Ranjan Nayak

Production Assistance

Debasis Patnaik Sadhana Mishra

D.T.P. & Design

Hemanta Kumar Sahoo Arun Kumar Kar

CONTENTS

| Rajaguru Parampara in Shree Jagannath Temple and Jayee Rajaguru | Dr. Bhaskar Mishra | 1 |
|---|-------------------------|---------|
| Jayee Rajguru - A Great Patriot of the Nation (India) | Sambit Patnaik | 7 |
| Birth and Death - Date & Tithi of Jayee Rajguru : Astronomical Determination | Prahallad Chandra Naik | 10 |
| Role of Jayee Rajguru in Khurda Resistance Movement (1804-05) – A Historiographical Analysis | Dr. Kanhu Ch. Maharana | 24 |
| Relationship of Jayee Rajguru with the Jagas and Akhadas of Shreekshetra | Lopamudra Samantaray | 31 |
| Jayee Rajguru and the Resistance Movement in 1804 | Dr. Narayan Rao | 43 |
| Saheed Jayee Rajguru | Prof. Satrughna Mallick | 51 |
| Jayee Rajguru: The Unhailed Martyr of Odisha | Dr. Narmada Rath | 54 |
| Firingikali Bharat and Jayee Rajguru: A Historical Assessment (Book study) | Sunil Kumar Rath | 62 |
| Jayee Rajguru: an Unforgettable Hero of Paik Revolt | Dr. Akhaya Kumar Mishra | 72 |
| Place of Martyrdom of Martyr Jayee Rajguru | Kanhu Charan Biswal | 93 |
| The Leading Role of Khurda Forts and Jayee Rajguru in 1804 | Dr. Janmejay Choudhury | 98 |
| Jayee Rajguru – The Pioneer of the War of Independence – 1804 | Dr. Jatadhari Mishra | 102 |
| Jayee Rajguru : A Freedom Fighter of Early Nineteenth Century | Dr. Ganesh Chandra Rath | 111 |
| Locating Jayee Rajguru as the First Martyr in the Nationalist Movement of India (First Chapter of Paik Rebellion) | Dr. Bhagabana Sahu | 117 |
| Jayee Rajguru - The Pioneer of Indian Freedom Struggle | Dr. Pramila Khadanga | 124 |
| The Indomitable Jayee Rajaguru | Dr. Hemant Kumar Parija | 133 |

| Jayee Rajguru: An Unforgettable Hero of Paik Revolt | Mrudani Sankar Pr. Mishra | 137 |
|---|---------------------------|---------|
| Role of Kujanga, Kanika, Harishpur, Marichpur and Bisnupur in the Revolt of 1804 | Prafulla Ku. Samantaray | 151 |
| Jayee Rajguru - The Hero of Paik Rebellion | Dr. Sirisa Kumar Shadangi | 164 |
| Jayee Rajguru - Khordha Rebellion 1804 - 1817 | Dr. Prasanna Kumar Jena | 169 |
| Jayee Rajguru - The Real Protector of the Dominion | Dr. Chittaranjan Mishra | 176 |
| Saheed Jayee Rajguru - The Pioneer of Paik Rebellion (1804 A.D.) in Odisha | Dr. Rajendra Ku. Bisoyi | 180 |
| The Memory of Jayee Rajguru and the Eighteen Forts | Dr. Tulasi Ojha | 187 |
| Jayee Rajguru: The Doyen of Resistance Movement in Odisha | Dr. Debaraj Swain | 190 |
| Saheed Jayee Rajguru | Dr. Bayamanu Charchi | 194 |
| Jayee Rajguru - Is He the First Martyr of India? | Dr. Binodini Das | 199 |
| Jayee Rajguru: Re-Assessing the Strength of his Undaunted Bravery | Dr. Ram Chandro Misro | 206 |
| Resisting Dominance: Situating Jayee Rajguru | Dr. Soma Chand | 212 |
| First Leaf of Paik Rebellion: Raja and Rajguru | Dr. Asit Mohanty | 217 |
| Jayee Rajguru : Precursor of the Emerging Nationalism | Shibaprasad Dash | 223 |
| Authentic Identification of Medinipur - The Place of Brutal Execution of Jayee Rajguru | Dr. Jatadhari Mishra | 228 |

FOREWORD

History takes a turn when truth prevails. Jayee Rajguru was a great patriot and got martyrdom for the sake of our motherland. His contributions and activities, however, has not been properly placed in the history of Odisha nor in India yet. Prof. Narayan Rao, an eminent writer in his book "Jayee Rajguru" marked that "Ignoring a great freedom fighter from the deserved position is a historical blunder". He mentions that it might be due to the fact that the province of Odisha and its significant contribution to the freedom movement has been neglected from national point of view. Much before Mangal Pandey, Jayee Rajaguru fought for our country against the mighty British Empire and was hanged in a brutal manner. Major portion of his heroic act, unparalleled nationalist movement against

British forces, is not yet the lack of proper analysis

research.

When British captured it, Jayee Rajguru and village youths and training. He started his British power in the year guerrilla warfare tactics force. Fight continued for a was arrested from the taken to Barabati fort. He keep his king safe but was arrested on 3 January the King were sent to Cuttack, fearing further Mukunda Dev II filed a pension from the prison; released Mukunda Dev-II settlement. But Rajguru



29 October 1739 - 6 December 1806

invaded Odisha and organized Odia paikas imparted them military great revolt against 1804. He adopted against mighty British long period and Raiaguru Khurdha fort and was made his all-out effort to finally, Mukunda Dev-II 1805. Then Rajaguru and Midnapore Jail from violence in the State. King petition and appealed for the British counsels and sent him to Puri for didn't appeal for mercy

known to us because of

comprehensive

and

and fearlessly accepted the death sentence. On December 6, 1806, Jayee Rajguru was made saheed in a brutal manner. The executioners tied his two legs to two different branches of banyan tree and the branches were let off splitting his body in to two parts.

It is a matter of grave concern that his contributions against the alien rule have been neglected by the historians. He should be given deserving place in the pages of the history of Indian Freedom Struggle. The Khurda Fort i.e. the Barunei Fort, the last independent fort of Odisha which defended boldly for three weeks, is now in utter neglected condition. Protection, preservation and promotion of Khurda fort with light and sound programme will help both the revenue generation and spreading the message of patriotism for the future generation. Installation of a life size statue of *Saheed* Jayee Rajguru at the main gate of the fort would be a proper respect. Naming any important educational institution will do some justice to this great martyr. Biraharekrushna Pur village, the birth place of Jayee Rajguru should be named after him. As Jayee Rajguru initiated the revolt against the British, as he organised the *paiks* against them, as he is a role model for the nationalists, he should be recognised as the leader and pioneer of the *Paik* Rebellion which inaugurated the anti-colonial movement in 1804 A.D.

Sacrificing the family life and dedicating the whole of his life's worth in the service of the king up to the age of 64, what Jayee Rajguru might presumably aspiring was nothing but upkeeping of political freedom of his kingdom. He had exposure to the prevailing political scenario after fall of the Mughal empire as he stayed in Varanasi for some time, during the period. His concepts of freedom might be something different from what is conceivable in the contemporary period. The dimensions of political freedom that includes the economic freedom as well for the benefit of the common mass as well as for the kingdom as a whole might have the greatest force acting behind his ideals. Drain of revenue collected from the public in the forms of land or mercantile tax as tributes to the external forces without any visible returns was a significant burden on the regional rulers. The British by their policy were different in their approach from the native imperial forces like the Mughals, who were depriving the entire value of existence of the native rulers. Definitely, they were not like the Mughals or Marathas in many counts which might have been explicitly understood by the visionaries of that time like Jayee Rajguru for which he did not hesitate to launch a mission against that malignant foreign force and choose to fight until he shed his last drop of blood. He himself did not pursue for a secured living or position in his life. It is the fundamental duty which is onerous upon his succeeding generations to cherish the noble ideals which inspired him for the struggle to maintain freedom of the nation from the foreign forces.

Jayee Rajguru earned the credit of being the gutsy Martyr of Odisha, who gave up his life in fighting against the imperialistic forces. The cause for which he fought was noble and the sacrifice that he made in the process was supreme. He laid his life for the cause of the motherland without any regret. In his words, he captured the imagination of the people; in his deeds, he provided the much-needed clue to the Odia identity; and finally, in his death, he conquered life. He remained loyal to the king till his last breath and sacrificed his life for the cause of the motherland.

Jayee Rajguru became the role model of all freedom fighters of the country by his illustrious example of self sacrifice at the altar of the motherland. More specifically the revolt of 1804 by Jayee Rajguru was a direct attack in the intricate web of conspiracy, deceit and manipulation of colonial administration and in defence of national honour. The fire of patriotism burnt so fiercely in Jayee Raiguru that he embarked on the most stirring adventure. This resistance movement under the leadership of the great nationalist hero was more surcharged with patriotic fervour. Now the time has dawned to ruminate and revive the memory of the brave Paikas of Khurda Garh under the scintillating leadership of their lieutenant Jayee Rajguru who shook the British in Odisha with his acumen and clever manipulation with wars and ammunitions. The life and achievements of Jayee Raiguru is the astounding saga of thrilling heroism of uncompromising patriotism and selfless sacrifice. His challenge to colonial authority was based on astute diplomacy, undaunted courage and chivalry. Protection of the motherland was paramount in his operation and mission. His lifelong resistance to British rule has not been given its due place in the history. Jayee Rajguru was truly the pioneer and precursor of the emerging nationalism and the springing tiger of Odisha. Indeed, he is a living legend. It's time not to celebrate, but to act upon his ideologies, in a realistic way. Let's take a vow to replenish his shedding of sweat and blood for the protection of our motherland with our selfless dedication, devotion, perseverance and fighting spirit for all round development of our beloved nation.

The Government of Odisha has enthusiastically implemented a number of programmes "Swadhinata Ra Uchhwaas" to mark the completion of 75 years of Independence of our country. In this context, an honest attempt has been made for compilation of articles written by eminent writers on the life and achievements of Jayee Rajguru, the pioneer of Indian Independence struggle to instil a sense of patriotic fervour in the mind of the generations to come as to pave a way for their collective resolve and determination to shape the destiny of our motherland.

BOARD OF EDITORS



Prof. Ganeshi Lal Hon'ble Governor, Odisha



Raj Bhawan Bhubaneswar

October 15, 2022



I am glad to know that a compilation on the life and contribution of Saheed Jayee Rajguru in the form of a Research Book is being brought out on the aegies of Information & Public Relations Department, Government of Odisha marking the observance of State Level Saheed Jayee Rajguru Jayanti on November 02, 2022.

The Indian independence movement was a series of historic events with the ultimate aim of ending the British rule in India. Remembering India's freedom struggle with iconic revolutionaries gives a sense of pride. As India celebrates Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav (commemoration of 75 years of India's Independence), it is appropriate to recall and retell the inspiring stories of our great revolutionaries and freedom fighters so as to encourage the younger generation to imbibe the virtues of patriotism, sacrifice and service.

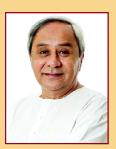
Odisha has a distinguished galaxy of revolutionaries and freedom fighters wherein the name of Jayee Rajguru asserts a saga of unparalleled bravery and courage on the uncompromised love for the motherland as he led the anti-colonial uprising in Odisha from the warriors' soil of Khurda. He dared to defy the mighty British Rule and embraced martyrdom. This iconic revolutionary will always be revered for his fighting spirit and inspiring leadership. His life remains to be unfolded and explored and this compilation would be a great venture in this regard.

I pay my homage to this great warrior and freedom fighter. The initiative taken in having such a wonderful compilation deserves all appreciation. I am sure it would enlighten and inform on many aspects of the life of Saheed Jayee Rajguru.

I wish the publication all success.

(Ganeshi Lal)

Gancilla



Naveen Patnaik Chief Minister, Odisha



October 28, 2022



Shaheed Jayee Rajguru was a great patriot, a legendary warrior and freedom fighter. His struggle, his bravery and his sacrifices have made him immortal for ever. He was known for his great military strategy, good governance and organisational capabilities. With his brave, instinctive and innovative war strategies, he defeated the British forces many times. But conspiracy led to his imprisonment and ultimate fall of Khurdha fort. His uncompromised fight against colonialism and supreme sacrifice for the glory of the motherland continue to inspire the people of our Nation.

In the 75th year of independence, a compilation of research papers on his life by the State Information & Public Relations Department on his birth anniversary is a befitting tribute to his memory. His life and works have always been a glorious chapter of our history.

On this occasion, I pay my homage to him and hope that the publication will inspire our younger generations to work for the glory of our motherland.

(Naveen Patnaik)





Pradip Kumar Amat Minister, Information & Public Relations, Odisha

October 28, 2022



It is a matter of immense pride that Information and Public Relations Department, Government of Odisha is going to publish a Research Book on the life of great revolutionary Jayee Rajguru and his contribution to India's Freedom Struggle on the occasion of State Level Saheed Jayee Rajguru Jayanti.

The freedom fighters of Odisha had played a pivotal role in resisting vehemently the oppressive British rule by demonstrating indomitable spirit of patriotism and courage. Jayee Rajguru is foremost among them, as he is considered as the first martyr of Odisha. His life is a saga of courage, patriotism and sacrifice.

In the battle of Barunei, Jayee Rajguru and his soldiers fought gallantly against a strong British force equipped with arms and ammunition. The unbelievable courage of Jayee Rajguru and Odia soldiers is well remembered and respected by the Indians even after 200 years. As usual at this crucial juncture of fight, the Britishers resorted to 'divide and rule' policy and sneaked away the battle plans of Jayee Rajguru by giving bribe to some treacherous locals.

As a result, Jayee Rajguru was captured, arrested and sentenced to death after a mock trial in 1806. During the trial Jayee Rajguru did not appeal for mercy and told the British Court that fighting for the freedom of Motherland was never a crime. It speaks volume about the bravery, courage, love and loyalty of Jayee Rajguru towards the Motherland.

I sincerely hope the Research Book prepared by the I. & P.R Department taking much pain will give an inimitable and inspirational experience to the historians, researchers, scholars and students as Saheed Jayee Rajguru was truly the pioneer and precursor of the emerging nationalism in India.

I extend my best wishes to the Board of Editors, writers for compiling such a brilliant book and wish the publication all success.

ુવુંધ ન્યુગ્રહ જિલ્લા (Pradip Kumar Amat)



Saheed Stambha, Barunei Hill, Khurdha



Barabati Fort, Cuttack

Rajaguru Parampara in Shree Jagannath Temple and Jayee Rajaguru

Dr. Bhaskar Mishra

Former Deputy Administrator, Shree Jagannath Temple, Puri Chief Editor, Neeladri

G. Pfeffer in his book PURI'S VEDIC BRAHMINS (chapter xxii, p-423) mentions that "most Brahmins would rank the inhabitant of the four 'seed' villages Srimakundapur, Biswanathpur, Biraharekrushnapur Biranarasinghpur as the "elite of elites", presumably because the four traditional *Rajgurus* (spiritual preceptors), assigned to the royal house, hailed from these settlements and carried the highest prestige because of their engagement in the traditional administration of the kingdom. it is mentioned (p-426) that "the Baechasa (vatsa) Clan supervised the revenue administration, the Go-Atreya clan the rituals for warfare, the Nanda Clan the running of the great temple and Bajapeya Clan the foundation sacrifices."

The power, prestige, honour and position of a Rajaguru were in the highest in rank and second to the King. He was the Chief Administrator of ritual services of the temple. The ritual functionaries of the Jagannath temple such as Pandas, Pratiharis, Swaras and Khuntias were being examined to find out if they were proficient in performing their ritual services. The Muktimandap Brahmin Panditas with Rajaguru at the top used to do such testing. Those who were selected, they were only allowed to work in their respective position in the temple.

Rajaguru was the chief administrator of the temple and all the rituals in the temple were performed according to his direction. When a king dies he sits on the throne for a moment until the successor is solemnized to occupy the throne. Therefore Rajaguru was known as "Raja for a moment". Whenever Rajaguru was to visit the temple, he used a palanquin which is carried through the northern gate and brought up to the Laxmi Temple accompanied with the sebak niyogas with the golden umbrella on the top. He used to have the Darshan of Maa Vimala, Laxmi and other Deities of the temple and then

proceed for the seva of Lord Jagannath with white whisk (*chamara* with golden handle) and then proceeded to Muktimandap with golden cane in his hand which is the mark of prestige. Whenever Rajaguru's wife was coming to the temple she was also enjoying the same paraphernalia that Rajaguru was entitled. Rajagurus used to preside as Acharya in the festival connected with basantika Nabaptrika, Vimala Saradiya Puja and in so many occasions. (Torch Bearers of Vedic Tradition, p-26)

In 1779, Narasingh Rajaguru, the commander-in-chief was seriously injured in Badambagarh war and died. After his death his eldest son Chandrasekhar Mohapatra of Bira Narasinghpur was appointed as Rajaguru of the great temple and second son was appointed as Pattajoshi but they did not show interest to manage the affairs (Chakradhar Mohapatra, p-255). Dr. Nityananda Patnaik mentions in his book "TORCH BEARERS OF VEDIC TRADITION OF ODISHA"(p-30) that "during Dibyasingh's time (1793-1798) Rajaguru Chandrasekhar Mohapatra continued as Prime Minister for some time but he left the post as he did not like to comply the orders of Dibyasinghdev to stay at Ghati garh fort, the newly built kingdom by the king.

Chandrasekhar Mohapatra who was appointed as the Rajaguru of the great Jagannath temple Puri had no zeal to work within this crises period nor he was staying at Puri to look to the day to day affairs of the temple, rather Chandrasekhar was remaining at his village at Narasingha Pur very often despite of royal orders and warnings. On receiving vehement complains from the concerned senior members of Muktimandap and calling upon explanation from Chandrasekher no improvement was observed. Being vexatious the king invested the power of Temple Administration on Jayee Rajguru in addition to his own duties as the chief of the Army. As Chandra Sekhar Rajaguru left his seva, Jayee Rajaguru discharged the duties of Chandrasekhar Rajaguru in the temple of Lord Shri Jagannatha.

Jayakrushna Rajaguru Mohapatra was popularly known as Jayee Rajaguru, was the first martyr of Odisha and the last Prime Minister of the independent State of Khurdha. He was born on the 24th day of Odia month, Kartika in the year 1739 in the village Biraharekrushna Pur, which is situated about 5 Kms from Puri Town. He belonged to the hereditary Rajaguru family of Gajapati Khurdha. He completed his early education in his native village and for further higher studies he went to Puri Town and completed his

education in Emaramath, Mangumatha and in Gobarddhan Peetha. He became a great pandita and an expert in Veda, Vedanta, Dharmashastra, Karmakanda etc in Sanskrit language. While staying in Puri he used to attend Jaga and Akheda made himself as a muscle man. After completion of his study he taught the students studied in Sanskrit tolls in Gangamata Matha. As his father and grandfather were associated with the royal family and hold the post of Rajaguru, Jayakrushna became very close to the Gajapati of Khurdha and able to prove his talent in intellectual competitions / discussion (Pandit Sabha) in the court of the king.

Gajapati Birakishoredeva was mad and killed his four sons. He was arrested and confined in Cuttack Jail where he lost his last breath. In this critical venture Jayee Rajguru was appointed as the Chief Minister of Khurdha Kingdom in 1780. He was given priority for the Management of the temple of Lord Jagannatha. Chandrasekhar Rajaguru took retirement from the temple which was also created problem to manage. However Jayee Rajaguru tried to manage the affairs of the temple till his last. The entire administration of the kingdom as well as the day to day management of Shri Jagannatha Temple was multifarious. He was the adviser as well as a protector of the Khurda King.

During the reign of Maratha in India a grand special convention was held at Nagapur, wherein Jayee Rajaguru was deputed on behalf Khurda king. The purpose was to arrange a special grant for the day to day management and the special functions of the Lord Jagannatha out of the collections of *Sateisihazara Maheli*. In the convention Jayee Rajaguru addressed the audience in such a way that the king of Nagapur came to Puri to attend the car festival and granted a considerable amount for the seva puja of the Lord Jagannath.

He had described Lord Shri Jagannatha as Narayan and the king of Khurda as his living embodiment. He urged upon the Maratha rulers for utilization of funds, which has been collected from donors as "Amruta Manohi" in solemnization of the rituals and festivals of the deities otherwise utilization of above specific funds may incur the divine wrath of almighty and holding Maratha rulers for blasphemy.

Jayee Rajaguru was closely associated with Gangamata Matha because of his past involvement and the Gajapati was received diksha from

the Mahanta of the Matha. Jayee Rajguru in course of his day-to-day functioning was well connected to Khurda fort, Srikshetra, the temple of Lord Shri Jagannatha and the ancient monastery- Gangamata Matha at Balisahi, Puri. A piece of documents – a copy where of is enclosed as procured by the writer of this article from Gangamata Matha states that Jayee Rajaguru when visits Puri stays at Gangamata Matha and supervise the affairs of Puri temple and apprised the Gajapati. Instances were rife where in Jayee Rajaguru has written to some abbots of Mathas and important servitors of Shree Jagannath Temple with institutions to perform specific tasks which has been performed as the "Diwan" or the protector guardian of the royalty. This shows that commanded great authority over Temple administrator and also great control over finance and collection of money as "Ghata Kwari" (Pilgrim Tax).

During the British aggression of Khurdha Fort in the year 1804 A.D. apprehending threat of danger to Gajapati he has written a letter and instructed the Mahant (abbot) of Gangamata Matha at Balisahi, Puri namely Narottam Das. This letter was sent by Jayee Rajguru in the month of October 1804, the same dossier has now been preserved in the Matha.

The truncated matrix of the said letter reveals that due to seizure of Khurda Fort by British soldiers the minor king Gajapati Mukunda Dev has been sent to Puri being escorted by Durga Charan Singh and a troop of soldiers. He desired that the abbot of Gangamata Matha should pay respect to Gajapati, arrange for his secret stay in the Matha and arrange Mahaprasad Seva from Kotha Bhoga everyday. He also wanted that maintenance of proper account of proceeds (Pilgrim tax) from Ghatas should be maintained. Close all doors (the four doors) of Srimandira (Sodha) during the visit of the king in late night. He wanted this order to be communicated to other important servitors of temple like Pattjoshi Mohapatra the Nayak of Chhatisha Nijog, Bhandar Mekap and Behera Khuntia etc.

In this letter the following points are mentioned.

- Uasa- in Odia means palace. The road leading from Balisahi palace to the temple and passes by the side of Gangamata Matha is famous as Uasa danda.
- 2. The King to be kept there in disguise and in a secret place. It is noticed that there was a secret narrow tunnel connecting the palace and

Matha. In northern side the tunnel is connected to the inner veda of the temple. We guess in between there was small chamber, perhaps the king stayed there for a temporary period out of eyes of Company authority.

- 3. Since the company armies have occupied the Khurdha Capital from the side of the Gopinatha Deva Temple. Jayee Rajguru was not very much worried for his own safety, he therefore wrote, whatever may be the consequences he was ready to face, but no harm should be done to the king.
- 4. He further instructed that the letter may be shown to few trustworthy responsible sebak of the temple like bada paricha, (Chief Manager) Chhatisa Nijog Nayak (Chief of the Sebayat Nijog). Whenever the king visits the temple, all four main doors of the temple should remain closed.
- 5. The Lord will be offered milk in sakaldhupa (morning bhog) and in afternoon Arisa (A type of cake) which will be collected through Matha suppliers and Lord may be offered Tulasi through Khuntia Sevak.
- 6. The accounts of money collected from the Ferry ghat and donations received from the piligrims be shown to the King and by his consent this may send to Khurda. Date Kanya 13th day 1211.

An ancient Telugu manuscript in the name and title of "Jagannatha Sthala Brutantam" reveals that Jayee Rajaguru tried hard to augment funds of temple and the proliferation of Shri Jagannatha consciousness. As the Khurdha militia was weak, the King was defeated in the war 1730, 1760 and measure portion of Khurdha was occupied by Hyderabad Nizam and the important paying praganas of Lord Jagannatha was let out to Shivbhutta Sathe, the Subadar of Maratha. The financial position of state as well as the temple was seriously affected.

In term of their contribution to Shri Jagannath Temple, provincial kings, warlords and genty- samants were offered laudatory titles such as parichha. They were also conferred with "Chamara Seva" facility, to have darshan at Bhitara Katha and colourful procession of red- palanquin along with horses, pachyderms, parasol and trumpets were accorded.

The above goes to prove that Jayee Rajguru wielded enormous power and control in management of Shree Jagannatha Temple affairs.

References:

- Pfeffer, G. The Cult of Shri Jagannâtha and Regional Traditions of Odisha.
- Patnaik, Nityananda. Torch Bearers of Vedic Traditions. Classical Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2002, New Delhi
- Charles Grooms Report on the temple of Jagannatha.
- Mishra Jatadhari. Odisha ra prathama Saheed Jayee Rajaguru. Council of Culture, Puri, 2002, Puri
- Record of Rights of The Puri Jagannatha Temple Adminstration Act 1952 (Orissa Act Xiv of 1952).
- Mahapatra, Chakradhara. Utkala Itihasa ra eka agyata adhyaya. 1980
- Letter of Jayee Rajguru addressed to Narottam Das, Mahanta of Gangamata Matha, Puri.
- A Telugu Manuscript Jagannatha Sthala Brutantam.
- Record of Muktimandap Panditsabha.
- Seminar Papers Published book Jayee Rajaguru-by Council of Culture, Puri.

Jayee Rajguru - A Great Patriot of the Nation (India)

Sambit Patnaik

Researcher

History turns (changes) when truth prevails. It is admitted that Jayee Rajguru was a great patriot and got martyrdom for the sake of mother country India. But his contributions and activities have not been properly placed in the history of Odisha nor in India yet. Prof. Narayan Rao in his book Jayee Rajguru (p-14) marked that "Ignoring a great freedom fighter from the deserved position is a historical blunder". He mentions that it might be due to the fact that the province of Odisha and its significant contribution to the freedom movement has been neglected from national point of view. Neither systematic study nor intensive research has been made by the regional researchers so far. Much before Mangal Pandey, Jayee Rajaguru fought for his country against British legacy and hanged in a brutal manner.

Jayee Rajguru the Great patriot, the pioneer of the anti-colonial resistance from Odisha, claims to be the 1st and foremost martyr of pre-independent India is well known in Odisha for his gallantry activities, bravery attitudes. With extraordinary devotion, dedication and commitment for our beloved motherland Odisha. But it is very unfortunate that the major portion of his heroic act, unparalleled nationalist movement against British forces, is not yet known to us because of the lack of proper analysis and comprehensive research. Jayee Rajguru was totally unknown figure for the common people of the Odisha. But after Nineties because of the continuous efforts and endeavor by the Jayee Rajguru Smruti Parishad, Odisha many unexplored and untapped event related to the life and activities of Jayee Rajgurus has come to the limelight.

Lord Wellesley was the Governor General of India from 1798-1806. The East India Company was then facing a great crisis for its existence. The Nizam of Hyderabad became its enemy. Tipu Sultan was nursing his grudge against the company. The Marathas was a great power against the Britishers.

The Sikhs in Punjab became an organized force. Napoleon Bonaparte who had reached Egypt was threatening to advance into India. At that time, in Odisha, the Paiks were well organized by Jayakrushna Rajaguru Mohapatra popularly known as Jayee Rajguru, the Royal Priest, Commander-in-Chief and the real administrative representative of Gajapati Mukundadev II attempted to liquidate the powers of British rule from Odisha and India in 1804. Not only attempt was made but also a continuous war occurred in Khurdha for a period more than 60 days, revealed from the letter which is discovered from Gangamata Matha, Puri.

Confidential letter of Jayee Rajguru to Gangamata Matha Gosai

From the Historical events it is established that British soldiers captured Khordha fort on 6th December 1804. Some section of the Historians also believes that the British operation to capture Khordha fort was started around mid of November 1804. but the hand written letter of Jayee Rajguru addressed to Mahanta Narottam Das of Gangamata Matha, Puri which was made public in the year 2000 gives us some interesting aspects of the Rajguru Rebellion against Britishers. If we will make an in-depth analysis of Jayee Rajguru's letter then we can find following historical facts from the content of that letter written by Rajguru himself.

- a) That, British operation to capture Khordha fort actually started in the month of October 1804.
- b) Gopinath Temple mentioned by Rajguru in his letter which has not yet been located properly now finally explored in the vicinity of Khordha fort.
- c) it is found that the Gopinath temple of Haridamada village on the Khordha Pattanaikia road is non other than the same Gopinath temple mentioned in the secret letter written by Rajguru.
- d) From the topographic evident and information of the local residents, it is revealed that this Gopinath temple of Haridamada which is just 3 kms away from the foothills of Barunei, once upon a time was an integral part of the Khordha fort and was entry point to the fort area from the eastern gate. Now Haridamada village which is situated just at a distance of 4kms from the Khordha fort by road was connected to the royal residence of fort through the foot walk distance of 3kms inside the dense forest.
- e) From the Rajguru's letter it is also evident that Captain Hickland of Bengal Infantry who was leading the operation of British force from Delanga



site had succeeded in reaching near the Gopinath temple from the Eastern side of the fort in spite of all obstruction and counter attack by the Jayee Rajguru's Paika army.

- f) Now the local residents of Haridamada village which is situated just 200mtrs away from the Khorda-Pattanaikia-Puri main road called their village as Gada area instead of Haridamada. It clearly indicates that this village of Haridamada at the time of British occupation in 1804 was definitely a check point of Khordha fort from eastern site.
- g) The priest of the Gopinath Temple along with the local residents also revealed that Jayee Rajguru used to come here regularly for the Darshan of Lord Gopinath and offer puja for the beautiful Deity of Lord Gopinath situated inside the dense forest of Khorda fort.
- h) In the month of October 1804 when captain Hickland overcame and fight out all the Paikas posted at different strategic locations of Delanga, Pipili and marches ahead towards the Khordha fort with minimum casualty. British forces reaches near Gopinath temple of Eastern site which was just 3kms away from the fort cum residence of Khordha royal family, then Jayee Rajguru anticipated that British forces may pour into Khordha fort any time and there will be a total collapse of the security system which leads to the danger of life for the King. Anticipating a breakdown Rajguru tried his level best for protection and safety of the King. He had made all arrangement for the safe passage of the king Mukundadev in the prescribed secret path from Khordha fort to Puri.
- i) Britishers took more than 60 days time to cover the path of 3kms between Gopinath temple to Khordha fort because of the stiff resistance from the Jayee Rajguru's Paika.

References:

- Dr. Narayan Rao, Jayee Rajaguru (A profile of a great patriot of Odisha).
- Letter of Jayee Rajaguru published in Odishar Pratham Saheed Jayee
 Rajaguru, (Jibani), published by Council of Culture, Puri, 2002.
- Oral history collected from the hereditary priest Shri Shridhara Mishra of Gopinath Dev temple and local residents of Haridamada, situated besides Khordha Patnaikia Road.



Birth and Death - Date and Tithi of Jayee Rajguru : Astronomical Determination

Prahallad Chandra Naik

Chhayapath Rural Research Centre At- Nuagan, PO-Kushiapal Dist-Kendrapara – 754250

Abstract: In this paper we laydown collectively three papers as Part-I, II and III, on our astronomical investigation on determination of the birth-date, death-tithi and birth date-tithi coincidence of Jayee Rajguru, the veteran diplomat, warrior and freedom fighter of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century-Odisha. These papers have been prepared and published with time separations, depending upon events and occasion as reflected in respective parts. Our final remark has been placed as a separate section-IV at the end of this presentation.

PART-I

DATE OF BIRTH

Introduction: Our determination of the date of birth of Samanta Chandra Sekhar, on astronomical basis, conclusively was published in Ind.J.Hist.Sc in 2000 (June)¹ to resolve the controversy concerning this date, in the state, till 1990s. Following that, in October same year a private communication was received in my the then D.D. College, Keonjhar address from Sri Jatadhari Mishra of Bira Harekrushnapur, Puri, the native village of Jayee Rajguru. There in, Sri Mishra had sought my help to determine the date of birth of Rajguru, who was the Chief Minister, Army General and Chief Advisor of Gajapati King Mukunda Deva of Khurudha. This veteran statesman fought legally and militarily with Paika force against the British invasion on Gajapati Kingdom. He was seized by the British army, imprisoned and ultimately brutally executed.

I accepted Sri Mishra's problem with great pleasure as a national duty to resolve and did it, of course, for which was taken a few months. In the

following is being given the details of calculations of the date in Christian era, out of the clue, given by Sri J. Mishra, that it was the Amala Navami (Kartika Shukla Navami) of the year 1739 AD. And for this calculation we have followed the method and data-tables given by Robert Sewell and Sankar Balakrishna Dikshit² exclusively. It is worth-while to mention at the outset, that the decided date is the 29th October, 1739 AD, which was a Monday.

Calculation: Given the tithi, Kartika Shukla Navami of the year 1739 AD. The entries against this year in Table-I³ are the following.

| Kali | Saka | A.D. | Maha | Civil day of Chaitra 1st | | | | |
|------|------|---------|-----------|--------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| | | | Vishuva | d | W | а | b | С |
| | | | Sankranti | | | | | |
| 4841 | 1662 | 1739-40 | 29 March | 29 March | 5 | 003 | 299 | 277 |
| | | | (88) | (88) | Thrs | | | |
| | | | (1) | | | | | |

Here d stands for the day in Christian era, w the week day and a, b, c are the relevant astronomical parameters for the day i.e.:

a= east-ward distance of the Moon from the Sun in mean longitude.

b= Moon's mean anomaly

c= Sun's mean anomaly or its distance from its perigee in mean longitude.

As regards the units 'a' has been expressed in 10,000th of a circle, reduced by 200.6, for the convenience of calculation according to these authors. But 'b' and 'c' are given in 1000th of the cycle; (i.e. 360°). Further, the Table shows that this year 1739-40 had no intercalation (i.e. added month or mala masa). Rather, its preceeding luni-solar year 1738-39 had Asvina as the adhika masa.

The number of tithis incurred between the initial day of the year (Chaitra sukla pratipada) and the day in question is found with reference to Table III⁴ at column-3 upto the end of Asvina to be 210. Since the tithi is in the sukla fortnight, it will have the same date in both Purnimanta and Amanta systems. So the number of tithis from beginning of the year to the tithi in question is 210+09=219. For conversion into civil days, divide 219 by 60, the quotient is 3+(39/60)=4; so the number of civil days is 219-4=215. This we enter in the second line of



data set (1), with further entries from Table-IV⁵ under heads w, a, b, c corresponding to the day number 215.

| | d | W | а | b | С | |
|-----|-----|------------|------|------|-------|----|
| | 88 | 5 Thursday | 003 | 299 | 277 | |
| | 215 | 5 Thursday | 2806 | 803 | 589(2 | 2) |
| Add | 303 | 3 Tuesday | 2809 | 1102 | 866(| 3) |

Columns a, b, c as mentioned earlier stand for the astronomical quantities and their remainders exceeding 10,000, 1000 and 1000 respectively are to be taken. So the rectified line will read.

Now, we proceed to Tables VI and VII⁶ for equations to arguments of 'b' and 'c'. The figures against 'b' and 'c' tabulated under entries (4) read as follows:

| under b: | Argument | equation | difference |
|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| | b = 100 | 223 | 7 |
| | b = 110 | 230 | |
| | (5) | | |

Our entry is 102. Since the difference is increasing for 102, the equation will be $223 + (7/10) \times 2 = 223 + 1 = 224$. This is also confirmed with reference to the auxiliary Table in the same page.

Similarly,

| under c: | Argument | equation | difference |
|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| | c = 860 | 107 | 2 |
| | c = 870 | 105 | (6) |

Here the difference is decreasing. We have c = 866, so the equation will be $107 - 6 \times (2/10) = 107 - 1 = 106$.

Now these equations are to be added with 'a' to give 2809 + 224 + 106 = 3139.



This is the tithi index t. With reference to Table-VIII it is found that, the tithi corresponding to t=3000-3333 is Sukla Dasami. So there is a discrepancy of 1 day.

So we are to substract 1 day from d and w to get d = 302 and w = 2 Monday. To account for this difference we again refer to Table-IV at page-cviii under day 1, the entries are;

Upon subtraction of these quantities from a, b, c, tabulated in step (4), we have,

Again we find the equations corresponding to b and c in entries-8 with reference to Table-VI and VII at page cxii.

under b: Argument Equation Difference
$$b = 60$$
 192 $b = 70$ 200 8(9)

equation for $b = 66$ is $192 + \frac{8 \times 6}{10} = 197$

under c: Argument Equation Difference

so, equation for
$$c = 863$$
 is $107 - 2 \times (3/10) = 106 \dots (10)$

These equations, 197 + 106=303 are to be added with 'a' to give 2470 + 303 = 2773 as the tithi index. So the tithi corresponding to this index t with reference to Table-VIII at page (cxii) is found to be a Sukla Navami for t between 2667 – 3000. So the calculation has been self consistent and the day is 302 days from the beginning of the calendar year and is a Monday. Since it is a

normal year with 28 days in February it is a date, 63 days before end of the year.

November and December will account for 61 days out of that. So two days will go from October and the date is 29th October.

Therefore, the conclusive date is 29th October, 1739 and a Monday.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am thankful to Sri J. Mishra of Puri for having suggested me to compute this date.My thanks are due to Dr. G.S. Ray, Dy. Director, Pathani Samanta Planetarium, Bhubaneswar for having permitted me to use the books of the Planetarium library.

References:

- 1. P.C. Naik, Ind. J. Hist. Sc. 35.2 (2000) 148-160
- 2. Robert Sewell and Sankar Balakrishna Dikshit: The Indian Calendar, Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- 3. Ibid: Page Xc Xci
- 4. Ibid: Page CViii
- 5. Ibid: Page Cx
- 6. Ibid: Page CXii
- 7. Ibid: Page CXiii

Ш

DEATH TITHI

Introduction: We calculated the date of birth of Pathani Samanta in 2000¹ and that of Rajguru in 2001. Our later work has been accepted around Puri and elsewhere. Again in 2012, Prof. P.K. Jena of Khurda entrusted me with the job of finding out the Odia sal, month and tithi of the martyrdom of this great nationalist, the date of this sad event being known as December 6, 1806 A.D. I accepted it with pleasure as a moral duty and another opportunity to pay this way, my humble tribute this great son of the soil.

I have done it and outline below the calculations, where the method and data tables given by Robert Sewell and Sankar Balkrishna Dikshit have been exclusively used. It is worthwhile to mention at the out-set that the tithi established here is Margasira Krushna Ekadasi of Kali year 4908, Sakabda 1728 and Odia sal 1214 and the week-day was a Saturday.

Calculation: We follow exclusively for this purpose the rules given on page-90 in the book by Sewell & Dikshit.⁴ Given the A.D. date Dec.06, 1806. The entries corresponding to this year in the Table-I of Sewell and Dikshit at page (xcvi-xcvii) are:

The Odia Dillisvarabda (sal) of this year is 1213-14. As specified in this table this year had the month of Sravana as intercalation (Adhika). Here w stands for the number of week day. Hence, 6 Fri under w indicates, that the chaitra sukla pratipada in this year was the 6th week day, i.e. Friday.

Further a, b and c here stand for-

a = east ward distance of moon from the sun in mean longitude. And a full circle in this case is divided into 10,000 equal parts.

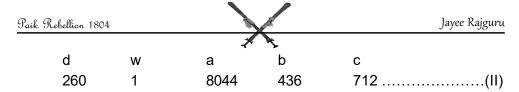
b = moon's mean anomaly.

c = sun's mean anomaly from its perigee in mean longitude.

For b and c, a full circle is divided into 1000 equal parts in each case.

For the year 1806 A.D, which was not a leap year, the number of civil days upto November 30 (Table-IX) is 334. When we add to it 6 days of December, the result is 340. Hence the number of civil days between the catradi and the given date is 260.

Next, as per the rute (at page-90), from Table-IV for the intervening day number 260, we come across the following entries. (at page –cx)



Upon addition of quantities in (I) and (II), column-wise, we have:

The remainder of the result under w, after division by the total number of week days 7, is to be taken to give the day of the date given. In column of 'a' excess of the sum in (III) over 10,000 (if the case so be) has to be taken. And in cases of b and c, excess of the sum over 1000 (if the case so be) is to be taken. And the result is:

Then we use Tables-VI and VII (page cxii) to arrive at equations, corresponding to the numbers under b and c, called as 'arguments'. In fact, they are the corrections to be applied in the sun and moon's anomalies to reach their true values. And here are the data figures:

| b | Argument | Equation | Difference |
|-----|----------|----------|------------|
| 137 | 130 | 242 | 6(V) |
| | 140 | 248 | |

For argument 137, the difference is 4.2 and the resulting equation is 246.2 Similarly for c:

| С | Argument | Equation | Difference |
|-----|----------|----------|------------|
| 933 | 930 | 86 | 3(VI) |
| | 940 | 83 | |

Therefore for argument 933, the equation is 85. Upon addition of these equations with figures under a in (IV) we get 8606 as the tithi index-t. Now on consultation of columns (2) and (3) in Table-VIII (page-cxiii), for t = 8333 to 8667, the tithi is Krishna Ekadasi (Krishna 11).

In order to arrive at the month is to be added to the number of intervening days, its one 60th; so that the result is 264.66 or 265. Out of this 30 tithis are to be deducted due to intercalation as a preceding month Sravana. So the number of tithis is 235. With reference to table-III (page -cvii), the lunar month corresponding to t = 210 to 240 is Kartika, but it is in Amanta system; followed in north and south India; in which the lunar month begins with 'sukla pratipada'. However, in Odisha and some other parts of the country, the Purnimanta scheme is followed, in which the lunar month ends with a full-moon and the next month begins with the following Krishna Pratipada. Hence, in both the schemes, the sukla paksha (bright fort-night) belongs to the same month. But the Purnimanta Krishna Paksha of any particular lunar month occurs one month earlier than that in the Amanta scheme. So in this case the Odia month is Margasira in place of Kartika of Sewell's tables.

Conclusion:

Therefore, the Odia tithi of December 6, 1806 A.D. turns out to be the Margasira Krishna Ekadasi of Odia sal 1214, Saka 1728 and Kali Yugabda 4908. And it was a Saturday. This conclusion has further been confirmed with reference to the Indian Ephemeris A.D.1800-A.D.2000 by Swami Kannu Pillai⁵.

Acknowledgement:

I am thankful to Prof. P. K. Jena for having assigned me this problem.

References:

- 1. P. C. Naik, Ind. J. Hist. Se.35(z) (2000), 148-160.
- 2. P. C. Naik, Souvenir of Samanta Chandra Sekhar Smruti Parishad, 2002.
- 3. P. C. Naik, Date of Birth of Jayee Rajguru in Jatadhari Mishra's book (Odishara Prathama Saheed, 2002) in Odia.
- 4. Rebert Sewell and Sankar Balkrishna Dikshit, The Indian Calendar, Motilal Banarasidas & Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Delhi-1995.



5. Swami Kannu Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris-A.D.1800 – A.D.2000, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi-1987, 1994 reprint, pp 14-15.

Ш

BIRTH DATE AND TITHI - COINCIDENCE

Abstract: In this note we present the astronomical basis behind the coincidence of the birth date and tithi of Jayee Rajguru's birth which happened in October, 2017. And during our discussion, it would transpire that, though seemingly rare, such coincidence has predictable possibility in definite intervals.

Introduction: Recently on the 16th Sept.2017 I had the opportunity of touching the sacred soil of Biraharekrushnapur, the native village of Jayee Rajguru, the veteran diplomat and brave fighter, who in the capacity of the Chief Counsellor and Army Chief of the Gajapati King, organized roaring rebellion and armed resistance against British Occupation of Khurda state in the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. That evening, while I was paying respectful obeisance at Smruti Mandap, Sri Jatadhari Mishra, Secretary, Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Parishad, pointed out that, this year the birth tithi and date of Rajguru occurs, as it happened in 1739 A.D, on 29th October, which is the Kartika Shukla Navami (Amla Navami). By the by, he asked whether there is any astronomical reasoning behind it and suggested me to find it out and present in the ensuing Jayanti Celebration.

This is not the only case. Such coincidence of Samanta Chandra Sekhar's birth date and tithi occurred in 2006, December. That time I traced out the reasoning and wrote a paper published in SCS Smruti Parishad Souvenir,¹ that year. Though it may appear rare, such coincidences reoccur with somewhat regular predictable intervals and such event has basic astronomical cause, which we layout in the following.

Recurrence List: The year 2017 happens to be the 278th year of the birth of Rajguru. In the primary step of investigation, we consulted the literature to locate the recurrence of coincidence of date and tithi. Such details for two hundred years from 1800 A.D to 2000 A.D are found in Swamikannu Pillai's ephemeris². The data beyond 2000 A.D have been collected from Drik

Panchanga (Online). We present in the following the list of occurrence of Kartika Shukla Navami (Amla Navami) in the Terminating days of October, in table-1.

Table-1: Recurrence of Amla Navami in October last part

| Year | Date | Weekday | Year | Date | Weekday |
|------|------|-----------|------|------|-----------|
| 1800 | 26 | Sunday | 1906 | 26 | Friday |
| 1808 | 27 | Thursday | 1911 | 31 | Thursday |
| 1811 | 26 | Saturday | 1914 | 27 | Thursday |
| 1816 | 29 | Thursday | 1922 | 29 | Sunday |
| 1819 | 27 | Wednesday | 1925 | 26 | Monday |
| 1824 | 31 | Sunday | 1930 | 31 | Friday |
| 1827 | 28 | Sunday | 1933 | 27 | Friday |
| 1830 | 26 | Thursday | 1941 | 28 | Tuesday |
| 1835 | 30 | Friday | 1944 | 26 | Thursday |
| 1838 | 27 | Saturday | 1949 | 30 | Sunday |
| 1843 | 31 | Thursday | 1952 | 27 | Monday |
| 1846 | 28 | Wednesday | 1960 | 28 | Friday |
| 1849 | 25 | Thursday | 1968 | 30 | Wednesday |
| 1854 | 30 | Monday | 1971 | 28 | Thursday |
| 1857 | 27 | Thursday | 1976 | 31 | Sunday |
| 1862 | 31 | Friday | 1979 | 29 | Monday |
| 1865 | 28 | Saturday | 1987 | 31 | Saturday |
| 1873 | 30 | Thursday | 1990 | 28 | Sunday |
| 1876 | 26 | Thursday | 1998 | 29 | Thursday |
| 1881 | 31 | Monday | 2006 | 31 | Tuesday |

| Paik Rebell | ion 1804 | | | | Jayee Rajguru |
|-------------|----------|----------|------|----|---------------|
| 1884 | 28 | Thursday | 2009 | 27 | Tuesday |
| 1887 | 25 | Thursday | 2017 | 29 | Saturday |
| 1892 | 30 | Sunday | 2025 | 31 | Friday |
| 1895 | 27 | Sunday | 2028 | 26 | Thursday |
| 1903 | 29 | Thursday | 2036 | 28 | Tuesday |

It may be noticed from the data in the table that October 29, and Kartika Shukla Navami exactly coincided five times in 200 years' only once in the 19th century and four times in the 20th. Of course, there are near coincidences of Navami coming on 28th and 30th October in a number of instances.

It would be instructive to check the intervals between the successive recurrences. We do not have any data between 1739 and 1799. And the first and only coincidence took place in the 19th century in the year 1816. The separation between the original birth year and 1816 is 77 years, which for the reason to be seen below may be approximated to 76 years, and there from, 1903 is 87 years, apart, which is (76+11) years. And from 1903 to 1922, the interval is 19 years; 1922 to 1979 it is 57 yrs (=19x3). Again, 1979 to 1998; and 1998 to 2017, are each 19 years apart. Therefore, it may be inferred that 19 years or its multiples are the usual intervals of recurrence; whereas, there may be an 11 year interval rarely. Lets look into the origin of these numbers, 19, 11 and even 46 occurring in the context of recurrence elsewhere.

Explanation:

The clue is found in Arkasomayaji's annotation of Siddhanta Siromani³. The 19 year recurrence of astronomical events is known as metonic cycle⁴. Its origin is traced in the periodic annual motions of sun and moon. It is well known that the synodic month of moon is 29.53054 days and hence, the lunar year is 354.36708 days. But a solar years is 365.256374 days. It turns out that 235 lunar months = 6939.69 days and 19 solar years = 6939.75 days. Therefore if certain date and tithi fall together in a particular year, it may so occur 19 years later. Such cycle, though introduced in Greece by Meton in 433 B.C. it is mentioned in literature⁵, that the phenomenon was known in the East much earlier.



But still the intervals 46 years, and 11 years need to be explained. Somayaji adopts the continued fraction representation of the ratio of kalpa years and kalpa adhimasas to arrive at the magic numbers 11, 19 and 46 etc. and their argument is meant for recurrence of certain intercalary months. According to Bhaskaracharya in Siddhanta Siromani the number of intercalary months in a kalpa is 15933 x 10⁵, where as a kalpa has 432 x 10⁷ years. Therefore, the ratio of kalpa years to kalpa adhimasa number is-

$$\frac{14400}{5311} = 2 + \frac{1}{1+2+2+6+1} + \frac{1}{1+1+7+3+2} = 2 + \frac{1}{1+2+2+6+1+1+7+3+2}.$$
This has the Successive convergents, $\frac{2}{1}, \frac{3}{1}, \frac{8}{3}, \frac{19}{7}, \frac{122}{45}$ and $\frac{141}{52}$.

Samanta Chandrasekhar⁶ gives the number of kalpa intercalation as 1593336 \times 10³; The ratio of which with the kalpa years gives⁷,

$$\frac{540000}{199167} = 2 + \frac{1}{1+} \frac{1}{2+} \frac{1}{2+} \frac{1}{6+} \frac{1}{2+} \frac{1}{1+} \frac{1}{1+} \frac{1}{3+} \frac{1}{3+} \frac{3}{4}.$$

The first few convergents in this case are- and

The Number of these convergent fractions are the magic years of occurrence of intercalation in certain months and consequently also the coincidence of date and tithi. And these numbers are 3, 8, 19, 122, 141 and 263 etc. Out of these, (3 + 8) gives 11 and $(19 \times 2 + 8)$ gives 46.

It may be noticed that in 8 years there are 3 intercalations and so the total number of lunar months is 99. And the number of days during this span in solar and lunar reckoning are 2922.091 and 2923.5284 respectively and in 11 years, these numbers are 4017.82 and 4016.88 respectively.

Conclusion: As the interval span extends, for example in 122 years, the solar years have 44560.5 days and the lunar years 44560.77 days. So the matching is more exact. However, it is clear from the data that the 19 year recurrence is more frequent. The intervals 46, 122 and 141 are nothing but the combinations of multiples of 19 and 8; because, $122 = (19 \times 6 + 8)$ and $141 = (19 \times 7 + 8)$. The next coincidence of Rajguru's Birth date and tithi may not take place before 2055.

Acknowledgements: I am thankful to Sri Jatadhari Mishra of Bira Harekrushnapur for having suggested me this exercise.

References:

- 1. P.C. Naik, Samanta Chandra Sekhar Smruti Parishad Souvenir, 2006
- 2. L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris, A.D- 1800 to A.D-2000, Asian Education Service, New Delhi, 1987:1994 (reprinted).
- 3. D. Arkasomayaji, Siddhanta Siromani of Bhaskaracharya, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1980, pp-74.
- 4. Harold Spencer Jones, General Astronomy, Edward Arnold & Co., London, 2nd Edn., 1934, pp-34.
- 5. C.W.C Barlo and G.H Briyan, Elementary Mathematical Astronomy, University Tutorial press, London, 1944 p.p-167.
- 6. Samanta Chandra Sekhar, Siddhanta Darpana Odia Translation by Bira Hanuman Sastri, Utkal University, 1976.
- 7. P.C. Naik, Annotation of Siddhanta Darpana, of Samanta Chandra Sekhar (Manuscript)

IV REMARKS

We have presented in the last three parts, our investigations on the A.D dates and Hindu, luni-solar tithis of the birth and martyrdom of Jayee Rajguru. In the third part has been presented our observations and its astronomical reasoning of the coincidence of date & tithi as recurrence. In this context a remark regarding the interval between 1739 and 1816, as reflected in our table would be pertinent here. The interval is 77 years, and in place of being 76 as expected under the 19 yr recurrence rule.

Even Sri Rankanidhi Jena of Samanta Chandra Sekhar Smruti Parishad, Bhubaneswar pointed out a one year mismatch of the date of 1739 Kartika Shukla Navami with our calculated date, as 29 October, as checked by him on internet.

As a clarification we would like to submit that, our calculations has been based solely on the method and sarinis of Sewell and Dikshit. And such calculation has been tested to be correct with reference to standard ephemeris for periods within 1800 to 2000 A.D. However, during the 18th century, there has been found a year of astronomical data shift. It may be cheeked that, during 1753-54, the Mesha Samkranti occurred on 29, March and Chaitra Shukla Pratipada on 5, March. Whereas these occurred next year, i.e. during 1754-55, on 9 April and 4 April, respectively. And a note as foot-note reads: "X from here (inclusive) forwarded the dates are new style." It seems, therefore, there may appear a one year or so mismatch between new style extended to old and vice-versa.

However, the dates and tithis decided for periods prior and posterior to 1754-55, must be correct in our case, as the A.D years are known definitely in both the case of birth & death of the historic personality. Besides the work of Sewell & Dikshit has been first published in 1995 only, in a recent time, which must have been tested and checked with historical events. Hence the method and date of the work may be accepted faithful and for any correlation between epochs on both sides of 1754-55, the difference in styles must be noted in order to explain the mismatch.



Role of Jayee Rajguru in Khurda resistance movement (1804-05) – A Historiographical Analysis

Dr. Kanhu Charan Maharana

Sr. Lect. in History Ranpur Degree College, Ranpur, Dist. Nayagarh

After the British occupation of Odisha, in 1804 a rebellion took place in the Kingdom of Khurda to resist the imperialistic design of the British Government. Jaya Krushna Rajguru Mohapatra, popularly known as Jayee Rajguru, the powerful and dynamic regent of the minor Raja Mukunda Deva - II of Khurda spearheaded the movement against the mighty British forces. In this Paik rebellion of 1804-05 Jayee Rajguru could tactfully manage to have the overt cooperation and support of the Raja of Kanika, Balabhadra Bhanja Deo: the king of Kujanga, Chandra Dhwaja Sendha; and the Zamindars of Harishpur, Vishnupur and the Marichpur etc. He had opened channels of communication with Boudh, Nayagarh and other ruling chiefs of the princely states. Jayee Rajguru took the lead and in the end made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the motherland. True to the oath of loyalty to the king and kingdom, he took upon himself the responsibility to set the kingdom free, embraced martyrdom and proved to be the archetype. The revolt that originated at Khurda during the reign of Raja Mukunda Deva-II under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru in 1804 was unique and had far reaching consequences. Moreover, the revolt of 1804 was an attack on intricate web of conspiracy, deceit and manipulation of colonial administration and in defence of national honor. The fire of patriotism was spread like a wildfire till the outbreak of the second phase of Paik Rebellion in 1817.

Jaya Krushna Rajguru Mohapatra alias Jayee Rajguru was born on 29th October, 1739, 24th day Sukla Navami known as Amala Navami at Biraharekrushnapur sasan near Puri. His father was Chand Rajguru Mohapatra and mother was Haramani Devi. Jayee Rajguru belonged to a family noted for learning and culture. Jayee Rajguru received education at the traditional academic centres like Sanskrit tols, Emar Math and then,

Govarddhan Pitha of Puri. His scholastic reputation was very high because of his deep insight into scriptural and ritual texts. He was highly acclaimed for his scholarship not only among his peers but also in the society. Along with his pursuit of knowledge, he also got himself trained in the traditional martial art and showed his mettle. He was also adept is horse-riding. He had learnt a variety of body building exercises, such as weight lifting, sword play, and different martial practices and had acquired proficiency in wrestling. During his stay at Khurda in his youth, he used to impart training to the young men in the local gymnasium (i.e. Village Akhadas) in sword fighting, wrestling, horse-riding etc. and received ungrudging affection and obedience from the warrior class. Apart from that he was also performing daily different rites and rituals for the propitiation of the gods and goddesses. The untimely death of his father made him resolute and courageous. He decided not to marry and stuck to the decision despite heavy pressure from his mother. In the meantime, he visited Gaya along with some of his friends to perform certain rites of his deceased father. While returning home, he took a break at Benares, where he could get the opportunity to discuss different aspects of theology, philosophy etc. with the learned scholars. He achieved proficiency in a special art known as Dhumavati which would create an artificial smoke screen around the practitioner to deceive the enemies. During his tenure as Raiguru, he used to invoke divine intervention at the time of discharging the duties.

Jayee Rajguru was a multi-talented personality in his youth. He was not only a man of great learning and considerable culture but also a skilled and wise statesman and an astute general. His personality, style of functioning, scholarship, integrity etc. had attracted the attention of other native Rulers and some of them even tried to lure him with hefty offers in their states. In course of time he adorned the position of Rajguru during the tenure of Divyasimha Deva. Then Mukunda Deva occupied the gaddi of Khurda. The Dewan Jayee Rajguru carried on the administration on behalf of the Ruler Mukunda Dev-II as the later was a minor then. By that time the administration of Khurda was in complete disarray. At this critical juncture, Jayee Rajguru took some corrective measures to bring the administration back on the rails. Very soon his reforms in the army raised the morale of the Paikas. He used to visit different village Akhadas and personally supervised the training in martial art there. Its impact was greatly felt in the nook and corner of the kingdom and there appeared a popular resurgence of

nationalism. Strict rules were followed for recruitment in the army. The army was generally divided into three brigades viz. Infantry, cavalry and the elephant - mounted soldiers. The total number of forces during this period was about 15,000. Along with the traditional weapons, they were using fire arms and cannons also. Besides Jayee Rajguru organized four more divisions namely (i) Pahadi (ii) Dhenkiya (iii) Banua and (iv) Guerrilla. The Paikas or the peasant militia with great devotion to duty was ferocious and valiant in nature which made them a formidable class of the kingdom. Jayee Rajguru took great care to make the espionage system effective. This task was undertaken by the businessmen enrolled for trade and commerce. They carried out this work secretly and confidentially in negotiating with the native states on behalf of the Khurda administration. A man known as Sambhu Bharati worked as the head of this secret spy organization. Moreover, Jayee Rajguru tried to develop friendly relations with the neighbouring states and to build-up camaraderie with them for making a common cause against the forces of exploitation. In the capacity of the regent during the king's minority, he wielded considerable influence and power in the administration. He was extremely powerful and had dominated the court and the country in a way that was equaled by none before.

The prospect of a show-down with the colonial forces looked imminent and Jayee Rajguru crafted a well-designed strategy to respond to the challenge. He inspired the people and Paikas alike to join the fray. An elaborate plan of action for resistance to the British expansionism was chalked out to protect the status quo and the self-esteem of the Khurda kingdom. As an astute diplomat, he rightly realized that it would be very difficult to fight singlehandedly against the mighty British. So he opened negotiations with the Raja of Berar to make a common cause with the Marathas against the colonial forces. The king also had opened the channels of communications with other tributary chiefs of Odisha exhorting them to unite in common cause with him against the British. Sambhu Bharati, an influential gosain was engaged by the Raja for this purpose. By the by the rulers of Kanika and Kujanga readily accepted the proposal and made a common cause with the Raja of Khurda against the British. The zamindars of Bishnupur, Harishpur, Marichpur etc. also joined the confederacy.

The war strategy was formulated with the help of Jagannath Harichandan, the Uttar Kabata of Khurdagarh, Ramakrushna Mangaraj of

Khurda, Bauribandhu Harichandan, the Behera Pradhan of Baghei Tangi etc. During the period, the Behera Pradhan of Padanpur, the Bisoi of Haridamada Garh, the Samantarai family of Mendhasala etc. rich people threw-in their lot with the nationalists. The Dalabeheras of Gangapada, Jamukholi, Rameswar, Panchagarh, Haladia and Harirajpur, Samanta of Khurkhigarh, the Samantaray of Khudupur, the business and trading community of Khurda etc. extended their wholehearted support and co-operation to the nationalist cause. Within a very short period, Jayee Raiguru was able to chalk-out the strategy for the inevitable anti-British hostility. At this critical juncture, the Paikaray of Kural, called as Kandha Raja offered his services to participate personally in the war and to send trained soldiers adept in guerrilla warfare. After making elaborate preparation for the war at Khurda, Jayee Rajguru, then rushed to Puri to take necessary steps for the protection of Jagannath Temple from the clutches of the foreigners in case of an eventual war. As early as possible he convened a meeting of the sahi-nayaks and asked them to take necessary precautions in the matter. The duty of protection of the temple was entrusted with "Chhatisha Niyog Nayak Pattajoshi Mahapatra." Guards were posted at the main entrance of Puri. Apart from that he increased the deployment of troops at different points and appointed some Maratha Sardars to train and increase the competence level of the Paikas. Troops were deployed at strategic places like Dampara, Banapur, Delanga, Taratua and Gangapada as the first line of defence against the attack on the fort. Two hundred soldiers were also stationed at the gate of Khurda and they were reinforced by an additional three hundred guards and two pieces of canon.

Subsequently, the British authorities came to know about such preparation for the war by Khurda Kingdom. Harcourt tried to persuade the king to give up resistance but it was of no avail. Under the circumstances, Wellesley was not willing to undertake any more expansionist ventures as his forward and aggressive policy had been criticized at home. Another reason for Wellesley's unwillingness to use force against the Raja of Khurda at that point of time was the continuation of war against the Marathas. Hence, Wellesley told Harcourt to try to bring the Raja to his senses without using force. Harcourt took all possible steps to thwart the efforts of the Rajas of Kanika, Kujanga and Khurda. As a precautionary measure he imprisoned Sambhu Bharati who carried messages on behalf of the Raja of Khurda from one tributary state to another. Harcourt also demanded the removal of Jayee

Rajguru from the office of Khurda Garhjat. Because Jayee was suspected of pressurising the Raja of Khurda not to agree for negotiation with the British authorities.

In the meantime, Mukunda Dev –II became determined to assert his rights, if possible, by force. He directed the Maquaddams to collect rents from the people. On the other hand, the British could no longer remain as a passive spectator and very soon objected the action of Mukunda Deva-II. The Raja was warned against any repetition of such acts of "unprovoked aggression". The Commissioner directed Hunter, the Collector of Puri to make settlement of the praganas of Rahanga, Limbai, Serai, Chabiskud and Purusottam directly with the pradhans and Bhois. From 5th December, 1804, the Raja Mukunda Deva-II was deposed owing to his ill treatment towards the British Government. All the subjects were required to submit to the British Government and carry out their orders. The Commissioner declared all the debts contracted by the Raja as illegal. The British authorities also directed Morar Pandit, the head Parichha of Jagannath temple, not to invoke the name of the Raja at the time of the worship of Lord Jagannath as he was the greatest foe of the British Government. The Commissioners directed and threatened all Dalabeheras, Zamindars, Khandaits and close relatives of the Raja not to extend any help or cooperation to the Raja Mukunda Deva-II of Khurda.

After getting the news of the deposition of the Raja, Jayee Rajguru became mentally prepared for the final show of strength with the British. Without delay, he hurried back to Khurda and reached Barunei Gada. There, he gave a final touch to the preparation for the impending confrontation. At that critical moment the Raja felt jittery and remained confined to the fort. Jayee Rajguru alone took up the responsibilities and forged ahead to challenge the British forces. The fight with the British was no doubt, unequal in nature but to venture it out was a matter of great patriotism and valour. Protest against the British continued from various corners, which continued for days together. It caused heavy loss of lives and properties from both of the sides. Finally, major Fletcher besieged the fort of Khurda by deploying the troops of Madras European regiment, the 7th Bengal Native Infantry and the 19th Madras Infantry. The combined forces of Khurda and other allied states coud not withstand the pressure of the British army.

On the night of 3rd January, 1805, Mukunda Deva-II was arrested in the Jungle, thirty miles away from Khurda. Prior to that Jayee Rajguru was

overpowered and captured. He was regarded as the mastermind behind the rebellion and so treated as the arch-enemy of the British. However, the British took stringent action against Jayee Rajguru. He was shunted off to the far off Medinapore for the so-called trial for committing offense against the British Government. The trial conducted at a place called Baghitota in Medinapore. Finally, Jayee Rajguru was convicted of waging a war against the "Lawfully established Government." He was held responsible for the loss of many lives and properties. He was ordered to be hanged to death. On 6th December, 1806, Jayee Rajguru was brutally killed. Simultaneously the Governor General granted mercy and released Mukunda Dev-II, who remained as a King without kingdom. Then after he permanently settled at Puri and became popularly known as the Raja of Puri.

Jayee Rajguru earned the credit of being the gutsy Martyr of Odisha, who gave up his life in fighting against the imperialistic forces. The cause for which he fought was noble and the sacrifice that he made in the process was supreme. He laid his life for the cause of the motherland without any regret. In his words, he captured the imagination of the people; in his deeds, he provided the much-needed clue to the Odia identity; and finally, in his death, he conquered life. He remained loyal to the king till his last breath and sacrificed his life for the cause of the motherland.

References:

- 1. G,N. Dash, "Jagannath and Oriya nationalism" in A. Eschmann (ed.) The cult of Jagannath and the regional tradition of Orissa (Delhi, 1978) p. 364.
- Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Odia) (Puri, 2002)
 P. 65.
- 3. Ibid, p12
- Ibid. p16.
- 5. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, Jayee Rajguru, Cuttack, 1955, p. 4.
- 6. Ibid. P.5.
- 7. Jatadhari Mishra, op.cit. p 26.
- Ibid.
- 9. C.D. Mahapatra, "Jayee Rajguru" in "Banaphula" (Odia Monthly), February, 1971, p.66.
- 10. Harcourt to Shawe, 6 October, 1804, Add. Mss, 13610, pp. 80-81.



- 11. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, Jayee Rajguru (Odia), Cuttack, 1955, P. 11.
- 12. Ibid.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. Ibid, p. 14.
- 15. P.K. Pattanaik, A forgotten chapter of Orissan history, Calcutta, 1979, p. 129.
- 16. B.C. Ray, Foundations of British Orissa, Cuttack, 1960, p. 55.
- 17. Harcourt to shawe, 23 October, 1804, Add Mss, 13610, p. 81. (Ibid. P. 60.)
- 18. Commissioner to the Raja of Khurda, 1 October, 1804, Board of Revenue Archives, Vol. VII (Quoted from P.K. Pattanayak, op. cit. p. 132.)
- J. Hunter to G. Hartwell, 12 September, 1804, Board of Revenue Archives, Vol. II, Ibid.
- 20. H.K. Mahtab and S.C. De (ed.), op. cit, vol. I, p. 75.
- 21. J., Hunter to G. Hartwell, 12 September, 1804, Board of Revenue Archives, Vol II (Quoted from P.K. Pattanayak, op. cit, p. 132.)
- 22. S.N. Das, Unabinsa Satabdira Odisha, (Puri, 1955) pp. 35-37.
- 23. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, op. cit, p. 16.
- 24. Encl. Impey to Government, 21 October, 1885, Bengal Criminal Judicial consultations L.P. 31 October, 1885, No. 18, (B.C. Ray, op. cit, p. 66)
 (i) Harcourt to Government, 4 January, 1805, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, No. 40.
- 25. Surendra Kumar Mishra, "Aaitihasika Pattabhumire Saheed Jayee Rajguru, Saheed Jayee Rajguru Sandarbha Sambhar" in Odia (Puri, 2000), p. 52.

Chakradhar Mahapatra, Banaphula, op. cit, p. 65.

Relationship of Jayee Rajguru with the Jagas and Akhadas of Shreekshetra

Lopamudra Samantaray

Guest Lecturer of History S.C.S.(Autonomous)College, Puri

Puri has never been a political centre throughout her history. No ruling dynasty of Odisha had ever made their capital here. Though a palace at Balisahi was constructed in 16th century by Gajapati Mukunda Dev, but it was used only to stay for temporary period by the kings when they were on visit to kshetra for darshan of Lord Jagannath or to enjoy the moderate climate of Puri during summer days. Puri is out and out a Tirtha kshetra – a place of pilgrimage – a religious centre. Even before the construction of present Jagannath temple during the rule of 1st Ganga King Chodaganga Dev in 12th century, Puri was famous in every nook and corner of India as an important religious place, (1) Puri is a traditional city, any where one moves inside the city, he will find the imprints of traditionality at each step – may be in the art, architecture, festivals or in the way of life of every individual. Here the land, sea the air and the whole atmosphere murmurs the songs of traditionality.

Traditionality can well be visualized in every nerve of the Jagas and Akhadas. They are perhaps the oldest surviving and continuously functioning socio-cultural organizations of India. There may be religious Institutions which are functioning over a long period of time, but we have no idea about any socio-cultural organization. Hence the jagaghara and akhadas are precious treasures of Odisha's cultural heritage. Before the establishment of Jagas and akhadas in Srikshera, there were various military and semi-military establishments created by the Ganga and Suryavansi Gajapati kings to safeguard the shrine and to maintain law and order situation in the holy dham of Puri. They are kotes, garhs and gurujas, which were military posts and their main thrust was to retaliate the attack of the enemy in case of any attack from the aggressor.

Kotes are small forts where 500 trained military persons were stationed. In Odisha forts were created from 3rd century B.C.E. Abul Fazl, the prudent minister of Akbar, during the tour to Odisha mentioned clearly, Odisha was full of forts with well garrisoned and trained armies. (3) Puri was a water fort covered with rivers on three sides and sea on one side. Therefore instead of forts, some kotes were erected. There were four important kotes on four sides of the temple viz. Bhagavati kote (North), Nagakote (South), Marichikote (East) and Indradyumna kote in the (West). In the later period some Jagagharas were created bearing the epithet kote. They are Khasu kote, Kalikakote, Alarkote, Khaki kote, Ali kote, Sankha kote, Jadu kote, Alei kote and the like. (4) The Garhs in Shreekshetra were small forts. The commanding chief of a Garh is called as Bisoyee. The Garhs of Ganga period are no more there. However, there are some Jagagharas with the word garhs attached to their name. They are Malligarh, Champagarh, Dhwajagarh, Bajragarh, Tapangagarh, Luhagarh, Jaigarh, Kadambagarh, Duarigarh, Adangagarh and the like. (5) The Gurujas were the meeting places to discuss the secret military strategies. These kotes, Garhs and Gurujas became defunct with the end of the Suryavanshi Gajapati rule. The political instability, thereafter, weakened these military posts due to the want of support of the central administrations. The Jaga akhadas then grew up as some sort of substitution of those military establishments.

Most of the historians including Prof. M.N.Das believe that the Jagas and Akhadas were originated during the rule of Ramachandra Deva I, the founder of Bhoi dynasty of Khordha 1568-1605. (6) The political instability and turmoil occurred just after the reign of Gajapati king Prataprudra Deva from the 4th decade of 16th century till the death of last independent Hindu ruler Mukunda Deva and thereafter frequent threat of Afghan rulers evoked a historical necessity for establishment of Jagas and akhadas in Shree Kshetra.

The focus point was to plunder the wealth of Shree Jagannath temple. During the medieval period a message was spread that Jagannath temple had several ratna bhandaras. There is also some truth behind this. During the reign of Ganga and Suryavansi kings Shree Jagannath has gained much more popularity in Odisha. As the state deity Jagannath had attracted the love and affection of the whole kingdom. The rulers of both these dynasties donated huge amount of wealth to Lord Jagannath for the development of

the temple. To check the aggressors entering the temple, Ramachandra Deva I intended to create some organization following the previous pattern and the outcome was the establishment of Jagas and Akhadas. The Jagagharas or akhadas that we see today were not sprung up at a time. Their number was very limited at the initial phase.

The Jagagharas and the akhadas though were tied in a single chain of martial art and culture but were two separate institutions having different functions. The akhadas are the guardians organization of one sahi under which exists some Jagagharas. Each sahi has one akhada which was managed under the leadership of Sahi nayakas of the concerned sahi. With the decline of importance of Sahi Nayakas the akhadas are now managed under the leadership of presidents and secretaries. The major functions of akhadas include: (a) to render social service (b) to protect the shrine and kshetra and (c) to discharge the royal duties (d) help maintain peace in the locality (e) training & presentation of Odissi song, Gotipua dance and other dance items like Naga medha, Ravana etc. and to organize Sahiyata twice in a year (f) assist in performing nitis of Jagannath temple and to control the Jagagharas. (7)

The Jagagharas are gymnastic centres where training is imparted on wrestling, bodybuilding along with the technique and strategies of warfare. The youths were trained in these arts with the intention to act as semi-military force. We know that the capital of the kings of Bhoi dynasty was at Khordha where the king, his top officials and army personnel lived. When any invader attacked the kshetra by that time the trained youth tried to prevent the invaders at least for some time till the message reached the capital and the central army of Khordha kingdom. At present there are 59 Jagagharas in functional state covering seven traditional sahi's of Puri kshetra. The number that we see today has not been created at once. First few Jagagharas were established either by the orders of the king or by top officials or by sadhus. In course of time it went on increasing. The Sevayats of Jagannath temple were settled in seven sahis around the shrine. These Sevayatas are mostly associated with the Jaga akhada culture. The people of whole city in the past were associated to jagas and akhadas those were treated as the most important organization in the eyes of the rulers. So to increase a cordial bonding and to promote cultural integrity among the inhabitants of different

sahi's and to provide a scope to exhibit the knowledge acquired in the jagas and akhadas by the youth once in a year the sahiyat was organized and the kings extended their support and patronage for the success of the festival. Each sahi is allotted to perform specific episode from Ramayan and Mahabharat and are linked to Shree Jagannath temple. Enactment of each prastab and leela by a sahi akhada culminates its symbolic presentation at Jagannath ballav in presence of the Chalanti pratimas of Lord Jagannath. The number of akhadas are very limited because there is no scope for it's increase. Unless there is increase of the number of sahis, there is no chance of formation of a new akhadas. Some kings or top officials of Bhoi dynasty who had special liking for jaga akhada culture had established some jagagharas during their tenure.

Jayee Rajguru, the Prudent Diwan of Khordha dynasty from 1780 -1804 C.E. had special affection for the jaga and akhada culture of Sri kshetra. We know that his native place was at Biraharekrushnapur only 4 km. away from the kshetra. He was closely acquainted & associated with jaga akhada culture of Puri. Jayee Rajguru had his education in the tols of Puri town. The Sanskrit at that time was lingua franca in the tols. Jayee Rajguru has his elementary education in Emar Math Sanskrit tol and his higher education at Sankaracharya Pitha. (8) Like his Grand Father Gadadhar Rajguru, Jayee Rajguru was an erudite scholar in Vedas, Sastra, Puranas, Kavyas, alankars, Vyakarana, tantrasastra, Mantrasastra and darshan sastra. While reading in Emar Math and Sankacharya Pitha, he was staying in his house at Kundhei Benta Sahi. This house was sold to arrange money for his journey to Nagapur to discuss with Bhonsale regarding the problems caused by the Bargis. To meet the journey expenses he sold his house at Kumuti Sahi under Kundheibenta Sahi. When he was staying at Kundheibenta sahi, he was closely associated with jagagharas & pathara akhadas. In the jagagharas he had acquired the first knowledge in body building, wrestling, sword and stick fighting. Afterwards he acquired advanced knowledge in martial art from his uncle Ramachandra Khadagray. As there were no roads at that time horse was used as a convenient mode of conveyance by the rich and aristocratic people. (9) Jayee learnt horse riding from his father Chand Rajguru and became adept in horse riding. While continuing his higher education at Govardhan Pitha, he already had gained mastery in martial art. He imparted training to the young men of Jagagharas regarding superior technique in sword fighting,

stick fighting and wrestling. He conquered the hearts of innumerable youths of Puri town for his simplicity and method of training. He was a popular face in the city for his high intellect, immense prudence as a scholar, for possessing a strong and stout body with mastery in the discipline of horse riding.

Javakrushna Rajguru alias, Javee Rajguru was the most powerful person of his time in the Khordha territory. The historical happenings of that period made him the unchallenging figure in the state. Jayee was selected as the Rajguru of Khordha kingdom in 1780 CE at the age of 41 years. The period when he took over the charge as Rajguru, Birakishore Dev was the king of Khordha. The whole administration was in complete disarray. The militia was disorganized and the morale of army was at it's lowest ebb. (10) The financial condition of the state was precarious. The famine of 1779-80 made the situation more disastrous. The hope of bringing back four high yielding Praganas those were mortgaged to Marhatta was remote. The poor financial state of affairs had worst effect on Jagannath temple management. The car festival in 1778-79 was not organized due to paucity of funds. (11) The sevayats of the temple were highly dissatisfied. The facilities provided to rajgurus were cancelled by the king. Chandra Sekhar, the son of Narasimha Rajguru refused to become the Rajguru of the kingdom when he was asked to come to Khordha and work there. The previous practice was that the Rajgurus had worked form their home and seldom went to the capital at the time of urgent need. Other Rajgurus became apathetic as payment was not made to them regularly. King Birakishore Dev out of disgust went mad and murdered four his sons including the eldest son. He was imprisoned by the orders of Rajaram Pandit, Marhatta Governor of Odisha in 1780. Buxi Damodar Bhramarabar helped the Marhatta authorities and captured the king and sent him to Cuttack. (12) The grief-stricken people of the kingdom made Buxi responsible for this unpleasant work. It is alleged that from that day onwards the Buxis were deprived of their position. (13) To add to the miseries, Raja Birakishore Deva was deprived of the management of temple of Lord Jagannath which was the privilege of the Gajapati kings. The prevailing rule is that unless a king died, his successor would not ascend the throne. Hence there was no officially declared king. In early years of Jayee's Rajguruship in Khordha kingdom, he was the only man in the top posts of administration

with no buxi, no other Rajguru nor even the recognized king. All burdens of the state were thrust on him.

Jagannath Rai, grandson of Birakishore Dev. (son of the eldest son of Birakishore) acted as the representative of the king. During this period he was depended on Jayee for effective management. Birakishore died in 1793 CE inside the jail. There after Jagannath Rai, was coronated as the next king bearing the epithet Divyasingha Deva II. He ruled for 5 years and died in 1798 CE. His son was a minor. Taking this opportunity Shyam Sundar Dev, second son of Birakishore Dev and uncle of Divyasingh Dev, with the instigation of an officer of East India Company lodged an attack on Khordha to occupy the throne. But the mission failed due to the stiff resistance from Jayee Rajguru and the Marhatta dispensation. (15) The then Marhatta Goverenor Sadasiva Rao recognized Mukunda Deva II, as the king of Khordha. Mukunda Deva by that time was a minor, only 11 years old. Jayee Rajguru became the regent of the king to manage the affairs of the state. So right from the assumption of the post of rajguru in 1780 upto his arrest in 1804, Jayee Rajguru was the key person to look after the whole affairs of the Khordha kingdom. For all practical purposes he was the final decision maker with regard to administration of the state.

The decision he takes, for the betterment of the kingdom, always is implemented by the orders of the king. He had deep devotion for Lord Shri Jagannath and great affection for the jaga akhada culture. In toto the betterment of the kshetra was his main concern. There was always threat of attack to the temple by the enemies. To take a safety measure the post of a Dandua Daroga was created. His duty was to move around the city and collect messages of the kshetra and the temple. The Dandua Daroga to report everything to Patjoshi Mahapatra who in turn had the responsibility to pass it to the palace of Khordha. For that matter a new system was introduced called the Hariballavtata in which the kotha bhoga of the temple to be sent to Khordha palace every day by a special messenger. Patjoshi Mahapatra ought to send the news of the kshetra to the king by one messenger. The messenger was a trusted man of the administration who used to go there everyday by riding a horse. (18)

To bring a qualitative change in the rituals system of the temple of Lord Shri Jagannath, he introduced a training programme for the would-be

sevayatas. (19) Expert Pandit in Sastras imparted training to the Sevayats making them aware about the principles enumerated in the scripture and the correct way to worship or to perform his duty as prescribed by tradition. Unless one has obtained the training he was not considered fit to be a sevayat and saree will not be tied on his head recognizing him as a servitor of the temple.

As he had abundant affection for the people of the kshetra, one Jagiasahi sevaka was engaged, whose duty was to guard the sahis, to check theft etc. $^{(20)}$

While going to his house at Biraharekrushnapur from Puri he used to see the distress of the indigent and starving pilgrims who were not allowed to pass ghat at Atharnala. Even after he became Rajguru, he saw that the plight of this category of pilgrims has not yet changed. He thought of providing some sort of relief to these starving pilgrims. He requested Gurmukh Das Adhikari, Mahanta of Jagannath Ballava Math to distribute charity to these pilgrims. For that purpose, he was entitled to collect the revenue from Balapur village and to utilize it for charity. There was a reason behind to select Gurmukh to execute the work. Before some years he was entrusted with the responsibilities of nourishing four elephants of the kingdom and he had successfully implemented this responsibility. Gurumukh Das Adhikari obeyed the request and provided the charity (Annachatra) to starving people at Atharanala.

The first step for improvement of the miserable condition that he had undertaken after assuming power was reform in the rank and file of the army. The morale of the army men were raised, along with various measures were taken to make the kingdom's army strong. Paik akhadas were set up throughout the kingdom. Experts and gurus trained in the medieval warfare were invited to impart training on the new technique of warfare. He personally moved to different Paik Akhadas in various places of kingdom and the jagagharas of Srikshetra and supervised the training of martial art (23). At that time, the frequent depredation of the Marhatta Bargis had created panic situation in the state. It is said that the Bargis were stationed at Chhauni Math and Uttaraparswa Math and they caused depredation mostly in rural areas whenever they wished. Jayee Rajguru raised strong protest against the oppression before the Marhatta authorities and on the other hand he

inspired the youths of Jagaakhadas and Paik akhadas who were trained in martial art to challenge oppressing Bargis unitedly. He specifically instructed the office bearer of Jaga-akhadas to have a close watch on the activities of the concerned Maths. The people of the kingdom praised Rajguru for this action and dormant warrior class (Paiks) got rejuvenated. (24)

Lenka and Dalabehera are two sevakas engaged at the services in Jagannath temple from remote past. They are two paik sevakas. Jayee Rajguru utilizing this opportunity wanted to create a Paik Niyog to act as police inside the temple. Their duty was to be present inside the temple from the opening till the closuer of the temple at late night. They are entrusted the duties of calling the sevayats who have sevas in the temple everyday and to remain present during "Rosa Homa". Besides they also have other duties in festive time. The intension of creating this Niyoga was that in case any intruder enters the temple in disguise and to create problem, these Paikas present in the temple will act immediately to capture the culprit. The Niyog was formed by taking 18 houses of Srikshetra of which the Dalabehera was the chief and the lenka is second to him in command.

The Sahiyat is a unique performing art form of Srikshetra. It is designed, nourished, and developed by the Sahis situated around Sri Jagannath temple. (25) The patronage of the kings of Bhoi dynasty made the event more colorful. Since the yata is linked to the culture of Sri Jagannath temple, it is enacted with strict austerity. When we analyze the history of Sahitya, it is found that it has proceeded by facing many ups & downs. Birakishore Dev during his kingship had made sahiyat more colorful and fascinating. But when he lost his mental equilibrium, the sahiyat suffered a great setback and was not organized for some years. The sevayats who were intimately associated with the sahiyat, their sentiment was greatly affected for non-organisation of the 'Yatas' due to want of patronage. Jayee Rajguru had deep relation with the Jaga akhadas and sahiyats when he was reading at Puri. So he was well acquainted with the sentiments of the people of the kshetra. He therefore lent support from the palace for revival of the 'yata' and it was again reorganized with traditional grandeur. The people of the kshetra praised Jayee highly for his generousness.

Puri is a traditional city where legends are integral part of the way of life of the people. Every object or incident having cultural or historical

importance has one or more legends, for which it sounds interesting. Similarly we found some legends on Jayee Rajguru associating him with the Jagas and Akhadas of Puri. It is said with his initiative persons from lower caste (schedule caste) were recruited in the army and it was strengthened. His thrust was to empower the schedule caste and other lower caste people and to encourage them to participate in the activities of Jaga and Akhadas. This innovative step taken by Khordha kingdom in the second half of 18th century by the initiative of Jayee Rajguru made all the downtrodden subjects of kingdom jubilant. Further it is said that five jagagharas were established by his initiative. He arranged meetings of all the Bhendiahs (youths) of Jagagharas to encourage them, to inculcate in them a spirit of love for their motherland, to fight against injustice, to retaliate the aggressor, to maintain peace in the society and to involve themselves in the social work. At times competitions were organized on archery and other martial art to spot the best talents. The five jagas believed to be established are Malligarh Jaga of Kundheibenta sahi, Gurujangajaga of Bali sahi, Adanga Tiadi Jaga of Gaudabada sahi, Jhati jaga in Markandeswar sahi, Dixit Badapokhari jaga in Harchandi sahi.

Every jaga has a legend. Malligarh was established for winning in an archery competition (Sabdavedi) by one Damodar Dixit, since the arrow was worshipped with Malli (Jasmine) flower, it is named as Malligarh. The importance of this jagaghara is that one portion of it was allotted to the schedule caste youths to practice in martial art. One schedule caste youth named 'Nakua' who was a friend of Malligarh jaga lifted the wheel of the chariot that fell down in a pit during Rath Yatra.²⁶ Malligarh Jaga was there before. Jayee Rajguru had only added a separate practice hall for schedule caste youths in Malligarh Jaga. A meeting of youths of Jaga & Akhadas was held under the chairmanship of Gajapati king at Saradhabali, Puri. 27 At that time there was threat of thieves who plunder the wealth and life of people at secluded place finding a traveller alone. The king asked the youths present in the meeting who could check the theft. One Nath Tiadi of Gaudabada sahi responded promptly to catch the thieves and he was succeeded in his venture but his behavior was not polite. People called him as Adanga Tiadi. The king declared a Jagaghara to be established in his name and the outcome was Adanga Tiadi jagaghara. Divyasingha Dev was the king and Jayee Rajguru was the rajguru.

It is pertinent to clear one thing that Jayee Rajguru had worked under three kings, the first was king Birakisore Dev, the second was Divyasimha Deva II and the third one was Mukunda Deva II. Whatever decisions had been taken in the kingdom were issued in the name of the king. But the real man behind every decision was Jayee Rajguru. He encouraged the youths of washerman's colony under Markandeswar sahi to form a jagaghara. They responded the call affirmatively. As their economic condition was not sound they prepare one house made with earthen wall and thatched roof. The place as the mud House was inside the jagagharas, locally it is called as Jhati jaga. (28)

Seven acres of land adjacent to this jagaghara was allotted in favor of this jagaghara. In course of time, other caste youths join this Jagaghara and practice martial art. The fourth, jaga which is believed to be established by the encouragement of Jayee Rajguru was Dixit Badapokhari Jaga in Harachandi sahi. Once there occurred a severe draught in 1779 and due to scarcity of water, people suffered a lot. One Narayan Dixit of Baseli sahi had gained the knowledge of speculating the underground water. He identified a patch of land and inspired the people to dig a pond. To the astonishment of all the water came out after digging few meters of land. The information reached the palace of Khordha, the king pleased with Dixit, ordered to establish one Jagaghara and named it as Dixit Bada Pokhari jaga. By that time king was minor and Jayee Rajguru was regent to look after the work. The 5th Jaga that was established during the tenure of Jayee Rajguru was Gurujanga Jaga in Bali sahi. (29) The Britishers attacked Khordha Garh in 1804. Jayee Rajguru sent the minor king Mukunda Deva II in disguise to Ganga Mata Math with Dalabehera Durga Charan Singh of Gurujanga village of Khordha with an escort troop. The Dalabehera along with few paiks were entrusted with the responsibility of safeguarding the king. They stayed near the old palace at Bali sahi. The place where they were staying, one Jagaghara was established and named as Gurujanga Jaga as the Dalbehera was from Gurujanga.

The contribution of Jayee Rajguru is immense relating to qualitative training imparted to the youths reviving the Sahiyat and inspiring establishment of few Jagagharas. A thorough analysis of the local sayings and field inquiry of all jagas & akhadas may reveal more truth on the relationship of Jayee Rajguru with Jaga & Akhadas.

References:

- 1. Mahiyar temple inscription of Satna dist. In Madhya Pradesh.
- 2. P.K. Samantaray, study on Sahiyat culture and it's application in the present society. Page 71.
- 3. Babu Deepak Kumar. The magnificent fort of Barabati, Nalanda publisher, Cuttack 1972, page-41
- 4. Dr.Surendra Kumar Mishra Purira sahi yatra S.B. Publication, Binod Bihari, Cuttack 2007 page-47.
- 5. Surendra Kumar Mishra Ibid page-46.
- 6. M.N.Das: Odissi as a form of Indian classical Music Tahia, souvenir of Shree Kshetra Kala Prakasika, Puri 1993, page-98.
- 7. Pt. Sadashiba Rath Sharma (article) in Book Shreekshetra Sri Jagannath Volume III Utkal Pathak Sansad Odisha Book store, Cuttack.
- 8. Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru, dist council of culture Puri 2002 page 12.
- Bijay Ch. Rath, Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial resistance in Khurda, Sisu Kalam, Sahid Nagar, BBSR. 2017, page-59.
- 10. Ibid Page 63.
- 11. B.C.Ray, Orissa under the Marathas, page-59. Quoted B.C. Rath
- 12. M.K.Samal, The Bhoi kings, Cultural Heritage of Orissa, Vol-X, Puri Dist. State level Vyasakabi Fakir Mohan Smruti Sansad, Bhubaneswar 2008, Page-190.
- 13. Narayan Rao, Jayee Rajguru, a profile of a great patriot of Odisha, Gopabandhu Sahitya Mandira, Buxi Bazaar, Cuttack, 2016 Page-27.
- 14. M.K.Samal Op. Cit Page 189.
- 15. B.C.Rath, OP. Cit, Page 62.
- Jagannath and Gajapati Kings of Odisha, A compendium of Late Medieval texts Rajabhaga, Sevakarmani, Deshakharja and other minor texts ed.by Gaganendra Nath Dash in collaboration with Ranjan Kumar Das, Manohar publishers, New Delhi-2010 A.D, Page-123
- 17. Ibid. Page 123 (Madalapanji Sevaka Bhiana O Seba Bibarana)
- 18. Sidheswar Mohapatra, Karmangi Madala Sadgrantha Niketan, Puri 2014 Page7, 8.
- 19. Charles Grome Report of 10th June 1805 Publishied by Odisha State Archives, July, 2002 paragraph, 19th.



- 20. G.N. Dash (Ed) Madalapanji, OP. Cit Page 120.
- 21. Para 11th of George Webb's report, 19th Dec, 1807 published by Dept. of Culture Govt. of Odisha June, 2003 (Odisha State Achives).
- 22. C. Grome's Report, OP. Cit Para-55.
- 23. Sadasiba Ratha Sharma, Jayee Rajguru, Cuttack, 1955 Page 5.
- 24. Jatadhari Mishra, OP Cit Page-25 quoted by B.C. Rath Page 64.
- 25. P.K.Samantaray, Op. Cit Page-2
- 26. Jagadev Mishra Sahari Jalam
- 27. Pt. Sadasib Rath Sharma, Srikshetra re Jaga O Akhada, in book Srikshetra Sri Jagannath, Vol III, Utkal Pathak Sansad, Odisha book store, Cuttack Page-320.
- 28. Bansidhar Mohanty, Sri Martya Baikuntha, Ramchandi Sahi, Puri 2017, Page-72.

Jagadev Mishra, Sahari Jalam Page 8-9



Jayee Rajguru and the Resistance Movement in 1804

Dr. Narayan Rao Talasahi, Khurda– 752055

India's History is replete with half forgotten episodes that deserve to be resurrected and examined. In the process, the society is deprived of her own past and the precious heritage that is being buried on the mists of our collective amnesia. From the beginning, British planned out strategy to expand and consolidate British colonial interest and furthered imperialistic design. But British conquest was not without resistance. From the beginning of the rule, there was discontent and resentment among the natives which manifested in sporadic uprising. However, those rebellions and uprisings have been referred by colonial historians as local in character and the leadership was traditional posing no challenge to British power. Though it is difficult to ascertain any definite view of any confrontation, yet, the strong link between the popular agitations during pre-nationalist era in our long struggle for freedom should be established in its true perspective. The respectability and autonomy of such rebellions, however brief and abortive, is to be highlighted. Scholars like Sashi Bhushan Choudhury and Ranjit Guha have analysed these confrontations to the innovative agrarian policy of the British imperialists and encroachment to the socio-religious belief, yet, a closer examination of newly found archival records and other evidences establish an urge of the freedom loving people to fight against the hatred British rule.

One such revolt took place in Khurda under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru, soon after the British conquest of Odisha in 1803. Although Jayee Rajguru has often slipped through the pages of history, he played a pivoted role in anticipating the freedom movement.

Historical Background

In 1568, after the defeat in the battle of Gohiritikira, the powerful Odisha lost her political supremacy and independence to the Afghans. Before the

Afghans could consolidate, the Mughals entered the field in 1592 and Mansingh annexed Odisha during the rule of Akbar. After the Mughals, Odisha came under the rule of Marahattas. The territories to the south of the lake of Chilika became the tract called Northern *Circar*, was ruled by the Nizam of Hyderabad. This fell into the hands of British in 1765, when it was granted to British East India Company. Finally, Odisha was conquered by the Britishers on 17th December 1803 and got the province of Cuttack including the District and Port of Balasore from the *Raja* of Nagpur in perpetuity. Thus, Odisha did not come under British all at a time. Instead, it was a piece meal process, during which different portions were annexed for administration under various administrative units. This had pernicious effect on the homogeneity of the Odia race and seriously jeopardized their integral development.

The Kingdom of Khurda was carved out by Ramachandra Deva-I in 1568, who established Bhoi dynasty independently with its capital at the foot of Barunai Hill. He constructed a strong fort and fortified it in order to protect the territorial integrity of the newly founded kingdom. The fort stood on an area of 11,000 square miles and was located at the centre of a cluster of 71 forts, 31 zamidaris and 129 *quillas*, making it impregnable from any attack. The independence of the Kingdom is corroborated by Sterling's account, Srijung inscription and other external evidences. Moreover, Ramachandra Deva-I is credited with the restoration of the Trinity (Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra) at Srikshetra (Puri) on 11th *Anka* 18th day *Sravana Shukla Navami* (*Madala Panji* the temple chronicle). Thus, the Kings of Khurda from that time onwards revered by all the Odias as *Gajapati*, the first servant of Lord Jagannath and *Thakur Raja*. The *Raja* of Khurda had tremendous spiritual influence on each and every Odia speaking people, even outside the Kingdom of Khurda.

First Resistance Movement of 1804 under the *Raja* Mukunda Deva-II and Jayee Rajguru

In order to establish the link between Bengal and Madras Presidencies and facilitate the movement of army and Provisions, the conquest of Odisha from the Marahattas became inevitable to the Britishers. Hence, they wanted to ensure the neutrality of the *Raja* of Khurda with the promise if giving one lakh of rupees and the restoration of the four *Praganas* like Limbai, Rahanga, Chabiskud and Serai. These *Praganas* were mortgaged to the Marahattas

by *Raja* Birakishore Deva, when he failed to pay the promised money at the time of invasion of Khurda by *Raja* of Paralakhemundi. Jayee Rajguru, who was the Chief Priest and the Regent of minor King Mukunda Deva-II did not back the proposal, being convinced of British policy of treachery in their imperialistic design of expansion. He incurred the wrath of Britishers for obstructing the proposal and not allowing their agents to meet the minor King. However, they succeeded in getting the permission without the knowledge of Jayee Rajguru. Ultimately, Britishers became successful in defeating Marahattas at ease and occupied Odisha in 1803.

True to the expectations of Jayee Rajguru, British Government did not honour the promise given to *Raja* of Khurda and prevaricated the issue, particularly the restoration of the four *Praganas*. Jayee Rajguru was upset by the betrayal of Col. Harcourt and proceeded to Cuttack at the head of a contingent of forces consisting of cavalry, foot soldiers and thousands of spectators in order to pressurise the Government. But Col. Harcourt categorically denied the claim and said that as the *Praganas* belonged to Marahattas, they legally come under the possession of the British Government. However, he was prepared to pay Rs.40,000/- and rest on the good behaviour of the King. Jayee Rajguru felt insulted and returned back with strong determination to give a stubborn resistance to this act of treachery and deceit. The King was also surprised at this betrayal and desired to give leadership to this act of revenge.

Prior to the declaration of war, Jayee Rajguru made an elaborate planning and chalked out the strategy to drive out the Britishers from the soils of Odisha. First of all, he concluded a tri-party agreement with the *Raja* of Kujanga and *Raja* of Kanika. Secondly, he imparted modern technique of training to the *Paiks*, the landed militia of the *Raja*. He even sought the help of Marahatta *Subedars* to train the soldiers with swiftness of action and cavalry charge. Thirdly, he even tried to rope the Marahatta ruling class of Nagpur to extend military help, so that they can avenge the recent defeat. Fourthly, Jayee Rajguru tried to exploit the spiritual influence of *Thakur Raja* on the feudatory states and domiciled Odias living in other administrative units. Fifthly, he succeeded in getting the support of Sevayats of Jagannath Temple in order to protect the honour and prestige of the *Gajapati*. Sixthly, he irritated the British Government by collecting taxes in cash and kind from the British occupied *Praganas*. Because, previously the revenue of these

Praganas were mainly spent on Amritmanohi of the Lord. Finally, he prevailed upon the King not to sign the agreement submitted by the British Government in order to maintain the independence of the Kingdom of Khurda and the prestige of the Gajapati as Chalanta Vishnu. Jayee Rajguru also explained the plan of action to all the Dalais, Dalbeheras, Nayaks and the Paiks. He too arranged the security of the Fort and Provisions in case of seize.

When tragedy on the Khurda state was thus being scripted in 1803 and 1804, *Buxi* Jagabandhu was nowhere visible in near horizon. It is hard to believe that Jagabandhu, being the *Buxi*, the commander of the royal army could remain aloof during the British conquest of Odisha in 1803 or in the rising of 1804-05. W. Ewer in his report mentions that Jagabandhu was one of the first to offer submission to Col. Harcourt at the end of 1803 for the settlement of *Killa* Rorung, more importantly it also attest to the historian Kedarnath Mohapatra's contention that Jagabandhu had helped Col. Harcourt in latter's expedition to Puri through the Rorung estate. Even, S.C. De and B.C. Ray agree that Jagabandhu submitted to British at the initial stage of British occupation. The story of Khurda resistance to British authority would definitely been different, if *Buxi* Jagabandhu and *Dewan* Harihar Bhramarbar have joined the main stream to defend the independence of the Kingdom.

Nothing deterred the determination and commitment of Jayee Rajguru to give a dogged resistance to British authority against any adverse situation. He was proficient in *Sastras* and well as *Astras* true to the tradition of Drona and Kripacharya of Mahabharat's fame. He yielded sword and pen with equal dexterity. Jayee Rajguru used to fight from horse's back with spears in his hands. Besides, he was a good organiser of defence by forming *Buihos* like *Ardhachandra*, *Chakra*, *Sayana* etc. Moreover, he was a bachelor dedicating himself to the cause of the Kingdom and service to the King. As a diplomat, he was aware of the superior strength of British forces who were armed with canons and gunpowder. Though, it appeared to be an unequal fight, yet, heroism and patriotism made him more determined to give a frontal fight. In the meantime Col Harcourt decided to curtail the recalcitrant attitude of the King of Khurda and arrogance of the commander Jayee Rajguru. In spite of Lord Wellesley's caution, the war became inevitable. Col. Harcourt was afraid of its effect on other Tributary States who may unite with the *Raja* of Khurda.

British retaliation was quick and rapid. The movement of forces under Col. Harcourt, captain Storey and major Fletcher could not make rapid strides

because of sustained opposition by the forces of Khurda. Jayee Rajguru had initial success and its tremor was felt as far as Delang, Pipili, Harishpur and British forces had to face much casualty during the confrontation. Ultimately the fort of Khurda was captured after brave and courageous resistance. An attempt was made for the escape of the King to *Gangamata Matha* with a hand written coded letter to Mahanta Narottam Das. But everything seems to have been ended in fiasco and Jayee Rajguru and the King were imprisoned.

They were taken to the Barabati fort at Cuttack and subsequently to Medinipur (Balasore) for trial. To the charge of Treason against the benevolent Government, Jayee Rajguru replied that the King being minor is innocent and it is he who is responsible for the entire episode. The trial was a misnomer of justice and he was sentenced to death in a cruel manner. Jayee Rajguru was the pioneer and precursor of the emerging nationalism and became exemplary for his courage, chivalry, patriotism and sacrifice. In fact he is the First Great Martyr in the long struggle for freedom and remains in the heart of the people of Odisha as a living legend. The King was pardoned and forfeited the Kingdom. The British authority on the entire region of Odisha linking Bengal with Madras was established. Yet, the flame of freedom watered by the blood of the martyrs could not be extinguished permanently and it erupted with greater intensity against British misrule in subsequent years.

References:

Journals and Gazetteers:

- 1) Orissa Historical Research Journal; Bhubaneswar, 1948-1970
- 2) Journal of Orissa Academy, Cuttack 1937
- 3) Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, 1915-1945
- 4) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, London, 1893
- 5) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1893
- Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajmahendry, 1920-1936
- 7) Indian Culture, Calcutta, 1945
- 8) East India Register, 1803-1819
- 9) Ravenshaw Historical Journal, Vol-V, 2005

- 10) Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Patna, 1932
- 11) Bengal District Gazetteer, (Balasore) Calcutta, 1907
- 12) Ganjam District Manual, Madras, 1918
- 13) Bengal District Gazetteer, (Cuttack) Calcutta, 1906
- 14) Orissa District Gazetteer (Koraput), Cuttack, 1945
- 15) Bengal District Gazetteer (Sambalpur), Calcutta, 1909

Records, Reports and Correspondences:

- 1) Records of the Board Revenue, O.S.A, Bhubaneswar (Jayee Rajguru fight against British 1804)
- 2) Board of Revenue proceedings, O.S.A, ACS. N.410 13(Harcourt to Government, October 3rd 1804)
- 3) Commissioner to *Raja* of Khurda, 16th December 1803
- Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar (loose correspondences, Collector of Cuttack to Acting President and members, Board of Revenue, Calcutta, 28th April 1806)
- 5) Orissa State Archives, Board proceedings, Vol-VIII (Revenue)
- 6) Ibid. Vol-I (1803-1804)
- 7) Ibid. Vol-I, circular, T.Fortesque to C.Grome, 11th Feb, 1805
- 8) Ibid. Vol-I, circular, T.Fortesque to all Collectors, 15th Dec, 1804

Odisha State Archives, Bhubaneswar

- 1) Vol. No 426, 19th December 1803 to 4th January 1814
- 2) Vol. No 5, 16th August 1804 to 09th August 1805
- 3) Vol. No 379, 09th September 1804 to 08th November 1804
- 4) Vol. No 497, 29th October 1804 to 31st December 1804
- 5) Vol. No 1, 16th July 1805 to 31st December 1805
- 6) Vol. No 2, 21st January 1805 to 10th July 1805
- 7) Vol. No 3, 21st January 1805 to 10th July 1805
- 8) Vol. No 435, 15th January 1805 to 30th June 1806
- 9) Vol. No 7, 1st January 1806 to 30th June 1806
- 10) Vol. No 8, 1st July 1806 to 20th June 1807
- 11) Vol. No 10, 1st July 1807 to 30th December 1808
- 12) Vol. No 11, 4th July 1807 to 25th October 1836

Judicial Translations:

- 1) Vol.No 522, 11th April1805 to 10th October 1805
- 2) Vol.No 12, 01st January 1808 to 30th December 1809
- 3) Revenue and Judicial correspondences Vol. No 12, 1807 to 1808

Odisha State Museum, Bhubaneswar

1) Netrananda Sahitya Panchanama – Jamar Darpan, 1799

West Bengal Archives, Calcutta

1) Letter to and from Court of Director's 1803 to 1828

Books:

- 1) Acharya, P.: Odisha ra eka prachina Rajguru Vansa, Prajatantra, 26-6-68, Odia: Odisha ra Puratanatathya anyanya prabandha, BBSR, 1969: Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives, Calcutta, 1969, Odia
- 2) Ascoli F.D.: Early Revenue History of Bengal and the 5th Report.
- 3) A.Sterling: An account (Geographical, statistical and Historical of Odisha)
- 4) Banerjee, R.D.: History of Orissa (From earliest time to British period), 1930
- 5) Bipra Madhusudan : Firingi Kali Bharat, 1835, Odia
- 6) Behera Subhrakanta: The unfortunate celebrity. Life and times of Buxi Jagabandhu, Delhi-2014: Construction of an identity discourse Oriya literature of Jayee Rajguru
- 7) Champati Kanhei : Paik Kheda (Odia)
- 8) Champati Divyasingh: Buxi Jagabandhu vamsara nutan itihasa.
- 9) Choudhuri S.B.: Civil disturbances during the British rule in India, 1955
- 10) De.S.C (Ed): A guide to Orissan records.5 Vol. BBSR, 1961
- 11) Das. B.M. (Ed): Saheed Jayee Rajguru, (Sarethar Bha Sambhar)
- 12) Das K.C.: Odishara Sashastra Mukti Sangram (Odia)
- 13) Duff. J.G.: A History of Marahattas. 3 Vol., Calcutta 1912
- 14) Eschmann. A & Oth: Cult of Jagannath, Regional Traditions of Orissa.
- 15) Foster, W.: East India Company Records.
- 16) Harichandan D.: Khurda Darpan (Odia)
- 17) H. Kulke: King without Kingdom (Reprint from South Asia, Vol-IV, 1974)
- 18) John A. : A forgotten chapter of Utkal Itihasa
- 19) Hunter W.W.: History of Orissa, 2 Vol. London, 1872: History of British India, 2 Vol. London 1899
- 20) Mahtab H.K.: History of Orissa, Vol-II
- 21) Mahtab H.K. & Dey S.C. (Ed): History of Freedom movement in Orissa.
- 22) Mohanty, A.B. (Ed): Madala Panji (Prachi Edn.), Odia
- 23) Mishra Jatadhari : Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru
- 24) Mohapatra Kedarnath: Khurda Itihasa
- 25) Mohapatra C.: Utkal Itihasara Eka Angyata Adhyaya
- 26) Mukherjee P. : *Gajapati* Kings of Orissa, Calcutta : History of Orissa, Vol-VI, Cuttack 1964



- 27) Mazumdar B.C.: Orissa in the making
- 28) Owen J.S.: A selection from the Despatches, Treaties and other papers of Marquies Wellesley, Oxford-187
- 29) Pattnaik P.K.: A forgotten chapter of Orissan History: The First war of Indian Independence: Mahana Sangrami Bakshi Jagabandhu, Delhi, 2005
- 30) Saheed Jayee Rajguru 198th Martyrdom commemoration, Sapru House, New Delhi 2003
- 31) Pattnaik Sudhakar: Chakada Pothi O Chini Chekaday
- 32) Pradhan Muralidhar : Itihasara Jhalak : Anwesana, Vol-I, II, Cuttack, 2006 & 2008
- 33) Pattnaik Jagannath: Feudatory States of Orissa, Vol-I
- 34) Philips C.H.: The East India Company 1784-1834, Manchestar-1940
- 35) Paikray P.K.: Paik Kheda by Kanhei Champatirai
- 36) Patra K.M.: Orissa under the East India Company, New Delhi 1961
- 37) Pearce R.R.: Memories and correspondences of R.M. Willseley, 3 Vol. London
- 38) Mansingh Mayadhar: History of Odia Literature, New Delhi, 1963
- 39) Mishra Godavarish : Godavarish Granthavali, Vol-III, Cuttack-1968 : Atharasa Satara, Kankalara Artanada
- 40) Mishra Krupasindhu: Utkala Itihasa, Cuttack 1979
- 41) Mohapatra Godavarish: Godavarish Lekhavali, Vol-1, Cuttack-1978
- 42) Odisha Cul. Forum: Odishara Samarika Sanskruti, Grantha Mandir, CTC-1990
- 43) Mishra P.K.: Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th century, Kolkata-1987
- 44) Rath B.C.: Jayee Rajguru and Anti colonial Resistance in Khordha, 2017
- 45) The *Paik* Rebellion: A documentary study, published by Odisha State Archives, Dept. of Culture, Govt. of Odisha, BBSR
- 46) Kulke H.: Jaggernnath under British Supremacy and the resurgence of Khordha *Raja* as *Raja* of Puri
- 47) Guha Ranjit: Aspects of peasant insurgency in colonial India
- 48) Pattnaik P.K.: Mahan Sangrami Buxi Jagabandhu
- Dr. Pattnaik Nirmal: Poems in Jayee Rajguru, the Banyan Tree (Utkal Bharati)
- 50) Ray B.C.: Biplabi Vira Jagabandhu, 1996: Orissa under Marahattas: British Foundation in Orissa: Buxi Jagabandhu, the pathfinder of freedom movements
- 51) Raysing L.N.: Pratham Gana Viplaba
- 52) Rajguru B.: Khordha Vaibhaba
- 53) Rath P.K.: Article published in Daily Samaja, July 29th, 2017
- 54) Stirling A.: An account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa
- 55) Tonybee G.: A sketch of the history of Orissa from 1803-1828, Kolkata-1987

Saheed Jayee Rajguru

Prof. Satrughna Mallick Bhaskarganj-A, Balasore

Epics, historical and geographical basis along with freedom movement concerned great events carrying the glory of undivided Balasore district among the other old districts of Odisha. This district is closely related with Indian Freedom movement as was connecting and checking between Odisha and Bengal for a long period. When the territory of Kalinga Empire was gradually diminishing it was extended upto Diamond Harbour of Northern Hooghly River during 1510. When Shri Chaitanyadev travelled to Puri from Bengal, he came from Chhatrabhog by sea route. The territory of Odisha was extended upto Chhatrabhog, the mouth of the river Ganges which today covers Midnapur and Hooghly district of West Bengal. This was part of Balasore District during that period.

"Koshambi Nagar" of second century symbolises present Balasore. During Mughal there was a harbour named Bala-e-sore which was only six miles to Bay of Bengal. The Mughals established their trade centres in many places of Balasore. 'Kadamrasul' and 'Juma Masjid' were constructed during Aurangzeb at Balasore. Two *Kabarsthans* are located at Balasore which were constructed in 1711 and 1741 in memory of the representative of Nawab and another of Maratha. The Mughal Military captain Mirza Azim was stationing at Balasore to drive out the Nawab of Bengal Kutuyu Khan and that station is now called as "Azimabad".

The English traders first entered "Barabati" of Balasore through water route in 1640 and constructed their 'Kothi' which is now in dilapidated condition. The Mughal ruled Orissa for a little over a century. After the death of Aurangzeb Orissa passed under the rule of independent Nawab of Bengal. In 1741 Maratha invaded Orissa under the leadership of Bhaskar Pandit. In his memory now there is a village called Bhaskarganj in Balasore town. The Portuguese had established a flourished trade at Pipili of Balasore district. So also the English had established the trade centre at 'Hariharpur' and

Balasore by 1663. It is a fact that Balasore was an industrial harbour in India and there were eight harbours. It was easy to sail to Java, Sumitra and Bali Islands by the "Sadhabas's by Boita" - a Viking ship. In Balasore this sea trade was so popular that now it is observed as "Boita Bandana Utsav" throughout the district. After knowing the fame of Balasore harbour the Portuguese, Dutch, the English etc rushed to Balasore for trade. A fine cloth was marketed named "Shan" made at Balasore and exported to other countries. The "Panga" salt was famous manufactured from Balasore and marketed to European countries. Balasore was peaceful, nearest to Bay of Bengal and trading was carrying on without any hindrances. So the Englishmen tried to occupy Balasore harbour for their trade. They used cunning and clever techniques to occupy Balasore. From 1805 to 1822 Balasore was under the administrative control of Cuttack district. The Northern portion of Balasore was sometimes added with Midnapur and again detached from Midnapur. As a result Balasore was on the middle between Calcutta to Cuttack under the British rule. In 1803 in the month of "Ashwina", 1000 British soldiers entered 'Gabagan' of Balasore by 3 ships and latter defeated the Marathas. Henry Ricket joined as the first collector of Balasore. The district of Balasore touches mountain Nilgiri and Bay of Bengal. It connects the "Aryabrata" and "Dakshinatya" which reflects many old monuments. It also represents two major cultures of India like "Dravidian" and "Aryan".

Balasore district has enormously contributed to the freedom movement of India. Many brave freedom fighters have sacrificed their lives. The Britishers used brutal forces to supress the freedom movement in Balasore. The Britishers have established their permanent station or 'Ghati' at Balasore because it was under Kolkata Presidency. Stationing at Balasore it was possible to occupy Orissa. The neighbour areas of Balasore were ruled by small princely states (Gadjat) and there were weak kings. Therefore, the Britishers used many mischievous techniques to divide and control these areas through Calcutta Presidency. During this period Balasore district was very often under Midnapur District and the Jamindars were easily getting Jamidari from Kolkata and were loyal to British Government.

Many navigable rivers were flowing in Balasore district which were used for trade. There was no road connectivity like today. It was very difficult and problematic to attack the Britishers at Kolkata by the freedom fighters. Therefore, the nationalist freedom fighters chosen Balasore zone as station and centre to check the enemies. As a result many freedom activities like Non-cooperation Movement, Salt Movement, Anti-Choukidary Tax Movement and Quit-India Movement were organised in the Balasore zone.

In 'Eram' large numbers of innocent freedom fighters were brutally killed by the Britishers which is named as "Second Jallianwalabagh. The Salt Movement at 'Inchudi' is another historical landmark. Police atrocity at 'Srijung' against the Salt Movement and Choukidary Tax abolition Movements were important historical events. To strengthen the freedom movement, leaders from Bengal and outside Balasore district were camping at Balasore. A historically renowned freedom fighter named Jatindra Mukherjee (Bagha Jatin) and his associates were camping in this zone and later on arrested by the Britishers in a front to front war.

The Britishers used many unethical techniques like dividing the captains or 'Senapatis' to suppress the freedom fighters. They followed the same technique to defeat Saheed Jayee Rajguru when they found it was difficult to defeat him in a frontal war. They allegedly framed many false cases against Jayee Rajguru after arresting him. When they came to know that the soldiers (Paikas) were again organised to attack the Britishers, they shifted Jayee Rajguru. So Jayee Rajguru was transferred to Cuttack Jail. But it was easy to move towards Cuttack from Khurda, they changed the station and carried Jayee Rajguru from Cuttack to Balasore secretly through boat by sea and river route. They found that a remote forest village called "Medinipur" nearer to Balasore is the right place to keep him and jailed him in an open jail. In 1806, March 5, there was a mock trial and Jayee Rajguru was sentenced to death. This Medinipur was small village, full of bamboos, and 'Kuchila' tree etc. No road connection was there. To create reign of terror among the freedom fighters the Britishers brutally hanged Saheed Javee Rajguru in 'Medinipur'. The tree in which he was hanged is present in Medinipur, presently located at 'Anantapur' which became a separate revenue village. It is surrounded by small 'Kuchila' tree forest and bamboo bushes with a small forest called 'Baghitota'. It is learned from old eminent persons of Balasore and like late Rabindramohan Das, late Sardar Surendra Das, Keshab Charan Nayak, Harekrushna Nayak, late Harekrushna Jena, late Damodar Lenka, Aparti Lenka, late Ramesh Chandra Bhuyan etc. that few warriors (Paika) came from Khurda to this area after getting the information of the brutal death of their leader Jayee Rajguru. Some of them have been settled here also.

The people of Balasore district were inspired and strongly agitated against the Britishers because of the brutal hanging of Jayee Rajguru. The public of Balasore observed the memory of freedom fighters like Jayee Rajguru, Bagha Jatin, Sardar Surendra Das and Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab etc. The Patriots of Balasore bravely countered the foreigners like the Mughals, the Pathans, and the Britishers.



Jayee Rajguru: The Unhailed Martyr of Odisha

Dr. Narmada RathJr. Lecturer in History
UHSS, Bhanja Bihar,
Berhampur University, Berhampur

Introduction

The history of Odisha is enlightened by the patriotic activities and sacrifices of many freedom fighters, martyrs and nationalists. Among them, the bravery, sacrifice and dedication of Jayee Rajguru stands second to none in the freedom struggle of Odisha.

Jayee Rajguru was one of the first Martyrs of India. His original name was Jaykrushna Rajguru Mohapatra born on October 29, 1739 (on the occasion of *Amla Nabami* of *Kartika* as per the Odia Calendar) in Biraharekrushnapur, a Brahmin *Sasan* near Puri (1) in Odisha. His parents were Shri Chand Rajguru and mother Smt. Haramani Devi. He was popularly known as Jayee Rajguru after his appointment as 'Rajguru' to the king of Khurda. He grew up to be an outstanding Sanskrit scholar and intellectual of the 18th century. Later he fought for his motherland against the British. Rajguru not only proved to be a great royal priest but also an accomplished Commander-in-Chief and a freedom fighter. He was the first martyr in the national freedom struggle from Odisha.

Early Life and Career of Jayee Rajguru

This eminent personality of Jayee Rajguru belonged to a very scholarly family and his forefathers served the royal family i.e. king of Khurda as their legal advisors and spiritual teachers. They were thus bestowed with the title 'Rajguru'. Rajguru at a very early age became well versed with the *Vedas*, *Puranas* and other religious scriptures. He is credited with writing thousands of *slokas* and very soon became a renowned scholarly person among pundits. Jayee Rajguru was given the position of a scholar in the royal court of the king after the death of his father Chand Rajguru. At this

time Odisha was facing several droughts. Many small kingdoms fought among themselves. During such confused state, King Dibyasingha Dev II died leaving behind his young son Mukund Dev II as the heir. However, as the king's son was a minor ruler, he was unable to rule over the kingdom. In this situation, Jayee Rajguru shouldered the responsibility of carrying the affairs of the state and managing the throne in 1780 at the age of 41 years. Being an excellent scholar in Sanskrit like his grandfather Gadadhar Rajaguru and a great Tantra Sadhak, he was appointed as the Rajguru of Gajapati Dibyasingha Dev II. He was a lifelong bachelor and also the Rajguru of the minor king Gajapati Mukunda Dev II. In 1779, during the war between the Khurda King and Januji Bhonsala at Badamba Garh, Narasingha Rajaguru was killed who was handling the army. In this precarious condition Jayee Rajguru was appointed as the head of the administration and the chief of Army of Khurda and carried out his duties till his death. He carried out well all the administrative duties and also brought about many significant changes in Khurda.

Jayee Rajguru: the Master Trainer of Martial Art

Jayee Raiguru was not only a great scholar of Sanskrit, and an able statesman but also a great master of martial art who possessed good qualities of warfare skills, and knowledge of weaponry. Probably he was the first person who used the tactics of guerrilla warfare to counter the British fire power. Knowing very well the limitations of conventional weapons against the strong armed forces like the Britishers, he encouraged the development of firearms in villages and tried this experimentation by various means. He personally visited from place to place to promote the moral strength of the Paiks. Jayee Rajguru was not only a fabulous and energetic organizer, but also a radiant and effulgent trainer in the art of warfare. He organised the forces of village youths and trained them in military practices, and making arms and ammunition. He imparted training to the Paiks in the martial art by moving from village to village, and was considered as the chief guru in the field of martial art of Khurda kingdom. As he became the representative of the minor king Mukunda Deva II and took the actual control of the state of affairs into his hands in 1798 A.D., he introduced many changes in the administrative system and uplifted the sagging confidence of the Paiks and the local militia.

Jayee Rajguru was a great social woker. As a social worker he urged the people to protest against acts of injustice and tyranny of the Britishers. Jayee Rajguru organised *Paik Akhadas* in every corner of Khurda kingdom where people were given training in martial arts. (2) *Paik Akhadas* grew up almost in every village and an awakening was generated among the *Paiks*. (3) Even old *Paik Akhadas* in several villages were also revived and reorganised by the efforts of Jayee Rajguru. Apart from giving training to them in martial art and other acts of warfare, he personally supervised and assisted greatly for the improvement of *Paik Akhadas*. Indeed, he was the chief *Guru* of the *Paiks* of Khurda kingdom in the field of martial art. Digambar Bhuyan of Rodhanga and Balisundar were prominent warriors, who supported the movement led by Jayee Rajguru, the stout-hearted General. (4)

Khurda during the pre-British period and Jayee Rajguru

During the reign of Jayee Rajguru the British were ruling over the country. After 1803, they had issued a notice stating that the rulers of all the smaller kingdoms had to accept the subjugation of the Britishers. Taxes were also levied on them. However, Jayee Rajguru rejected the notice of the Britishers. He requested all the residents not to bow down before the British but to fight for the honour of their motherland and the nation. He was also successful in gathering the support of the people of the neighbouring kingdoms. He gathered all the people together and carefully planned a defence strategy against the British. His zeal and vigour drew the attention of many people and many people began coming forward to help Jayee Rajguru in this critical situation.

In course of time it almost became a mass movement with every household contributing a soldier called *Paik*. These *Paikas* were well trained in different war tactics under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru. Rajguru not only proved to be a great scholar and visionary but also an immensely talented soldier and military leader in his time. He was a wise strategist who was well versed with all the knowledge of weaponry. His warfare skills were outstanding and he was probably the first in India to have employed the guerrilla warfare technique against the capable British Generals. He was well aware about the superior weaponry of the British and drawbacks of the conventional weapons of his soldiers.

Thus he supported the development of firearms in villages. In 1804 he along with his troops attacked the British force on the banks of river Mahanadi. They all fought very bravely that resulted in a serious setback for the British. The British arranged a number of soldiers from Chennai to reinforce their army. On December 1804 the final 'Battle of Barunei' took place at the foot of Barunei hills. In this battle, the *Paikas* though had war skills and valour but were defeated by the 7000 strong British army. The British officials finally resorted to Divide and Rule policy. They offered large tax free land holdings to a few locals. In return they asked for information on Jayee Rajguru and also about his battle plan.

Jayee Rajguru was captured and arrested. Before that he shifted the King to a safe hideout. After his arrest the British officials took Rajguru to Medinipur. He was executed in a very brutal manner on December 6, 1806.

British occupation of Khurda

With the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British occupied the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Medinipur. In 1765 they occupied a vast region of Andhra Pradesh from the Parsis and the Nizam of Hyderabad. They built a fort in Ganjam, south to Khurda. For the purpose of transportation between Ganjam and Medinapur, they attacked Khurda in 1798 with the help of Shyamsundar Dev, the treacherous brother of the king of Khurda. Even with the sudden death of Khurda King Gajapati Dibyasingha Dev II at that particular time, Rajaguru did not let them to succeed in their effort. Rajguru supported Mukunda Dev II and made him the king of Khurda.

Taking advantage of the weak administration during the battles, the attack of Britishers was intensified on the people of Khurda. This was intolerable to the patriot Jayee Rajguru. He personally moved from village to village to encourage the moral strength of the *Paiks* (soldiers). He organized village youths and trained them in military practices and making arms and ammunition. He developed a five-point programme (*Panchasutri Yojana*) to fight against the Britishers.

The District Magistrate of Ganjam Col. Harcourt made an agreement with the king of Khurda for the communication of Ganjam and Balasore. It was agreed that the British would pay one lakh Rupees (1,00,000/-) towards compensation to the king and to return the four *Praganas* like Lembai,

Rahanga, Surai and Chabiskud which were under the control of the Marathas since 1760 A.D.⁽⁵⁾ But they cheated in both the ways. Rajguru tried his best to get both, but was unsuccessful. On March 11, 1804, he marched with two thousand (2000) armed *Paiks* to Cuttack to collect the money but was only paid Rs. 40,000/- and was refused to get the *Praganas*. Jayee distributed the sum among the *Paiks* towards the settlement of their dues.

The British blamed Jayee Rajguru for the king's hardening stance towards them. He had thrown a monkey wrench in their works earlier, too, when the British had made plans to weaken the King's position to that of a vassal. To weaken the influence of Jayee on the king, the British sent a directive to Mukunda Deva asking him to appoint their representative Golan Amin as his adviser. (6) Jayee smelt a rat and advised the king against obeying the British and prepared for war.

Fight against the British

Filled with courage, Jayee Rajguru rearranged his army and occupied the four *Praganas* with an intention to drive the British out of his state as well as from his country. But the British tried to capture Khurda by force. As a result, in September 1804 the King of Khurda was deprived of the traditional rights of Jagannath Temple which was a serious shock to the King and the people of Odisha. Consequently, in October 1804 a group of armed *Paiks* attacked the British at Pipili. (7) This event alarmed the British. In the meantime Rajguru requested all the Kings of the State to join hands for a common cause against the British. The Kings of Kujanga, Kanika, Harishpur, Marichipur and others made an alliance with the King of Khurda and prepared themselves for a battle.

Finally, the historical fight occurred between the king of Khurda and the Britishers. The battle continued for a short period and Rajguru was arrested from the Khurda fort and was taken to Barabati fort. He made his all out effort to keep his king safe but finally, Mukunda Dev II was arrested on 3 January 1805. Then Rajguru and the King were sent to Midnapore from Cuttack, fearing escalation of violence in the State.

Trial and execution

Jayee Rajguru was captured by Colonel Harcourt's forces. He was regarded as the arch-enemy of the British. On being presented before

Harcourt, he proclaimed with elan that "he had caused the disturbance, that the Raja was a child and what had been done, had been done by himself." (8) He had no contrition for all his action. This candid statement of the person speaks volumes for his character, his honesty, integrity and commitment. Despite the fact that the chance of success against the vastly and superior military strength of the British was minimum, he did not hesitate to register a vigorous offensive. What he did, was for the sake of the kingdom and for the prestige of the Gajapati dynasty of Khurda. He did it all risks to his life. (9)

The British, no wonder, seemed hell bent on taking stringent action against Jayee Rajguru. He was shunted off to the far off Midnapore for the trial for committing offence against the British Government. The trial was conducted at a place called Baghitota in Midnapore. On the basis of the averment of Mukunda Dev II and by his own assertion, Jayee Rajguru was convicted of waging a war against the "lawfully established government." He was held responsible for the loss of many lives and property. After a prolonged period of trial session he was given capital punishment for going against the state and the British officials. Jayee Rajguru fearlessly accepted the punishment as he thought that fighting for one's freedom and for the honour of the motherland was not a crime. He was ordered to be hanged till death; but was executed on 6 December, 1806 in a procedure in which executioners tied his legs to the opposite branches of a tree. His legs were tied to two different branches of a banyan tree and the branches were let off splitting his body into two parts. This led to the end of Jayee Rajguru.

Conclusion

Jayee Rajguru became the role model of all freedom fighters of the country by his illustrious example of self sacrifice at the altar of the motherland. More specifically the revolt of 1804 by Jayee Rajguru was a direct attack in the intricate web of conspiracy, deceit and manipulation of colonial administration and in defence of national honour. The fire of patriotism burnt so fiercely in Jayee Rajguru that he embarked on the most stirring adventure. This resistance movement under the leadership of the great nationalist hero was more surcharged with patriotic fervour. Now the time has dawned to ruminate and revive the memory of the brave *Paikas* of Khurda Garh under the scintillating leadership of their lieutenant Jayee Rajguru who shook the British in Odisha with his acumen and clever manipulation with

wars and ammunitions. The life and achievements of Jayee Rajguru is the astounding saga of thrilling heroism of uncompromising patriotism and selfless sacrifice. His challenge to colonial authority was based on astute diplomacy, undaunted courage and chivalry. Protection of the motherland was paramount in his operation and mission. His lifelong resistance to British rule has not been given its due place in the history. Jayee Rajguru was truly the pioneer and precursor of the emerging nationalism and the springing tiger of Odisha. Indeed, he is a living legend. It's time not to celebrate, but to act upon his ideologies, in a realistic way. Let's take a vow to replenish his shedding of sweat and blood for the protection of our motherland with our selfless dedication, devotion, perseverance and fighting spirit for all round development of our beloved nation.

The Paika Rebellion of 1804 has been engraved in the shrines of the history for its 21 days frontal war with the battle of the *Paikas* for three months that fuelled impetus subsequently to all sorts of rebellions in dependant India. So, without deliberating a wink we have admittedly embrace the legendary resolution strengthening the fact that Jayee Rajguru was the "Real Hero" or "True Champion" of the Paika Rebellion who was the architect behind the monumental recognition of Khurda Garh as the last Independent Fort of India. In other words Paika Rebellion was initiated under the able leadership of Jayee Rajguru since 1804 and demonstrated in different rebellious forms at different places till India got her Independence. So my words will fall short to acclaim the freedom fighters of Odisha better known as "Paikas" who carved a niche in the golden chapters of history for their immaculate and selfless contribution to the freedom struggle of India being propelled by Martyr Jayee Rajguru. Let us demand in consensus to impart due importance to all the rebellions mostly from the period of the able leadership of Jayee Rajguru in 1804 till the Paika Rebellion held in 1817, before the last breath of the Paika Sardar Buxi Jagabandhu.

As a statesman and freedom fighter Jayee Rajguru confronted the British by urging the public to raise voice against injustices and despotism, inspiring village youths and imparting training to *Paikas*. But after 1806, with the fall of Jayee Rajguru, a bright chapter of bravery, courage and sacrifice ended in the freedom struggle of Odisha.



So, neither any institution nor any organisation highlight the heroic deeds of Jayee Rajguru and does not accord him a suitable place in the national or international level for his supreme sacrifice for the motherland. As he was the first martyr of India, but he has not been given a proper place. Undoubtedly he was the father of *Paik* Rebellion and a master trainer of martial art. Before the rise of Baxi Jagabandhu, Jayee Rajguru was the real hero and the role model of all rebellions in India.

References:

- 1. Naik, Prahallad Chandra., Date of birth of Jayee Rajguru in Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru, Puri, 2002, p.65.
- 2. P.C. Naik, physicist has calculated the birth date 29th October, 1739 of Jayee Rajguru by following the principle propounded by Robert Swell and Sankar Balakrushna Dikshit.
- 3. Mohanty, M., Jayee Rajguru (1739-1805), in Orissa Review, Vol. LIX, No.1, August 2002, p.27. also in Sadasiba Rath Sharma, Jayee Rajguru, Cuttack, 1955, p.5.
- 4. Utkala Prasanga (O), Vol.54, no. 1, August, 1997, p.67. (also in Rath Sarma Sadasiba, Jayee Rajguru, Cuttack, 1955, p.4.)
- 5. Mohanty, T., Op Cit, p.27. (also in Utkal Prasang (O), Vol.55, no.4, November 1998, p.27.)
- 6. Mahapatra, Kedarnath., Khurudha Itihas (O), Bhubaneswar, 1960, p.290.
- 7. Jena, Monalisha Jayi Rajguru: A Profile of Courage, in Orissa Review, Vol.LIV, no.1, August 1997, p.41.
- 8. Utkala Prasanga (O), Vol.54, no. 1, August, 1997, p.70.
- 9. Mahapatro, Chakradhar, Jayee Rajguru in Banaphula (Odia Monthly), February, 1971, p.65.
- 10. Mahtab, H.K. and De, S.C., (ed.) History Of Freedom Movement In Orissa, Vol.I, p.79.
- 11. Mahapatro, Chakradhar., Op Cit, p.65.



Firingikali Bharat and Jayee Rajguru: A Historical Assessment (Book study)

Sunil Kumar Rath

Retd. Reader Shree Jagannath Karmkand Mahabidyalaya, Puri

The British imperialism through its flag bearer East India Company conquered Khurda, the famous capital of Gajapati kings on the 3rd year of nineteenth century. The divide and rule policy, deceitful activities and the economic exploitation of the English alarmed the chiefs of different estates and the common man of Odisha from Balasore to Ganjam. The Kings and Jamidars of different princely states thought of a revolt against the English with a view to free their motherland from British Yoke. The first call of revolution was from the soil of Khurda. Perhaps it was the first call of war of Independence in India and the steerer was Jaya Krushna Mohapatra alias Jayee Rajguru.

Khurda Garh which has kept its independence intact in spite of several attacks of Marathas, finally went under their official control due to the treachery of the British and they began their official work. Jayee Rajguru, the fearless patriot, declared war against the Company Government. As a result Jayee, the advisor of King Mukunda Dev-II, became the eyesore of the English in place of the King. A proposal was given to Gajapati Mukunda Dev that, if he would dismiss Jayee from the post of the advisor and Rajguru, a sum of Rs.50000/- will be provided as prize (gift), or else the company will punish the King on charges of sedition. The proposal was turned down by the minor king on the advice of Jayee Rajguru. On 20th Feb 1804, the King was directed to send Jayee Rajguru for discussion with Colonel Harcourt. But Jayee did not agree to the proposal by smelling the foul intention of Harcourt.

Before conquest of Odisha, the company authorities had requested the King to allow a passage through Khurda territory for smooth movement of different kinds of goods and the British army from Ganjam to Calcutta in lien of return of four Praganas i.e. Limbai, Sirei, Rahanga and Chabishakud,

those came to their hands through Marathas and another rupees one Lakh. An agreement was made to this effect and Khurda King allowed the company people to enter his territory to go upto Cuttack. But after their occupation of Odisha, they turned their deaf ears to the repeated requests of Khurda administration to return back the Praganas and to pay a sum of rupees one lakh. Jayee Rajguru decided to teach a lesson to the company. So with 2000 soldiers marched to Barabati fort in the month of March to fullfill his just demand from the British. This unexpected expedition aroused fear in the hearts of the British officers and colonel Harcourt was forced to pay rupees forty thousand to king of Khurda through Jayee Rajguru. Jayee utilized this amount to re-organize the army and to bring back the ruined economy of the state to the right track. This sort of activities was considered by the king and other royal ministers of Khurda kingdom as an act of arrogance of Jayee and even they alleged misutilisation of Government money. Of course for this kind of rashness and subsequent revolts in Khurda, the English authority made Jayee responsible for all troubles instead of raising fingers towards the king and later on Jayee was hanged so mercilessly that it became a rare event in the history of mankind. His two legs were tied tightly in two branches of one banyan tree; the bent branches were left free making two pieces of his body. Perhaps it was so done to create fear in the hearts of other revolutionaries.

Stray informations are found on Jayee Rajguru from different sources, but the book "Firingikali Bharat" by Bipra Madhusadan Das, written in the style of Puran is an authentic historical source on Jayee Rajguru and his times. The main objective of the essay is to throw some light on those historical dates embodied in the text. Of course it is not a historical document and we may not find all norms that a historian tries to find to write the history of a particular period scientifically. It is true that the writers while writing kabya (poetry) on any topic the cultural ethos of his time find reflected through his writing from where the historian tries to get the indirect information to nourish the body of the history.

The book is composed on fourteen lettered couplet and the style is of ancient Puran writing style, but it's importance in narrating some important matters of the time of the poet became an authentic source of history of that period.

We may now analyze the time of writing of this book. Bipra Madhusudan has stated clearly that the book was completed on the 25th day of Aries 1242 Sal or in April 1835 A.D. But he has not told anywhere when he started writing this book. In this text, he admitted that he had seen the war of Garh Tapanga for four days. He has clearly mentioned that "then I am writing the war of Tapanga, which I have seen with my own eyes". Besides he has stated clearly that after release of Madhab Routra (The hero of Tapanga rebellion-the famous Dalabehera) from prison, the writer had collected many information from Madhab Routra which he has incorporated in his writings. In the words of the poet, "Sri Samanta has been released from prison and I have collected all information from him".

The occurrence of Tapanga war was in 1827 A.D. From the event of hanging of Jayee (1806) and the reign of Mukunda Dev II (1798 to 1817) is a gap of about 21 years or less. Bipra Madhusudan Das was alive by 1835 or beyond and by the time of composition of this text, he acknowledged that he was old. So looking towards his statement, it is crystal clear that Bipra Madhusudan was a contemporary of Gajapati Mukunda Dev or little older than him. Therefore he must be well aware about the happenings in Khurda and it is more plausible that those events find place while narrating the theme of his topic. Again the names of different English officers in their post, their war strategy, cause of their attack, the route of their aggression, war with Marathas, and execution of agreement narrated in this book are the events occurred during his time which can't be ignored as fiction. It is indeed the basic materials of history.

The heroism, valour, unparalleled patriotism shown by Jayee Rajguru is narrated in this book can never be rejected outright. Rather this information is more nearer to the truth. By that time there was no suitable means of propaganda of an event. The event was spreading from one person to another and was localized. Bipra Madhusudan being a man of that time and his birth place in these areas, his writings has some historical value. We may now analyze the text in detail to find out the historical events.

In the 1st chapter of the text, King Mukunda Dev during the 7th year of his reign was going to Puri for a darsan (Sacred seeing) of Lord Lokanath. It was on the 13th day of Makar. After the darshan of Sri Lokanath, he also went to the temple of Sri Jagannath. Bipra Madhusudan has narrated the event in the following manner.

"the Dewan, the Buxi and the king (Samanta) were praying Sri Jagannath with folded hands and bowing their heads on earth". If we take the coronation day of Mukunda Dev to 6th Sept 1796 then his Puri visit was in Dec 1802. The Kingdom of Khurda during this period was indulged in war with Ranapur. It was the event of pre British occupation of Khurda, which indicates that the King was minor at that time. The incidents narrated in canto two to four is about warfare of Khurda with different gadjat estate wherein Jayee had fought for the motherland.

According to Firingikali Bharat, Mukunda Dev while in Puri, the messenger reported the king that Brundaban Narendra, King of Ranapur declared his estate independent and turned down his subordination to the Gajapati. Immediately after getting the news, the king, Jayee Rajguru and Buxi came back to Khurda and started the war expedition against Ranapur.

Then the fighting was intensified. In spite of the help of the Raja of khandapada and Nayagarh extended to the king of Ranapur, he was finely defeated.

In the fourth chapter, the poet narrates about the personality of Jayee Rajguru.

The Vaisnab (Jayee) alone fought with great enthusiasm. In most of the places of this book, Jayee was addressed as the great Vaisna, the muni (ascetic) etc, the reason is that was leading his life as an hermit and too he was a brahmachari.

In the fifth chapter, the respect shown to Jayee by Gajapati himself is described in a nice manner. The poet says "when Jayee Rajguru sat in front of the King, Gajapati became very conscious like an obedient student".

We know that Jayee's grandfather Gadadhar Rajguru was the author of famous 'Gadadhar Paddhati' who wrote number of religious books. His father Haladhar Mohapatra was a renowned pundit who organised the Sarada Bajapeya Jagyan during the reign of Gajapati Harekrushna Dev and through his mastery in tantra was able to invoke goddess to appear in shape at the Jagyan place. Jayee had inherited all these knowledge and became expert in Hindu religion and tantra practices.

The sixth chapter of Firingikali Bharat deals with the events of 8th regnal year of the King in 1803 A.D. was described vividly. By the accession

of Mukunda Dev Khurda throne, four Praganas such as Lembai, Raharga, Sirei and Chabiskud were mortgaged to Marathas. By which the kingdom suffered a great loss. To add to it the warfare with the feudatory kings make the economic situation more precarious. The poet in this chapter adopted the formula of narrating his thoughts by way of discussion among Shiba and Parvati in Puranic style where in Shiba prophesise the future of the king. In the narration, the miseries of the kingdom spreading from Delanga-Kanas up to Banki, defeat of Maratha and Burgee and their retreat in the 9th regnal year of the King the advent of the British and the king to undergo serious difficulties are portrayed which are true to the pages of history.

Deogaon treaty was signed between the Marathas and the English, thus accepting the suzerainty of English over Odisha by the Marathas. Mukunda Dev, the king of Khurda, while in his maternal uncle's house in Ganjam has promised to the British to render necessary permission to move through the territory of Khurda from Ganjam to Cuttack in lien of rupees one lakh cash as compensation and to return back the four Paganas of Khurda those were under possession of the Marathas. The British authorities at that time had agreed to these two conditions of the King. Then the British troops were allowed to move through Khurda territory.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, the commanding officer of British army while was proceeding from Ganjam side towards Cuttack suddenly fell ill. On 11th March, Colonel Harcourt took over the charge from him. Then the troop entered the Khurda territory through Manik Patna and reached Puri on 14th Sept 1803 and finally on 14th October Barabati fort was conquered.

The events described in the FiringiKali Bharat are the events of 1803 A.D., the 8th and 9th regnal year of King Mukunda Dev. This year the misfortune clouded over the sky of Khurda and it was conquered by the English.

The 8th chapter of the text the words like Peshwa, Sindhia, Holkar, Nizam, Raghuji, Daulatram are mentioned which are historical figures and were defeated by the English. Regarding the treaty of Peshwa with the English, the poet has described "we will make the agreement to cede the land and not to quarrel with the Sahebs".

Another point worth to be mentioned that the poet has also mentioned the names of British officers, like Melveli, Major Fletcher, Colonel Harcourt

who fought with the Marathas. These are the text just not a poetic rendering only, but an account of history. After the conquest of Barabati fort, the Britishers were suspicious about the intention of King of Khurda and the Burgees, who may unite together and became a source of peril. In the words of the poet,

"Since it is the land (killa) of Jagannath, think repeatedly before taking any action. If required give four lakh of rupees to the King as bribe and see that the Burgees and the King should not be united to give a fight against the English".

Of course the doubt is not baseless. Khurda administration after betrayed by the British has planned to invite the Marathas to give a common fight. Jayee Rajguru had sent a messenger to Nagpur, but ironically he was caught and Jayee Rajguru fell prey to the anger of the English.

The 8th chapter of 'Firingikali Bharat' deals about the treaty between Khurda and the Britishers, violation of the norms of the agreement by the English and their treacheries were clearly described, which is just a piece of history of that period.

Jayee Rajguru had warned the King that any treaty with the East India Company may cause serious damage to the autonomy of Khurda kingdom. But the king had turned his deaf ears to the advice of Jayee and signed the agreement. The Britishers as were very cunning compelled the king to accept the English subordination and to remove Jayee from the post of Dewan and advisor. Col. Harcourt has sent a letter to this effect to the king through Gobinda Rai Mehera, a Kanungo of company on 16th December 1803. Since this proposal was not accepted, again on 20th Feb 1804, they asked the king through a special messenger to send Jayee Rajguru to meet Col. Harcourt. Jayee Rajguru on the other hand without responding the proposal of company, gheraoed the Barabati fort Cuttack on 11th March 1804 demanding the promised amount of rupees one lakh and to return back the four Praganas Limbai, Rahanga, Sirei and Chabishkud. Harcourt when saw the large army of two thousand Odia Paiks and the aggressive mood of Jayee Rajguru immediately paid rupees forty thousand to control the wave of anger. Jayee by receiving this amount did not spend it lavishly for amusement, but he utilized this money for economic development of the kingdom and for re-organization of the army. The amount that was received

by Jayee was not handed over to the king rather spent for the development activities of the State. Before four couplets of this narration the poet has described that Jayee Rajguru had not believed the Bata Zamidar (Fate Mohammad) and satired that Kuanra Balaji and Maratha Sukadev should fight jointly against the British rather to shrink back. This is a clear statement on the heroism and patriotism of Jayee. Again on the 402th couplet, the poet had described that the king sent Jayee as his envoy. The Company Authority through their spies came to know that Jayee was trying for an alliance with the Bhonsle of Nagapur ignoring the treaty with them. The 125th couplet of that chapter portrays Jayee as a patriot par excellence. Here it is said that Melveli was afraid of the combined force of Mukunda Dev and the Marathas. Even he had narrated that Melveli had offered a proposal to bribe to Jayee to support the English but Jayee had flatly rejected the proposal. Thus their effort to make Jayee unpopular in the eyes of their subjects and the king was failed.

In the 9th regnal year of Mukunda Dev, Jayee Rajguru had demanded before Melvelli to return back the rest amount of money and the four Praganas as per agreement. In Firingikali Bharat it is stated that,

"We must get back four Praganas, if not plainly, then by waging war. All the Britishers present looked each other silently and remarked. This is like the second Maratha force, which is our enemy".

After that Jayee returned back as the discussion failed. According to history this event had occurred in the month of Sept, 1804 and it is coincided with the writings of Firingikali Bharat. This incident had occurred by the end of 9th regnal year and the beginning of 10th regnal year of Mukunda Dev. The 2nd week of Sept 1804 was the end of 9th regnal year and from that day onwards started the 10th regnal year of the king. The Britishers couldn't tolerate such audacity of Jayee Rajguru and engaged one Golam Amin, an employee of the company, as the adviser of the estate of Khurda from 1st Oct, 1804. The king became alarmed with such incident. However, Jayee Rajguru consoled not to be afraid of. The poet has told that.

"By listening such news Jayee, the saint, advised the king not to be panic". This incident was narrated in the 9th chapter from couplet 21-25th. After being harassed, Jayee Rajguru raised the first phase of revolution by passing an order to the eighteen Gadajat chiefs, those were transferred from

the Maratha region to British administration to pay the revenue (Khajana) to the Gajapati king. The Britishers were annoyed with this activity. The poet has described that the Colonel became furious with anger.

According to history on 22nd Nov 1804, the British force marched through Pipili and Delang and attacked Khurda. In Firingikali Bharata, it is stated that in the 10th regnal year of king on the second day of black fortnight of the month of scorpion, the soldiers of Khurda under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru drove away the company contingents at Delanga. From the calculation, it is revealed that the event occurred in the 1st week of Dec, 1804. There after the poet has said that Rajguru came out with pride for the success. Captured the Delanga office of the company, the British employees of this office fled away out of fear. Colonel Harcourt when received these news, with a contingent of British soldiers came to Pipili and was defeated by the Khurda army and fled away. This incident found place in Firing Kali Bharat. Then Colonel Harcourt asked Major Fletcher who was then at South, to come with the soldiers to Khurda. As a result, the second and 7th battalion of Bengal came from Cuttack and the 16th battalion of Madras came from Ganjam, the combined force attacked Khurda fort. Some of the ministers of Mukunda Dev who made treachery with the kingdom, showed the secret way of Barunei fort. Poet Madhusudan therefore, wrote "the treacherous people had led the way upto the main entrance gate of Khurda fort". The person who helped the British are Brajabihari. the Zamadaar of Banki, some Sadars of Khandapara, Olasingha Samantha from western Khurda (Charana Pattnaik) and Damodar Pattanaik from Dandimala. They collected the information about the side from which it is easier to attack, how to reach the fort easily etc from them. In Firingikali Bharata it is stated that,

"Brajabihari, the Jamadaar of Bakradurga, some people from Khandapara along with Ramkumar Bhramarbara met the English officer promising their help (9 / 117-118). On 7th Dec 1804, the king was declared, insurgent and they have planned to arrest Jayee to whom they thought as the root of all disturbances. Bipra Madhusudan has therefore written: "Hunter, captain, colonel and major these four English officers started the expedition".

Bamadev Bhramarbar was a trusted follower of the king. His son Ramachandra Bhamarbar was very jealous of Jayee Rajaguru, complained before the British officers that the king had no fault. He was innocent. Jayee

Rajguru is root of all troubles. He too showed the secret path to Khurda fort. According to Firingikali Bharata, Jayee Rajguru was the chief of the Freedom struggle. He was convinced that the main cause of his defeat would be the treachery of the kings of neighbouring Gadajat estates. On 4th Dec, 1804 Khurda fort was subdued. The king hid himself and advised Jayee too to hide somewhere at a secluded place. In the text it is stated through the king "You please save your life by any means because the enemies are seriously angry with you". The king who hides himself sent a peace proposal to the British through Pindiki Harichandan. Major Fletcher when received this proposal told, we have paid rupees one lakh with all respect to the king. Even we treat him like that of Lord Jagannath but he had spoiled everything by working as per the advice of Brahmin Jayee". So go and bring Rajguru immediately only after that the peace proposal may be materialized.

Let's analyse the historicity of the statement given by the poet. We all know that Bipra Madhusudan was an official of Khurda court. He was an outsider, of course a learned person of his time. Whatever he wrote, by hearing from others. For that reason, the sequence of events has changed at times. After the discovery of the hand written letter of Jayee Rajguru from Gangamata Matha, it is revealed that Jayee Rajguru has sent the King Mukunda Deva with one trusted employee of palace Durga Charan Singha to Gangamata Matha in disguise. He also had advised the then Mahanta of Matha Narottam Das to keep the King inside the Matha and to take all care of him. The King by that time was only 17-18 years old. It is true that Major Fletcher had sent a proposal to the King to send Jayee to Barabati fort for negotiation, before the attack of Khurda, not during the war nor even after the conquest of Khurda fort. After they conquered, Jayee was arrested from Khurda fort. We have no information about the King sending a peace proposal through Pindiki Harichandan from other sources besides this. It is not at all tenable that after the war, and the victory of the Company and arrest of Jayee why they gave the proposal to send Jayee. If at all the King has given such proposal it might be during the war or after the victory of the British with the intention to restore back the Kingdom to the King. However, further research on this issue may reveal more truth in future.

From this statement it is crystal clear that Jayee Rajguru was the central figure of all such insurgence and he was independent minded patriot. In the 10th chapter of Firingikali Bharat from couplet 68-73, the incident of the

arrest of Jayee and profound satisfaction and happiness of the English are described. The arrest of Jayee Rajguru was communicated by Colonel Harcourt, Major Fletcher to all the English officer in a meeting convened for the purpose, where in it was told that our greatest enemy was finally captured in our hand. The most important thing about the heroic deeds of Jayee Rajguru is narrated through Major Fletcher by the poet which signifies the indomitable character and the towering personality of Jayee Rajguru. As per the description, Fletcher in angry mood came nearer Jayee Rajguru and told him "you have given shelter to the Marahattas and have gone to Cuttack made alliance with the Jamidars collected taxes from the subjects, the king is not aware of any such things, he is completely innocent and have handed over the management of the kingdom at your hand, now your time is over, till date you have enjoyed good times, but your time is over".

The conquest of Khurda fort and the arrest of Jayee compelled Mukunda Dev to surrender before British authority on 3rd Jan, 1805. The news of the arrest of king puzzled Jayee Rajguru and he foresaw that unless he took all responsibility on his shoulder, the Britishers were sure to punish the king severely. Therefore he confessed that, "I am responsible for all faults and for me only the king lost his territory". By this confession Jayee Rajguru was ordered to be hanged and Mukunda Dev was shifted to Medinipur Jail. But the narration in Firingikali Bharat about the hanging of Jayee Rajguru is not similar to the incident found in the pages of history. This needs more investigation and research.

In toto it can be told emphatically that Firingikali Bharat is just not a fanciful poetry written in Puranic style but it contains some information which has historical value and importance. Bipra Madhusudan has portrayed the character of Jayee Rajguru as a true lover of motherland and the 1st revolutionary martyr in the attempt of ousting the British from the motherland.

Jayee Rajguru: An Unforgettable Hero of Paik Revolt

Dr.Akhaya Kumar MishraLecturer in History,
Balugaon College

The worthy son of Odisha, Jaya Krushna Rajguru, popularly known as Jayee Rajguru was a true Patriot. For the sake of motherland he had lost his life without any hesitation. He had taken all the responsibilities for the cause of 1804 uprising. The uprising of 1804 was against the intricate web of conspiracy, deceit, and manipulation of colonial administration and after all in defence of country's honour. As his prime object was to protect the Independence of the state of Odisha, Jayee Rajguru looked towards both the political and religious fronts. He dedicated all his time and efforts for the interest of the mother country.

Though there were numerous revolts occurred in India against the British, yet the uprising of 1804 was unique one and had its far reaching consequences because he led the foundation of the *Paik* revolt and he was the first martyr in Indian soil. Hence, the Paik rebellion of 1804 A D can be regarded as the first struggle for independence against the British in the Odisha province under the courageous leadership of Jayee Rajguru. The uprising took place in four phases-the first one under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru in 1804, the second one led by Buxi Jagabandhu in 1817, Madhab Chandra Rautray of Tapang led the revolt of 1827 and Sharan Singh with Krutibas Patsani led the last phase of *Paik* revolt of 1836.

As the mastermind behind the uprising of 1804 A.D., Jayee Rajguru was regarded as the arch-enemy of the British. Before Harcourt, he proclaimed with elan that "he had caused the disturbance, that the *Raja* was a child and what had been done, had been done by him." This courageous statement of Jayee Rajguru speaks the volumes of his character, his honesty, integrity and commitment. For the sake of the Kingdom and for the prestige of the Gajapati he had taken all risks to his life and became the martyr.

Born on 29th October, 1739 in a well cultured Brahmin family of Biraharekrishnapur near Puri, (1) Jayee Rajguru showed his sharpness of mind and brilliant sportsmanship in his early life. It is known that, Jayee Rajguru displayed his bravery and courage by riding his father's horse. He not only exhibited his mastery over martial activity but also he had good command over Shastras and Tantras (2) who could recite hundreds of slokas with proper accent and explained the meaning. He was also a wise statesman. After the death of his father Chand Rajguru, Javee Rajguru due to his versatile quality, was appointed as the Rajguru and the minister in the court of Gajapati Divyasingh Deva in 1780 at the age of 41.(3) After the death of Gajapati Divyasingh Deva there was a conflict for succession to the gaddi of Khurda between Mukunda Deva II(Son of Divyasingh Deva) and Shyamsundar Deva(the second son of Bira Kishore Deva). However, due to the support of Maratha Governor at Cuttack Sadasiva Rao and Jayee Rajguru Mukunda Deva occupied the gaddi of Khurda in 1798. As the king was minor, Jayee Rajguru became his regent i.e. guardian ruler in the year 1798 A.D. (4)

Jayee Rajguru had to perform his duty as regent of the king of Khurda, Mukunda Deva II. Khurda was no more a vast kingdom which 'extended Mahanadi to the border of Khimedi. *Raja*'s command over "Zamindars and Sardars containing one hundred and twentynine *killas*" had become a theme of past and then process of degeneration had already started from eighteenth century. It was then confined only to the *killa* of Khurda and the *Praganas* of Rahang, Serai, Chabiskud and Lembai including Puri or Purusottam Kshetra. After 1760, *Raja* Birakishore Deva had to cede the above four *Praganas* along with the management of Temple Jagannath to the Marathas on the basis of an agreement. ⁽⁵⁾ There was echo of instability, unrest and distrust everywhere. *Raja* Divyasingha Deva-II, died untimely leaving behind him a minor son. Jayee Rajguru, being the regent & religious preceptor of the king, took up as his moral responsibility to safeguard the interest of the new king.

Jayee Rajguru was not only a great scholar but also possessed superior warfare skills, and knowledge of weaponry. He had knowledge in the art of guerrilla warfare too. Probably for the first time in India he used the tactics of guerrilla warfare to counter the British ûrepower. Knowing very well the limitations of conventional weapons against a strong force like the British, he encouraged the development of firearms in villages and tried to popularize this experiment by various means. He personally moved from

village to village to encourage the moral strength of the *Paiks* (Foot soldiers) and trained the *Paiks* in the art of warfare. As a master warfare he organized the village youths and trained them in military practices making arms and ammunition. Moreover, when he became the regent of the minor king Mukunda Deva-II and took the actual control of the state of affairs into his hands in 1798 A.D., he introduced many changes in the administrative system and uplifted the sagging morale of the *Paiks* and the local militia. (6)

Staying at Khurda, Jayee urged the people to protest against acts of injustice and tyranny. As a stalwart and resplendent leader, he organised *Paik Akhadas* in every corner of Khurda kingdom where people were given training in martial arts. ⁽⁷⁾ Due to his efforts that *Paik Akhadas* grew up almost in every village and an awakening was generated among the *Paiks*. ⁽⁸⁾ Many old *Paik Akhadas* were also revived and reorganized by his efforts. Today, if we see *Paik Akhadas* even after two hundred years in Khurda region, it was chiefly the contribution of Jayee Rajguru. Indeed, Digambar Bhuyan the Buxi of Rodhanga and Balisundar etc. were such prominent warriors and disciple of Jayee Rajguru, who extended whole-hearted support to the *Paik* movement led by their master, the stout-hearted General. ⁽⁹⁾

In order to strengthen the army strict rules were followed for recruitment. Persons with physically fit and above twenty years of age were only recruited for the purpose. The army was generally divided into three brigades, the foot soldiers (infantry), cavalry and the elephant-mounted soldiers. The total number of forces during this period was about 15,000. (10) Along with the traditional weapons, they were using fire arms and cannons also. Especially in the Sasan villages the fire arms were prepared and were used for experiment during the festive occasions. As a commemoration of that great martial tradition, the fire-works are displayed in the Sasan villages even today on the ceremonial occasions. Over and above, the three categories of forces, Jayee Rajguru organised four more divisions namely (1) Pahadi (2) Banua (3) Dhenkiya and (4) Guerrilla.(11) The Pahadi division used to be deployed in hilly region and weapons like Dhala (Shield), Barchha (Spear), Khanda (Sword), Chhura (Dagger) etc. were used by them; the Banuas were proficient in fighting with the enemies from a distance by using weapons like Vajra and bombs, photakas (fire-works), haveli etc. They also used bows and arrows, Mudgar and Trisula; the Dhenkiyas, tall and wellbuilt in appearance were engaged as bodyguards of the King and high civilian

and military officials. They were also deployed at strategic locations like palace, treasury, jail etc. as security personnel; and the *Guerrilla* division (*Chheka*), constituted of heavily built men of aggressive demeanour, was an important branch of the army, which was strengthened during the time of Jayee Rajguru. They were trained to fight in the forest and hilly regions with sudden attack on the enemy camps.

Jayee Rajguru took great care to make the espionage system effective. The enrolment of businessmen in the organization proved beneficial for the government as they used to carry information not only from the interior areas but also from the neighbouring states. Usually, they were provided with bodyguards by the administration. At the time of need, they used to extend financial support to the King. (12) Since they dealt with passage of the secret information (*Veda*), they were called *Vedua*. A man known as Sambhu Bharati worked as the head of this secret spy organisation. (13)

Jayee Rajguru's anti-imperialist attitude was distinctly felt in 1797 when he received the news of the Company's approach to the Maratha Ruler, Raghuji Bhonsle for a safe passage of the English army through Odisha to Madras. He smelt the conspiracy behind it and wanted to oppose the proposal. For that reason, he felt it necessary to visit Nagpur personally to prevail upon the Maratha authorities for refusing permission to the British. So, he arranged a horse for his Nagpur trip from one Somaji, a Maratha gentleman of Puri in exchange of his house site which was situated in Kundhei Benta Sahi of Puri town near Buxi *Naara*. He also borrowed some money from one Narottam Dash for his expense during the visit to Nagpur. But before reaching Nagpur, the Britishers were able to obtain permission of the Marathas. Hence he came back with disappointment, but this effort testified his commitment to save the Khurda Kingdom.

The Company had captured from the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1765, the entire area between the river Godavari and Chilika. So, the principal army for the expedition was ordered to assemble at Ganjam under the Command of Lt. Colonel Campbell. A fort, now famous as Potagarh was also built there. (17)

Before starring the operation, the Governor General asked Colonel J. Campbell and J. Melville, Civil Commissioner for the settlement at Cuttack to open negotiations with the chieftains, who were tributary to the Marathas.

This was a tactic to win over them, so that the cause of the Marathas might be weakened.

There were compelling reasons for opening negotiations with the Raja of Khurda. It was found that four-fifths of the road through which the British detachment would have to pass belonged to the Raja of Khurda. Lt. Colonel Harcourt in charge of Ganjam forces and J. Melville decided to request the Raja to provide logistic support to the British forces and three thousand fighting men for assistance in the mission of expulsion of the Marathas. It was further suggested that the Raja should be paid rupees one lakh as a quid-pro-quo for the service. The Collector of Ganjam sent the Vakil (an agent or attorney) for the purpose to Khurda. Since, the Raja of Khurda Mukunda Deva II was very young then; Jayakrushna Rajguru was acting as the regent of the King and directing the affairs of the country. He smelt a conspiracy and ill-intention of the British. So, he warned the Raja of the danger of having an alliance with the Commander of the Company's troops and was against granting them a safe passage through Khurda. But, there were other considerations which seemed weighty at that moment. The necessity for recovery of the four valuable *Praganas* of Lumbai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud mortgaged to the Marathas by Birakishore Deva, was a great. The British requested for a safe passage through Khurda Raja's territory was at that point of time regarded as a means for the attainment of this end. Accordingly, a Vakil was sent to Ganjam to carry on the negotiations. The British offered one lakh rupees on the condition that the Raja would provide every support for driving out the Marathas. Finally, it was agreed that the four Mahals and a lakh of rupees in cash should be given to the King of Khurda, provided that he should form no alliance with the Marathas. Colonel Harcourt and the Magistrate of Ganjam had consented to fulfill these conditions. It was evident that on the basis of the twin conditions, the Ruler of Khurda acceded to the proposal of the British, that (i) the British would pay rupees one lakh and (ii) they would transfer the four Praganas of Rahanga, Limbai, Serai and Chabiskud of Purusottam Kshetra after the occupation of Cuttack. The British in their anxiety to gain the support of the King of Khurda agreed not only to restore those Praganas to him but also to pay rupees one lakh in cash in addition to it.

The British forces under Lt. Colonel Campbell began its march from Ganjam on 8th September, 1803. But on the way only after three days, Campbell was replaced by Lt. Colonel Harcourt due to illness. Harcourt was

accompanied by a civil officer, John Melville for organizing the settlement after the occupation of Cuttack. They reached Mithakua on 13th September. Manikpatna was captured on 14th September. Harcourt then marched to Narasimha Patna from where they proceeded towards Puri. He faced no opposition from the Marathas on the way and took possession of Puri on 18th September, 1803 without any fighting or bloodshed.

According to the order of Wellesley, a carefully worked out plan was made to occupy the holy city of Puri by the non-conformists without any public outrage. Necessary steps were taken to persuade the Brahmins at Puri so that they could have confidence in placing the temple under the British administration. A letter was obtained from Jagannath of Tribeni, the oldest and the most eminent of the Pandits in Bengal to Rupchand and other Brahmins residing at Jagannath (Puri) which recommended that "they need not be afraid to have connection with the British Government which is distinguished for benevolence to its subjects." The letter was despatched to the principal priests of the temple of Jagannath on 14th September, 1803 and a favourable answer of the priests reached the camp on 16th September, 1803. A few days before, it was heard in the camp from a Brahmin that "the Brahmins at the holy place consulted and applied to Jagannath to inform them what power was now to have this temple under his protection and that, He (Jagannath) had given a decided answer that the British Government in future to be His (Jagannath's) guardian"-(18)

Melville utilised this divine message or the decided answer of the God worth communicating in his letters to numerous Chiefs and Zamindars in order to encourage them to submit to the British authorities. (19) The circulation of the decided answer of Jagannath had much influence on the minds of the local people. The Odias then, were pretty gullible to fall for that trick. On 15th September, 1803 a deputation of white robed Brahmins solicited that the temple of Jagannath be protected by the British. (20) To this the British agreed. As a result, the British troops entered Puri on 18th September without any fighting or bloodshed.

With the occupation of Puri, the first phase of Harcourt's task ended successfully. As per the terms of the agreement, Mukunda Deva II, the *Raja* of Khurda did not obstruct the march of the British forces through his territory. On the other hand, he remained a passive spectator during the British

occupation of Puri. Rather he had full support to it.⁽²¹⁾ Before the occupation of Puri by the British, the priests of Jagannath temple welcomed the invaders. It is unlikely that the priests would have taken a decision on such vital issues without the consent of the *Raja*.⁽²²⁾ He (*Raja*) was also ready to supply three hundred striking forces to cooperate with the British to expel the Marathas.

The British forces proceeded to Cuttack through Batagaon, Dandamukundapur and Pipili and captured the fort of Barabati on 14th October, 1803. (23) But, because of the early reduction of the fort of Barabati at Cuttack, there arose no necessity for the British to demand any further help from the *Raja* of Khurda as per the previous terms. Accordingly, a sum of rupees ten thousand out of the promised one lakh of rupees was paid to him. (24) Finally on 17th December 1803, the treaty of Deogaon was signed by which the Bhonsle *Raja* ceded to the Company the coastal belt which was mentioned as the province of Cuttack in the treaty. (25)

According to the agreement, the *Raja* of Khurda expected the restoration of the *Praganas* of Limbai, Rahang, Serai and Chabiskud, which had come under British control after the occupation of the province. But, just after the capture of Barabati fort and the fall of Marathas did not return these *Praganas*. Instead, the British administration issued circulars to all the Rulers and chieftains of the smaller states and zamindars asking them to acknowledge the British authority and to pay a fixed amount of tribute as a mark of their subordination. There was no mention of the independent status of Khurda or the restoration of the *Praganas* as promised earlier. The Ruler became very upset.

The Commissioners in their correspondence of 29th November, 1803 requested the *Raja* of Khurda to send his *Vakil* (Agent) in connection with the execution of the treaty agreement. (26) But, the *Raja* did not respond. Again, the Commissioner sent a letter on 16th December, 1803 to execute the agreement and return the papers after signature. But, Mukunda Deva II preferred to keep mum. Now the Commissioners applying different tactics despatched a letter to Govind Ray Mahasay, the Kanungo (Revenue officer) asking him to meet the *Raja* and to persuade him to come out of the clutches of Jayee Rajguru.

They also tried to entice the *Raja* by offering that a sum of rupees fifty thousand had been deposited in his favour and that, he would get it, only if he

would remove his ill-advisor. The *Raja* was also asked to return the papers of agreement in case; he did not want to sign them. Side by side, a note of warning was issued that the *Raja* would incur the displeasure of the British government for such recalcitrant attitude.

In a fresh bid, the Company's administration in their letter of 20th February, 1804 again asked the King to come out of the clutches of the illadviser and to send Jayee Rajguru to Cuttack with an assurance that he (Jayee Rajguru) would not be treated badly. On the same date, they wrote another letter to Jayee Rajguru asking him to meet them for consultation on the private affairs of the *Raja*. He was assured of fair treatment.

But, Jayee Rajguru could not reconcile to the changed stand taken by the British. He proceeded to Cuttack on 11th March, 1804 with two thousand armed soldiers and met Lt. Colonel Harcourt there. He submitted a petition to him requesting for the restoration of the *Praganas*. He also requested for payment of the balance of the agreed amount. Further, he also appealed for the reduction of the annual *peshkash*. But, the British refused flatly to return these *Praganas*. Harcourt also rejected the request for a further reduction in the *peshkash*. As regards money, he agreed to pay a further sum of forty thousand rupees. It was paid to Jayee Rajguru there. The rest was promised to be paid at some future date. Rajguru returned to Khurda with disappointment and narrated the attitudes of British authority. Mukunda Deva II was totally bewildered at this news of the British attitude towards him. The money amounting to forty thousand rupees which Jayee Rajguru received was spent on the salary of the troops in his (Jayee Rajguru's) service. (27)

In a state of despondency and anger, the King, therefore, defaulted in payment of his annual *peshkash* (tribute). The Commissioners in their letter of 1st August, 1804 directed him to deposit his *peshkash* without delay. He was also informed that his *khelat* (dress of honour) would be sent to him as soon as the same was received from Calcutta. But, the King did not toe the line. The Commissioners in their letter of 1st October, 1804 informed the *Raja* that his dues would not-be paid unless the government directives were complied with. Now also to curb the influence of Jayee Rajguru over the young *Raja*, the British sent Golan Amin to Khurda with a directive to the *Raja* to appoint him as his adviser. (28) However, Jayee Rajguru advised to

the *Raja* not to obey the orders of the British and prepared himself to ûght against the British.

Confrontation with the alien power became imminent. The valiant people of Khurda Kingdom lost their patience to tolerate this kind of perfidy any more. It was but natural that the King of Khurda became terribly vexed with the British approach. The betrayal also infuriated Jayee Rajguru, who was determined to give a dogged resistance to the British. A man of conviction and indomitable courage, Jayee Rajguru now seized the situation and made all out preparations to meet the impending show-down.

Though the native forces were no match for the enemy, yet the indomitable will of Jayee Rajguru inspired and emboldened the people and the *Paiks* to join the fray. As an astute diplomat, he rightly realized that it would be very difficult to fight singlehandedly against the mighty British. So, he opened negotiations with the *Raja* of Berar to make a common cause with the Marathas against the colonial forces. However, Raghuji Bhonsle was sympathetic to the cause of Khurda. The services of Antaji Nayak, an officer of the Nagpur government stationed at Raipur had been utilized and he met the *Raja* of Khurda for the purpose, Negotiations seemed to be successful. The existence of some understanding between the *Raja* of Khurda and the *Raja* of Berar for a common cause was beyond doubt. This was also confirmed by the Zamindar of Raigarh and by Elphinstone, the Resident of Nagpur. However, by the pre-emptive action of the British, the *Raja* of Khurda could not get any help. (29)

The King also had opened the channels of communication with other tributary chiefs of Odisha exhorting them to unite in common cause with him against the British. Sambhu Bharati, an influential gosain (a religious mendicant in the eyes of the British), who was disaffected with new British revenue system, was engaged by the *Raja* for this purpose. In reality, Sambhu Bharati was the head of the espionage outfit, who was entrusted with the secret task of negotiating with the native states on behalf of the Khurda administration. He was one of the conûdants of Jayee Rajguru and he conducted effective parleys with the ruling chiefs of the neighboring states. The Rulers of Kanika and Kujang readily accepted the proposal and made a common cause with the *Raja* of Khurda against the British. The Zamindars of Bishnupur, Harishpur, Marichpur etc. also joined the confederacy.

Jayee Rajguru took steps for the organization of the militia and kept them in readiness for the possible show down with the British. The war strategy was formulated with the help of Jagannath Harichandan, the UttarKabata (a title conferred on the basis of strength and skill) of Khurdagarh, Ramakrushna Mangaraj of Khurda, Bauribandhu Harichandan, the Behera Pradhan of Baghei Tangi etc. (31) Baghei Tangi was made the rendezvous, where these people used to meet and took all out efforts to mobilize the Paiks and the landed gentries of the Kingdom under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru to protect Khurda from the clutches of the imperialist menace. During the period, the Behéra Pradhan of Padanpur, the Bisoi of Haridamada garh, the Samantarai family of Mendhasala etc. who were comparatively rich people threw-in their lot with the nationalists. (32) The Dalabeheras of Gangapada, Jamukholi, Rameswar, Panchangara, Haladia and Harirajpur, Samanta of Khurkhi garh, the Samantaray of Khudupur, the business and trading community of Khurda etc. extended their wholehearted support and cooperation to the nationalist cause. Within a very short period, Jayee Rajguru was able to chalk-out the strategy for the inevitable anti-British hostility.

As a part of the strategy, it was decided to divide the forces into two groups. A large contingent was deployed at Gangapada to resist the British forces and the other to resort to guerrilla warfare to protect the fort from the hands of the British forces. At this critical juncture, the *Paik*ray of Kural, who was known as Kandha *Raja* offered his services to participate personally in the war and to send trained soldiers adept in guerrilla warfare (Chheka). (33)

After making elaborate preparation for the war at Khurda, Jayee Rajguru, then rushed to Puri to take necessary steps for the protection of Jagannath temple from the clutches of the foreigners in case of an eventual war. There, he convened a meeting of the *Sahi*-Nayaks (headmen of different residential units) and asked them to take necessary precautions in the matter. The duty of protection of the temple was entrusted with "*Chhatisha-Niyog* Nayak Pattajoshi Mahapatra", who shouldered the responsibility with the help of five *s*-Nayaks. Guards were posted at the main entrance of Puri. The eastern frontier was guarded by the forces of Balisundara. After performing the necessary *majana* (invocation to God for help and protection) in the temple, a small contingent of forces undertook a symbolic march from the temple and on the way took rest at a place in the grand road, which became known

as "Majana-Chhauni Jaga". Jayee Rajguru also made necessary arrangements for the collection of provisions for the Khurda army.

Jayee Rajguru then undertook the last minute preparation for the final act. He increased the deployment of troops at different points and appointed some Maratha sardars to train and increase the competence level of the *Paiks*. The internal defence of the country was improved by repairing the roads and stationing troops at strategic places like Dampara and Banapur. Troops were deployed at Delanga in the east, Taratua in the west and Gangapada in the north as the first line of defence against the attack on the fort. (34) Two hundred soldiers were also stationed at the gate of Khurda and they were reinforced by an additional three hundred guards and two pieces of cannon. Lastly, the *Raja* of Khurda withdrew his *Vakil* from Cuttack and thus, in the opinion of the British, set a bad example for the other tributaries. But the brain behind this bellicosity belonged to Jayee Rajguru, who was never prepared to compromise with the interest and integrity of the motherland.

When such preparation by Jayee came to the notice of the British, Harcourt tried to persuade the King to give up resistance, but it was of no avail. He was afraid that the example of Khurda might be followed by the other tributary Rulers. Harcourt took all possible steps to thwart the efforts of the *Raja*s of Kanika, Kujang and Khurda for a combined action against them. Accordingly, as a precautionary measure against the possible unity of the tributary chiefs behind the cause of the *Raja* of Khurda, Harcourt imprisoned Sambhu Bharati who carried messages on behalf of the *Raja* of Khurda from one tributary state to another. (35)

Harcourt also demanded the removal of Jayee Rajguru from the office. To explain the reason why the British were suspicious of him, Captain Blunt was authorized to visit Khurda. A messenger was sent in advance to request the *Raja* to receive Blunt. Mukunda Deva II agreed to meet him but subsequently changed his mind. On the following day, Rajguru informed the messenger that the *Raja* had changed his mind and accordingly the messenger was ordered to leave Khurda immediately and was threatened with dire consequences in case he attempted to stay any longer. So the messenger left Khurda for Cuttack and the negotiation between *Raja* and British was failed forever.

Jayee Rajguru was much enraged after the futile meeting with Harcourt at Cuttack and the Company's perfidious attitude. Mukunda Deva II was also by then, determined to assert his right by force. Soon after, Jayee Rajguru mobilised the troops to those four *Mahal*s (Limbai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud) in defiance of the British authority. In these *Mahal*s, the troops of Rajguru fought and skirmished with the Company's force, who were stationed there. (36) In March, 1804 Mukunda Deva II, the *Raja* of Khurda had sent a parawana to Morar Pandit, the Tehesildar of Chabiskud to supply two thousand coolies and carpenters for the construction of the cars of Lord Jagannath. He had even threatened him that he would procure them by force, if not voluntarily supplied. In July 1804, Mukunda Deva II appointed Achyuta Barik as Maquaddam to collect rents from Batagaon village near Pipili. In September, he sent Dharamu Harichandan to collect revenue from the villages of Barapada, Kharad and Matiapara. In the process, the collection of two hundred and fifty Kahans of cowries was actually made. In the same month also, Khurda administration sent a letter to Morar Pandit demanding the supply of sheep and goats from the Praganas of Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud. In October, 1804, the Raja 's troops conducted a raid on the villages in the vicinity of Pipili and carried off all the cattle and other movable property.

The British could no longer remain as a passive spectator to all these activities of the Khurda administration. The action of Mukunda Deva II was strongly objected by the British that he had no right to collect rents from Batgaon and the *Raja* was warned against any repetition of such acts of "unprovoked aggression". On being sought instruction by the Collector of Puri about the settlement, the Commissioners in their letter of 10th November, 1804 directed Hunter (the Collector of Puri) to make settlement of the *Praganas* of Rahanga, Limbai, Serai and Chabiskud and Purusottam (the area claimed by the *Raja* of Khurda) directly with the Padhans and Bhois. (37) The Commissioners again in their letter of 3rd December, 1804 informed the Khandaits and Watandars of Kotdesh that they should provide *Paiks* and dandawasir to the dakrunners who were being harassed by the *Raja*. (38)

In the meantime, the victory against Maratha confederacy encouraged the British. Harcourt, then with added vigour decided to settle the issue with Khurda decisively. The Commissioners in their proclamation of 7th December, 1804 declared that the *Raja* Mukunda Deva II had been deposed owing to

his ill treatment towards the British government with effect from 5th December, 1804. All the subjects were required to submit to the British government and carry out their orders. Further, in another proclamation of 7th December, 1804 addressed to the subjects, Zamindars and Sarbarakars, the Commissioners declared all the debts contracted by the *Raja* as illegal. They also directed Morar Pandit, the head Parichha of Jagannath temple, not to invoke the name of the *Raja* at the time of the worship of Lord Jagannath as he was the greatest foe of the British government.

As a subsequent action, the Dalbeheras of Rameshwar and Panchgarh, the Khandaits of Mendhasal, the Khandaits and the Zamindars of Garh Haldia and Damodar Pattanaik, the rebel leader of Dandi*Mahal* were forced not to help the *Raja* of Khurda. (39)

Jayee Rajguru was at Puri when he got the news of the deposition of the *Raja*. Though he became agitated initially, he was by then mentally prepared for the final show of strength with the British. After being informed of this unfortunate development of the deposition of the Ruler, he hurried back to Khurda with a small detachment of "*Majana Paiks*" accompanied with Pattajoshi Khurshana Chandra. On the way, he met with the British forces stationed at Pipili. A fierce battle was fought at Dandamukundapur village and consequently there was large number of casualties of British forces and seizure of vast quantity of arms and ammunition. After the initial success, Jayee Rajguru reached Barunei Gada through Gada Beguniapada. There, he gave a ûnal touch to the preparation for the impending confrontation. The *Raja* felt jittery at that critical moment and remained confined to the fort. Jayee Rajguru alone took up the responsibilities and forged ahead to challenge the British forces.

Restrictions were imposed on the entry of the outsiders into the territory of Khurda by deploying guards on the banks of the river Mahanadi who attempted to seize all goods and properties coming from Cuttack. The King ordered that nothing belonging to the British would pass through it. A company of two hundred fifty Cavalry and nine hundred Barkandazes were sent to the Char*Mahal* area (four *Praganas* of Rahanga, Limbai, Serai and Chabiskud) for the maintenance of law and order to the greatest dissatisfaction of the British. They also disarmed a small detachment there in the service of the Company. After that, they posted themselves in and near the village Delang.

British retaliation was prompt. Their plan was to demolish the *Raja*'s concentration at Delang. So, Hunter and Harcourt with a contingent of troops marched towards Delang and camped in the vicinity. Further on being instructed, John Hickland (Captain, 5th Bengal Native Infantry) who was posted at Pipili, marched with reinforcements of one hundred twenty Sepoys and a six pounder at the dead of the night and reached Delang at 5 O' clock in the morning of 22nd November, 1804. Soon after, in a pre-dawn swoop on the fort near the village, they almost routed the *Raja*'s forces and more than one hundred casualties were reported. The British loss was minimal. But while returning to Pipili, they were obstructed on the way by about fifty cavalry from the near-by hills. A fierce encounter took place. The local *Paiks* fought valiantly causing the retreat of the British soldiers. They were forced to take shelter at Pautpur. (40)

Another contingent of the British force under the command of Major Fletcher proceeded towards village Tangiapara. A small detachment of the *Raja* under the command of Mustafa Khan of Kerang was deployed to oppose the British advance and a pitched in-conclusive battle was fought. The nature of the country rendered speedy communication and rapid concentration impossible.

Then, Harcourt with a contingent moved from Cuttack and confronted with the *Raja*'s forces on the way, who were trying to take control of the adjacent Mughalbandi area. Scuffle broke out between them, the *Raja*'s forces retreated and took shelter in the fort of Khurda. Harcourt chased them and reached near the fort.

A detachment was also sent under Captain Storey to Gangapara village which was reported to have been blocked by bamboos, trees etc. and sentries were posted on the strategic points. When, the British detachment came nearer, the sentries opened ûre. (42) Baishnab Bharati, one of the able Commanders of the *Raja* and Mustafa Khan, gave a stout resistance to the British advance. There was a large scale casualty of the British soldiers. In the meantime, reinforcements from Bengal reached and the superior skill and weaponry of the British forces weighed heavily on the local militia. As a result the *Paik* contingents posted at different strategic locations shattered and the Company's troops forged ahead towards the fort of Khurda. At that time Harcourt issued a proclamation that whoever protected

and promoted British interests would be suitably rewarded. Seikh Wyaz Muhammad, a resident of Cuttack offered his services for the same. He was appointed as the Amil of the pargana Banpur.

Major Fletcher with a command of one hundred and twenty men of Madras European regiment and two companies of the 7th Bengal Native Infantry along with an artillery regiment and two more companies of the 19th Madras Infantry surged ahead with operation. They were stoutly resisted by the forces of Khurda and could not make rapid strides because of the sustained opposition. There was heavy casualty of British forces as they were subjected to attack with bows and arrows from above. But after a particular point, it became impossible on the part of the *Paiks* to persist. A fierce fighting continued for a period of three days near the fort. At last the fort of Khurda was besieged and the brothers and one son of Mukunda Deva II were taken captive. (43) The combined forces of Khurda and other allied states could not withstand the pressure of the British army. The nephew of Major Fletcher was killed in the encounter. (44) Finally, the outer wall of the fort was broken open by heavy mortar firing. Major Fletcher and others with the help of a ladder succeeded in climbing the wall and entered inside the fort. After an intense confrontation, the fort was captured. But, Mukunda Deva II sneaked out with his family and other trusted lieutenants and "took the road into the jungles". (45) Then whole of his (Mukunda Deva II) property and possessions was plundered. (46) But, Jayee Rajguru resisted the British forces inside the fort bravely. He practised severe austerity and homo torture by way of invoking Goddess Barunei. But, that did not fructify and after twenty three days of seizure Khurda garh came under the control of the British. (47) Finally, Jayee Rajguru was overpowered and captured. (48) Alongwith him also Digambar Bhuyan and the Buxi of Talamala were arrested from the vicinity of the temple.

After escaping from fort, the King along with his trusted followers camped secretly for sometime at the mansion of Bishnu Charan *Paik*ray, a loyal Samanta (commander) of Khudpur. It is known from Sadasiba Rath Sharma's book, 'Jayee Rajguru'(1955)that Jayee Rajguru had made all arrangements to send the King to Gangamata Matha at Puri. The King of Khurda, Mukunda Deva II in fact had escaped to Gangamata Matha, Puri and stayed there in disguise to avoid capture by the British. May be at the last moment Mukunda Deva II after his escape to the jungles became forlorn

and desolate. He became eager to come to terms with the British and so put out some feelers to gauge Harcourt's reaction. But, the attempts did not fructify and all of them were arrested. A Vakil and a Dewan with the intent to request an audience of Colonel Harcourt were sent. But both were arrested. (49) At last for the same purpose, Mukunda Deva II in desperation sought the help of a Jummdar, Fateh Muhammed, a servant of the Company to procure an audience with Colonel Harcourt. But, Fateh proved treacherous and informed the hide-out of the Raja. As a result, the king was arrested in the jungle, thirty miles away from Khurda on the night of 3rd January, 1805. (50) The Commissioners in their letter of 5th January 1805 to Srikrishna Deva, the treasurer of the Company's government, directed the payment of a reward of three thousand rupees to Fateh Muhammad for the same (for his perfidy). (51) Raja Mukunda Deva II and Jayee Rajguru, were at first kept in confinement at Khurda. But, there was severe public reaction and unrest against this action of the British Government. Then, they were sent to Barabati Fort in Cuttack and afterwards shifted to Midnapore.

Then, Harcourt sent a detachment to Nayagarh to apprehend Antaji and Kannoji Nayak who were instrumental in carrying on negotiations between the *Raja* of Khurda and *Raja* of Nagpur. With the defeat and capture of the *Raja* of Khurda, the Zamindars of Marichpur, Harishpur and Bishenpur had lost their morale to withstand the British pressure. (52)

Raja of Kujang, Chandradhwaja Sendha was arrested in May, 1805. [53] Two persons, Bhawat and Jagusi, who were instrumental in his arrest were rewarded with Rs. 2,000/- each.

The *Raja* of Kanika, Balabhadra Bhanja, an active supporter of the *Raja* of Khurda was captured near Kendrapara and sent to Balasore and later removed to Midnapore.

Jayee Rajguru was regarded as the mastermind behind the revolt and so treated as the arch-enemy of the British. On being presented before Harcourt, he proclaimed with elan that "he had caused the disturbance, that the *Raja* was a child and what had been done, had been done by him."⁽⁵⁴⁾ This courageous statement of the person speaks volumes of his character, his honesty, integrity and commitment. What he did, was for the sake of the Kingdom and for the prestige of the Gajapati dynasty of Khurda. He did it at all risks to his life.⁽⁵⁵⁾

The British had taken stringent action against Jayee Rajguru. He was shunted off to the far off Midnapore for the so-called trial for committing offence against the British Government. The trial conducted at a place called Baghitota in Midnapore. (56) On the basis of the averment of Mukunda Deva II and by his own assertion, Jayee Rajguru was convicted. He was held responsible for the loss of many lives and property. He was ordered to be hanged to death. (57) Thus on 6th December 1806 at Baghitota (i.e. Baghi -grove) of Midnapur, the two legs of Jayee Rajguru were tied to two separate and opposite branches of a Banyan tree and the branches were let off splitting his body into two parts. Thus, he was made Shaheed in a brutal manner. Jayee Rajguru, the regent of Khurda king, "a radiant personality who fought against the British political hypocrisy, smilingly courted death in 1806. Jayee Rajguru becomes the First Martyr of Odisha, nay of whole India, during the British regime.

From the prison, Mukunda Deva II submitted a mercy petition to the British Government pleading his innocence relating to the rising of 1804. He did not hesitate to beg mercy holding Jayee Rajguru squarely responsible for all that happened in the Kingdom. His petition was favourably disposed of by the Governor General, who issued orders for his release. He was released from the jail on 5th March, 1807, but the estate of Khurda was not restored to him. He was allowed to live in Purl. He was made the Superintendent of the Jagannath Temple in Puri with a Malikana amounting to Rs.21 33-5-4 of the revenue of his estate by the Regulation - IV of 1809. Thus, the British freed him and appointed him as the trustee of Sri Jagannath Temple.

From the above discussion it is known that the *Paik* revolt of 1804 was the first freedom struggle in the province which inspired and encouraged the *Paiks* of Odisha to raise their revolt in subsequent years like 1817, 1827 and 1836. Therefore the *Paik* revolt of 1804 cannot be ignored. As a scholar If we evaluate on him, Jayee Rajguru was no doubt a man of fearless spirit and indomitable courage in the colonial era of India. The only object of his adoration and worship was his motherland for whose liberation he considered no sacrifice too great. He had remained bachelor all his life for the cause of his motherland. His incessant fight against the mighty British regime had a brutally end. The word 'defeat' did not touch him till his last. In spite of the failure in the war he remained Jayee – the victorious both during his life and

after death. He has, indeed, triumphed over the time. The saga of his life is saga of burning patriotism. The supreme sacrifice of him is still cherished with great reverence by millions of his countrymen. Not only the people of Odisha, but also the whole Indian sub-continent had already tested the patriotic zeal of Jayee Rajguru in the "Battle of Barunei". Thus, his hold of patriotic flag is flying high even today after two hundred years in the annals of the history of Indian Freedom Movement. Really he is an unforgettable hero of *Paik* Revolt.

References:

- 1. Prahallad Chandra Naik, Date of 'birth' of Jayee Rajguru in Jatadhari Mishra's, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Puri, 2002), p. 65.
 - P.C Naik, a physicist has calculated the birth date (29th October, 1739) of Jayee Rajguru by following the principle propounded by Robert Swell and Sankar Balakrushna Dikshit.
- 2. R.C.Misro, Jayee Rajguru: The Unparallel Freedom Fighter of Khurda *Paik* Rebellion (1804 A D) in the Odisha Province A Study, Historical Research Journal, (Vol.LVI No.3&4,Bhubaneswar,2017,p.2
- 3. Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017,P.61
- 4. Narayan Rao, 'Jayee Rajguru-A profile of a great patriot of Odisha', Gopabandhu Sahitya Mandira, Cuttack, p.27. Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anticolonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017, P.63
- 5. Jayanti Rath, 'Dundubhi', (ed) Utkal Vikash Parishad, Bhubaneswar, P.117
- R.C.Misro, Orissa Historical Research Journal, (ed) Vol.LVI No.3&4, Bhubaneswar, 2017, p.3 & 4.
- T. Mohanty, "Jayee Rajguru (1739-1805)", in: Orissa Review, vol. LIX, no.1, August 2002, p.27.
- 8. Utkala Prasanga (in Odia), vol. 54, no.1, August 1997, p.67.
- 9. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, 'Jayee Rajguru' Cuttack, 1955, P.5
- 10. Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Puri, 2002), p. 65.
- 11. Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Puri, 2002), p. 26.

- 12. Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Puri, 2002), p. 28.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, 'Jayee Rajguru' Cuttack, 1955, P.8
- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017,P.77
- 18. Melville to Government, 11 September, 1803, Secret and Political Consultations No. 13 of 1 March, 1804.
- 19. Same to same, 19 September, 1803, Secret and Political Consultations, No. 14 of 1 March, 1804. ibid.
- 20. WW Hunter, History of Orissa, London, 1872, Vol.II, p. 56.
- 21. H.K. Mahtab & S.C. De (ed.), History of the freedom movement in Orissa, Vol. I, op. cit, p. 73.
- 22. P.K. Pattanayak, A forgotten chapter of Orissan history, Calcutta, 1979, p. 125.
- 23. Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017,P.84
- 24. G. Harcourt and J. Melville to Government, 1 October, 1804.
- 25. Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017,P.84
- 26. H.K. Mahtab & S.C De (ed.), History of the freedom movement in Orissa, Vol.I, op.cit, p. 73.
- 27. 'Petition of the *Raja* of Khurda to British Government for mercy', op. cit, OSA.
- 28. Monalisa Jena, "Jayi Rajguru: A Proûle of Courage", in: Orissa Review, vol. 1.1V, no.1. August 1997. p.41.
- Harcourt to Shawe, 19 September, 1804, Add. Mss 13610, p. 64.
 Same to same, 6 October, 1804, Add. Mss. 13610, p. 82, Same to same, 1 November, 1804, Add. Mss, 13610,p. 114.
- 30. Harcourt to Shawe, 6 October, 1804. Add. Mss, 13610, pp 80-81.

- 31. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, Jayee Rajguru (Odia), Cuttack, 1955, p. 11.
- 32. Ibid.
- 33. Ibid
- 34. Ibid.
- 35. Harcourt to Shawe, 6 October, 1804, Add. Mss, 13610, p. 81.
- 36. Petition of the Raja of Khurda to British Government for mercy.OSA
- J. Hunter to G. Hartwell, 12 September, 1804. Board of Revenue Archives,
 Vol. II.
- 38. Ibid.
- 39. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, op. cit. p.16.
- 40. G. Harcourt to Captain Armstrong 20 November, 1804 (encl) Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April,1805, No. 27.
- 41. P. K Pattnaik, op cit, p. 134.
- 42. Storey to Harcourt, 2 December, 1804. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations. 4 April, 1805; No. 31. (B.C. Ray, op cit, p 64).
- 43. Encl: Impey to Government, 21, October, 1815. Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations L.P, 31 October, 1815, No.18. (B.C. Ray, op. cit, p. 66.)
- 44. P.K. Pattanaik, op. cit, p. 135.
- 45. Petition of the *Raja* of Khurda to the British Government for mercy (A true translation) Accession No. 296, Board of Revenue Proceedings. Judicial. Odisha State Archives, Bhubaneswar.
- 46. Ibid.
- 47. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, op cit, p. 25.
- 48. Surendra Kumar Mishra, Aaitihasika Pattabhumire Saheed Jayee Rajguru, Saheed Jayee Rajguru Sandarbha Samhhar (Puri, 2000), p. 52.
- 49. Petition of the *Raja* of Khurda to the British Government for mercy, op. cit.
- 50. (i) Harcourt to Government, 4 January, 1805. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, No. 40.



- (ii) Turner to Government. 10 October, 1806. Board's Collections, Vol. 318, 7244, p.6. (Quoted from B.C. Ray, op.cit, p. 68).
- 51. H.K. Mahtab and S.C. De (ed.), History of the freedom movement in Orissa, V01. 1, p. 78.
- 52. Harcourt to Government, 29 January, 1805. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 2 May, 1805, No. 448. (Quoted from B.C. Ray, p. 69).
- 53. S.C. De (ed.), Guide to Orissan Records, vol. II, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 1961, p. XI.
- 54. Chakradhar Mahapatra, Jayee Rajguru in Banaphula (Odia monthly), February, 1971, p. 65.
- 55. H.K. Mahtab and S.C. De (ed.) History of freedom movement in Orissa, Vol. 1, op. cit, p. 79.
- 56. Chakradhar Mahapatra, Banaphula, op. cit, p. 65.
- 57. A.B. Mohanty, Madala Panji. op. cit, p. 82.
- 58. H.K. Mahtab and S.C. De (ed) History of freedom movement in Orissa, Vol. 1, op cit, p. 79.
- 59. J. Choudhury, "The First Resistance Movement in Khurda", in : Orissa Review, vol. LX. no.1. August 2003, p.28.

Place of Martyrdom of Martyr Jayee Rajguru

Kanhu Charan Biswal
Former District Culture Officer, Balasore

History is replete with the sagas of many patriots, revolutionaries and freedom fighters, who have raised their thundering voices and fought against the imperialistic powers to make their native lands free from the clutches of their unlawful administration and oppression. But it is very unfortunate that in spite of their greatest contribution and selfless sacrifice for the freedom of their motherland, the contribution of some of these valiant heroes have been either forgotten or given less importance by their countrymen of later generation. Jay Krushna Rajguru Mohapatra popularly known as Jayee Rajguru, the chief of administration and Chief Commander of army of the Khurda in the late 18th century A.D., is one of those forgotten heroes of history whose invaluable contribution is still to be reckoned with by one and all of his native land. He is the first martyr in the war of Independence waged against British Imperialism. His martyrdom ignited the spirit of patriotism among the Paiks for which the Paik Rebellion against the British force could be organized in 1817 under the leadership of Buxi Jagabandhu, another valiant hero of the land.

More than two hundred years has already passed since the date of martyrdom of this great martyr. But the details regarding his martyrdom is still unknown to us. The Britishers were so afraid of his popularity and power that they have left no records with any description regarding his martyrdom. Although Colonel Harcourt and other military officers stationed at Khurda captured and arrested Rajguru with treachery and conspiracy, they were apprehending occurrence of counter attack of *Paikas* in order to release their popular commander had he been kept alive in the prison of Cuttack. Hence they killed him with preconceived planning. They imprisoned him at Cuttack at first but later on shifted him to a place far away from Khurda.

It is ascertained from the 'Madala Panji' published by Arta Ballav Mohanty that Jayee Rajguru was imprisoned and hanged till death. Bhabani Charan Ray, historian also corroborated the fact of hanging of Jayee Rajguru and wrote it in his book "Foundations of British Odisha". Besides this, it is known from the hand written letter of the Secretary to the then Commissioner of Odisha to the Chief Secretary, William Fort that Jayee Rajguru, the notorious advisor of king Mukunda Dev-II of Khurda instigated the King to fight against the Britishers. Hence he was imprisoned at Khurda but transferred to Midnapore later on.

However, it is learnt from the people's sayings rolling down from years and years that Jayee Rajguru was killed in a very brutal manner. His legs were tied to two different branches of a big banyan tree located near 'Baghi Tota' at Midnapore and the branches were let off splitting his body into two parts. This led to the end of the patriotism and courage of this fearless freedom fighter. The kind of killing in such a barbarian way is perhaps rare in world history. In the absence of any documentary evidence regarding the method of killing this great hero, we have to believe the people's saying. But the exact place of his martyrdom is to be ascertained. In my paper I have tried to discuss regarding it.

When the name Midnapore is uttered as the place of martyrdom of Jayee Rajguru, Midnapore of West Bengal immediately comes to our mind because by that time this place was a prominent place in view of British administration. But it is not the Midnapore of West Bengal but Medinipur of the district of Balasore, Odisha, which was a very unimportant place then, is the actual place of martyrdom of Jayee Rajguru. This can be proved from the following discussion.

The first effort for identification of correct place of his martyrdom was taken up by Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smriti Sansad, Puri in 1991. It is learnt from the book "Amar Saheed Rajguru" written by Sri Jatadhari Mishra, the Secretary of that organization that in response to the request of the organization the then Collector, Puri requested Collector, Midnapore to intimate him in details regarding killing of Jayee Rajguru by Britishers at Midnapore. After thorough query regarding the matter at first at Midnapore Jail which was established in 1868 and then at IIT Khadgapur as the old buildings in the IIT campus were used as the then jail of Midnapore, the

Collector, Midnapore intimated vide his letter no.- 1031/C dt 5.03.1992 that nothing could be traced out on the matter. When nothing could be traced out at Midnapore in West Bengal, the members of Smurti Sansad focused their attention on Medinipur of Balasore district. The Committee visited the place on 10th August 2008 along with the then District Culture Officer, Balasore, Kanhu Charan Biswal, local personalities like Brajnath Rath, Satrughna Mallick, Kali Charan Lenka and Media persons etc. They interacted with the villagers on the matter and collected various informations from them. The Committee also collected various official information relating to the matter with the help of collector, Balasore. In view of the following points Medinipur has been accepted as true place of martyrdom.

- a) The age old villagers of Medinipur reported that they had been listening stories about the brutal killing of the martyr at that place from their forefathers.
- b) The oldest banyan tree of the village which had spread about half acre of the land was identified by the villagers as the tree where the martyr was hanged.
- c) The District Forest Officer, Balasore who was requested to ascertain the approximate age of the tree reported that the said tree would be more than two hundred years old.
- d) The committee found that the indentified banyan tree stands in the village of Anantapur. But the report of the Tahasildar, Balasore clarified that by the time of the year 1806, village Anantapur was a hamlet of the revenue village Medinipur. But after many years it was converted into an independent revenue village. Hence the sayings of the people about the name of the place as Medinipur are found true.
- e) The villagers reported that a good number of families of the village Medinipur were Khandayat families and their ancestors hailed from Khurda in the past.
- f) The villagers reported that in order to preserve the memory of this great martyr they had been organizing a *Yagnya* since 1984.
- g) A Yubak Sangha in the name of Jayee Rajguru had been functioning after being registered as per the Society Registration Act. The functioning

of a *Yubak Sangha* in the name of Jayee Rajguru since 1989-90 with Regd. No.- BLS 2533/492 was ascertained from the records of the Collectorate, Balasore.

h) Besides it, as per the people's saying Baghi Tota (grove) and Baghi Nala (narrow canal) were found near the banyan tree.

In view of the facts mentioned above the Committee accepted Medinipur of Balasore district as the place of martyrdom of martyr. However I was pondering about the reason of selection of Medinipur by the Britishers as the place of trial and killing of Jayee Rajguru.

The questions arose in my mind can be answered in the following manner.

The Britishers were afraid of the popularity and power of Jayee Rajguru. They apprehended that had he been kept alive making imprisonment at Cuttack the *Paik*as of Khurda would not remain silent and they would try to release him by attacking the British force. Hence they wanted to take him away to a distant place from Khurda so that nobody could get trace about him. They might prefer to take him to Medinipur of Balasore in place of Medinapore of West Bengal for the following reasons.

First, Midnapore of West Bengal was a prominent place by that time. It would have been difficult to maintain secrecy of purpose hiding of Rajguru there. Hence Medinipur might be preferred for this.

Second, as per the documentary evidence the land of Balasore was being administered from Cuttack between the periods 1804-1821. That means Colonel Harcourt as the chief Military Officer and Chief Administrative Officer of Cuttack was also the chief of the land of Balasore. But Midnapore of West Bengal was being administered by another military officer Colonel Fenwick. Hence Colonel Harcourt might not be willing to request Colonel Fenwick to keep Jayee Rajguru under his custody for trial.

Third by that time Balasore had been developed as military base of the Britishers. Medinipur village is very near to it. Although at present this village is about 14 kms away from Balasore by road it will be about 5/6 km through shortcut way. Fourth the Jagannath Grand Trunk Road is running 3/4km away from the place. Hence this place was approachable communication wise. Medinipur was a revenue village then and families were residing there. But the portion of the village where no family was residing and the said banyan tree was standing, might have been selected as the place of hanging of Jayee Rajguru. This portion of the village is at present known as Anantapur. It is known from a survey that out of 130 families residing at present in the village of Anantapur almost 90% of families are Khandayat families. As reported by the villagers their ancestors had come from Khurda area and settled there.

Fifth, it is reported by the age old villagers that "Baghi Tota" and "Baghi Nala" had been named such because in the past the tigers were coming to Nala (narrow canal) to drink water. Hence the people were afraid to go there. As such the place was an isolated place. The loneliness of the place might have attracted the British officers to choose it as the hanging place of Jayee Rajguru.

In view of the facts mentioned above Medinipur of Balasore can be proved as the exact place of martyrdom of the great martyr Jayee Rajguru.



The Leading Role of Khurda Forts and Jayee Rajguru in 1804

Dr. Janmejay Choudhury

Lecturer in history
Sri Jagannath College, Kaipadar, Khurda

Khurda, a vast tract of land occupied an important place in history. Khurda- a kingdom was founded by Ram Chandra Deva I (1570-1600).(1) With the downfall of the last independent Hindu dynasty of Odisha in 1568, Khurda came into prominence. In 1572, Raja Ramachandra Deva I of Bhoi dynasty built up a small kingdom with its capital at Khurda. In 1592, Raja Mansing, the famous General of Akbar the great, not only recognized him as the ruler of Khurda, he also appointed him as the superintendent of Jagannath Temple in Puri. Thus, he was recognized as the legitimate successor of the Gajapatis of Odisha. (2) When Ramachandra Deva I came to power the Afghans of Bengal in the north and the Sultan of Golkunda in the south had been very powerful. He had, therefore, to be satisfied with the annexation of territory left unoccupied by the Muslims. Even then, the extent of his territory was wide. Under him were placed 31 Zamindaries. These Zamindaries comprised of 131 Killas or Forts or hill estates exclusive of those situated within the Raja's own Zamindari. (3) Raja's own estate, Khurda, was one Zamindari. It contained 71 Killas or Forts in 1804 which was under the control of Jayee Rajguru. These forts were Khurda, Rathipur, Sisupal, Bergarth, Jharparda, Kapil Prasad, Pterparh, Tapanga, nonepur, Jamkhely, Chatrama, Lalsingh, Gamgapareh, Mallipada, Dunduma, Palih, Rameswar, Manibandha, Mankgora, Mangoi, Kormati, Kaimatia, Kondlogarh, Mangalajori, Jaripada, Rorung, Karm, Malligarh, Narasingh Prasada, Baranga Garh, Keranga, Mirtiunjayagarh Kormati, Usna, Baranda, Balabhadraprasada, Nowailee, Banjgiri, Tarkoi, Sereangarh, Matiapareh, Bangro Bhingro, Kolko, Karki, 8 killas in Limbai, Andharua-Daruthenga, kolapathara, Tera Sowri or 13 killas, Nakhiket, Kaipada Bolgarh, Ghmhapur and Mulijhhar. (4) For the smooth administration king selected 9 districts out of these Garh and few villages

under these Garh or Killas namely, Banpur, Kuhudi, Rameswar, Balabhadrapur, Tapang, Kushpalla, Manikagarh, Parikud and Dandimala. So all these Killa (Forts) and Zilla (District), also chiefs of these played an important role in the rebellion of 1804 which was activated with full strength to fight with mighty Britishers by Jayee Rajguru. These were specially trained to obstruct the movements of the British army.

Till the British occupation of Odisha in 1803, the Raja of Khurda was in possession of Khurda only. Soon after the occupation of Odisha by the British in 1803, Khurda rose revolt under the leadership of Raja Mukunda Deva II. The king Mukunda Deva II, was a minor at this time and therefore, during his minority the administration was carried on by Jayee Rajguru, who was acting as the regent of the king. In order to get back those areas and also the right over the Temple, he had carried on negotiation with British during the occupation of Odisha. The British requested him to allow their troops to pass through the territories of Khurda and for such other military assistance to expel the Marathas. In return, the king of Khurda was promised a sum of rupees one lakh. The Raja, however, wanted to recover the four parganas and his rights over the Temple of Jagannath.

After the conquest of Odisha, the British had no desire to oblige him both in regard to the territories and also to his claims over the temple. Jayee Rajguru, the Bebarta of the minor Raja met Lieutenant Colonel George Harcourt at Cuttack and demanded to return the praganas and cash balance of Rs.90,000/- as committed to King of Khurda. But Harcourt replied that not an inch of land could be given up. Of course, he agreed to pay the amount. The British authorities had already paid a sum of Rs. 10,000/- to the Raja. Out of the balance amount, Rs.90,000/- colonel paid Rs.40,000/- cash to Jayee Rajguru. He returned to Khurda and told the Raja, "I first warned you from forming an alliance with the commander of the Company's troops and from affording them a safe passage. He furthered added that Harcourt was not only unwilling to give up the praganas but also bent upon taking from the Raja whatever hereditary country remained in his posssession. (9) Mukunda Deva II was chagrined at this news of British attitude towards him. He had pinned all hope on getting back praganas and was, therefore, greatly shocked at this volte-face of the British. He not only bore a grudge against them, but assumed open hostile attitude. This was fanned by Jayee Rajguru. He now

came forward to resist the British with all his might. (10) When Raja turned down the offer, open hostilities become inevitable. (11)

Such hostile attitude of the Raja compelled the British authorities to take stern action. They immediately arrested Sambhu Bharati, a disaffected Mahajana and demanded removal of Jayee Rajguru from Khurda as he was considered to be at the root of the troubles. (12) Further, the Dalbeheras of Rameswar and Panchgarh, the Khandaits of Mendhasal, the Zamindars and Khandaits of Garh Haladia and the rebels of Dandimal those were active in rebel warned not to help the Raja of Khurda. By a proclamation issued on 7th December 1804, the Raja of Khurda was deposed and his territories were annexed to British Odisha. (13) Jayee Rajguru who along with the Raja and others fled to the jungles of nearby Garhs i.e., Rameswar, Kaipadar and Garh Manitri etc was captured lastly by Colonel Harcourt's forces. (14) Harcourt asked him that he caused the disturbance himself or at the instigation of the Raja. Jayee Rajguru declared, "he had caused the disturbance; that the raja was a child and what had been done, had been done by himself.(15) The British, no wonder, took drastic action against Jayee Rajguru. With extinction of Jayee Rajguru from political scene and the defeat and downfall of Raja, Khurda which had remained the seat of Government and Capital of the kingdom lost its independent existence.

References:

- Proceeding of the UGC Seminar on 'Contributions of Khurda to the Freedom Struggle of India', Dept of History, P.N (Auto) College, Khurda, Odisha . 2008,.ix
- Mishra, P. K, political Unrest in Odisha in the 19th century, 1983, p.1
- 3. Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl (ed), vol. II, p. 126 Also in H.S.Jarret.
- 4. Odisha History Research Journal: vol. vi, No. 4, p. 244
- 5. Odisha Revenue Records (ORR), Loose correspondences, Government of Bengal to Commissioner of Cuttack. 1st Oct 1803
- Odisha Revenue Record (ORR), Vol. (Dec 1803-Dec 1804) R. Hunter to T. Fortesque, 21 October 1804
- 7. Banaphula (O), Feb 1971, p. 66



- 8. Mahtab, H.K and De, S.C, History of Freedom in Odisha (ed), Vol. I p. 73
- 9. Quoted in B.C. Ray; Foundation of British Odisha, pp. 51-52
- 10. Pattanaik, P.K, A Forgotten Chapter of Odisha History, 1979, p. 112
- 11. Toynbee, G. A Sketch of the History of Odisha (From 1803-1828), 1873, p.5
- 12. ORR, Vol.VII, Commissioners of Cuttack to Raja of Khurda, 1st Oct 1804
- 13. ORR, Vol.Vol.I, Circular I.T. Fortesque to all Collectors, 15 Dec 1804
- 14. G.Harcourt to M. Shawe: 5 Dec 1804, Quoted in B.C.Ray: Foundations of British Odisha, p. 67
- 15. Banaphula(O) Feb 1971, p.65



Jayee Rajguru – The Pioneer of the War of Independence – 1804

Dr. Jatadhari Mishra

Researcher & Founder Secretary Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Parishad, Odisha Biraharekrushnapur

In the beginning of the nineteenth century two important events occurred in Odisha. One was British occupation in 1803 and war waged against Britishers for independence of Khurda in 1804 (only after four months and 27 days of British occupation) under the leadership of Jayakrushna Mohapatra popularly known as Jayee Rajguru. The revolution was not confined in the state alone; it spread to different parts of the country. Jayee Rajguru liasoned with Marathas at Nagapur, Sikhs in Punjab, *Sadhu* and seers in different holy places and tried to unite the feudal states inside the state against the British forces. This movement was not at all sporadic in nature but it was well planned and adequately thought with deep foresight. The purpose of the revolution was not only to oppose the British rule but to free India from British clutches.

Lord Wellesley was the Governor General of India from 1798-1805. The East India Company was then facing a great crisis for its existence in the country. There was a threat of attack on it from every corner of the country. The Nizam of Hyderbad had become its enemy. Tipu Sultan was nourishing a grudge and was planning to liquidate the political influence of East India Company in India. The Sikhs in Punjab had become an organized force. There was imminent danger from Napoleon Bonaparte who had already reached Egypt and was threatening to advance into India. At the same time in Odisha, the *Paiks* were organized by Jaykrushna Rajguru Mohapatra, Jayee Rajguru the royal priest, Commander-in-Chief and the Administrative representive of Khurda Gajapati Mukunda Dev II and an attempt was made to resist the implementation of British rule in Odisha and in India.

In the last part of the eighteenth century, Khurda was running with great crises both financial and administrative and it was felt necessary that

Jayee Rajguru was only the substitute to manage the situation, therefore by a unanimous decision Jayee Rajguru was appointed as Rajguru of Khurda Kingdom in 1780. At the same time he discharged the responsibility of administration as Commander- in-Chief of Khurda militia and Chief Minister of the State.

There were four Rajgurus appointed by the Gajapati of Khurda to manage the state affairs previously. They were, Rajguru for state administration and military chief, Rajguru for revenue, Rajguru for Shree Jaganath Temple Management, and Rajguru as preceptor of king. At the time of Gajapati Birakishore Deva (1736-1793), Narasingh Rajguru, S/o-Paramalaxmi Rajguru was the Rajguru administration (Commander-in-Chief), Chandra Sekhar Mohapatra was the Rajguru of Shree Jagannath Temple. Ragunath Mohapatra was the Patjoshi of Chhatisa Nijog, Kasinath Mohapatra was appointed by the Gajapati to execute all rituals since he was expert in *Karmakanda* and as well as the preceptor of the king.

Main Cause of Financial Crises

Towards the last part of the reign of Gajapati Birakishore Deva the financial position of Khurda was very precarious. The reasons were:

- (a) Continuous attacks on Khurda Kingdom by invaders from 1568-1730.
- (b) In 1730 A.D, Hyderabad Nizam forcibly occupied Durbalpur, Ghumsar, Athagarh, Khalikote, Sergarh, Mahuri, Chilika, Palur, Tikili, and Raghunathpur and merged these areas in his territory which were the major areas of Khurda. By this a great loss of revenue was made.
- (c) The attack by Gajapati Narayan Deva, the *Maharaja* of Paralakhemundi intending to inherit Khurda Kingdom as the successor of Ganga dynasty in 1760 A.D. caused serious damage to state economy. Gajapati of Khurda could not confront the attack. Therefore, he made an alliance with Shibabhata Sathe, the Maratha *Subadar* who helped the Khurda King, providing all kinds of military help. Consequently Narayan Deva was vanquished. For this assistance Maratha Subadar demanded one lakh cash towards the war expenditure. As the King was unable to compensate and he had no other way left except to let out four prosperous *Praganas* to the Marathas (Rahanga, Sirai, limbai & Chabiskud). Out of these *Praganas* the income generated was utilized for the *Seva Puja* of Lord Shree Jagannath

including the great Car festival. In the absence of the collection of rent from these four *Praganas*, the day to day rituals and other functions of the temple were hampered. It became a great loss to Khurda Kingdom in particular and the people of Odisha in general.

(d) Due to the internal disturbances, Gajapati Birkishore Deva was dethroned and Patia king Padmanava Deva ruled Khurda from 03.05.1736 to 03.04.1739. To get back Khurda Kingdom, Bira Kishore Deva paid 18 Lakhs of rupees to Murshid Kulikhan which was also a great loss to the state.

Due to the above reasons the financial position of Khurda was precarious. The king was unable to manage the state properly.

Simultaneously the state administration and *Paik* regiments were completely weak and other regiments became dormant, were unable to meet any eventuality.

In the meanwhile there was a fight with Janunji Bhonsala at Badambagarh in 1779. Narasingh Rajguru, the Commander-in-Chief was succumbed to injuries and died. The *Paik* regiment in two consecutive wars 1760 & 1779 had almost destabilized in moral, physical and financial strength. The king became imbalanced. Gajapati became mad and killed his four sons. As per report of the Collector Cuttack, letter No 1809 dt. 11.10.1809 that Bira kishore Deva killed his two sons where as Chakradhar Mohapatra in his book "*Utakal re aka Agyanta Adhyaya*" mentioned that Gajapati was mad & he killed his four sons. He was captivated by Maratha ruler *Raja*rama Pandit and lodged inside prison where he met his tragic end.

When the state was running with both financial and administrative crisis Jayee Rajguru was unanimously selected and offered to take charge of Khurda Kingdom. He had the ability to lead with courage, conviction and determination to revive the Odia identity and to develop the spirit of nationalism among the *Paiks* and in general people. Jayee Rajguru strove to exercise his administration over the Khurda Kingdom. Just as the representative of the lord Shree Jagannath, the Lord of the people and all of his action and activities dedicated for the welfare of the country and people as a whole.

Jayee Rajguru analyzed the causes of the failure of the last two wars occurred in 1760 and 1779. He consulted with experienced *Dalai*, *Dalbeheras*

and military chiefs, zamidars, local people and visited the *Paik* villages and made door to door campaign to strengthen the moral power of the peasant militia. While visiting the site, he came across with four heart-touching incidents caused in the previous wars.

- 1) The *Paiks* were known as peasant militia because most of the *Paiks* cultivated their own lands and at time of war they joined in *Paik* regiment to fight for their motherland. But at that time whatever they yielded from their field were plundered by the Maratha Bargies. So many *Paik* families were facing starvation and gradually they lost interest for cultivation.
- 2) The soldiers, crippled in the war, neither were provided compensation nor the king showed any interest for their treatment. The man injured in the war became the liability to his family, so no one took any interest to join in *Paik* regiment.
- 3) Jayee Rajguru came across with an old man who expressed his grief that he lost his only son in the last battle and only the old parents left in the house. Both of them were counting the days of their death. Their survival was difficult for them without an assistant. There was none to take care of them in future. Similarly he found a young newly married lady whose husband had died in the battle. She was crying helplessly because she was leading a miserable life. She became the burden to the family of her father-in-law.
- 4) It became a practice that bargies came frequently to villages to plunder the wealth and to torture the ladies but no protection was given by the king and also no action was taken to prevent them. People left their houses before arrival of bargies and took shelter in dense forest mostly in the day time. The system of administration was different in Khurda than the other states. There was a direct involvement of *Paiks* (local people) with the state administration. On one side they were the cultivators and supplying food and on the other side they were the local militia to protect the mother-land. So, the *Paiks* were treated as the real backbone of the state. Once they had been demoralized means there may be setback both in agriculture and state administration. Jayee Rajguru decided to encourage *Paiks* and thus provided them the moral support. He felt that it was his prime duty to help them for their socio-economic development. He made all efforts to organize them.

Various reforms made by Jayee Rajguru in state administration:

- 1) He took radical measures for medical treatment of the injured soldiers who had participated in last warfare.
- 2) He organized sustained campaign in the *Paik* villages to prevent the attack of bargies and instructed for counter attack on the attacking bargies and thereby they were ruthlessly subdued.

Strict rules were formulated for recruitment of *Paiks* in the militia of the state

- (1) At least one young man from each family was allowed to join the *Paik* regiment. But the eldest son of the family and the family having only one son were denied the previlege to join the regiment. Newly married young people were not allowed to go to the battle field. After a period of 5 years of the marriage however a person was allowed to enrol as a soldier. The minimum age for enrollment was fixed to 20 years and the retirement age was limited to 40 years. The members not joined in state militia were engaged in agriculture and all persons except ladies and physically disabled received training in *Paik Akhadas* under the guidance of the expert Gurus. Jayee Rajguru assured all sorts of help from the king's side. It was mandatory and applicable to all families.
- (2) New appointments were made on the basis of efficiency and honesty. The retired military chiefs with good character were employed in *Garhs* as supervisors as per the suggestion of the army commanders.
- (3) The unused lands were distributed to the needy people for cultivation and also to the persons interested to join in *Sena* immediately.
- (4) Strong protests were made to Maratha administration against the activities of bargies to refrain them from their illegal and unauthorised activities.
- (5) Jayee Rajguru supervised the *Paik Akhadas* and other training centres personally which encouraged the people to extend their co-operation and gradually the minds of the *Paiks* changed and they were well satisfied with Jayee Rajguru and became more faithful and obedient to him.
- (6) Similarly the *Garhs* were revived and the persons having more experience were given opportunity to remain in charge of different *Garhs*.

Discipline was maintained throughout and spies were appointed to send reports confidentially under the guidance and control of Sambhu Bharati.

"Its impact was greatly felt in the nook and corner of the Kingdom and there appeared a popular resurge of nationalism. Digamber Bhuyan, Bali Sundara and many others extended their wholehearted co-operation to Jayee Rajguru and took the lead in organizing the *Paik* movement. This commotion did not confine only to boundaries of Khurda but went beyond and sneaked into other feudatory states of Odisha.

Jayee Rajguru formed a new troop among the people resided in the forests known as "Guerrilla Bahini". They were obedient and loyal to their master, disciplined and expert in group attack. They used arrow and bow along with the fire weapons from a distant place. They also used some poison sticks prepared by themselves and used in arrows. The poison was prepared out of the horse urine, *khadi sijhu* (a type of tree), Camel stool mixed with honey, etc. When the poison arrow touched the body of the enemy he fell down then & there and died. They were ferocious and extended their full cooperation to Jayee Rajguru.

After reorganization of army, necessary improvements were made in *Garhs*. Adequate measures were taken for reformation in administration and economic field. Tahasildars were appointed for good governance in the day to day management of the state.

The British administration was in need of a passage over Khurda territory to connect Ganjam and Calcutta for smooth movement for their army and for transport of essential commodities. After the death of Dibyasingh Deva, East India Company instigated Shyamsundar Dev, (brother of Dibyasingh Deva) to be the king of Khurda. Jayee Rajguru opposed him for which Shyamsundar Dev retreated.

Jayee Rajguru was well aware about repeated attacks on Sri Jagannath Temple and shifting of idols through water route. So he made eighteen *Garhs* on Bay of Bengal from Puri to Astaranga. These *Garh* Khandayats were known as *Gada* Samants. They were enrolled in *Paik* regiments to protect the shore. The families of *Garh* Samantas are still continuing in these areas at present.

Every year *Paiks* were assembled at Bhagabati *Pitha* Konark, Siddha Math near Madhab, Mango grove of Dhumal and competitions and demonstrations on war weapons were made. Even today such shows are organized to bestow gratitude in memory of Jayee Rajguru (*Odisha Bhaskar*, Odia daily 14th Oct 2015). Besides this he had undertaken number of welfare measures in Puri town of seven traditional *Sahis* and 52 by lanes of Puri, reformed in the *Paik Seva* inside the temple, ordered for digging a tunnel from Gangamata *Matha* to old Palace at Balisahi for underground activation when the soldiers were stationed to act suddenly in case of any eventuality to the temple. He too established a number of *Garhs* in Puri town and kept soldiers in Marchikote, Jaigarh Jaga, Ganesh Guruji, he had taken steps to station *Paiks*. It is said that in Chhauni *Matha* the artillery *Paiks* made their camp inside.

Some Scholars opined that North side of Sri Jaganntha Temple there is a prominent *Matha* in Shrikshetra in which the Maratha Bargies used to stay. Marathas enhanced the income from four *Praganas* from 20,000 *Cowries* to 27 *Kahan Cowries* & spent for the maintenance of troops. Jayee Rajguru requested Raghuji Bhonsle to allocate funds for *Seba Puja* and to observe various festivals of the temple. His request was granted by Maratha rulers. As a result the income of bargies stationed at *Shrikshetra* was reduced. Due to this difficulty, the burgies very often plundered the village of nearby areas and they paid some considerable amount to the said Mathadhisha. Jayee Rajguru encouraged the *Paiks* to retaliate the attacking burgies. In 1803 the Marathaa were driven out by the British by that time their strength was considerably reduced and their stay in Odisha was unsecured.

The efficiency and the strength of *Paik* regiments of Khurda from 1780-1803 have increased to a great extent under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru. In 1798 the *Paiks* had easily spoiled the evil intention of Shyam Sundar Dev to be the king of Khurda. And only after 4 months and 27 days of conquest of Odisha by the British, on 11th March 1804 Jayee Rajguru with a contingent of about 2000 soldiers gheraoed the Headquarters of the Company at Cuttack. Looking to the strength of the army of Khurda Colonel Harcourt was afraid and instructed Melvelli to offer two *Praganas* to Jayee Rajguru as bribe but Jayee Rajguru bluntly refused and told boldly that all four *Praganas* shall be returned to the Lord Jagannath or else be ready for war. Jayee was conformed that military strength of Khurda was much stronger than that of

English. Therefore he challenged for war. In *Firingi Kali Bharata*, it is mentioned that:-

"Lamba Tarabari Dhari Cuttack re Pasi Dekhi Bhaya kale Sahebmane Trashi Milimili kahe Rajguru nku Bujhai Katak Chaurasi Lekhi Deba Paie 2 khandi Paragana Tumbhe je Paiba Samagra Pruthivi Ambhanku Lekhideba Chari Paragana aambhe abashya Paibu Bhale Nachhadile Nische Samarare Nebu".

Looking to the long sword of Jayee Rajguru and *Paiks*, the English people were afraid. Mr. Melvelli proposed Jayee Rajguru to give two *Praganas* and will make an agreement to give the whole of Khurda kingdom. Jayee laughed at the proposal and turned down the offer. He warned them that unless four *Praganas* are not ceded then be ready for war.

Jayee Rajguru returned from Cuttack and arranged for war and started negotiation with feudatory states and kings. The kings of Kanika, Kujanga, Harishpur, Marchipur and other like minded states joined hands with Khurda. Jamindars, common people, intellectuals, general public and even the tribals participated in the war. The *Paiks* of Khurda came forward and became the harbingers of this movement. It alarmed the Britishers for their existence. This sort of revolution first time took place in Odisha even in India and created sensation from top to bottom against the British administration.

Jayee Rajguru came to the picture at a very critical period of Khurda when the ruler felt insecured and people were tortured by Maratha bargies. By the personal initiative Jayee Rajguru changed the entire scenario, inclusion of tribal's in Odisha Militia and the reforms made in Jagannatha temple administration made him widely popular even after the conquest of British. He was the leader of the masses and infused the spirit of patriotism in the minds of the people which ultimately resulted in outbrake of the war of Independence in 1804-1805. Even after his death the tribal's of Ghumsar to whom Jayee Rajguru brought to the limelight and enrolled them in *Paik* regiment as "*Guerrilla Bahini*", took the revenge against Khurda officers, recollecting the brutal execution of Jayee Rajguru in 1806 and revolted in 1817 known as *Paik* rebellion. Thus Jayee Rajguru was the pioneer of the war of

Independence 1804 and he is still remembered in the hearts of the people of Odisha.

References:

- 1) Gopal Chandra Praharaj, *Purnachandra Odia Bhasakosha*, (Odia), p 445
- G Pfeffer, Puri's Vedic Brahmins continuity and change in their traditional institutions, The Cult of Shree Jagannth & Regional Traditions of Odisha, Chapter XXII
- 3) Sushil Ch. Dey, Odishan Records vol. I, II, III
- 4) B.C. Rath, Jayee Rajguru and Anti-Colonial Resistances in Khurda, Bhubaneswar, 2017
- 5) Jatadhari Mishra, *Odisha ra Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru*, (Odia), Council of Culture, Puri, 2002.
- 6) Bipra Madhusudan Das, Firing Kali Bharat
- 7) Madala Panji, (Odia)
- 8) Letter of Jayee Rajguru collected from Gangamata Matha.
- 9) B. C. Ray, Foundation of British Rule in Odisha, Cuttack, 1958
- 10) Mukti Mandap and Shri Jagannath Temple records
- 11) Odisha ra Aeitiya, Dharitri daily Monday publication.
- 12) Odisha Bhaskara dated 10.10.2015.
- 13) S.D Rajguru, Jayee Rajguru: The first revolutionary martyr of India
- 14) Statements of Mathadhisha: Gangamata Matha, Mangu Matha, Puri.
- 15) P.K. Pattanaik, Jasodehe Ayushman, (Odia)
- 16) Sunday Post dated 28 Feb 2018.
- 17) Kapileswar Mishra, Unpublished Pandulipi of Biraharekrushnapur, (Odia)

Jayee Rajguru : A Freedom Fighter of Early Nineteenth Century

Dr. Ganesh Chandra Rath

Retd. Reader in History & Ex-Visiting Professor, 4E Flat, Girnar Palace, Cuttack Road, Bomikhal, Bhubaneswar – 751010

Jayakrushna Mohapatra popularly known as Jayee Rajguru who had exercised tremendous influence in the political affairs of Khurda more than a decade, was an eminent scholar, a trained warrior and a firebrand patriot. He had galvanized the youth of the Kingdom of Khurda by his advocacy to keep themselves fit to fight under any adversaries. Jayee Rajguru stressed upon the independence of Khurda from Company's rule and inviolability of motherland.

Indomitable fighter with a vigorous body combined with skill in the use of arms made Jayee Rajguru fearless who never ignored to protect his mother country in all adversaries till his death. He possessed same determination, same self sacrificing sense of duty and of devotion to his state as any great patriot of world class. He was endowed with courage and ability to guide his men as few Indian freedom fighters laid claim. He was immensely resourceful with unbounded capacity to work and inspire enthusiasm to achieve an object on which he once made up his heart and mind. His intellectual ability was of high standard and he was proficient in many Indian sastras and sutras.

During his early days Jayee Rajguru was greatly influenced by his mother Haramani Devi who wanted her son to excel in the art of learning in different *Sruti sastras*. Being the scion of a learned family he studied *sastras* minutely and adopted doctrines in his way of life. He himself composed more than one thousand *slokas* which testified his scholastic merit. Through *sruti sastras* he instilled into men the sense of unity and love for mother country.

Jayee Rajguru's intimate relation with royal house made him to learn different art of warfare. With a vigorous body, thorough knowledge of warfare

and proficiency in *sastras*, he was able enough to shoulder the responsibility at any crucial period of time.

At a time when the Kingdom of Khurda was engulfed with series of problems, Jayee Rajguru in the year 1780 A.D. was rewarded by the investiture of Diwan and Rajguru. By that time the Kingdom of Khurda had lost its territories beyond Chilka Lake in South to Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1763, Khurda ceded *Praganas* of Rahang, Limbai, Sirai and Chabiskud to Marathas for the help rendered by them to defeat Jagannath Narayan Dev of Paralakhemundi. Therefore, the Kingdom of Khurda was further reduced to a small principality stretching around Khurda and it's adjoining areas extending as far as Chilka Lake. Jayee Rajguru wanted to revive the glory that Odisha had in the past by way of glorifying Khurda. By then the English considered to occupy Odisha for proper maintenance of security and contact between Bengal and Madras. So, a war between the English and the Marathas was a certainty. The fear of war was also looming large on the political sky of Khurda.

Under the above circumstances Jayee Rajguru faced one more formidable problem, the collection of revenue. The territorial readjustment often affected the collection of revenue and the economic condition of Khurda was in a deplorable state. To overcome those problems he followed certain fundamental principles and made Khurda self independent.

The past history had convinced Jayee Rajguru of the fact that enmity between Khurda and Paralakhemundi neither benefitted Khurda nor Paralakhemundi. Khurda simply ceded four *Praganas* to Marathas and the King of Paralakhemundi was forced out from Khurda. Jayee Rajguru realised the fact that mutual cooperation and support among neighbouring states was a necessity. Without the strength and support of the fellow rulers it would not be possible to attain the cherished goal. He, therefore, stood for proper integration among the states. Disintegration in any form was unacceptable to him. He was strong advocate of justice, injustice in any form he hated from the core of his heart.

Jayee Rajguru also turned his attention to reshape the financial condition of Khurda and managed the affairs to the best of his ability. The Maratha Bargis who often threatened the life and property of the people were conciliated and peace reigned supreme. During the said period King

Divyasingha Dev II undertook repairing work of Jagannath Temple and even organised *Jhulan Jatra*.

The prevailing political condition in contemporary Odisha made Jayee Rajguru conscious regarding the striking power of *Paik* organisation. He, therefore, moved from place to place, village to village and encouraged the moral strength of the *Paiks*. He organised village youths, trained them in martial art and taught them the art of manufacturing arms and ammunitions. He also renovated and re-organised *Paik Akhedas* in the villages for regular training. He also maintained spy system to gather information of far off places. Such persons who were honest and faithful were recruited for the purpose from among the merchant class and wondering monks.

Jayee Rajguru considered as his sublime duty for furthering the prosperity of the Kingdom of Khurda. He was well aware of the fact that without furthering the prosperity of the people it was well nigh impossible to achieve the prosperity of the Kingdom and of the King as well who was revered as the *Thakur Raja* of Odisha and was the first servant of Lord Jagannath. He was also honoured by one and all the people of Odisha as *Chalanti Vishnu*. That was the reason why any deviation in the ceremonies and rituals of Lord Jagannath was unbearable to Jayee Rajguru. Under his strenuous efforts people lived happily and affairs of Khurda was managed properly and peacefully till 1798 A.D.

The political scenario of Khurda was changed after 1798 A.D. and with the death of Divyasingha Dev II. The accession of his minor son to the throne was challenged by one Shyam Sundar Dev, the fugitive son of Vir Kishore Dev. However, the problem was settled with the intervention of Jayee Rajguru with the support of Maratha *Subedar* Sadasiva Rao. Thus the accession of Mukuda Dev II was peacefully secured. But soon Khurda faced a formidable problem.

The English earnestly wanted to occupy Odisha at any cost. Jayee Rajguru was aware of the English treachery and hypocrisy. He was also well acquainted with the Marathas, their friendly support and sympathy towards King of Khurda. The English who were past master in diplomacy in playing one against the other adopted the policy between Maratha Subedar and the King of Khurda, Mukunda Dev II while he was at Ganjam at his uncle's house. As per the negotiation, they assured the King to pay one lakh

rupees and to restore the four Praganas - Rahang, Limbai, Serai and Chabiskud to Khurda, after their victory over the Marathas. In return, they demanded a free passage of their army through the territory of Khurda Kingdom while they were at war against Marathas. Finally, the King of Khurda gave his consent and the English agreed to the proposal. As a result, an agreement was signed between Harcourt and Mukunda Dev II. But after their victory over the Marathas, the English showed no iota of interest to fulfil their promise; rather, they were more inclined to strengthen their position in Khurda. In the month of December 1803, Harcourt asked the Raja of Khurda to accept by way of agreement British supremacy and to pay annual peshkush. Jayee Rajguru persuaded the King not to accept such proposal as it would destroy the sovereign power of the King. The King gave a note of dissent to such proposal and refused to adhere to the demand. At such turn of events, Harcourt became furious and asked the King of Khurda to send Jayee Rajguru to Cuttack for negotiation. Harcourt's story of negotiation appeared extremely fishy and Jayee Rajguru declined to accept the message.

Later, on the eleventh March 1804 A.D. Jayee Rajguru with 2000 well equipped *Paiks* went to putforth the claims of the *Raja* as per the agreement of 1803 A.D. Harcourt showed the signs of indifference and wanted to humiliate Jayee Rajguru. But to his utter surprise he found archers who had pointed their arrows at him. Harcourt immediately reconciled himself and paid Rs 40,000/- in cash. The English did not agree to restore the four *Praganas* and refused to reduce the annual *peshkush*. All these factors remained unsolved and precipitated a crisis. To settle the crisis, the only way out was to appeal to the God of battle alone.

On 05th December 1804 A.D. Mukunda Dev II was declared as revolutionary by the British and he was deposed as the King of Khurda. Further, Commissioner at Cuttack Colonel Harcourt ordered the forces of Ganjam and Cuttack to meet any exigencies outside the Kingdom of Khurda. Apart from the measures he also directed 7000 soldiers under the command of Major Fletcher to proceed Mukundaprasad. Finally, the battle of Barunai took place and it was confined to the foothill of Barunai.

For three weeks the fierce battle of Barunai continued. The brave soldiers of Khurdagarh fought valiantly against the English army under the command of well disciplined, well organised, strategist Jayee Rajguru.

In spite of the sincerity of the Khurda army who fought till the last breath for a common cause to oust the English, the victory evaded them. Delay in response by the allied members including the *Raja* of Kanika, Kujang, Marichpur, Harishpur and the heads of monasteries, the English took the upper hand and became successful.

Jayee Rajguru was captured and was taken as a prisoner for he himself had confessed that he was the Chief architect of all the disturbances. He was arrested in the fort of Barabati and later was shifted to Medinipur. On 05th January, 1805 A.D., the King Mukunda Dev II was arrested and he was also shifted to Medinipur. On 06th December 1806, Jayee Rajguru was murdered brutally whose legs were tied down to two separate and opposite branches of a banyan tree and the branches were left off splitting his body into two parts. Thus a heroic soul passed away still more living men cherished his memory till today of his love and dedication to the motherland.

Whatever, might be the causes of the battle of Barunai, it was not a sudden violent out-break of sporadic crime or murder of obnoxious persons rather it was a formidable attempt to protect the independence and sovereignty of the mother country. The battle of Barunai was not against the seizure of feudal lands, it was a war against the English for breach of faith, injustice and treachery. As a true nationalist Jayee Rajguru wielded arms when he failed to accomplish judiciously the rights of the people.

Jayee Rajguru's adoration and worship of motherland was unique and he believed, for the protection of Independence and sovereignty of the motherland no sacrifice was too great. As a great patriot, he preferred to fight against the English for the security of his people and Independence of Khurda Kingdom.

While examining nationalism from the point of view of primordialism or ethno symbolism or modernism there was no iota of doubt that Jayee Rajguru's spirit of nationalism was much ahead of his time. His self sacrificing sense of duty for his motherland and his uncompromising patriotism became the source of inspiration for many freedom fighters of India. It will not be exaggeration to say that "Jayee Rajguru is a role model" for the freedom loving people of India.



References:

- 1. Acharya Pyarimohan, Odishara Itihas, (Odia), Cuttack, 1925
- 2. Behera Dr. Dandapani, Odishara Itihas, (Odia), Brahmapur, 2002
- 3. Champatiray Kanhei, Paik Kheda, Cuttack
- 4. History of Transaction of British Government in India 1805, Historical Research Journal (Hereafter OHRJ), Vol III, June 1954, No-1
- 5. Mahapatra Kedarnath, Khurda Itihas (Odia), Cuttack, 2nd Edition, 1984
- 6. Mishra Jatadhari, Amar Saheed Jayee Rajguru, (Odia), Cuttack, 2017
- 7. Mishra Nityananda, Bidrohare Surjadaya, Paik Bidroh, (Odia), The Samaja
- 8. Odisha Revenue Records, Vol.I, 15.12.1804
- 9. Rath Ashok Kumar, Odishara Rajanaitika Itibruti, (Odia), Brahmapur
- Rath Bijay Chandra, Jayee Rajguru and Anti Colonial Resistance in Khurda, Bhubaneswar, 2017
- 11. Ray B.C., Orissa under the Marathas, Allahabad, 1960
- 12. Stirling Andrew, An account of Orissa proper or Cuttack, Calcutta
- 13. The letter of Collector, Cuttack dated 11.10.1809 to the Commissioner of Khurda Raj Vansa, Letter No.1809
- 14. Translation of Persian Records No.398, 06 September 1798

Locating Jayee Rajguru as the First Martyr in the Nationalist Movement of India

(First Chapter of Paik Rebellion)

Dr. Bhagabana Sahu

Professor and Head, Department of History Central University of Tamil Nadu Thiruvarur, (Tamil Nadu)

Jayakrushna Rajguru Mohapatra popularly known as Jayee Rajguru was a great Sanskrit scholar, organiser, patriot, brave fighter, *tantra sadhak* and regent of Gajapati Mukunda Dev-II was the Rajguru of the *Raja* of Khurda. He not only played a very significant role in the first Khurda Rising 1804-05 A.D. but also sacrificed his life for the cause of Khurda kingdom and its *Raj* family. He organised the *Paiks* of Odisha and started his gallant fighting with the treacherous British Generals who betrayed *Raja* Mukunda Dev-II in fulfilling their promises. No doubt his revolt was suppressed by the iron hands of the British but his sufferings, sacrifices and organising capability became a saga in the history of modern Odisha.

Jayee Rajguru was born in village Bira Harekrushnapur in Puri district on the auspicious day of *Amlanabami*, i.e. the 24th day of *Kartika* in the year 1739 A.D. He was the son of Chand Rajguru and grandson of Gadadhar Rajguru. He was an erudite Sanskrit scholar and a great *Tantra Sadhak* like his grandfather. He was appointed as the Minister-cum-Rajguru of Gajapati Dibyasingh Dev-II in the year of 1780 at the age of 41. After the death of Dibyasingh Dev, there was a succession dispute between Shyamsundar Dev brother of Dibyasingh Dev and Mukunda Dev-II, the minor son of Dibyasingh Dev-II in 1798. Shyamsundar Dev tried to occupy the throne by the British conspiracy. But it was not successful as Jayee Rajguru gave proper protection and safety to the minor king.

Jayee Rajguru was bestowed with dual responsibility of chief priest as Rajguru and administration of Khurda kingdom on behalf of the minor king Mukunda Dev-II as Minister or *Dewan*. It was customary on the part of the Rajguru to administer the oath to the king at the time of coronation. The main function of Rajguru was to look after the interest of the subjects and advise

the king not to indulge in any arbitrary actions. But, Jayee Rajguru as the Regent of the minor king thought that it was his primary duty to protect the kingdom from any internal or external attack. When the British betrayed the *Raja* and posed a great problem to the sovereignty of the kingdom he rose into revolt.¹

The origin of the Khurda Rising of 1804 can be traced back to the Maratha rule in Odisha. In 1761 AD, during the rule of Birakishore Dev, Narayan Dev, the Raja of Paralakhemundi, claiming himself as a descendant of the Ganga dynasty of Odisha, invaded Khurda to capture the Gadi. Feeling himself helpless, Birakishore Dev sought the help of the Maratha Subhadar of Odisha who agreed to help him on the condition that the Raja of Khurda will bear military expenses to the tune of one lakh rupees. Raja of Khurda promised the amount and consequently Narayan Dev, the Raja of Paralakhemundi was then expelled with the help of the Marathas. But he failed to pay the amount to the Marathas for which on demand he had to cede painfully 'either in perpetuity or till the liquidation of the debt, the four Praganas like Rahang, Serai, Chabiskud and Lembai which included Purushottam Chhatar. The Marathas had also deprived him of his rights over the temple of Lord Jagannath.2 From then; these Praganas remained under the Khas management of the Maratha Government. As the areas constituted the most valuable and yielded much income, the Raja incurred enormous financial loss year after year. Hence, he tried to get back the Praganas but failed. Meanwhile an opportunity in this respect unfolded itself during the reign of Mukunda Dev-II.

It was during the British conquest of Odisha, the British authorities requested him to allow their troops to pass through the territories of Khurda and such other military assistance to expel the Marathas. In return the *Raja* of Khurda was promised a sum of rupees one lakh. The *Raja* however wanted to recover the four *Praganas* and his rights over the temple of Jagannath. Colonel Harcourt directed the Collector of Ganjam to depute a *Vakil* to open negotiations in this respect. The Collector of Ganjam did as directed.³ At this time, the *Raja* being a minor, the administration was practically carried on by Jayakrushna Rajguru, popularly known as Jayee Rajguru as his guardian who also worked as his *Diwan*. He could see the sinister motive behind the British proposal and the danger it was likely to bring for the estate. Hence, he warned the *Raja* against forming of any alliance with the Commander of the

British.⁴ But Mukunda Dev ignored the warning as he wanted to make use of this opportunity for the recovery of the aforesaid *Praganas*.

Accordingly he deputed his *Vakil* to Ganjam to communicate his consent on three conditions: that after the defeat of Marathas he would be paid one lakh of rupees in cash; that the four *Praganas* in question would be restored to him; and that his annual *Peshkash* would be reduced. Both Colonel Harcourt and *Raja* Mukunda Dev-II agreed to the above three conditions. Thereafter, Colonel Harcourt also wrote to the *Raja* requesting the withdrawal of his allegiance from the Marathas and help the British in all possible ways during the campaign. The *Raja* was then paid Rupees 10,000 as an advance of the promised amount.⁵

Although the *Raja* complied with all that he had promised, the British authorities did not fulfil their promise in respect of the restoration of the *Praganas*. So Jayakrushna Rajguru met Colonel Harcourt and J.Melville at Cuttack and submitted a petition reminding the fulfilment of all three conditions. With him, he took 2,000 armed *Paiks* probably to pressurise the Commissioner in the matter. But Colonel Harcourt replied that, 'not a span of land could be given up' as those were under the direct possession of the Maratha at the time of the conquest and as such they had acquired legitimate rights over the areas.⁶ He also rejected the demand for the reduction of *Peshkash*. However, he agreed to pay the promised sum. Rajguru returned to Khurda in a broken heart and told *Raja* "I first warned from forming any alliance with the Commander of the Company's troops and from affording him a safe passage".⁷

It was also understood that the British were planning to reduce the Gajapati *Maharaja* of Khurda to the position of a vassal through a treaty engagement like other feudatory kings of Odisha. Jayee Rajguru advised the *Raja* not to sign the agreement with the British on 19th November, 1803 and requested the *Raja* of Khurda to send his *Vakil* to execute the agreement. But, the *Raja* turned his deaf ear to the offer. So the direct confrontation became inevitable.

By the plan of Jayee Rajguru, a triple alliance among the *Rajas* of Khurda, Kanika and Kujang was formed.⁸ The tributary Chiefs of Odisha were also requested to extent their cooperation to fight for this cause. Further, Sambhu Bharti, a disaffected *mahajan*, was contacted secretly and his help

was sought for this venture. The *zamindars* of Bishenpur, Harishpur and Marichpur also joined the confederacy. Antaji Naik and Kannoji Naik, two officers of the *Raja* of Berar, met the *Raja* of Khurda and promised to help him in his fight against the British. The *Raja* was then determined to assert his right by force. He also made attempts to take over the management of the temple of Jagannath.⁹

Thus the war was declared. Jayee Rajguru with thousands of *Paiks* attacked the Britishers. The chieftains of Bishnupur, Harishpur, Marichipur, Aswapati Niranjan and Kurukhasamanta also provided the frontal assistance to Jayee Rajguru. Chakradhwaja Sendha the *Raja* of Kujang and Balabhadra Bhanja- the *Raja* of Kanika also joined the war in favour of Mukunda Dev II. Jayee Rajguru expected the military help from Raghuji Bhonsala, but it did not reach as the messenger was captured by the Britisher at Sambalpur and kept the Marahatta Chief ignorant. The Britishers used the 2nd and 7th Division of Bengal and 16th battalion of Madras under the command of Col. Harcourt, Maj. Fletcher, Captain Hickland and Stoner on the *Paiks*.¹⁰

Anticipating a collapse, Rajguru tried his best for the protection and safety of the king. There was a secret path from the fort of Khurda to Puri and a tunnel leading from old palace to the *Gangamata Matha* and the temple. *Raja* of Khurda had also taken discipleship from the *Mahanta* of *Gangamata Matha*. It is said that prior to the outbreak of the revolt, Jayee Rajguru used to have discussion and planning here. He arranged for the escape of King Mukunda Dev-II from the fort of Khurda to Puri along this route. He wrote a letter to Narottama Dasa, the head of the *Matha* through a trusted official called Durga Charan Singh for proper care of the king. This letter which has now come to limelight was probably written in the month of October 1804, little before the final capture of the fort of Khurda. There was the instruction to keep the king's arrival secret and if possible to hide him in the guise of a lady (*Kanthi, Saree*) and the observance of all the rituals in the temple intact.

But, in the meantime, the fort was surrounded by the British forces and cannons were posted to blast the wall of the fort. It is said that Jayee Rajguru also utilised his tantric power, which he had gained from Dhumabati at Benaras, for making the fort impregnable. However, Maj. Fletcher utilising the services of one betrayer Kanchi Bawa of Rameswar by offering him huge bribe neutralized the power of blasting the flesh and blood of animals.

Whatever the truth of the story may be, Maj. Fletcher succeeded in digging a hole on the wall of the main entrance and entered into the fort with soldiers.¹²

Jayee Rajguru could have also escaped by flight, when he found the English soldiers entering into the fort. But, his self respect and promise to mother made him to stay. He continued his fight, when his soldiers collapsed one after another. Finally, he was captured and sent to Cuttack jail. Fateh Mahammad disclosed the secret hideouts of the *Raja*. Thus, *Raja* was arrested and sent to Cuttack. Anticipating popular unrest, they were shifted to Medinapore and kept as captives.

Jayee Rajguru and *Raja* Mukunda Dev-II were kept at Medinapore for trial of their offences.¹³ The trial had taken place at Medinapore on 5th December 1806.

It was customary with the Britishers for trial of offenders before award of any punishment. The Britishers as a race take pride in their sense of Justice. But in the colonies, very often, they followed the process of trial just to cover their manipulative tactics and avoid any criticism on the floor of the parliament. There are hundreds of evidences to corroborate this in their colonial administration. They adopted this modus operandi to eliminate their worst rivals. The British advised the *Raja* of Khurda to write a mercy petition to the Commissioner pleading his innocence for all that happened. Consequently, the *Raja* said that all the affairs of the kingdom was managed by his regent, and he was virtually a prisoner in the fort of Khurda.¹⁴

Further, he expressed his ignorance of receiving any amount which was given by the commissioner towards balance payment. The entire letter threw the responsibility on Jayee Rajguru and pleaded for the restoration of his kingdom and privileges. Harcourt expressed happiness at the letter and banked upon it as an evidence to take capital punishment against Rajguru.

When the trial began, Harcourt asked Rajguru, whether he had organized the revolt under the instigation of the king or himself which was at the root of the trouble. At that time, Jayee Rajguru boldly replied that, independence of the kingdom was greater than anything for the people and for himself. He had done this in the interest of the kingdom and the subjects. ¹⁵ It is the responsibility of every individual to protect the independence of the motherland. This kingdom never belonged to any Moghul, Marahattas, English

or any aliens. For years, the land belonged to us and saving its independence and sovereignty was our prime responsibility. There was nothing wrong in it. He never owned any sense of guilt for organizing the revolt rather he felt himself proud for the cause with which he stood for, and his subjects were noted for their valour, courage, chivalry and independence. So, he took upon himself all the responsibilities and retracted the *Raja* Mukunda Dev-II of having any role. Therefore, he was declared guilty of waging a war against the "lawfully established government" by the British Commissioner. He was held responsible for the loss of many lives in the rebellion of 1804 and he was ordered to be hanged to death.

The trial of Jayee Rajguru was a mockery and with the help of Harcourt's pre-planned King's prepared letter and created witness he was found guilty in a *kangaroo court* on 5th December 1806. The British played treachery and conspired to eliminate Jayee Rajguru by "hanging him to death". The judgement was written much before the trial. Jayee Rajguru was killed in a most heinous and cruel manner on 6th December 1806. Four sturdy men climbed into a thick banyan tree and knotted his ankles with a rope and slugged the other end with a thick branch and pulled. As soon as his body left the ground, the thick rope began cutting into his flesh and since his two legs were tied with two branches of the tree it parted his body into two parts and he died. Jayee Rajguru sacrificed his life and became a martyr for the sake of his motherland and the kingdom of Khurda. At the time of his brutal killing he kept himself calm by reciting a *sloka* from '*Bira Saptapadi*' and accepted his death bravely.

In the petition Mukunda Dev-II prayed for the restoration of his estate of Khurda in view of his innocence. The trial of King Mukunda Dev-II was done with leniency as his letter provided solid evidence for the award of death punishment to Jayee Rajguru. The king was released from the custody on 5th May 1807. But his kingdom was not restored to him. They believed that such a measure would subdue the rebellious spirit of the Tributary kings. The successors of Mukunda Dev-II were also not allowed to reside at Khurda. Their residence was shifted to Puri and they came be known as the *Raja* of Puri and not the Gajapati *Maharaja* of Khurda.

With the execution of Jayee Rajguru and the defeat and downfall of Mukunda Dev II, Khurda which had remained the seat of government and



capital of the kingdom lost its independent existence. Viewed from all angles, it can be said that, the dedication and sacrifice of Jayee Rajguru for the cause of his motherland and to the royal family of Khurda will inspire the future generations and will remain as a great saga for all time to come. Thus, he occupies a significant place as the first martyr of our country who faced trial and hanging. His patriotism, uncommon organising capability, dedication and devotion to the kingdom of Khurda and its royal dynasty, his heroism, courage and gallant fighting spirit forms a romantic and chivalrous chapter in the history of Odisha. He was the first person to organise the *Paiks* by giving them training in different art of warfare by establishing *Paik Akhadas* in different villages of Khurda. As such, the *Paik* Rebellion of Khurda was actually started by Jayee Rajguru in 1804 A.D. and he may be regarded as a National Hero which was not yet given to him that he deserves.

References:

- Narayan Rao, Jayee Rajguru- A Profile of a great patriot of Odisha, Cuttack, 2016.
- 2. Orissa Revenue Records, vol.VII, (Dec. 1803-Dec. 1804) from R.Hunter to T.Fortesque, 21st Oct., 1804.
- 3. H.K. Mahtab, History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa, vol.I, pp.72-73.
- 4. Walter Hamilton, Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan, vol.I, London, 1820, p.40.
- 5. George Toynbee, A Sketch of the History of Orissa, 1803-1828, Calcutta, 1873, pp.7-8.
- 6. A.B.Mahanty (ed.), Madala Panji, Cuttack, 1969, p.79.
- 7. B.C.Ray, Foundations of British Orissa, Cuttack, 1960, p.51.
- 8. George Toynbee, op.cit., p.5.
- 9. Ibid, p.8.
- 10. Narayan Rao, op.cit.
- 11. Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Prathama Saheed, Jayee Rajguru (Odia).
- 12. Narayan Rao, op.cit., p.49.
- 13. Orissa Revenue Records, vol.IX, Government of Bengal to A.Fergusson, 24th August, 1805.
- 14. Narayan Rao, op.cit., p.53.
- 15. P.K.Pattanaik, A Forgotten Chapter of Orissan History, Calcutta, 1979



Jayee Rajguru - The Pioneer of Indian Freedom Struggle

Dr. Pramila KhadangaPrincipal, Binayak Acharya Govt. College,
Berhampur

Prologue

Exploring the events occurred in the past and sequentially arranging the information on a timeline is the primary task of 'History' which otherwise is a branch of a broader academic discipline called 'Humanities'. History as a pervasive subject not limited by its task of recording the activities of a few *de facto* or *de jure* rulers who greatly affected the mankind over ages by drawing and re-drawing boundaries on the face of the globe, but it encompasses all other spheres of human life and knowledge. Therefore, it is customary to initiate even a subject of pure science with a statement about the historical developments on that subject. Further, the boundaries of the subject of History are not limited to its scholars named as historians. Everyone, irrespective of his profile has an unsung historian in himself and the rate of streaming of more and more minds in this direction and their enterprise has immensely contributed towards the growth of this academic discipline.

Historiography as the 'art of writing history' has different schools like the 'classical school' which confines its task to exploring and recording of the past events. Accuracy of facts and timing is important for this school. To its contrast, the branch of 'narrative history' holds altogether a different objective that emphasize on explaining the facts in such a way that the subject matter would be understood by the common mass. Biographies, stories, folklores, epics, mythologies, all those created with the fine art of narration of the 'story-tellers' unbounds the scope of the academic subject of 'History' to disseminate knowledge and information about the past amongst all the human beings rightly beginning from their infancy. Those narrations, most of which often flows from generation to generations without a timing-tag and severely

distorted with the effects of added perplexity deliberately imbedded by the 'narrators in due course' with an intent to make it appear more amusing or otherwise, are yet appreciated by the scholars of history as a great source of information.

But the limitations of both the schools may be realized when the life history of *Saheed* Jayee Rajguru is put for a critical evaluation from the viewpoints of his contribution towards the freedom struggle of India. Presenting the same question in a little rudimentary way 'as to whether he was a freedom fighter or not' or 'whether his fight was a part of the Indian struggle for freedom or not' may never be adequately addressed with any amount of industrious efforts for finding the facts like the precise location of his extermination with great geographical nicety. There comes the role of the academic discipline called 'Social Historiography' as a modern school of scientific study of 'History'. This subject of social science may be a little bit mystifying by its appearance because it pertains to the perceptions of a human mind, which is far more complicated than the basic theories of algebra or geometry which are the subjects developed by 'Forms' rather than 'sense'.⁴

The contributions of Saheed Jayee Rajguru towards freedom struggle of India may not be properly explained before the present generation which perceives the word 'freedom' or the phrase 'freedom struggle of India' with its contemporary meaning. In fact, the referred word or the phrase does not denote to an abstract or absolute meaning by itself but subject to dynamism with reference to its time and place. When there is a discussion about an historical event like the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 which is being portraited as the first war of independence in India⁵, the readers naturally fail to appreciate the context that India did not achieve a definitive shape by that time as it appears today on the global map. An objective of making India free from British, if not seemingly absent in the mutineers' mind, but might be secondary to the redressal of an array of grievances of the sepoys at the payroll of the British East India Company (EIC) pertaining to their service conditionalities. By that time, many of the provinces on the subcontinent enjoying autonomy on several counts and their existence in the same independent status could be realized even after India got its freedom in 1947. Those quasi-autonomous provinces were being ruled by Rajas, Maharajas, Sultans or the rulers with similar titles, and the condition was experienced to have been stretched up to the day of abolition of Article 370 of the Constitution of India in the late

2019. If the country is claimed to have been unified by the laborious act of the British forces, it may otherwise be reasonably argued that India was characteristically more unified under the Mauryan Empire in ancient period or under the Mughals in medieval Period.

After India achieved its freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi by means of 'ahimsa' which method was developed through a series of trials and errors tested from time to time in the entire course of history of modern India, the connotation 'freedom struggle' naturally creates a picture of a Gandhian model of 'satyagraha' in the mind of all the Indians living during the post-independence era. But this pinnacle of Indian freedom struggle was founded on unseen bedrock beneath the ground which was laid down even before India lost its freedom. Exploring the true meaning of those words and connotations and deploying those meanings for critical examination of the position of Saheed Jayee Rajguru in the Indian struggle for Freedom is the crux of this writing.

Introduction

The events of appearance, disappearance and the twists and turns in the socio-political life of *Saheed* Jeyee Rajguru carved some notable marks on the timeline of Indian history. When the position of those historical events is referred with the phraseology "Freedom Struggle of India" which is normally claimed to have commenced from 1857, it may be conceived that his position stands at half a century ahead on this timeline.

The term 'freedom struggle' as it is normally, implies to a fight for regaining freedom by someone who is deprived of such freedom in his life. To its contrast, a struggle to maintain the existing freedom in hands and sacrificing life towards that cause is too large to be fitted into the frame of the term 'freedom struggle' as it is normally understood. The personality of Jayee Rajguru is the rarest of the rare on this count and stands alone in the history of India as he did not let his motherland fall in the hands of the British until he was deprived of his very life.

A Brief Life History of Saheed Jayee Rajguru

Born on 29th of October 1739 in Bira Harekrushnapur⁶ in the family which was on priesthood of the royal family of Khurdha, he himself was a highly learned person of his time just like his forefathers. Even though a

devout Brahmin, he excelled in martial art and defense techniques which were beyond the expected traits to perform the role as a mentor of a royal family. He went to Varanasi or the present days Banaras which was a great center of learning of that era to acquire knowledge in theology, philosophy and the art of *Dhumabati*, that technique was being used to create a smoke screen at the war field. He was appointed as the *Rajguru* and minister of the kingdom of Khurdha in the year 1780 by the then king Gajapati Dibyasimha Deva.

By that time, the Britishers i.e. the EIC consolidated their position not only in Bengal to the north of the Khurdha Kingdom but also in south as they acquired the land upto Chilka lake from the Nizam of Hyderabad. Meanwhile, after weakening of the Mughal power, Odisha was slipped into the grips of the Marathas, and consequently the financial position of the Khurdha kingdom was seriously disturbed due to the rapacious revenue policy of the Marathas. With such a financial condition, the kingdom managed to consolidate an army with a cavalry under the guardianship of Jayee Rajguru who deserved the whole credit for it. Keeping the war needs of that time, the army was organized and strategically segmented into divisions with specific roles like direct confrontation, striking from distance with bows, arrows and spears and more importantly a division dedicated for guerrilla warfare. The culture of learning martial art was already there in the spread of the kingdom in the form of Paika Akhadas which was flourishing under the royal patronage, and the need of that time was to populate the marshals which were performed by Jayee Rajguru with his personal efforts. This organized force, as propagated by Jayee Rajguru deterred the EIC to venture against the kingdom of Khurdha through a direct confrontation. At last, after about half a century from the battle of Plassey, upto the year 1804, the kingdom of Khurdha could manage to prevent the British imperial forces. Just like the inglorious battel of Plassey, the British also did not jump into a direct confrontation with Khurdha but own it through an art of treachery by executing Jayee Rajguru on 6th of December 1806 and for namesake, restoring the position of King Mukunda Dev-II by releasing him in 5th of March 1807.7

India might have gained independence exactly at the mid night of 15th of August 1947 but did not lost its freedom with the battle of Plassey in on 23rd of June 1757. The occupation of Orissa in 1803 by EIC i.e. about half a century after the Plassey episode stands as a testimony of the fact that the

British did not rule over the entire geographical spread of India for a full length of two centuries as the sources suggest even after 70 years of India's Independence.

The Dynamic Meaning of Freedom Struggle

Coming to the main issue of contribution of Jayee Rajguru towards the Indian struggle for independence, it may well be conceived that the meaning of the phrase 'Freedom struggle' in today's perspectives is not squarely applicable to that historical time. When the words like 'freedom' and 'independence' are put for historiographic analysis, we find more complicated and dynamic definitions of those terms which are affected and influenced by the underneath time factor. We could also realize that the general meaning of those terms is not suitable for universal application for all situations.

The American struggle of Independence of 1873 was purely a fight for autonomy of the British settlers from the administrative control of their original homeland8, and for this very nature it was not in any way analogous to the Indian struggle for independence. After six years of granting the royal charter to the EIC to trade with India, in the year 1606 the British crown granted a royal charters in favor of two joint stock companies to start permanent settlement in Northern America.9 With the authority of the said charter, the British settlers replaced the native Americans, grabbed their land, created ownership rights on those lands and indulged in widespread slave trade to consolidate their position in North America. By the year 1776, the British settlers discarded the authority of the Crown through a 'Declaration of Independence' and thereby ending the rule of that colony from their own motherland. Anyone, who would have an accidental glance over of the expressions in the said Declaration as stated below may cherish its gospels as the custodian of rights of human beings in general. But the truth is that, what it was meant to be 'people' and their 'rights' as per the Declaration have been actually referred to the rights of the white settlers of British origin which has nothing to do with the lost rights of the black natives living in that continent from time immemorial, whose freedom was snatched away by the settlers. 10

"We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their

just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." (Extracts from the American Declaration of Independence) In fact, the native Americans have been deprived of all their freedom and natural rights and their life and liberty was razed to such an extent that they could never able to dream about independence of their nation again.

The same fate was of Australia, the population of which was formed with the deported prisoners from Britain. The natives of Australia were completely cleaned out from the settlement area where the prisoners with criminal backgrounds were granted lands to tilt and re-settle. The present population of Australia till today feel it as their pride to be of British origin and maintained the status of the continent as a British colony. Similarly, Canada was mostly formed by the loyalist mass of America who fled to the northern region of the continent when United States declared its independence from the control of the British crown. The Canadians are still considering comfortable to remain under the administrative control of the British crown. Therefore, the meaning of the term 'freedom struggle' or a 'struggle of independence' with its corollary has a localized meaning and when it is referred in the Indian context, it rather needs a structural definition in contrast to the interpretations resorted by many young-n-old with their faded memories about the colonial history of the nation. Its meaning also stands equally at a bay from the reference of the connotations in the Constitution of India as it has been put to test in the paragraphs to follow.

The Fundamental Attributes of Freedom

The best place to find the latest and functional meaning of the word 'freedom' is the Constitution of India. What it referred to as 'freedom' in the Constitution is a bundle of fundamental and Constitutional rights. There are certain rights of the citizens preserved through the Constitutional provisions; so also, some defined authorities vested with the government institutions. With reference to the citizens' rights, the provisions broadly define it as the freedom of speech and expression, right to live and personal liberty, right to education, freedom of religion, freedom to trade and commerce. When the

freedom for the nation is referred, it means the 'sovereignty of the nation from external interference'. How far those rights or 'elements of freedom' were existed or challenged during those historical days is materially an important point of reference for finding the meaning of freedom conceivable at that prevalent time. In the mediaeval period, almost the whole of Odisha region was under the Mughal rule. When the Mughal empire was weakened, the Marathas took over the power to control Odisha. So, a retrospect over the context in which the advent of British was considered as a threat for the freedom of the province of Odisha, provides some meaning to resolve this enigmatic question. In contrast to their practice in other colonies, the British did not pursue a policy of annihilation of local leadership but rather maintained their position by shifting the responsibilities of local administration to such local leaders viz. the rajas and zamindars, and they (Britishers) took over most of the important powers like collection of revenue and administration of justice. After elimination of Jayee Rajguru, the British restored the position of the minor King Mukunda Deva-II and let him continue with his kingship. As usual, they carried away the authority and rights to collect revenue from the region.

Freedom of the Common Mass

So far as the rights of the common mass was concerned, the region of Odisha did not experience any markable invasion from the outsiders. During the Muslim rule as well, the Odias were not converted as widely as it is observed in the case of the Bengal province or even in the case of the southern province like Hyderabad. There was no visible threat from the British rule on religious counts which was an important parameter to adjudge about the interference of the state in the personal life of the common mass. So was the position of the other rights akin to the Constitutional rights of today. Different aspects of Orissa, including the cultural and religious activities of the people of the region had been greatly admired with all details by Abul Fazl in his Ain-I-Akbari that stands as a witness of the positive approach of the Mughal rulers towards this province. 11 As a general policy statement of the Mughal rule, there is a mention in that text about the restriction on the local administrators on behaving rudely or to snatch the property of the common man. Even when a Hindu or Muslim had been demised without a successor, in those cases also, there was restrictions against outright appropriation of the property of the deceased by the state functionaries. Their

property, in such a context was to be deployed for public purposes like digging of wells and construction of *sarais*. So, there was a declared policy of property rights in India which was being honoured and pursued by the rulers during the mediaeval period.

The reason of non-acceptance of suzerainty of the British by Jayee Rajguru and his commitments to resist them from taking over the kingdom may be well understood from a study of his life history. However, the cost he prepared to shoulder by sacrificing his own life would definitely in his considerations be far less in value than his ideals for maintaining the freedom of the kingdom. That was the true spirit of nationalism, which is undefinable through words, it could also not be challenged and questioned.

Conclusion

Sacrificing the family life and dedicating the whole of his life's worth in the service of the king up to the age of 64, what Jayee Rajguru might presumably aspiring was nothing but upkeeping of political freedom of his kingdom. He had exposure to the prevailing political scenario after fall of the Mughal empire as he stayed in Varanasi for some time, during the period. His concepts of freedom might be something different from what is conceivable in the contemporary period. The dimensions of political freedom that includes the economic freedom as well for the benefit of the common mass as well as for the kingdom as a whole might have the greatest force acting behind his ideals. Drain of revenue collected from the public in the forms of land or mercantile tax as tributes to the external forces without any visible returns was a significant burden on the regional rulers. The British by their policy were different in their approach from the native imperial forces like the Mughals, who were depriving the entire value of existence of the native rulers. Definitely, they were not like the Mughals or Marathas in many counts which might have been explicitly understood by the visionaries of that time like Jayee Rajguru for which he did not he sitate to launch a mission against that malignant foreign force and choose to fight until he shed his last drop of blood. He himself did not pursue for a secured living or position in his life. It is the fundamental duty which is onerous upon his succeeding generations to cherish the noble ideals which inspired him for the struggle to maintain freedom of the nation from the foreign forces.¹²



If the term 'freedom struggle' strictly refers to a struggle of a person to restore his freedom once lost by him, then the efforts of a person to maintain his freedom-in-hand and his commitments for not sacrificing it at the first place, qualifies him to be crowned with a title 'the Pioneer of Indian Freedom Struggle'.

References:

- 1. Oxford Dictionary Phrase and Fable, (2005) Word: Humanities.
- 2. E. A. Sreedharan, *Textbook of Historiography 500 BC to AD 2000*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 2.
- 3. W.R. Arthur, *Panchatantra*, Mumbai, 2011, p. 4.
- 4. W.W. Tait, "Noesis: Plato on Exact Science", in: *Reading Natural Philosophy*, Chicago, 2002, p. 23.
- 5. Chris Williams, *A Companion to 19th-Century Britain*, Melbourne (AU), 2006, p. 63.
- 6. J. Mishra, *Odisara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru*, Puri, 2000, p. 65.
- 7. B. C. Rath, *Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurdha*, Bhubaneswar, 2017, pp. 119-120.
- 8. J.D. Rivage, *Revolution against Empire Taxes, Politics and Origin of American Independence*, London, 2017, pp. 1-6.
- 9. F. McCarthy, "Participatory Government and Communal Property: Two Radical Concepts in the Virginia Charter of 1606", in: *University of Richmond Law Review*, 1995, p. 327.
- 10. Niall Ferguson, Civilization The West and the Rest, New York, 2012, p. 162.
- 11. Ain-I-Akbari translated by Colonel H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 126-129.
- 12. Article-51A(b) The Fundamental Duties in The Constitution of India.

The Indomitable Jayee Rajaguru

Dr. Hemant Kumar ParijaRetd. Registrar, F.M University,
Balasore

Jayakrushna Rajaguru, popularly known as Jayee Rajaguru, appeared at a time when the kingdom of Khurda was passing through a period of internal dissension and external invasions. The British power was knocking at the door to oust the Marathas out of Odisha and to occupy it. For the British the conquest of Odisha was considered necessary in order to link the Company's authorities of Bengal with that of Madras.

Before the occupation of Odisha Colonel Harcourt, the British official, made an agreement with the Raja of Khurda for a safe passage through Khurda on two conditions. (1) The British were to pay Rs. One lakh to the Raja and (2) to return the four praganas of Rahanga, Chabiskud, Sirai and Limbai including Purusottama Kshetra, which Raja Birkishore Deva had conceded to the Marathas in 1760 A.D. along with the management of the temple of Jagannath. The Raja even received an advance of Rs.10, 000/-. The then Raja Mukunda Deva-II was a minor and Jayee Rajaguru, the Bebarta of the King, acted as his regent and Chief priest. Unfortunately, the agreement with the British was signed without due consultation with Jayee Rajaguru. When he heard about the agreement, he was terribly upset and expressed his dissatisfaction before the King. In the meantime the British force occupied Cuttack on 14th October 1803. The Maratha soldiers fled away from Cuttack. The Raja expected the payment of the balance amount and restoration of the four praganas. But the claim of the Raja was ignored. On the other hand the Khurda Raja along with other tributary Kings of Odisha was asked to acknowledge the British authority and to pay a fixed amount as tribute. There was no reference either to the payment of compensation or the restoration of the four praganas to the King as promised. The volte-face of the British was a great shock to the Raja as well as to Jayee Rajaguru. This made the King

realize his mistake and he sought the advice of Jayee. Jayee advised the King not to sign the declaration. He decided to meet Colonel Harcourt at Cuttack to put forth the demands of the King. With 2000 armed Paiks he proceeded to Cuttack and demanded the payment of promised amount and restoration of the four praganas. Harcourt paid only Rs.40,000/- and promised to pay balance amount of Rs.50,000/- only after signing the agreement. But regarding the restoration of four praganas, his emphatic reply was "Not a span of land could be spared." Jayee was shocked. Returning to Khurda, he told the Raja - "I at first warned you against forming any alliance with the commander of the company's troops and from affording him a safe passage." The Raja was shocked at the treacherous behavior of Harcourt and did not come forward to execute the treaty agreement. The treacherous behavior of the British led Jayee towards a rebellion. Harcourt pressurized the Raja to sign the agreement and was warned of impropriety of his behavior under the ill-advice of Jayee. The weak and imbecile Raja at last yielded to the British pressure and signed the agreement before July, 1804. But the Raja was in no mood to make any more concessions under the influence of Jayee. Harcourt squarely blamed Jayee for misguiding the young Raja. On 23rd October 1804, Harcourt wrote – "It appears the Raja himself is not inimical to us but his Dewan (Jayee) is extremely so and he controls everybody and everything at Khurda."

Jayee, who was determined to protest and to start a rebellion against the treacherous British Government, made preparations to enlist of other Rajas and Zamindars to his cause. He contacted native rulers of Kujanga and Kanika, the Zamindars of Harishpur, Bishenpur and Marichpur to join the confederation. The Maratha ruler of Nagpur was also contacted for help. He increased the strength of soldiers by new recruitment. Maratha Sardars were recruited to train the new recruits in warfare. Steps were taken to strengthen the Khurda fort. Paiks were posted in strategic places like Banpur and Dompara. Gate of the fort of Khurda was guarded by 200 Paiks and more. Jayee was determined to assert the right of the Raja defying the British force. By July 1804, he appointed persons to collect rent from the four praganas, then under the occupation of the British. He also took steps to take over the management of the temple of Jagannath and carpenters were appointed to construct the Cars of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra for the ensuing Ratha Yatra.

These hostile acts could not anymore to be tolerated by the British authorities. Colonel Harcourt tried to bring the Raja to his sense of conciliatory measures and to keep himself free from the influence of Jayee Rajguru. He considered Jayee the root cause of the trouble and wanted his removal from office. But the Raja did not pay any heed to this demand. As a retaliatory measure Harcourt imprisoned Sambhu Bharati, who was acting as a messenger between the Raja of Khurda and other tributary chiefs. The Dalbeheras of Rameswar and Panchagarh, the Khandayats of Mendhasal, the Zamindar of Gada Haladia and the rebels of Dandimahal were directed not to help the Khurda Raja. Harcourt was bent upon removing Jayee but the Raja did not pay any heed to his demand. For Harcourt, the behavior of the Raja and Jayee was too much to be tolerated. He observed – "Our moderation has been construed into weakness, our silence into ignorance and our endeavors to conciliate into apprehension of fear." He decided to exterminate the Raja for his defiance. In November 1804, military operations started against the Rajas of Khurda, Kanika and Kujanga for mischievous treatment shown towards the British authorities and for their dis-obedience. First, he occupied Banpur and then proceeded to occupy other areas. On 19th November 1804, the Rajas of other tributary states were informed about the Company's intension to punish the Raja of Khurda. On December 7, 1804 the Commissioners proclaimed that the Raja of Khurda had been deposed and his territory was annexed to the British Odisha with effect from December 5, 1804. Occupying Delanga and killing about 100 Paik soldiers, the British force marched steadily and surrounded the fort of Khurda near Barunei hills in the first/second week of December 1804. They occupied the fort by climbing the wall of the fort after a seize of three weeks. The Raja fled away to the deep jungles to save his life. Jayee was captured in the fort. The Vakil, sent by the Raja for negotiation was arrested. On 3rd January 1805, the Raja was arrested in the jungle treacherously.

The Raja of Khurda Mukunda Deva-II was kept in confinement first at Barabati fort at Cuttack and then was shifted to Midnapur jail as a state prisoner. Jayee was also kept in the Barabati fort in Cuttack. When asked by Harcourt as to whether he himself caused the disturbance his proud reply was that "he had caused the disturbance that the Raja was a child and what had been done had been done by himself." He too was removed to the Midnapur jail. In the meantime Mukunda Deva-II submitted a petition to the

Governor General in Council that during the mukhyaship of Rajaguru he had not any power of the Raja. The Revolt was started and piloted by him. He himself was in no way responsible for the revolt. He pleaded pardon for the incident. As a result of his petition and the brave statement of Jayee, in March 1807 Mukunda Deva-II was released from jail. But the estate of Khurda was permanently confiscated and was granted a pension of 1/10 of the revenue of the estate. He was not allowed to go to Khurda and was asked to take-up residence at Puri. He was entrusted with the management of the temple of Jagannath.

The trial of Rajaguru was held at Baghitota in Medinapur. After a mockery of trial he was found guilty of treason and was sentenced to death. He was brutally killed by the British soldiers by tying his two legs on a banyan tree on 06th December 1806. He became a martyr for the cause of the motherland. He preferred death to surrender. His spirit was indeed indomitable. His only interest was to safeguard the interest of the King and the prestige of Khurda. By sacrificing his life for the cause of motherland, he has carved out a niche for himself in the heart of innumerable people of the country. Grandson of "Smriti" writer Gadadhar Mahapatra, Jayee himself was a man of grand learning. He was expert both in "Sastra" and "Sastra" (military warfare). He was a patriot who dared to resist the mighty British power. In spite of his failure in the war, he remained "Jayee", the victorious both during his life time and after his death. He deserves the honor of being the first great Odia martyr in the anti-colonial resistance movement.

Jayee Rajguru: An Unforgettable Hero of Paik Revolt

Mrudani Sankar Prasad Mishra

Lecturer in History Balugaon College, Balugaon, Khurda

Jaya Krushna Rajguru, popularly known as Jayee Rajguru was a great patriot, an able general, a powerful organiser and a man of determination. Though he was well aware of the fate of Khordha, his brave heart and freedom loving spirit impelled him not to submit before the British but to wage war against their injustice and tyranny. He was the first crusader of Paik Rebellion of 1804 as well as the first martyr of Indian freedom struggle who could venture to fight against the mighty British rulers against heavy odds. He dedicated all his time and efforts for the interest of the mother country. Though there were numerous revolts occurred in India against the British, yet the Paik revolt was unique one and had its far reaching consequences because it led the foundation of the first freedom movement in Odisha soil with large scale and Jayee Rajguru was the first martyr in India.

Born at Bira Harekrishnapur near Puri,¹ on 29th October, 1739 in a cultured Brahmin family Jayee Rajguru not only displayed his mastery over martial activity but also good command over *Shastras and Tantras*². Due to his versatile quality he was appointed as the Rajguru and the minister in the court of Gajapati Divyasingh Deva in 1780 at the age of 41.³ After the death of Gajapati Divyasingh Deva, his son Mukunda Deva II occupied the *gaddi* of Khurda with the help of Jayee Rajguru in 1798. As the king was minor, Jayee Rajguru became his regent i.e. guardian ruler in the year 1798 A.D. ⁴

As a Commander of Martial Art:

Jayee Rajguru was not only a great scholar but also possessed superior warfare skills, and knowledge of weaponry. He had mastery over the tactics of guerrilla warfare to counter the British fire power. He encouraged

the development of firearms in villages and tried to enhance the moral strength of the Paiks by personally moving from village to village. He organized the village youths and trained them in military activities, and also making arms and ammunition.

Staying at Khurda, Jayee urged the people to protest against acts of injustice and tyranny. As a stalwart and resplendent leader, he organized Paik Akhadas in every corner of Khurda kingdom where people were given training in martial arts. Consequently, many Paik Akhadas grew up almost in every village and an awakening was generated among the Paiks. It was the efforts of Jayee for whom many old Paik Akhadas were revived and reorganized. Even today, we see a number of Paik Akhadas in different corner of Odisha after two hundred years.

Under the supervision of Jayee Rajguru the army of the Khordha was reorganized. To strengthen the army, strict rules were followed. Persons above twenty years of age with physical fitness were only recruited for the purpose. The army was generally divided into three brigades, the foot soldiers (infantry), cavalry and the elephant-mounted soldiers. The total number of forces during this period was about 15,000.7 Besides these three categories of forces, Jayee Rajguru also organized four more divisions namely (1) *Pahadi* (2) *Banua* (3) (Dhenkiya) and (4) Guerrilla.8 Espionage system was also strengthened. The enrolment of businessmen in the organization played important role as they carry information not only from the interior areas but also from the neighbouring states. At the time of need, they used to extend financial support to the King.9 Since they dealt with the secret information (Veda), they were called *Vedua*. Sambhu Bharati was such an informer who worked as the head of the spy organisation.10

In 1797, when Jayee Rajguru received the news of the Company's approach to the Maratha Ruler, Raghuji Bhonsle for a safe passage of the English army through Odisha to Madras¹¹ he smelt the conspiracy behind it and wanted to oppose the proposal. For that reason, he arranged a horse and borrowed money to visit Nagpur in order to convince Maratha Ruler not to give permission.¹² However before reaching Nagpur; the Britishers were able to obtain permission of the Marathas. So he came back with disappointment. But this effort revealed his anti-imperialist attitude and commitment to save the motherland.

Preparation of British for Occupation of Odisha

After capturing the entire area between the river Godavari and Chilika from the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1765, the British made preparation for further move towards Odisha. But before starting the operation, the Governor General asked Colonel J. Campbell and J. Melville, Civil Commissioner for the settlement at Cuttack to open negotiations with the chieftains, who were tributary to the Marathas. This was a tactic to win over them, so that the cause of the Marathas might be weakened.

It was found that four-fifths of the road through which the British detachment would have to pass belonged to the Raja of Khurda. Lt. Colonel Harcourt in charge of Ganjam forces and J. Melville decided to request the Raja to provide logistic support to the British forces and three thousand fighting men for assistance in the mission of expulsion of the Marathas. It was further suggested that the Raja should be paid rupees one lakh as a guid-pro-quo for the service. The Collector of Ganjam sent the Vakil (an agent or attorney) for the purpose to Khurda. Since, the Raja of Khurda Mukunda Deva II was minor then, Jayakrushna Rajguru was acting as the regent of the King and directing the affairs of the country. But without informing Jayee Rajguru the minor king negotiated with Britishers. The necessity for recovery of the four valuable paraganas of Lembai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud mortgaged to the Marathas by Birakishore Deva, was a great concern. So the king made an agreement with Con. Harcourt at Ganjam. The British offered one lakh rupees on the condition that the Raja would provide every support for driving out the Marathas. Finally, it was agreed that the four Mahals and a lakh of rupees in cash should be given to the King of Khurda, provided that he should form no alliance with the Marathas. Colonel Harcourt and the Magistrate of Ganjam had consented to fulfil these conditions. It was evident that on the basis of the twin conditions, the Ruler of Khurda acceded to the proposal of the British, that (i) the British would pay rupees one lakh and (ii) they would transfer the four parganas of Rahanga, Lembai, Serai and Chabiskud of Purusottam Kshetra after the occupation of Cuttack.

The British forces under Lt. Colonel Campbell began its march from Ganjam on 8th September, 1803. But on the way only after three days, Campbell was replaced by Lt. Colonel Harcourt due to illness. Harcourt was accompanied by a civil officer, John Melville for organizing the settlement

after the occupation of Cuttack. They reached *Mithakua* on 13th September. Manikpatna was captured on 14th September. Harcourt then marched to Narasimha Patna from where they proceeded towards Puri. He faced no opposition from the Marathas on the way and took possession of Puri on 18th September, 1803 without any fighting or bloodshed.

Then the British forces proceeded to Cuttack through Batagaon, Dandamukundapur and Pipili and captured the fort of Barabati on 14th October, 1803.¹³. According to the agreement, a sum of rupees ten thousand out of the promised one lakh of rupees was paid to Mukund Deva II.¹⁴ Finally on 17th December 1803, the treaty of Deogaon was signed by which the Bhonsle Raja ceded to the Company the coastal belt which was mentioned as the province of Cuttack in the treaty.¹⁵

Disappointment of the Raja of Khurda

According to the agreement, the Raja of Khurda expected the restoration of the praganas of Lembai, Rahang, Serai and Chabiskud, which had come under British control after the occupation of the province. But, they did not return these praganas. Instead, the British administration issued circulars to all the Rulers and chieftains of the smaller states and zamindars asking them to acknowledge the British authority and to pay a fixed amount of tribute as a mark of their subordination. There was no mention of the independent status of Khurda or the restoration of the praganas as promised earlier. So the Raja became very upset.

The Commissioners in their correspondence of 29th November, 1803 requested the Raja of Khurda to send his Vakil (Agent) in connection with the execution of the treaty agreement. ¹⁶ But, the Raja did not respond. Again, the Commissioners in a letter on 16th December, 1803 asked to execute the agreement and return the papers after signature. But, Mukunda Deva II preferred to keep mum. Now the Commissioners applying different tactics despatched a letter to Govind Ray *Mahasay*, the *Kanungo* (Revenue officer) asking him to meet the Raja and to persuade him to come out of the clutches of Jayee Rajguru. They also tried to entice the Raja by offering that a sum of rupees fifty thousand had been deposited in his favour and that, he would get it, only if he would remove his ill-advisor. The Raja was also asked to return the papers of agreement in case, he did not want to sign them. Side by side, a note of warning was issued that the Raja would incur the displeasure of the British government for such recalcitrant attitude.

When all the tactics failed, the Company's administration in a fresh bid in their letter dated 20th February, 1804 again asked the King to send Jayee Rajguru to Cuttack with an assurance that he (Jayee Rajguru) would not be treated badly. On the same date, they wrote another letter to Jayee Rajguru asking him to meet them for consultation on the private affairs of the Raja. He was assured of fair treatment.

But, Jayee Rajguru could not reconcile to the changed stand taken by the British. He proceeded to Cuttack on 11th March, 1804 with two thousand armed soldiers and met Lt. Colonel Harcourt there. He submitted a petition to him requesting for the restoration of the praganas. He also requested for payment of the balance of the agreed amount. But, the British refused flatly to return these praganas. As regards money, he paid only forty thousand rupees to Jayee Rajguru there. The rest was promised to be paid at some future date. Rajguru returned to Khurda with disappointment and narrated the attitudes of British authority. Mukunda Deva II was totally bewildered at this news of the British attitude towards him. The money which Jayee Rajguru received was spent on the salary of the troops.¹⁷

With disappointment and anger, the King, defaulted in payment of his annual peshkash (tribute). On the other hand to curb the influence of Jayee Rajguru over the young Raja, the British sent Golam Amin to Khurda with a directive to the Raja to appoint him as his adviser. However, Jayee Rajguru advised to the Raja not to obey the orders of the British and prepared himself to fight against the British.

Confrontation with the alien power became imminent. The valiant people of Khurda Kingdom lost their patience to tolerate this kind of perfidy any more. It was but natural that the King of Khurda became terribly vexed with the British approach. The betrayal also infuriated Jayee Rajguru, who was determined to give a dogged resistance to the British. A man of conviction and indomitable courage, Jayee Rajguru now seized the situation and made all out preparations to meet the impending show-down.

Resistance to British Authority though the native forces were no match for the enemy, yet the indomitable will of Jayee Rajguru inspired and emboldened the people and the paikas to join the fray. As an astute diplomat, he rightly realized that it would be very difficult to fight singlehandedly against the mighty British. So, he opened negotiations with the Raja of Berar to make

a common cause with the Marathas against the colonial forces. However, Raghuji Bhonsle was sympathetic to the cause of Khurda. The services of Antaji Nayak, an officer of the Nagpur government stationed at Raipur had been utilized and he met the Raja of Khurda for the purpose. Negotiations seemed to be successful. The existence of some understanding between the Raja of Khurda and the Raja of Berar for a common cause was beyond doubt. This was also confirmed by the Zamindar of Raigarh and by Elphinstone, the Resident of Nagpur. However, by the pre-emptive action of the British, the Raja of Khurda could not get any help.¹⁹

The King also opened the channels of communication with other tributary chiefs of Odisha exhorting them to unite in common cause with him against the British. Sambhu Bharati, an influential gosain (a religious mendicant in the eyes of the British), who was disaffected with new British revenue system, was engaged by the Raja for this purpose.²⁰ In reality, Sambhu Bharati was the head of the espionage outfit, who was entrusted with the secret task of negotiating with the native states on behalf of the Khurda administration. The Rulers of Kanika and Kujang readily accepted the proposal and made a common cause with the Raja of Khurda against the British. The Zamindars of Bishnupur, Harishpur, Marichpur etc. also joined the confederacy.

Jayee Rajguru took steps for the organization of the militia and kept them in readiness for the possible fight with the British. The war strategy was formulated with the help of Jagannath Harichandan, the UttarKabata (a title conferred on the basis of strength and skill) of Khurdagarh, Ramakrushna Mangaraj of Khurda, Bauribandhu Harichandan, the Behera Pradhan of Baghei Tangi etc.²¹ Baghei Tangi was made the rendezvous, where these people used to meet and took all out efforts to mobilize the paikas and the landed gentries of the Kingdom under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru to protect Khurda from the clutches of the imperialist menace. During the period, the Behéra Pradhan of Padanpur, the Bisoi of Haridamada garh, the *Samantarai* family of Mendhasala etc. who were comparatively rich people threw-in their lot with the nationalists. The Dalabeheras of Gangapada, Jamukholi, Rameswar, Panchangara, Haladia and Harirajpur, Samanta of Khurkhi garh, the Samantaray of Khudupur, the business and trading community of Khurda etc. extended their wholehearted support and cooperation to the nationalist

cause. Within a very short period, Jayee Rajguru was able to chalk-out the strategy for the inevitable anti-British hostility.

As a part of the strategy, it was decided to divide the forces into two groups. A large contingent was deployed at Gangapada to resist the British forces and the other to resort to guerilla warfare to protect the fort from the hands of the British forces. At this critical juncture, the Paikray of Kural, who was known as Kandha Raja offered his services to participate personally in the war and to send trained soldiers adept in guerilla warfare (Chheka). After making elaborate preparation for the war at Khurda, Jayee Rajguru, then rushed to Puri to take necessary steps for the protection of Jagannath temple from the clutches of the foreigners in case of an eventual war. There, he convened a meeting of the Sahi-Nayaks (headmen of different residential units) and asked them to take necessary precautions in the matter. The duty of protection of the temple was entrusted with "Chhatisha-Niyog Nayak Pattajoshi Mahapatra", who shouldered the responsibility with the help of five Sahi-Nayaks. Guards were posted at the main entrance of Puri. The eastern frontier was guarded by the forces of Balisundara. After performing the necessary majana (invocation to God for help and protection) in the temple, a small contingent of forces undertook a symbolic march from the temple and on the way took rest at a place in the grand road, which became known as "Majana-Chhauni Jaga". Jayee Rajguru also made necessary arrangements for the collection of provisions for the Khurda army.

Jayee Rajguru, then undertook the last minute preparation for the final act. He increased the deployment of troops at different points and appointed some *Maratha sardars* to train and increase the competence level of the paikas. The internal defence of the country was improved by repairing the roads and stationing troops at strategic places like Dampara and Banapur. Troops were deployed at Delanga in the east, Taratua in the west and Gangapada in the north as the first line of defence against the attack on the fort. Two hundred soldiers were also stationed at the gate of Khurda and they were reinforced by an additional three hundred guards and two pieces of cannon. Lastly, the Raja of Khurda withdrew his Vakil from Cuttack.

When Such preparation by Jayee came to the notice of the British, Harcourt was afraid that the example of Khurda might be followed by the other tributary Rulers. So, he took all possible steps to thwart the efforts of

the Rajas of Kanika, Kujang and Khurda for a combined action against them. Accordigly, as a precautionary measure against the possible unity of the tributary chiefs behind the cause of the Raja of Khurda, Harcourt imprisoned Sambhu Bharati who carried messages on behalf of the Raja of Khurda from one tributary state to another.²²

Harcourt also demanded the removal of Jayee Rajguru from the office. A messenger was sent in advance to request the Raja to receive Blunt, an officer of British. On the following day, the Rajguru informed the messenger that the Raja had changed his mind and accordingly the messenger was ordered to leave Khurda immediately and was threatened with dire consequences in case he attempted to stay any longer. So the messenger left Khurda for Cuttack and the negotiation between Raja and British failed forever.

Determination of authority

Jayee Rajguru was much enraged after the futile meeting with Harcourt at Cuttack and the Company's perfidious attitude. Mukunda Deva II was also by then, determined to assert his right by force. Soon after, Jayee Rajguru mobilised the troops to those four mahals (Lembai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud) in defiance of the British authority. In these mahals, the troops of Rajguru fought and skirmished with the Company's force, who were stationed there.²³ In March, 1804 Mukunda Deva II, the Raja of Khurda had sent a parawana to Morar Pandit, the Tehesildar of Chabiskud to supply two thousand coolies and carpenters for the construction of the cars of Lord Jagannath. He had even threatened him that he would procure them by force, if not voluntarily supplied. In July 1804, Mukunda Deva II appointed Achyuta Barik as Maquaddam to collect rents from Batagaon village near Pipili. In September, he sent Dharamu Harichandan to collect revenue from the villages of Barapada, Kharad and Matiapara. In the process, the collection of two hundred and fifty Kahans of cowries was actually made. In the same month also, Khurda administration sent a letter to Morar Pandit demanding the supply of sheep and goats from the praganas of Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud. In October, 1804, the Raja 's troops conducted a raid on the villages in the vicinity of Pipili and carried off all the cattle and other movable property.

The British could no longer remain as a passive spectator to all these activities of the Khurda administration. The action of Mukunda Deva II was strongly objected by the British. On being sought instruction by the Collector of Puri about the settlement, the Commissioners in their letter of 10th November, 1804 directed Hunter (the Collector of Puri) to make settlement of the praganas of Rahanga, Lembai, Serai and Chabiskud and Purusottam (the area claimed by the Raja of Khurda) directly with the Padhans and Bhois.²⁴ The Commissioners again in their letter of 3rd December, 1804 informed the *Khandaits* and *Watandars* of Kotdesh that they should provide *paikas* and *dandawasir* to the *dakrunners* who were being harassed by the Raja.²⁵

In the meantime, the victory against Maratha confederacy encouraged the British. Harcourt, then with added vigour decided to settle the issue with Khurda decisively. The Commissioners in their proclamation of 7th December, 1804 declared that the Raja Mukunda Deva II had been deposed owing to his ill treatment to the British government with effect from 5th December, 1804. All the subjects were required to submit to the British government and carry out their orders. Further, in another proclamation of 7th December, 1804 addressed to the subjects, *Zamindars* and *Sarbarakars*, the Commissioners declared all the debts contracted by the Raja as illegal. They also directed Morar Pandit, the head *Parichha* of Jagannath temple, not to invoke the name of the Raja at the time of the worship of Lord Jagannath as he was the greatest foe of the British government.

As a subsequent action, the Dalbeheras of Rameshwar and Panchgarh, the Khandaits of Mendhasal, the Khandaits and the Zamindars of Garh Haldia and Damodar Pattanaik, the rebel leader of Dandimahal were forced not to help the Raja of Khurda. ²⁶

Barunei Battle

Jayee Rajguru was at Puri when he got the news of the deposition of the Raja. Though he became agitated initially, he was by then mentally prepared for the final show of strength with the British. After being informed of this unfortunate development of the deposition of the Ruler, he hurried back to Khurda with a small detachment of "Majana paikas" accompanied with Pattajoshi Khrushana Chandra. On the way, he met the British forces stationed at Pipili. A fierce battle was fought at Dandamukundapur village

and consequently there was large number of casualties of British forces and seizure of vast quantity of arms and ammunition. After the initial success, Jayee Rajguru reached Barunei Gada through Gada Beguniapada. There, he gave a final touch to the preparation for the impending confrontation. The Raja felt jittery at that critical moment and remained confined to the fort. Jayee Rajguru alone took up the responsibilities and forged ahead to challenge the British forces.

Restrictions were imposed on the entry of the outsiders into the territory of Khurda by deploying guards on the banks of the river Mahanadi who attempted to seize all goods and properties coming from Cuttack. The King ordered that nothing belonging to the British would pass through it. A company of two hundred fifty Cavalry and nine hundred *Barkandazes* were sent to the *Charmahal* area (four parganas of Rahanga, Lembai, Serai and Chabiskud) for the maintenance of law and order to the greatest dissatisfaction of the British. They also disarmed a small detachment there in the service of the Company. After that, they posted themselves in and near the village Delang.

British retaliation was prompt. Their plan was to demolish the Raja's concentration at Delang. So, Hunter and Harcourt with a contingent of troops marched towards Delang and camped in the vicinity. Further on being instructed, John Hickland (Captain, 5th Bengal Native Infantry) who was posted at Pipili, marched with reinforcements of one hundred twenty Sepoys and a six pounder at the dead of the night and reached Delang at 5 O' clock in the morning of 22nd November, 1804. Soon after, in a pre-dawn swoop on the fort near the village, they almost routed the Raja's forces and more than one hundred casualties were reported. The British loss was minimal. But while returning to Pipili, they were obstructed on the way by about fifty cavalry from the near-by hills. A fierce encounter took place. The local paikas fought valiantly causing the retreat of the British soldiers. They were forced to take shelter at Pautpur.

Another contingent of the British force under the command of Major Fletcher proceeded towards village Tangiapara. A small detachment of the Raja under the command of Mustafa Khan of Kerang was deployed to oppose the British advance and a pitched in-conclusive battle was fought.²⁷ The nature of the country rendered speedy communication and rapid concentration impossible.

Then, Harcourt with a contingent moved from Cuttack and confronted with the Raja's forces on the way, who were trying to take control of the adjacent Mughalbandi area. Scuffle broke out between them, the Raja's forces retreated and took shelter in the fort of Khurda. Harcourt chased them and reached near the fort.

A detachment was also sent under Captain Storey to Gangapara village which was reported to have been blocked by bamboos, trees etc. and sentries were posted on the strategic points. When, the British detachment came nearer, the sentries opened ûre. Baishnab Bharati, one of the able Commanders of the Raja and Mustafa Khan, gave a stout resistance to the British advance. There was a large scale casualty of the British soldiers. In the meantime, reinforcements from Bengal reached and the superior skill and weaponry of the British forces weighed heavily on the local militia. As a result the paika contingents posted at different strategic locations shattered and the Company's troops forged ahead towards the fort of Khurda. At that time Harcourt issued a proclamation that whoever protected and promoted British interests would be suitably rewarded. Seikh Wyaz Muhammad, a resident of Cuttack offered his services for the same. He was appointed as the Amil of the pargana Banpur.

Major Fletcher with a command of one hundred and twenty men of Madras European regiment and two companies of the 7th Bengal Native Infantry along with an artillery regiment and two more companies of the 19th Madras Infantry surged ahead with operation. They were stoutly resisted by the forces of Khurda and could not make rapid strides because of the sustained opposition. There was heavy casualty of British forces as they were subjected to attack with bows and arrows from above. But after a particular point, it became impossible on the part of the paikas to persist. A fierce fighting continued for a period of three days near the fort. At last the fort of Khurda was besieged and the brothers and one son of Mukunda Deva II were taken captive.²⁹ The combined forces of Khurda and other allied states could not withstand the pressure of the British army. The nephew of Major Fletcher was killed in the encounter.³⁰ Finally, the outer wall of the fort was broken open by heavy mortar firing. Major Fletcher and others with the help of a ladder succeeded in climbing the wall and entered inside the fort. After an intense confrontation, the fort was captured. But, Mukunda Deva II sneaked out with his family and other trusted lieutenants and "took the road into the

jungles".³¹ Then whole of his (Mukunda Deva II) property and possessions was plundered.³² But, Jayee Rajguru resisted the British forces inside the fort bravely. He practised severe austerity and homo torture by way of invoking Goddess Barunei. But, that did not fructify and after twenty three days of seizure Khurda garh came under the control of the British.³³ Finally, Jayee Rajguru was overpowered and captured.³⁴ Along with him Digambar Bhuyan and the Buxi of Talamala were arrested from the vicinity of the temple.

Arrest of Raja

After escaping from fort, the King along with his trusted followers camped secretly for sometime at the mansion of Bishnu Charan Paikray, a loyal Samanta (commander) of Khudpur. It is known from Sadasiba Rath Sharma's book, 'Jayee Rajguru'(1955) that with the help of Jayee Rajguru the King, Mukunda Deva II had escaped to Gangamata Matha, Puri and stayed there in disguise to avoid capture by the British. After staying there some days, Mukunda Deva II escaped to the jungle. But, at last the information given by Fateh Muhammed, a servant of the Company, the king was arrested in the jungle, thirty miles away from Khurda on the night of 3rd January, 1805. Raja Mukunda Deva II and Jayee Rajguru, were at first kept in confinement at Khurda. Then, they were sent to Barabati Fort in Cuttack and afterwards Jayee was shifted to Medinapore. With the defeat and capture of the Raja of Khurda, the paik revolt was suppressed.

Execution of Jayee Rajguru

As the mastermind behind the Paik revolt of 1804, Jayee Rajguru was treated as the arch-enemy of the British. When he was presented before Harcourt, he strongly proclaimed that "he was the forerunner of 1804 revolt and was responsible for the cause of disturbance." This courageous statement of the person speaks volumes of his character, his honesty, integrity and commitment. The British had taken stringent action against Jayee Rajguru. According to the trial conducted at Baghi tota in Medinapore Jayee Rajguru was convicted and was ordered to be hanged to death. Thus on 6th December 1806 at Baghitota (i.e. Baghi -grove) of Medinapur, the two legs of Jayee Rajguru were tied to two separate and opposite branches of a Banyan tree and the branches were let off splitting his body into two parts. Thus, he became the First Martyr of Odisha.

Conclusion

It is known from the above discussion that the Paik revolt of 1804 was the first freedom struggle in the province which inspired and encouraged the paiks of Odisha to raise their revolt in subsequent years like 1817, 1827 and 1836. The history of Indian freedom movement will ever record and remember the supreme sacrifice of Jayee Rajguru who dedicated his life on the altar of the national struggle for independence. Many years have passed away, but the legendary Jayee Rajguru of Khurda rebellion still remains in the memory of the people of Odisha, with honour. His valour, heroic achievement and noble acts will continue to highly inspire the future generation and imbibe in them with the spirit of sacrifice for the freedom of motherland.

References:

- 1. Prahallad Chandra Naik, Date of 'birth' of Jayee Rajguru in Jatadhari Mishra, Odisara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Puri, 2002), p. 65.
 - P.C Naik, a physicist has calculated the birth date (29th October, 1739) of Jayee Rajguru by following the principle propounded by Robert Swell and Sankar Balakrushna Dikshit.
- 2. R.C.Misro, Jayee Rajguru: The Unparallel Freedom Fighter of Khurda Paik Rebellion (1804 A D) in the Odisha Province A Study, Historical Research Journal, (Vol.LVI No.3&4, Bhubaneswar, 2017, p.2
- Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017,P.61
- 4. Narayan Rao, 'Jayee Rajguru-A profile of a great patriot of Odisha', Gopabandhu Sahitya Mandira, Cuttack, p. 27. Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017, P. 63
- 5. T. Mohanty, "Jayee Rajguru (1739-1805)", in : Orissa Review, vol. LIX, no.1, August 2002, p.27.
- 6. Utkala Prasanga (in Odia), vol. 54, no.1, August 1997, p.67.
- 7. Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Puri, 2002), p. 65.
- 8. Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Puri, 2002), p. 26.
- 9. Jatadhari Mishra, Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Puri, 2002), p. 28.
- 10. Ibid
- 11. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, 'Jayee Rajguru' Cuttack,1955,P.8
- 12. Ibid
- 13. Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017, P.84
- 14. G. Harcourt and J. Melville to Government, 1 October, 1804.
- Bijay Chandra Rath, 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-colonial Resistance in Khurda', Bhubaneswar, 2017, P.84



- 16. H.K. Mahtab & S.C De (ed.), History of the freedom movement in Orissa, Vol.I, op.cit, p.
- 17. 'Petition of the Raja of Khorda to British Government for mercy', op. cit, OSA.
- Monalisa Jena, "Jayi Rajguru: A Proûle of Courage", in: Orissa Review, vol. 1.1V, no.1. August 1997. p.41.
- Harcourt to Shawe, 19 September, 1804, Add. Mss 13610, p. 64.
 Same to same, 6 October, 1804, Add. Mss. 13610, p. 82, Same to same, 1 November, 1804, Add. Mss, 13610,p. 114.
- 20. Harcourt to Shawe, 6 October, 1804. Add. Mss, 13610, pp 80-81.
- 21. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, Jayee Rajguru (Odia), Cuttack, 1955, p. 11.
- 22. Harcourt to Shawe, 6 October, 1804, Add. Mss, 13610, p. 81.
- 23. Petition of the Raja of Khurda to British Government for mercy.OSA
- 24. J. Hunter to G. Hartwell, 12 September, 1804. Board of Revenue Archives, Vol. II.
- 25. Ibid.
- 26. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, op. cit. p.16.
- 27. P. K Pattnaik, op cit, p. 134.
- Storey to Harcourt, 2 December, 1804. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations. 4 April, 1805; No. 31. (B.C. Ray, op cit, p 64).
- Encl: Impey to Government, 21, October, 1815. Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations L.P, 31 October, 1815, No.18. (B.C. Ray, op. cit, p. 66.)
- 30. P.K. Pattanaik, op. cit, p. 135.
- 31. Petition of the Raja of Khurda to the British Government for mercy (A true translation) Accession No. 296, Board of Revenue Proceedings. Judicial. Odisha State Archives, Bhubaneswar.
- 32. Ibid.
- 33. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, op cit, p. 25.
- 34. Surendra Kumar Mishra, Aaitihasika Pattabhumire Saheed Jayee Rajguru, Saheed Jayee Rajguru Sandarbha Sambhar (Puri, 2000), p. 52.
- (i) Harcourt to Government, 4 January, 1805. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 4 April, No. 40.
 - (ii) Turner to Government. 10 October, 1806. Board's Collections, Vol. 318, 7244, p.6. (Quoted from B.C. Ray, op.cit, p. 68).
- Chakradhar Mahapatra, Jayee Rajguru in Banaphula (Odia monthly), February, 1971,
 p. 65.
- 37. Chakradhar Mahapatra, Banaphula, op. cit, p. 65.
- 38. A.B. Mohanty, Madala Panji. op. cit, p. 82.

Role of Kujanga, Kanika, Harishpur, Marichpur and Bisnupur in the Revolt of 1804

Prafulla Kumar Samantaray

Former District Culture Officer, Puri

Odisha was conquered by East India Company without much resistance by the Marathas in October 1803. It is said that the war was ended within a short span of thirty seven days with little bloodshed. Finally the East India Company Authority was established and was recognised by Raghuji Bhonsale, the *Raja* of Berar (who was the former ruler before British occupation) by signing the Treaty of Deogaon on 17th December 1803. (1) The areas of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore on the sea coast and sixteen tributary *Mahals* constituted the Odisha province of East India Company. (2) Three coastal areas which were called as Mughal *bandee* areas remained under direct administration of the British and other *Gadjat* areas were treated as tributary *Mahals*. Fixed amount of tax, looking to their income, were imposed on those Kings or Zamindars and after payment of the stipulated rent, those rulers were free to their administration as before.

Khurda was the most important among all the estates under East India Company, because it was the Kingdom of the Gajapati Kings, the hereditary custodian of Jagannath temple, who were revered by all Odias. Within few months of occupation of Odisha by the British, revolt broke out in Khurda under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru, the prudent *dewan* of Gajapati Mukunda Deva-II. The reason of discontentment was the breach of trust by the British. They refused to return back four *Praganas* and rupees one lakh as committed earlier. Therefore, with the instigation of Jayee Rajguru, furious Paikas attacked the company men at Pipili, forcibly collected revenue from four *Praganas*. He too persuaded other tributary Chiefs to join the agitation against the British and Sambhu Bharatee, a religious mendicant, was employed to mobilise the Chief.⁽³⁾ But Sambhu Bharatee was caught and imprisoned by Harcourt, who was carrying the message of Raja Mukunda

Deva-II to the Chiefs of Tributary *Mahals*.⁽⁴⁾ In this connection it is pertinent to mention that there is a small village named Sambhu Bharatee Patana near Balanga in Puri district. The Samadhi (tomb) of a Sadhu in the same name is there in a Math of that village. The Math is managed under Emar Math of Puri. Further field enquiry would reveal more truth about Sambhu Bharatee, who himself was a brahmachari and was maintaining his livelihood by begging. He was highly religious.

The flurry of insurgence of Khurda dispersed towards the east, and the rulers of Kujanga, Kanika, Harishpur, Marichpur and Bishnupur fanned anti colonial sway in order to take advantages from the stormy water. All these estates were on the eastern sea board. Radha Charan Panda has mentioned that there were eight *garhs* namely Kanika, Ali, Kujanga, Harishpur, Marichpur, Bishnupur, Paradeipur and Golra in the eastern sea coast before 16th century. Gajapati Kings have stationed one Khandait at each garh to guard the sea coast. These garh Khandaits styled as crocodiles of the sea mouth or Muhan Kumbira. (5) In 16th and 17th century state formation process started in these regions and small Kingdoms were created centering round these garhs and the whole Kingdom was named after that fort. The tradition is that in Kujanga one Mallika Samanta, a Kshatriya youth subdued one unruly bull at Grand Road, Puri and got the title of Sandha by Gajapati Kings. Mallika Sandha founded Sandha dynasty in Kujanga in 16th century. (6) We know that one son of Gajapati Mukunda Deva, the last independent King of Odisha, was coroneted as the King of Ali by Raja Manasinga. Similarly one brother of King of Mayurbhani came to Kanika and established Bhanja rule there. About 300 years ago, three Khandait brothers, believed to be the scion of Ganga family, from Talcher, came to this region and became Kings of Marichpur, Harishpur and Bishnupur. (7) Among these, the Chiefs of Kujanga and Kanika were called Kings, where as the rulers of Harishpur, Marichpur and Bishnupur were called Khandaits in the Moghul and Maratha period.

Before the conquest of Odisha, the Britishers were anxious to acquire the land of sea coast of Cuttack district, so as to have a thorough passage from Bengal for their safe sea route for easy movement and for the purpose of trade. (8) They were in need of these areas because they thought that the sea route from false point harbour to Patua River was unsafe, due to the plundering activities of the sea pirates. Even before occupation of Odisha, East India Company was bent upon punishing the Chiefs of Kujanga who

had facilitated plundering activities through his subjects and acts of cruelty. (9) The Raja of Kujanga, they believe, was in the habit of recruiting sea pirates in his army and granted them *jagirs*. The Marathas too were aware of such activities of the rulers of Kujanga and adjoining areas. In the eyes of both Marathas and the British the Kings of Kujanga and Kanika were troublesome Chiefs. (10)

After the conquest of Odisha, the main thrust of Company Government was to establish alliance with the *Rajas* in the province of Cuttack and it's environs, previously tributaries of *Raja* of Berar. (11) Accordingly agreements were executed with Birabhadra Sandha Narendra Bahadur, *Raja* of Kujanga in Nov 1803; *Raja* Balabhadra Bhanja, *Raja* of Kanika on 22 November 1803; Nilakantha Mangaraj, Zamindar of Harishpur; Krupasindhu Srichandan, Zamindar of Bishnupur; Kasturi Devi, widow of Gopinath Mangaraj, Chief of Marichpur fixing annual quit rent in perpetuity.

Among these estates, Kings of Kujanga and Kanika were more powerful and these two estates have taken leading role in the rebellion of 1804 and 1805. The *Rajas* of Kujanga and Kanika were not in the good book of Company Authority on account of their depredation on the British ships passing along the coast of two estates during Maratha regime. (12) The Kings of these two estates were very audacious in their attitude and behaviour from generation to generation. It was so because territories were filled in dense jungles and the soil being swampy due to large number of rivers, streams and *Nalas* flowing over the land. Particularly in rainy season communication from outside was almost closed and these rulers consider themselves as secured against punishment from their overlords. (13) So they became indulged in unwanted activities and crimes.

We know well that uprising against British Rule, that occurred in different parts of the country before Sepoy Mutiny were sporadic in nature and based on local issues and aflamed all of sudden and continued for a short period. Jayee Rajaguru had tried his best to unite the Chiefs of Tributary *Mahals* to give a common fight against the British and to support the cause of Khurda and their Gajapati King simultaneously to whom all the *Rajas* and Zamindars of Odisha looked as their immediate superior. In spite of the attempt of Jayee it could not be materialised. The Chief of Kujanga, Kanika, Harishpur, Marichpur and Bishnupur became silent sympathiser and instead

of revolt or military campaign against the British, they only showed their defiance through some of their activities about which we shall discuss below.

Kujanga Affairs

Raja Birabhadra Sandha who had executed an agreement with the British in 1803, died issueless in September 1804. He was murdered by his Dewan. Birabhadra had two brothers. Next to him were Madhusudhan and the youngest one was Chandradhwaj. As per Hindu tradition Madhusudhan had the right over the throne after the death of his elder brother. But he was feeble, inefficient, weak willed and an imbecile person. As he was very shy in nature he had no good rapport with the people of Kujanga. On the other hand, Chandradhwaj, the youngest one, who was only 16 years during the death of his eldest brother was very courageous, clever, ardent in sword fighting, farsighted and was popular among the officials of the palace and with the public. By the advice of the elders and the encouragement of his friends and the people, he forcibly assumed the throne of Kujanga and made Madhusudhan a house captive at Paradeep fort. The Board of Commissioners of the English recognised Chandradhwaj as the King of Kujanga. (14) Chandradhwaj responded the call of Gajapati Mukunda Deva II and acted quickly. He could be able to persuade the Zamindars of Marichpur, Bishnupur and Golra to take the stand against British. (15) He too requested Nilakantha Mangaraj, the Chief of Harishpur to defy the British authority. Bamadev Pattajoshi and Narayan Paramguru, two high officials of the palace, one was the priest of the royal family and the other was the Rajguru of the King, supported wholeheartedly Chandradhwaj for a revolt against the British. He did not pay the annual rent to the Company as was promised in the agreement. Further he exercised a big brother's role in the areas of Mughal Bandee area bordering Kujanga estate and also instigated the rulers of Marichpur and Bishnupur for similar activities in the Mughal Bandee areas adjacent to their territory. Harcourt could well guess about the secret alliance of the Chiefs of feudatory states of this region with Khurda. Therefore, he instructed to watch the activities of the Chiefs of the estates. The British authority acted promptly and could bring the situation under control. Khurdha fort was conquered and razed to ground on 05th December 1804. (16) Jayee Rajguru was arrested. On 03rd January 1805 Gajapati Mukunda Deva II was arrested.(17)

After the settlement of affairs in Khurdha, Harcourt focused his attention on Kujanga. His detachment proceeded directly from Gop where he intended to go up to the sea coast by Golra, Marichpur, Harishpur, Kujanga and Kanika in order to deal with those who sympathised the rebellion and to establish order in those parts of the country. (18)

The action started from the small estates. The allegations against the Zamidars of Marichpur and Bishnupur were that they had neglected the orders of commission and were not paying the tributes in time and on the other hand drove away many British royats of Mughal *Bandee* area. The forts of the Zamindars of Marichpur, Harishpur and Bishnupur were demolished and their powers were reduced. The Zamindars surrendered. On the question why they demolished their forts the careless answer was "It was so done with a view to impress the people with a sense of strength of the British arms than from the necessity of putting down any serious armed opposition." (19)

The most important point of Harcourt's expedition was to teach a lesson to the arrogant King of Kujanga. On 22nd January 1805 he sent a letter to Chandradhwaj Sandha that troops would proceed towards his estate shortly. (20) At the same time the officer bringing the letter told him orally that strong action would be taken against the Raja for his bully attitude. In mid February 1805 Colonel Harcourt reached the territory of Kujanga. The fall of the Raja of Khurdha, to whom Chandradhwaj considered as his immediate superior, had already deterred him. Again the surrender of the Chiefs of neighbouring estates was another blow to his courage. Along with other usual allegations the immediate complain by the military squad that the King did not provide them with the grain which they required. (21) Chandradhwaj's intuition warned him not to meet Harcourt. As soon as Harcourt proceeded to Kujanga territory, he fled away in a country boat to an inaccessible pocket inside the Kingdom. Harcourt utilised the situation in Company's favour, dethroned Chandradhwaj forth with and released Madhusudhan from the confinement at Paradeep garh and declared him as the King of Kujanga. (22) Harcourt compelled Raja Madhusudhan Sandha to make a fresh agreement in which three new clauses were added to the previous agreement. They are -

 The salt manufacture rule of Mughal Bandee areas to be applicable to Kujanga estate

- The Raja has to give the account of the property saved from the wreck of any vessel on his coast
- 3. The *Raja* has to take care of the deposed *Raja* and the family of the ex *Raja*⁽²³⁾ Birabhadra Sandha. Harcourt recovered some guns from the fort of Paradeep. He was astonished to see two brass guns from among those, with the seal of East India Company over it. He was informed that the sea pirates of Kujanga might have plundered those two brass guns from the British ship during Maratha period and they were preserved in the fort for use in future.⁽²⁴⁾

In May 1805, Chandradhwaj was arrested. Two persons Bhagabat and Jagu Singh (a dwari of Kujanga palace) were instrumental in his arrest and were rewarded Rs.2000/- each. (25) Chandradhwaj and his two aides were imprisoned at Barabati fort for three years. After completion of the term Bamadev Patajoshi and Narayan Paramguru were released in 1808, but Chandradhwaj was kept under surveillance at Cuttack (25) for some more days, and he was released later. He stayed at Banita village and was warned not to go to *Garh* Kujanga and Paradeep *garh* where situated the palaces of the King of Kujanga.

Thus ended the Kujanga affairs in the revolt of 1804 and 1805, but the seeds of discontentment were alive like the fire under ashes which aflamed again in the Rebellion of 1817.

Kanika Affairs

Utikana Bishi was the bone of contention between *Raja* of Kanika and the East India Company. Previously it was under Ali Kingdom, but it was conquered and annexed to the territory of Kanika Kingdom by the King of Kanika before the advent the British. This Bishi was enjoying the semi-independent status under Kanika Kingdom when the agreement was made on 23rd November 1803 with the Company Government by Balabhadra Bhanja, the King of Kanika, the Company authority had acknowledged Balabhadra as the Zamidar of Utikana Bishi. (27) Balabhadra Bhanja was strong willed and powerful King. He was an active supporter of Gajapati of Khurdha. Everything was running well with the Kingdom till September 1804. When Sambhu Bharatee, the messenger of Khurdha was caught in the hands of the British, they became more alert and made it a point to ensure that the

Kings of these areas including Kanika must not extend any help to the insurgence of Khurdha nor to create any problem out of sympathy for the King of Khurdha. They wanted to put the King entangled with some other problems so that he could get little time to assist Gajapati or to raise a new revolt in his area. The Company authority warned Raja Balabhadra Bhanja that he was oppressing the subjects of Utikana Bishi, (28) so why the Bishi would not be withdrawn from the King? Balabhadra was annoyed with the warning. He imposed considerable restriction on the passage towards northerly direction, three miles forming a small concavity on the Kujanga Bay. (29) He obstructed one British vessel at Dhamra. He also behaved badly with a British officer who had gone to his estate to explore in land navigation. Such activities of the Raja alarmed the Company authority. (30) Colonel Harcourt in his letter of 27th February 1805 to Robert Ker, Collector of Balasore requested to arrest King Balabhadra Bhanja. (31) Captain Blunt and Major Andrew were ordered to render necessary military assistance to Robert Ker. (32) A British detachment reached the territory of Kanika; but Raja did not resist. He was arrested and sent to Balasore. Again in September 1805, he was removed to Midnapur. After the Raja was taken as captive to Balasore, there was a rising of the turbulent subjects of Kanika in protest against the Raja's arrest and deportation. Murad Khan, Shah Beg Khan and the Dewan of the Raja were the ring leaders of the agitation. (33) A detachment from Balasore was sent to Kanika to suppress the rising. Subedar Shiba Prasad and Captain Mccarthy were the officials in command of the army to tackle the situation there. On 12th March 1805, the situation at Kanika was brought under control.

Colonel Harcourt after settling the affairs of Kujanga, proceeded to Kanika. He recovered two brass guns from the estate. (34) Thus ended the revolt of 1804 and 1805 in Odisha and the authority of East India Company were firmly in Odisha.

Nature of the Rebellion

The rebellion of 1805 was suppressed. The English came out victorious. In spite, the courage and valour shown by the leaders of this revolution is praiseworthy.

It is commonly held that location limits an insurgency. The fact is true with this revolution. The leaders in spite their feeble attempt could not be able

to make it a common cause and their movement was not swift. Thus the English took the upper hand in subduing the uprising. On the other hand sufficient planning and military preparations were not made to face a mighty force like the English, for which the defeat became inevitable.

It was a revolt of the nobility. Common people were not involved in this revolution, as they did not have any discontent against the newly established Government. Only the feudal lord, few of their elite officers and some militia of the state were involved in this revolt. Barring the King of Khurda no other royal army raised their sword against the Company Government. Their nature of protest was to ignore the new lord, by not paying any tribute as committed in the agreement. The second allegation of the Company was forcibly taking of the taxes from the royats of British territory.

The insurgents overestimated their own strength and they thought to drive out the British easily. Hence they had developed an attitude to disobey the master. It is just lack of farsight of the leaders who started the revolt without thinking about its consequences. The British authorities on the other hand had assessed the military strength of the feudal lords of Odisha and were well convinced that in case of any war, they would be at an upper hand. They worked sincerely to achieve one objective i.e. to make an end to the privileges and powers of the feudal lords over their estates and to bring them under the direct administration of the English by hook or crook. History is the witness that they were success in their mission. Within a decade total numbers of 1011 estates were sold by public auction. (35)

The most interesting nature of this revolt was to project the Gajapati King as the central figure on whose name attempt was made to unite all the Chiefs of adjacent estates. Gajapati King traditionally was central to the material, social and spiritual order in Odisha. Jayee Rajguru the leader of Khurda revolt utilised the name of Gajapati to motivate the *Paiks* and the Chiefs of neighbouring estates. But the Britishers went one step ahead and they separated the Gajapati from the event and tried to see that the movement should not enter the realm of the temple.

Outcome

The upsurge of 1804 and 1805 ended leaving behind a gloomy note for Odishan feudalism. The outcome of this revolt was a heavy blow to the Kings and Zamindars and it had also adverse impact on the people of Odisha.

Now we may see the extent of loss the people of Odisha shouldered for the revolt.

W.W. Hunter has rightly pointed out that the rebellious domain was confiscated and the Maharaja (Gajapati) sunk from a great hereditary prince to a wealthy country gentleman. (37) Gajapati King lost his kingdom and was forced to stay at Puri with a monthly pension of Rs.500/-. However the English were very cunning as they did not curtail his authority over the Jagannath temple. They knew well that the Gajapati King was the epitome of Odia religious sanctity; If the Gajapati be detached from the temple, people of Odisha would not spare them, as they revered him as the moving Vishnu (Chalanti Vishnu). So the British were forced not to cut up his temple link and made him superintendent of Jagannath temple. Their success in Khurdha inspired them to apply the same formula in other troubled areas. Raja Chandradhwaj Sandha, the strong willed King of Kujanga was dethroned and Madhusudhan Sandha, an imbecile and weak person, was coronated as King of Kujanga, who acted like a puppet in their hands. Step by step they curtailed the powers of this estate. The new King was compelled to accept two new humiliating clauses about which we have mentioned earlier. Kujanga was formerly reckoned a Killa of Cuttack extended to the territory up to Kanakpur. It's territory was reduced and attached to Mughal Bandee areas. The law promulgated in Moghul Bandee areas now was applicable to Kujanga estate. Thus its semi independence status was ended. At the time of execution of agreement with Birabhadra Sandha, the Peshkash fixed was 14011 Kahan Cowries but the Company later forced to pay in sicca a sum of 7034 Rupees, (38) which was a burden on the estate exchequer. Besides, the small Zamidaries of Teeran and Pandua which were under Kujanga kingdom as subordinate estates were forbidden to the King. In case of Pandua, the condition was that, if paid Rs.11500/-(39) then those areas were to be placed under the King of Kujanga. A huge amount of precious jewelleries were taken away by the British authority from the palace of Kujanga, during their attack. In spite of repeated requests to return back the jewelleries the Government did not do so and delayed the matter with some plea or other. One will be astonished to know that a sum of Rs.1000/- was taken by Collector Charles Grome for his service and another Rs.5000/- for collection from merchants by the King, and Rs.50/- to each *barkandazes* who were on duty for Kujanga matter by selling some jewellery, again in the same was a sum of Rs.2000/-

was paid to *Subedar* Gangooji for helping to capture Chandradhwaja. (40) Such was the meanness of the Company authority.

Nilakanth Mangaraj, the Zamidar of Harishpur was a good administrator. Though Chandradhwaj had requested him to render his help for the cause of Khurdha, he remained silent but ignored the authority of the British and did not pay the fixed annual tribute of 3400 Rupees and three Anas. (41) The Britishers were sure to oust the Chiefs who were efficient and popular among his subjects, so they dismissed King Nilakantha Mangaraj over his right as King of Harishpur on 20th January 1805 on the charges that he was not paying the tribute knowingly. He was kept as prisoner at Cuttack from January to April 1805. His estate was declared as Khas and was brought under the direct administration of English. After his release in April he was again charged with a murder. W.B.Bailey acting magistrate to the Nizam declared that Raja of Harishpur was clearly guilty of charges of muder.42 The estate was auctioned and two persons named Ramachandra Som and Alekhnanda Ray purchased that territory and became the Zamidar of Harishpur. As the estate was auctioned for a silly cause, his son Madhusudan Mangaraj was debarred from enjoying his hereditary right, he turned a revolutionary and joined in Rebellion of 1817.

Rani Kasturi Devi the widow of Gopinath Mangaraj who was the chief of Marichpur, was disposed from the throne and in her place King's nephew Balavadra (the son of Basudev the brother of Gopinath) made the Zamidar of the estate. The peshkash fixed was 3120 Rupees 12 anna and 9 pahula. This estate had promised Chandradhwaj for support to the cause of Khurdha rebellion.

Unlike that Kujanga all laws of Mughal *Bandee* areas were applicable to this territory. Similarly another estate Binshupur which too promised for help to Chandradhwaj was auctioned for not paying the tribute in time. The tribute fixed for this estate was 1740 Rupees and three anna. 43 One Madan Mohan Das became the new owner of the estate.

Raja Balabhadra Bhanja was sent to Midnapur jail in 1805 and the insurgence created out of the sympathy for the king at Kanika was suppressed. Another strategy of the British during that period was that even though the Kings were deposed their name still continued on the record, as we find the name of Balavadra as King of Kanika, Nilakanth as King of

Harishpur and Gopinath as King of Marichpur in the report of 1808. 44 It was done intentionally with a view not to provoke the subject of their Kingdom. Martial law was imposed on this territory and Captain Caater was instructed to be stationed at Kanika until the emergency in Kanika estate was over.45 A fresh dispute arouse for the Rajgadee of Kanika, after the death of Balabhadra Bhanja. Enemity took place between his two sons i.e Jagannath and Harihar. They were divided into two groups and attached each other claiming their authority over the Gadee.46 As both of them were said to be illegitimate sons of Balabhadra (son of concubines) their claims were rejected and the estate went under the direct administration of the British Government.

Not only the feudal chiefs, but the common people were also suffered a lot. Previously the people produced salt for their use, but the Company authority made it monopoly by which the production, procurement and sale can't be made without the permission of Government. The Jagirs granted to the militia and other people by the King were withdrawn. Introduction of Sicca in place of cowries made the situation more precarious for the common people. All these discontents put together aflamed in a more vigorous way, in the form of the rebellion of 1817 where the people of Kujanga and Harishpur played a significant role. The hero in the revolution of 1817 in Kujanga was also Chandradhwaj Sandha. The revolution of 1817 in Kujanga and its adjoining area were more intensive in which along with the scions of royal houses and common people joined to show their dissatisfaction against the British rule.

References:

- Mahesh Prasad Das, Guide to Odishan Records –Introduction, p-11,vol-VI, Odisha State Archive, Bhubaneswar.
- 2. B.C.Ray, Foundations of British Odisha, Cuttack, 1960, p-45.
- 3. The Paik Rebellion, A documentary Study, Odisha State Archive, Bhubaneswar 2017 Edition note, p.5
- 4. Ibid.
- Radha Charan Panda, "Marichpur History," quoted in Jagatsinghpur: Atita O Bartaman(Odia), District Council of Culture, Jagatsinghpur, 2006, p.351.
- 6. P K Samantray, Kujangara Sandha Raja (Odia) Souvenir of Patitapaban High School, Singhapur, 2014, p.20.

- 7. Malley-District Gazetter of Puri 1905, quoted by Kailash Chandra Pradhan," Itihasar Ek Analochit Adhyaya Garh Hirishpur (Odia), Magazine-Adi patra, District Council of Culture, Jagatsinghpur, 2015, p.108.
- 8. Journal of Kaling Historical Research Society, Vol-I no.4, March 1947, p.375 and 376.
- 9. Prasan Kumar Mishra, A Kingdom of sale, Elite Publications, Bhubaneswar, 1988, p.5.
- 10. B.C.Ray, Odisha under Maratha, Allahabad, 1960 p 132-160.
- 11. Guide to Odishan Records, vol-II, 2013, O.S.A, Bhubaneswar-Introduction, p-1
- 12. Ibid -p.X.
- 13. B.C.Ray Odisha under Marathas, Allahabad 1960, p.48.
- 14. P.Mukharjee, History of Odisha in 19th century, Utkal University, 1964, p.35.
- 15. Ibid
- 16. Guide to Odishan Records, vo.II, O.S.A. 2013, p.IX.
- 17. Ibid.
- 18. Jagatsinghapur, Atiha O Bartaman (Odia), District Council of Culture, Jagatsinghpur, 2006 Vol-2006, Vol-I, p.231.
- Colonel Harcourt to Secretary to Government 29th January 1805, B.R.A-January-March 1805, quoted by P. Mukharjee in : History of Odisha in 19th century, p.36.
- 20. G.O.R, Vol.II.p.X.
- 21. Jagatsinghpur Atita O Bartaman, Vol.I, p.327
- 22. GOR, Vol.II, pXI, {Board Proceedings, ACC No. 387 (Judicial), W.B. Bayley's Report, 10th August, 1817}
- 23. Ibid.
- 24. Jagatsinghpur Atita O Bartaman, Vol.I, p.18
- 25. GOR, Vol.II, p.XI
- 26. P. Mukherjee, op.cit, p.37
- 27. GOR, Vol.II, p.XI



- 28. Ibid.
- 29. P. Mukherjee, op.cit, p.37
- T. Fortesque Secretary to Commissioner to Rebert Ker on 27th February 1805, BRA, January to March 1805
- 31. GOR, Vol.II, p.XII
- 32. Ibid.
- 33. GOR, Vol. II, p.XI
- 34. P.K Mishra, A Kingdom for sale, p.II.
- 35. Yaaminey Mubai, quoted in the Paika Rebellion, A documentary study, p.388
- 36. Paika Rebellion, A documentary Study, p. 329, 330
- 37. P.K. Mishra, op.cit., p.18
- 38. Ibid., p.29
- 39. Ibid., p.20
- 40. Jagatsinghpur Atita O Bartaman, Vol.II, p.12
- 41. GOR, Vol.I, September 23, 1805, p.5
- 42. Jagatsinghpur Atita O Bartaman, Vol.II, p.12
- 43. GOR, Vol.I, p.41-58
- 44. O.S.A, Vol.34,1st September 1813 (GOR-Vol.I, p.17)
- 45. GOR, Vol.I, p22

Jayee Rajguru The Hero of Paik Rebellion

Dr. Sirisa Kumar Shadangi

Lecturer in History Anchalika Mahavidyalaya Jagannath Prasad, Ganjam.

The British occupied Odisha in three phases- Ganjam district and adjoining areas in 1765, Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts in 1803; and Sambalpur and other parts of Western Odisha in 1817. With the establishment of the British rule in Odisha, important administrative changes took place, which seriously affected the socio-economic life of the people. For which Odisha witnessed a series of protest movements against the British rule.

In Khurda, the British faced two such protest movements by the bold Paiks, the first led by Jayee Rajguru, the regent of the minor King Mukunda Deva - II in 1804 A.D. and the second led by Buxi Jagabandhu in 1817 A.D. Thus Paik rebellion in Khurda had two phases, the first in 1804 A.D. and the second in 1817 A.D.

This movement had its origin from the time of the Maratha rule in Odisha. In 1760, Bira Kishore Deva, the ruler of Khurda sought the help of Sheo Bhatt Sathes, the Maratha Governor of Odisha against the attack of the Raja of Paralakhemundi and as a price of the help; he promised to pay rupees one lakh to the Marathas. But he failed to pay the assured sum and ceded four important *Mahals* of Khurda namely Rahanga, Lembai, Surai and Chabiskud to the Marathas. He hoped to get back these territories after the recovery of the said amount. But the Marathas refused to restore the *Mahals* to Khurda.

In 1803, the British General Colonel Harcourt attacked Odisha to capture it from the Marathas. Mukunda Deva-II, the ruler of Khurda now got an opportunity to take revenge upon the Marathas and to get back those *Mahals*. The British General tried to win over Khurda to his side and promised to pay one lakh rupees to the ruler. Jaya Krushna Rajguru popularly known

as Jayee Rajguru demanded the restoration of the *Mahals* to Khurda after the war. But Colonel Harcourt very cleverly avoided it, paid Rs.50,000/- (initially Rs.10,000/- as an advance and later Rs.40,000/- on demand) to Khurda and promised to pay the rest amount after the war.

After the occupation of Odisha from the Marathas, the British Government remained busy in the consolidation of British rule in Odisha and for the management of Jagannath temple. Mukunda Deva sent his Dewan Jayee Rajguru with 2,000 paiks to Cuttack to remind Harcourt about the demands of Khurda. In March, 1804, Jayee Rajguru met Colonel Harcourt at Cuttack and put forth before him the following three demands of Khurda. 1. The payment of Rs.90,000/-, 2. The reduction of the rate of peshkush on Khurda and 3. Restoration of the four *Mahals*.

Harcourt paid Rs.40,000/- and the payment of the rest amount of Rs.50,000/- was deferred indefinitely. Rajguru's requests for the other two demands were also summarily rejected.¹ Being disappointed, Jayee Rajguru returned to Khurda. Mukunda Deva was convinced that the English Government was planning to capture the entire Khurda estate and so he prepared himself to start the resistance movement against the British rule. Mukunda Deva got the support of the Rajas of Kujanga and Kanika. He also sought help from the Marathas and engaged Sambhu Bharati, a Maratha Sannyasi to unite the Zamindars against the British.

Role of Jayee Rajguru:

Jaya Krushna Rajguru popularly known as Jayee Rajguru was the regent of the minor king of Khurda Mukunda Deva-II. At that time, Mughals had left Odisha, and Odisha was ruled by Marathas. At that time, Raja Divya Singha Deva-I was the ruler of Khurda and died untimely, leaving behind him a minor son named Mukunda Deva-II. Jayee Rajguru, an astute Brahmin, was the regent (i.e. guardian ruler) and religious preceptor of the king.

During the British occupation of Odisha, Col. Harcourt, the British official, made an agreement with the Raja of Khurda and for a clean passage through Khurda territory, a sum of rupees ten thousand was given as an advance to the King. As per the agreement Britishers had to fulfill two conditions (a) Britishers had to pay in total one lakh of rupees and (b) to return 4 Praganas i.e. 1. Rahanga, 2. Serai, 3. Chabiskud, 4. Lembai including

Puri which was under the control of Marathas. This agreement was made without the knowledge of Jayee Rajguru.²

But Britishers did not fulfill their conditions. They quickly paid the half of the amount of agreement but they did not return the Praganas to the king. Jayee Rajguru, proceeded to Cuttack in March, 1804, accompanied by 2,000 armed men. He had an agreement with Harcourt when he submitted a petition requesting the restoration of the four praganas and urging payment of the balance of the stipulated amount. Col. Harcut paid rupees forty thousand and assured to pay the rest amount in near future. Regarding the second claim Harcourt observed that "not a span of land could be given up".3

Jayee Rajguru brought the money from Col. Harcourt and distributed the amount among the paiks towards their dues. Expressing his despair before the Raja, said "I, at first, warned you against forming any alliance with the commander of the Company's troops and from affording him a safe passage." He further added that "Harcourt was not only unwilling to give up the *Mahal*s but also had intention of taking from the Raja whatever hereditary country remained in his possession."

Harcourt's obstinate attitude made the Raja disappointed. He therefore assumed a hostile attitude towards the British Government. The discontentment and dejection of the Raja and the Rajguru, ultimately led towards a rebellion.

The arrogance of Raja made Harcourt upset. He was also very much angry with the Rajguru. He was confirmed that behind this act of insubordination the key role was being played by the Rajguru. In one of his letters, dated 23rd October, 1804 he said, "It appears the Raja, himself is not inimical to us, but his Dewan is extremely so and he controls everybody and everything at Khurda".⁴

At the outset the Rajguru had induced the other tributary chiefs to unite in a common cause with him against the British. Sambhu Bharati an influential Gosain (religious mendicant), who was disaffected with the new British revenue system was engaged by the Raja for this purpose. A triple alliance, offensive and defensive, was formed among the Raja's of Khurda, Kanika and Kujanga. The Zamindars of Bishenpur, Harishpur and Marichpur also joined the confederacy. Antati Naik and Kannoji Naik, two officers of the Raja of Berar, met the Raja of Khurda and promised to help him in his

fight against the British. This intrigue was confirmed by Elphinstone, the Resident of Nagpur and the Raja could not get any help from Berar at the hour of need.⁵

However, Jayee Rajguru was determined to assert his right by force. In July, 1804, he appointed persons to collect rents from those disputed Praganas. In October, 1804, the troops of Khurda raided some villages in that area. He also made attempts to take over the management of the temple of Sri Jagannath. The attitude of Jayee Rajguru compelled the British authorities to take stern action. Harcourt tried to bring the Raja to his sense by conciliatory measures but without success.

To suppress the rising, the British wanted to subdue Jayee Rajguru at first instant. He was considered to be at the root of all troubles. So they demanded his removal from the office. The Raja did not pay any heed to this demand. As a subsequent action, Sambhu Bharati was arrested. Further, the Dalbeheras of Rameshwar and Panchagarh, the Khandaits of Mendhasal, the Khandaits and the Zamindars of Garh Haldia and the rebels of Dandi*Mahal* were forced not to help the Raja of Khurda. In November, 1804 Military operations were undertaken against the Raja. By a proclamation issued on 7, December, 1804, the Raja of Khurda was deposed and his territories were annexed to British Odisha.⁶

The British troops which proceeded to occupy Khurda, were resisted at several places by the Paiks of the King under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru but the superior arms of the British easily overcame the resistance. They marched steadily and finally, surrounded the fort of Khurda at the foot of the Barunai hill in the first week of December, 1804. Major Robert Fletcher occupied the fort with much difficulty and the Raja fled to the nearby deep jungle. Jayee Rajguru was arrested near the fort in the forests of Barunei Hills on 3rd January 1805. The Raja sent his Vakeel to Harcourt for negotiation. But the Vakeel was arrested.

Jayee Rajguru who was held responsible for the movement was imprisoned in the Midnapur Jail. He took all allegations to himself and was hanged in 1806 at Baghitota in Medinapur. He sacrificed his life to save the ruler. Mukunda Deva was released in 1807, but he could not get back his Khurda Kingdom. He was recognized as the ruler of Puri and care taker of Jagannath Temple. Major Fletcher remained in charge of Khurda. At last,



the fort of Barunei was captured and Mukunda Deva was arrested on 3rd Jan, 1805 A.D. and imprisoned in Cuttack and later on shifted to Midnapur.⁷

Others who opposed the British had to surrender immediately. Balabhadra Bhanja the Raja of Kanika, was taken as a prisoner and sent to Midnapur in July 1805. Chandradhwaja Sendha, the Raja of Kujanga, was dethroned and his elder brother Madhusudan Sendha was recognized as the new Raja.

The Raja of Khurda was sent to Midnapur as a state prisoner. He was released from the Jail in 1807, but the estate of Khurda was not restored to him. He was given the management of the affairs of the temple of Jagannath with malikana amounting to one lakh of the revenue of his estate by the Regulation-IV of 1809. His residence was fixed at Puri.⁸ Rajguru had made a vow to save Mukunda Deva, the minor king from the British clutch, he remained committed to the Raja and his people throughout his life.

The Paik revolt was undoubtedly one of the great regional revolts, which gave a serious blow to the British government. With the death of Jayee Rajguru, a great heroic life came to an end.

References:

- 1. Orissan Records, Vol-II, W.Trower to J.P.Ward 23 May 1817, P-19.
- 2. B.C.Ray, Foundations of British Odisha, Cuttack, 1959.
- 3. Ibid
- 4. The M.G.Toynbee, A.Sketch of the History of Odisha from 1803 to 1828, Calcutta, 1973, p.5.
- Odisha Revenue Records, Vol. CII, Commissioner of Cuttack to Raja of Khurda, 1 October, 1804.
- 6. A.B.Mohanty (ed.). Madala Panji- p.82 and p.107.
- 7. Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol. III, no.4, 1955, Ewer's Report. III.
- 8. Ibid.

Jayee Rajguru and Khordha Rebellion

Dr. Prasanna Kumar Jena

Reader in History (Retd)

Rajguru Jayakrushna Mohapatra popularly known as Jayee Rajguru was appointed as Rajguru of Khordha kingdom in 1780 AD. At that time, the economic and military condition of the kingdom was deplorable. The territory of the kingdom had been reduced sizably. The territories of south of Chilika lake was occupied by the Nizam of Hyderabad during the reign of Ramachandra Deb II. Gajapati Birakishore Deb handed over to Marathas the most fertile four Praganas namely Lembai, Serai, Rahang and Chabiskud. The loss of territories resulted in loss of revenue and acute financial problem. The kingdom was considerably weakened by repeated aggression by the Moghul Subadars since the time of Purushottam Deb. The military weakness was so alarming that Khordha was unable to face the aggression of Paralakhemundi. Birakishore Deb sought the military assistance of the Marathas to repulse Parla attack promising to pay rupees one lakh. After the retreat of Parla army he failed to pay the promised amount and handed over the praganas. This incident is a glaring disclosure of the military weakness and the deplorable economic condition of Khordha. The observation of daily worship and celebration of religious functions in the Srimandir was seriously affected by the surrender of the Amrut manohi praganas. Depressed and desperate Gajapati Birakishore Deb killed his sons and was imprisoned in the Barabati fort by the Marathas in 1780. His grandson Dibyasingh Deb (II) was placed in charge of the administration of the kingdom. This was the pitiable condition of Khordha when Jayee Rajguru joined as Rajguru. He was a great scholar in Sanskrit, trained in martial art and warfare, a master in statecraft, foresighted statesman with uncommon spirit of patriotism and sacrifice. With his joining the royal court as Rajguru, the history of Khordha took a positive turn towards revival, rejuvenation and resurgence.

Temple Administration:

Jayee Rajguru gave special attention to the smooth management of the temple of Lord Jagannath - Srimandir. Due to financial difficulties the ceremonies of the temple could not be celebrated properly. The revenue of the four praganas - the Amrut Manohi praganas which was previously spent for the temple went to the Maratha treasury. Jayee Rajguru during his visit to Nagpur informed the Bhonsle king of the situation and requested him to provide funds for the temple administration. The Bhonsle ruler was convinced and agreed to provide funds for the temple. Jayee appealed the devotees, Mahants, nobles and the rich to contribute for different celebrations in the temple. The native rulers were granted /given special privileges in the observance of different celebrations and Darshan (special treatment during their visit to the temple). The rulers offered donations and presents to the Lord. This step improved the relationship between the Gajapati and the rulers which created pan—Odisha feeling.

It is worth mentioning here that in spite of financial problems of the kingdom during the rule of Dibyasingh Deb II, the temple was repaired and white washed, the Arun stambha was brought from Konark and installed in front of the Lion's gate of Srimandir, the stone wall of the Ratnasimhasan (seat of the Lords) was constructed and a new ceremony Jhulan Yatra was introduced. Rajguru played the major role in these noble and salutary works for which he won the support and respect of the servitors of Jagannath temple and the people of Odisha in general. It is told that Rajguru renovated the temple of Shyamakali, the family deity of Gajapati situated in the old palace at Puri. This was the period when the Barunai fort palace at Khordha was constructed.

Revival of the Paikas:

The most notable and salutary work of Jayee Rajguru was the reorganisation and regeneration of the Paikas (peasant militia) of the kingdom. At that time the exploitation and oppression of the Maratha Bargis (Horsemen) was a serious problem and the state had no power to prevent them. The Paika force because of non-engagement was almost idle. Jayee took commendable steps to organise and encourage the Paikas to face the challenge of Bargis and to increase the fighting strength of the kingdom. He moved from village to village and told them to come forward and unite for the protection of their family, their village from the oppression of the Bargis and

ensure peace of the locality by themselves. During his visit to Nagpur he raised the issue with Bhonsle king and thereafter oppressive activities of the Bargis declined. He renovated the existing Paika Akhadas (martial training place) in villages by providing implements and training materials. The Jaga Akhada gharas in Puri were also renovated. He encouraged the Paikas, infused in them the spirit of patriotism, self-confidence and warrior-ship. Maratha military trainers were requisitioned to train the Paika Bahini (Paika army). Under the leadership of Jayee Rajaguru there was marked improvement and revival of the kingdom of Khordha. The kingdom which was not capable to challenge the aggression of Parlakhemundi in 1760 could dare to challenge the powerful British Power in 1804.

Succession of Mukund Deb II:

Jayeee Rajguru's activities and efficiency in discharging duties to the state was appreciated by Gajapati Dibyasingh Deb who appointed him as the guardian of the minor prince Mukunda Deb. The succession of Mukund Deb to the throne after the death of Dibyasingh Deb in 1798 was challenged by Shyamsundar Deb, the second son of Birakishore Deb, who planned to attack and occupy Khordha with the military assistance of British authorities of Ganjam. Rajaguru reported this move of Shyamsundar Deb to the Maratha Subadar of Cuttack who warned the British administration not to interfere in matters of Khordha which comes under the jurisdiction of Marathas. The plan did not materialise and Mukund Deb II ascended the throne smoothly.

British conquest of Odisha - First Khordha Rebellion 1804:

Jayee Rajguru in the capacity of guardian of the minor King managed the affairs of the State. The East India Company occupied Odisha in 1803. Before the starting of military operation the District Magistrate of Ganjam made an agreement with the King of Khordha in which they agreed to pay rupees one lakh and restore the four praganas under Maratha possession to the King for allowing the British contingent to march through the territory of Khordha and providing necessary support and help to them. This was done without the knowledge of Jayee Rajguru but he honoured the commitment of the King as a loyal sub-ordinate. The British army avoided the Khordha route, marched through Chilika lake, reached Puri and from there proceeded to Cuttack and occupied Barabati fort the seat of Maratha Power without much difficulty. After the easy victory over the Marathas British attitude changed and they did not pay the balance of the agreed amount and did not restore

the praganas. This betrayal of the British disappointed the King and enraged Jayee Rajguru who did not have faith in the British promise. Indomitable and independent minded Jayee was not prepared to accept the humiliating subordination of the company Government. To get back the Praganas, to ensure royal grace and independence of the kingdom, he preferred confrontation with British and started preparations to displace British rule.

In order to assert the right of Gajapati over the Praganas he sent Paikas to the praganas and asked the Tahasildar of Chabiskuda to send carpenters and labourers for the construction of Ratha (car) for the ensuing car festival, sent representatives to collect taxes. These activities were considered as open rebellion by the British government and the King was warned to refrain himself from such activities.

Jayee Rajguru was well aware of the British strength and to face them he reorganised and re-strengthened the Paikas by procuring arms and ammunitions, training them by Maratha trainers and improving the spy system. Paika contingents were stationed at vulnerable strategic places i.e Delang in the east, Taratua in the west, Gangapada in the south. Simultaneously with military preparations he consulted the local chiefs, zamidars, Daleis, Dalabeheras, merchants and native rulers. In his mission he was supported by Buxi Digambar Bhuyan and Bali Sundara of Rodanga, Dalei of Daruthenga, Pindiki Bahu Balendra, Gopal Chhotaray and Padmanav Chhotaray of Binjhagiri, Ramakrushna Mangaraj of Khordha, Behera Pradhan of Bagheitangi (where consultation with leaders were made), Samantaray of Mendhasal, Bisoi of Haridamada, Dalabehera of Gangapada, Jamukoli, Harirajpur, Rameswar, Panchagarh, Binshu Samantray of Khudupur, the merchants and people of Khordha. All joined hands to drive away the Britishers. The revolutionary activities spread to Pipili, Gop, Nimapara, and Daspalla. Jayee through Sambhu Bharati negotiated the native rulers of Odisha for supporting the cause of Khordha and to join in the struggle against the foreign rule. The Rulers of Kanika, Kujanga, zamidars of Harishpur, Marichipur, Bishnupur joined hands with Khordha while many others extended indirect support. Besides the native rulers, Jayee contacted the Bhonsle King of Nagapur for help through Antaji Nayak who was unfortunately arrested at Sambalpur while returning from Nagapur with assurance for military aid. Thus Jayee left no stone unturned in his preparation.

On the other side the British authorities were aware of the preparations of Jayee Rajguru and considering the gravity of situation requisitioned forces

from Bengal and Madras. They planned a three sided attack of Khordha from east, west and south direction. Everywhere at Delang, Pipili, Taratua, Tangiapada and Gangapada they faced tough resistance. Defeating them by superior and advanced war weapons they reached Khordha and seized the fort. It took them three days to occupy the fort whereas Barabati fort was occupied within a day. The Khordha rebellion lasted for 23 days. Simultaneously with the rebellion of Khordha rebellions started in Kanika, Kujang, Harishpur, Marichipur, Bishnupur and other places. They were suppressed ruthlessly.

After fall of Khordha the King and Rajguru were taken as prisoners. A farcical trial was conducted at Medinipur (Balasore). Jayee Rajguru was charged with conspiracy against lawful government and was awarded death punishment. During the trial he bravely took on himself the responsibility of the rebellion and stated the King to be innocent. To save the King and the honour of Gajapati he chose to sacrifice his life. He was brutally/inhumanly killed by tieing his legs to two branches of a banyan tree and then releasing the branches which torn him to two pieces. The King was released afterwards with annual pension and condition to live at Puri. He was placed as the Superintendent of Jagannath Temple.

The Second Khordha Rebellion - Paika Rebellion 1817:

The first Khordha rebellion was suppressed. Jayee sacrificed his life. Other leaders of the rebellion were not arrested or punished in anticipation of further unrest and with the hope that the exemplary punishment of Jayee Rajguru will keep them in awe of the British power. But they were mistaken. The revolutionary spirit and anti-British attitude infused into the Paikas and their leaders did not extinguish. It continued underneath. It flared up 13 years after in 1817 in the form of Paika rebellion under the leadership of Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar when the exploitative and oppressive early British rule became intolerable and unbearable.

The abolition of rent free jagir lands, frequent short term temporary revenue settlements and excessive assessment of land revenue, collection of revenue without any relief in the time of natural calamities, auction of zamidaris under sunset rule, defective salt policy, abolition of cowrie system, faulty excise rules, oppression and exploitation by non-Odia officials and police drove the peasants, zamidars to pitiable condition. There were discontentment, dissatisfaction and resentment among every section of the

people. The ground was ready for a revolution. There was need of a leader. Buxi Jagabandhu Biyadhar, the traditional Buxi of the Gajapati King of Odisha, who was illegally deprived of his estate Garh Rodanga treacherously by some corrupt and cunning non-Odia employees of the company Government was seriously aggrieved and took up the leadership.

The rebellion began at Banapur in the last week of March 1817. A group of 400 Kandhas from Ghumusar entered Banapur. Buxi Jagabandhu with his follower joined them and took up the leadership. The rebels attacked government offices and looted the treasury. From there they proceeded to Khordha. On the way aggrieved people mostly Paikas joined the rebels. At Khordha offices were set with fire followed by loot and arson. From Khordha they proceeded to Puri. The Offices were set with fire. The rebels declared the end of British rule and the beginning of the rule of Gajapati. The king was requested to join the rebels but Mukunda Deb II refused on the consideration of his past sufferings and loss of his kingdom. He was taken by the British to Barabati fort where he breathed his last. The rebellion was spontaneous and everywhere (Banapur, Khordha and Puri) the government employees left the offices for hiding in fear. The rebellion spread to other areas i.e Kujang, Kanika, Harishpur, Marichipur, Bishnupur, Gop, Tiran, Pattamundai and nearby areas like wild fire. The movement was grave and for sometimes it threatened the very existence of British rule.

The government immediately sprang into action and martial law was imposed in Khordha, Pipili and in Puri. Forces from Bengal were requisitioned and reached Cuttack to suppress the rebellion. Military operations in Khordha, Pipili and Puri successfully suppressed the rebellion. Suppression of rebels in Kanika and Kunjang was complete by last week of October 1817. Buxi Jagabandhu with his close associates went underground and took shelter with rulers of Nayagarh, Ranapur, Shergarh, Ghumusar and adopted Guerrilla warfare to keep the revolutionary fire burning. After seven years in hiding the British authorities were successful in convincing him to surrender honourably. He surrendered in the last week of May 1825. The rebellion of 1817 ended. Many rebels were punished. 117 rebels were sentenced imprisonment, 125 were deported, 25 were exiled, 5 were given life imprisonment and 7 were given death sentence.

The Paika rebellion of 1817 was the second Khordha rebellion against the British rule. It was the outburst of the suppressed revolutionary anti British attitude of the people created in 1804 which became more intense because

of the oppressive and exploitative policy of the Britishers. It was not a separate and isolated event. Many leaders played major role in both the rebellions. Pindiki Bahu Balendra, a great supporter of Jayee Rajguru, was one of the main rebels in 1817 who was arrested by treachery and jailed. He escaped from jail and was fired to death while crossing Kathajori (perhaps encountered). Bishnu Charan Paikaray, the samanta of Khudupur in whose palace Gajapati Mukunda Deb stayed some days while escaping from the Khordha fort in 1804, played a frontal role in 1817, was arrested and hanged. Gopal Chhotaray, Padmanay Chhotaray of Binjhagiri, Bamdeb Patajoshi, Narayan Paramguru the rebel leaders of Kujang (who were sentenced for 14 years imprisonment each) and Sardar Karunakar Paramguru of Gop were few among the front ranking rebels who played major role in both the rebellions. They were the torch bearers of revolutionary anti-British movement. The areas covered by both the rebellions are almost the same. The people and leaders of these states, zamidaries and areas faught against the British in 1804 in support of Jayee Rajguru and in 1817 they rose in rebellion spontaneously. The names of Madhusudan Mangaraj of Harishpur, Raja Madhusudan Sendha of Kujang and Raja Balabhadra Bhanja of Kanika deserve special mention for their role in both the rebellions. Therefore it can be said that Jayee Rajguru was the harbinger of revolutionary uprising in Khordha and epitome of patriotism and sacrifice. He prepared and laid the foundation of nationalist anti British attitude and movements in Odisha.

References :

George Toynbee, A Sketch of the History of Orissa, 1803-1828, Vol-I and III, Calcutta, 1873

Mishra P.K., Political upset in Orissa in the 19th Century

Ray B.C., Foundation of British Rule in Odisha, Cuttack, 1958

Fakir Harichandan – Khurda Itihasara Antarale (Odia)

Stirling Andrew, An account of Orissa proper or Cuttack, Calcutta

Mahapatra Kedarnath, Khurda Itihas (Odia), Cuttack, 2nd Edition, 1984

Rath Bijay Chandra, Jayee Rajguru and Anti Colonial Resistance in Khurda, Bhubaneswar, 2017

Mishra Jatadhari, Amar Saheed Jayee Rajguru, (Odia), Cuttack, 2017

Rao Narayan, 'Jayee Rajguru - A profile of a great patriot of Odisha', Gopabandhu Sahitya Mandira, Cuttack

Raisingh Laxminarayana, Bharatara Prathama Gana Biplaba, Janasakti Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1965

Jayee Rajguru – The Real Protector of the Dominion

Dr. Chittaranjan Mishra

Principal, Panchayat College, Phiringia, Kandhamal – 762011

There is a saying that "the truth is crucified several times", poisoned, clouded and veiled many more times by them, those who afraid of the light of the truth." Likewise Jayee Rajaguru, a true patriot, devoted freedom fighter, a strong politician, a renowned statesman, a soothsayer, a brave commander, a strong administrator and a socio-economic reformer was side tracked by the history of Odisha. He vehemently opposed and strongly revolted against the British Raj. But to the misfortune of Odisha he was caught by a conspiracy and was brutally killed by the British authority.

Rajaguru was born on 29th October 1739 (on the occasion of Amalanabami as per the Odia calendar) in Biraharekrushnapur, a village in the Puri District. He was appointed as the Chief Minister-cum-Rajaguru of Gajapati Dibyasingha Dev in the year 1780 at the age of 41 and continued in the post till his death during the reign of Gajapati Mukunda Dev-II. A princely-priest by profession at the court of the minor raja, Mukunda Dev II, Rajaguru was the administrative, spiritual and military head of the kingdom. He was a lifelong bachelor and a dedicated worker of the dominion. Like his grandfather Gadadhara Mahapatra and father Chand Rajguru, he was also a great scholar in Sanskrit.

When British invaded Odisha and captured it, Jayee Rajguru organized Odia paikas and village youths and given them military training. He started his great revolt against British power in the year 1804. He adopted guerrilla warfare against mighty British force. Fight continued for a long period and Rajaguru was arrested from the Khurdha fort and was taken to Barabati fort. He made his all-out effort to keep his king safe but finally, Mukunda Dev-II was arrested on 3 January 1805. Then Rajaguru and the King were sent to Midnapore Jail from Cuttack, fearing further violence in the State.

King Mukunda Dev II filed a petition and appealed for pension from the prison; the British counsels released Mukunda Dev-II and sent him to Puri for settlement. But Rajguru didn't appeal for mercy and fearlessly accepted the death sentence. On December 6, 1806, Jayee Rajguru was made shaheed in a brutal manner. The executioners tied his two legs to two different branches of banyan tree and the branches were let off splitting his body in to two parts.

This is the end of the life of a daring and towering freedom fighter of Odisha. History should give proper justice, honour and respect to such a brave fighter.

Bhoi dynasty ruled over khurda near about 226 years from 1568 to 1805 (from Ramchandra Dev I to Mukunda Dev II). During the reign of Birakishore Dev, Khurda was invaded by Jagannath Narayana Gajapati Deo, the Gajapati king of Paralakhemundi claiming the legitimate descendant of Ganga dynasty. Khurda king Birakishore Dev begged the help of Maratha power being agreed with their demand of one lakh rupees in return after success. Though Birakishore Dev got victory over the power of Gajapati Jagannath Narayan Deo of Paralakhemundi with the help of Marathas but he was not in a position to give one lakh rupees to the Marathas as per the condition. He was compelled to hand over four paraganas such as Rahanga(near Puri), Chabiskuda(near Brahmagiri), Sirai(near Satyabadi), and Lembhai (near Delanga) to the Marathas.

Jayee Rajguru was appointed as Chief- Minister cum Rajguru of Dibyasingha Dev II when the financial condition of the state was very miserable. To stabilize the financial condition Jayee Rajguru adopted some strong financial reformative measures and gave importance on regular collection of taxes from the people of the state. He was a Sanskrit scholar and a Tantra Sadhak like his father and fore father. There is a saying still continuing in Brahmin villages as:

"Jaa Ghare nahin Gada

Taa Pandita paniaa adhaa"

Means who has not read out and followed the "Gadadhar Paddhati", a Smriti Sastra written by Gadadhara Mahapatra, the grandfather of Jayee Rajguru, his knowledge was incomplete. He was the descendant of such a scholarly family and absolutely fit for the post of Rajguru.

He was a brave fighter, dedicated worker and a man of truth. He remained bachelor throughout his life and was far away from corruption. During his trial he did not bow down before British power to beg pardon and never request for a pension to Colonel Harcourt. He bravely confessed the truth and admitted that he was solely responsible for the revolt of 1804 and ready to face the consequence. "Phiringi Kali Bharat" speaks his bravery as:-

"Maara abaa taara nahin mora bhaya Ete boli braahman chintile Debaraaya"

At last he was given death punishment. Most of the historians described it as Phasi (hanged till his death), but to me it is an inhuman, immoral and brutal killing of a patriot. The way the Britishers adopted to hang Jayee Rajguru till death (tied his two legs with two opposite faced branches of a banyan tree and left them to separate) was an act of disrespect to a patriot. Ramesh Chandra Bhanja says in a poem:-

"Keteje kaala galani bahi rahijaaichi kathaa Jayiaa pachhe jivan delaa nuaai naahin mathaa"

In 1798, after death of Dibyasingh Dev II, his brother Shyamsundar Dev made a conspiracy to ascend the throne of Khurda. Queen of deceased king requested Jayee Rajguru to support the legitima demand of his minor son Mukunda Dev II and place him on the throne of Khurda. In the year 1798 Jayee Rajaguru strongly supported Mukunda Dev II and declared him as the king of Khurda by destroying all the conspiracies of Shyamasundar Dev. He was the administrative, spiritual and military head of Khurda as the king was a minor. He was the main power Centre of Khurda. So he was criticized several times that being a Brahmin he was performing Kshatriya duty and in the name of king he was ruling over Khurda state.

But Hindu puran speaks about Parsuram, a brahmin by birth who was a famous warrior also. Most of the Brahmin families of Odisha adorned with the title 'Bahinipati'(head of a military corp) and Khadga Ray (sword player) and successfully performed Kshatriya duties during monarchical period.

When British betrayed king of Khurda and did not pay promised amount of money, Jayee Rajaguru proceeded to the court of Harcourt at



Cuttack and demanded money. Harcourt did not pay full amount. Disgusted Jayee Rajguru organized a military force in which 250 number of cavalries, 200 soldiers and a number of Kondh sepoys of Ghumsar and Daspalla were ready to fight under his leadership. With the help of this army Jayee Rajguru attacked capt. Hickland at Pipili on 22nd November 1804 and killed a number of British soldiers. At last on 5th December 1804 Capt. Harcourt invaded Khurda with a big army and captured Khurda. Jayee Rajguru was arrested on 5th January 1805 and brutally killed on 6th December 1806 at Midnapur. King Mukunda Dev was settled at Puri with a pension of rupees 2000.

Jayee Rajguru sacrificed his life to save the life and prestige of King Mukunda Dev II and in the honour of motherland Khurda. But to the utter surprise the story of his bravery and sacrifice was not properly estimated and placed in the history of Odisha. Hope he will be rewarded with proper justice.

References:

- Prof Narayan Rao, "Jayee Rajguru, a profile of a great patriot of Odisha, Gopabandhu Sahitya Mandira, Cuttack – 2016"
- Charudatta Panigrahi (Editor), Jayee Rajguru, the marshal & first martyr of India's war of Independence, Paik Bidroh, Sanket Communications Pvt Ltd, New Delhi – 2017
- 3. Oral discussion with Dr. Anantram KarKundinya, Bhismagiri, Ganjam, Odisha
- Prof. Prafulla Kumarray, Dhruba Charan Jaysingh Paikray, Bharatiya Swadhinata Sangram ku Khordha ra Abadana, Rupambari Prakashan, Bateswar, Salepur (Odia), 2008

Pritish Acharya (Editor), Odisha Itihas (Odia), Aama Odisha, Bhubaneswar, 2016



Saheed Jayee Rajguru - The Pioneer of Paik Rebellion (1804 A.D.) in Odisha

Dr. Rajendra Kumar Bisoyi
Department of History
Keshpur College, Keshpur (Ganjam)

The Khurda Kingdom in Odisha under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru gave a strong resistance to the alien English rule in 1804 A.D. just after the British occupation of Odisha. This brave and gallant hero reacted immediately to the unjust work of the British rule. Not only did he organize the *Paiks*, he also gave them martial training by strengthening the '*Paik Akhadas*'. He became the first martyr of Odisha who revolted against the British and left behind a grand legacy of patriotism and selfless sacrifice for one's own country. However, he has not been received his due place in the pages of history either probably due to lack of authentic documents to corroborate his historic struggle and martyrdom or due to apathetic attitude by the historians towards this freedom fighter which is definitely an unjust act and also a blunder.

H.K. Mahtab in his "History of Orissa", vol-II; K.N. Mohapatra in his "Khurda Itihasa" (Odia); J. Pattanaik in his "Feudatory States of Orissa", Vol-I and others have thrown some light upon Jayee Rajguru. P.K. Pattanayak in his "A Forgotten Chapter of Orissan History"; R.C. Mishra in his scholastic paper on Jayee Rajguru published in The Odisha Historical Research Journal, Vol-VI, nos 3&4, 2017; J. Choudhury in his paper have done some justice in highlighting the services and sacrifices of Jayee Rajguru. P.K. Jena, Jatadhari Mishra and others have inclined to bring this great personality into the forefront. Sudhakar Pattnaik's "Chakada Pothi O Chaini Chakada" (Odia); Bipra Madhusudhan's "Firingi Kali Bharata" (Odia); Fakir Harichandan's "Khurda Itihasara Antarale" (Odia) are some other works which focuses some light on this great historical personality. However, the latest works like Narayan Rao's "Jayee Rajguru (A Profile of a Great Patriot of Odisha)"; B.K. Rath's "Jayee Rajguru and Anti Colonial Resistance in Khurda" have highlighted

the activities of Rajguru in various fields. Still then, the projection of this profound patriot's personality has not been portrayed in its true perspective. After a due acknowledgement to these previous works, a small attempt has been made to highlight the great personality of this first martyr who remained loyal to the King till his last breath and gave his dear life for the cause of the motherland.

Jayakrushna Rajguru Mohapatra, popularly known as Jayee Rajguru was born at Biraharekrushna Pur Sasana near Puri on 29-10-1739. His father was Chand Rajguru and mother was Haramani Devi. Jayee maintained the family tradition as he was adept in the Sastras and Sanskrit knowledge. He also became a renowned Tantra Sadhaka. Besides he knew from his father the techniques of wrestling, horse riding and sword fighting. Along with these martial practices, he was also performing daily different rites and rituals for the propitiation of the Gods and Goddesses. Thus he built himself as a multitalented personality. That was probably the reason for which Gajapati Divyasingha Deva appointed him as the *Rajguru* and the minister in his court in the year 1780 (1) when he was at the age of 41. His personality, style of functioning, scholarship, and integrity had attracted the attention of other native rulers and some of them invited him to join their courts. Dhananjay Harichandan Jagdev, the then ruler of Athagarh tried with all possible means to have him in his court but could not succeed. (2) Jayee remained loyal to Khurda kingdom. He remained as a confirmed bachelor (brahmachari) and dedicated himself to the cause of the motherland till his last breath.

This was a time of critical situation in Odisha. Smaller kingdoms in the region were fighting among themselves and the region was afflicted with severe drought. The militia was disorganised and the morale of the *Paiks* was at the lowest ebb. Soon after assuming power, Jayee Rajguru concentrated in establishing law and order, and to ensure political stability and economic prosperity of the kingdom. Due to his efforts, the frequent plunders of the Marahatta Bargies were reduced a lot. The *Paik* soldiers were trained in various military skills at *Akhadagharas* and *Jagagharas* located in each village. The *Paiks* or the peasant militia with great devotion to duty were ferocious and valiant in nature. They included all castes and classes, chiefly the *Khandayats*, the *Chasis* or the cultivating class. Occasionally individuals of the lower caste, remote hilly tribes (*Kondhs*) and also muslims who were engaged in cultivation in times of peace were

subjected to the discharge of military and police duties as and when required. (3) He also organised the four divisions of the *Paik* soldiers such as: (a) pahadi, (b) banua, (c) dhenkiya, (d) guerrilla. (4) He gave special emphasis for strengthening the Guerrilla division. This branch of the army was otherwise known as '*Chheka*' as they used to fight with the strategy of hide and seek. They always fought from the back of the opponent and never appeared for a frontal fight. He also took great care to make the spy system effective. In this system, the *Vedua* (secret informer) has to pass secret information (*Veda*) to the King. Use of fire arms and cannons were encouraged. Especially in the *Sasana* villages the fire arms were prepared and used for experiment during the festive occasions. The technique and skills used for the preparation and production of arms and cannon have been preserved in palm leaf manuscripts even today. (5)

In the meantime, King Divyasingha Deva II died resulting bitter race for succession. Jayee Rajguru ensured that the late King's minor son Mukunda Deva II ascended to the throne of Khurda. As the king was minor, Jayee Rajguru became his regent i.e. guardian ruler in 1798 A.D. Meanwhile the East India Company captured Ganjam and Lt. Col. Harcourt wanted a free passage for the English soldiers from Ganjam to Calcutta through Khurda region. He made an agreement with Mukunda Deva II of Khurda by which the English would give one lakh rupees in cash and cede four praganas -Lumbai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud that were under the Maratha control since 1760 to the King and also restore the King's right on Sri Jagannath temple. Jayee Rajguru was kept in the dark about the deal. The British occupied Puri on 18th September 1803 and the Barabati fort on 14th October 1803. The Lumbai, Serai, Rahanga and Chabiskud *Praganas* were released and taken over by the Britishers instead of delivering to the king of Khurda. The condition for payment of one lakh rupees was also not fulfilled by the Britishers. This betrayal shocked the King and Jayee Rajguru. On March 11, 1804 Jayee Rajguru marched heading 2000 paiks to Cuttack in a show of strength to persuade the British Collector to stick to the deal. The British paid Rs.40,000/- but refused to cede the promised praganas. Jayee Rajguru distributed the money among the paiks towards the settlement of their dues.

The British attempted to remove Jayee from his post but failed. Jayee now made an elaborate plan for an armed resistance to the British in order to protect the independence of Khurda kingdom. The Kings of Kanika and

Kujanga came forward to help the King against the British. The Zamidars of Bishnupur, Harishpur and Marichpur also gave their support to the King. One Sambhu Bharati, a mendicant and *Mahajan* fed up with the British helped the King secretly mobilising public opinion in favour of the King. Jayee Rajguru also sent envoys to the Marathas for help but as one of them was captured at Sambalpur, the plan failed.

The internal defence was improved by repairing the roads. He increased the number of troops and appointed Maratha *Sardars* for this purpose. In July 1804, Jayee Rajguru sent tax collectors to Lumbai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud *praganas*. The British regarded Jayee Rajguru as their arch enemy. Harcourt advised the King to remove Jayee Rajguru from the office, but the King refused. On November 22, 1804 forces of Jayee Rajguru once again attacked British-occupied Pipili causing huge losses to the enemy. To strengthen the Khurda fort, *Paik* troops were posted at Delanga in the east, *Taratua* in the west and *Gangapada* in the north as the first line of defence. (6) Two hundred troops were also stationed at the gate and they were reinforced by an additional 300 guards and two cannons. (7) The *Raja* was also planning for a safe retreat and he often went to the hills in search of a place of safety to which he could resort in time of need. (8)

In November 1804, military operations were undertaken by the British against the Raja and the war started. The British ordered Major Fletcher to attack the Fort. He was given command of 120 men of Madras European Regiment and two flank companies of 2nd Battalion of the 7th Bengal Native infantry. The British troop which proceeded to occupy Khurda was resisted at several places by the Paiks, Diawan, Bakshis, Sardars, gunners and archers of the Raja. Jayee Rajguru as the head priest and the prime minister of the king, was steering the war. War-continued for about three weeks. (9) The nephew of Major Fletcher was killed in the battle. (10) The British forces finally surrounded the fort of Khurda near Barunei Hills in the first week of December 1804. The outer wall of the fort was damaged. Then, Major Fletcher proceeded to the Fort followed by his armed men. The Fort was occupied. But the British had to play a divide and rule policy. The Raja Mukunda Deva Il managed to escape to the nearby forest along with his guards. It is said that Jayee Rajguru made all arrangements for his escape. The King was sent under safe custody to *Gangamatta Math* near Swetaganga in Puri. Jayee Rajguru instructed the Mahanta of the Matha, Narottam Das, through a letter

to keep the King in utmost care and secret. The *Matha* still bears the secret passage to the temple which had been used by the King. The British set a price on the head of Jayee Rajguru who was steering the war and managed to capture him when the fort fell. In this way, on December 04, 1804 the British troops occupied the Barunei fort which was the last independent fort of Khurda. On December 05, 1804 they declared that Mukunda Deva II was no longer the King of Khurda. By a proclamation issued on 07 December 1804, the *Raja* of Khurda was deposed and his territories were annexed to British Odisha. At last, the *Raja* was captured and was taken as a prisoner.

After the imprisonment of the *Raja*, others who opposed the British also surrendered. Balabhadra Bhanja, the *Raja* of Kanika was taken as a prisoner and sent to Medinipur in July 1805; Chandradhwaja Sendha, the *Raja* of Kujanga was dethroned and the British recognised his elder brother Madhusudan Sendha as the new *Raja* of Kujanga. (12) The British kept Mukunda Deva as a prisoner in Barabati fort. Soon he was sent to Medinipur. However, he was released from the jail in 1807, but the estate of Khurda was not restored to him. He was made the Superintendent of the Jagannath temple in Puri with a *Malikana* amounting to Rs 2133.54 of the revenue of his estate by the Regulation of 1809. The successors of Mukunda Deva II were not allowed to stay at Khurda. Their residence was shifted to Puri and thereafter they came to be known as the *Raja* of Puri but not the *Raja* of Khurda.

Jayee Rajguru did not escape and resisted the British forces inside the fort bravely. Finally, he was overpowered and captured. (13) He was regarded as the mastermind behind the rebellion and so he was treated as the arch enemy of the British. He was taken to Medinipur near Balasore. His trial was conducted at a place called Baghitota in Medinipur. (14) In the trial, Jayee Rajguru took all the responsibility, just only to save the King and his kingdom. Therefore, he was held responsible. He was sentenced to death punishment. He was brutally killed on 06th December 1806 at Baghitota in the Chasakhanda *Panchayat* near Medinipur. His legs were tied separately to forked boughs of two banyan trees and the branches were released splitting his body into two parts.

This Baghitota is located just about three kilometres away from Medinipur in the district of Balasore in Odisha. Even today some *Paik*

inhabitants descended from Khurda and Baliyanta area are found in and around the area. These *Paiks* were perhaps not allowed by the British to return home as the British feared another revolt due to the martyrdom of Jayee Rajguru.

In this way ended the life of Jayee Rajguru. However, he left behind a strong saga of supreme sacrifice. Although he was defeated, he remained victorious in the hearts of millions of millions of people as he proved himself as the worthy son of the soil by becoming the first martyr of Odisha on the altar of the motherland. His selfless sacrifice, his profound patriotism, his challenge to the colonial authority, his loyalty to the land of Gajapati Raja, his courage and chivalry, his bravery and boldness, his heroism and his embracing horrible punishment will remain forever in golden letters in the pages of history. His revolt against the British was more surcharged with patriotic zeal and it is more glorious than any other revolt of India. The revolt of 1804 under Jayee Rajguru was filled with thrilling patriotism. While Jayee Rajguru went to the gallon bravely and smilingly, as truly a nationalist and a martyr of first order. Jayee Rajguru reacted immediately against the alien rule and did not prefer to adopt the wait and see policy. He had no self interest as he was a confirmed bachelor. His only interest was the protection of the motherland and prestige of the King who had been regarded as Chalanti Vishnu (moving God) and Laksherajaramoudamani by the Odias. His bold answer to Col. Harcourt at the time of trial demonstrates his strength of character. He knew the superiority of the British power but he gave dogged resistance which shows his courage and strength in both mind and body.

It is a matter of grave concern that his contributions against the alien rule have been neglected by the historians. He should be given deserving place in the pages of the history of Indian Freedom Struggle. The Khurda Fort i.e. the Barunei Fort, the last independent fort of Odisha which defended boldly for three weeks, is now in utter neglected condition filled with wild grass and open field toilet. This is surely a heartless vandalism. Protection, preservation and promotion of Khurda fort with light and sound programme will help both the revenue generation and spreading the message of patriotism for the future generation. It should be free from modern encroachment. Installation of a life size statue of *Saheed* Jayee Rajguru at the main gate of the fort would be a proper respect. Naming any important educational institution will do some justice to this great martyr. Biraharekrushna Pur



village, the birth place of Jayee Rajguru should be named after him. As Jayee Rajguru initiated the revolt against the British, as he organised the *paiks* against them, as he is a role model for the nationalists, he should be recognised as the leader and pioneer of the *Paik* Rebellion which inaugurated the anti-colonial movement in 1804 A.D.

References:

- 1. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, Jayee Rajguru, Cuttack, 1955, p4
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. B.K Rath, *Jayee Rajguru and Anti Colonial resistance in Khurda*, Bhubaneswar. 2017, p66s
- 4. Jatadhari Mishra, *Odishara Prathama Saheed Jayee Rajguru* (Odia), Puri, 2002, p26
- 5. Narayan Rao, *Jayee Rajguru (A profile of a great patriot of Odisha)*, Cuttack, 2016, p33
- 6. J. Choudhury, "The First Resistance Movement in Khurda", in Orissa Review, Vol-Lx, No-1, August, 2003, p27
- 7. Ibid
- 8. B.C. Ray, Foundations of British Orissa, Cuttack, 1960, p57
- 9. T. Mohanty, "Jayee Rajguru (1937-1805)" in Orissa Review, Vol-Lix, No-1, August 2002, p28
- 10. P.K. Pattanaik, A forgotten chapter of Orissan history, Calcutta, 1979, p135
- 11. Bhaskar Mishra, *"Sangrami Jayee Rajguru O Sreekshetra Gangamata Math"*, in Saheed Jayee Rajguru (*Sandarbha Sambhara*), p85
- 12. S.C. De (ed.), s, Vol-II, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 1961, pXI
- 13. Sadasiba Rath Sharma, op.cit, p.25
- 14. Chakradhar Mahapatra, "*Jayee Rajguru*" in *Banaphula* (Odia monthly), February 1971, p65
- H.K. Mahtab and S.C. De (ed.), History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol-I, p73

The Memory of Jayee Rajguru and the Eighteen Forts

Dr. Tulasi Ojha

Jayee Rajguru, the first Martyr in the history of India's Freedom Struggle, belonged to the prestigious Rajaguru tradition. He was the Rajguru of second Mukund Dev, the last Gajapati of Khordha Bhoi Dynasty. Mukund Dev ascended the throne in the year 1795 after the death of his father king Divyasingh Dev but as Mukund Dev was a minor Jayee Rajguru managed the state administration as the Advisor and Caretaker of the king. It was the period when Odisha was being tortured and exploited by both the Marahatas and the Mughals. While Rajguru was trying to make Khordha free from the clutches of the Marahatas and Mughals another third force was getting ready to capture Odisha that was East India Company of England. Even though East India Company was engaged in business and commerce in the coastal region of the Bay of Bengal yet it had ulterior motives to establish political supremacy in the region. But it was not possible as Odisha was an obstruction for them. Lord Clive and Lord Cornwalis had to take permission from Nagpur to send their army through Odisha. On the other hand the people of Odisha were anxious to release Odisha from the clutches of corrupted officers and the Marahatas. Jai Rajguru had information about the battle of Plassey of 1757 between the Nawab of Bengal Siraj-ud-Daulla and English East India Company under Clive. It exposed the colonial expansion of the company. Rajguru calculated the inherent danger and wanted to ward off the possible danger that was looming large on Odisha. So his first attempt was to strengthen the sea route. His strategy was to unite the Samantas of the Eighteen Forts situated in the Prachi Delta. He invited and honoured the samantas and administered them on the oath of unity to fight unitedly for the safety of Odisha. These famous Eighteen Forts which Rajguru had united were -

| Paik Rebellion 1804 | | Jayee Rajguru |
|---------------------|----|---------------|
| | ** | |

(1) Sunagarh (10) Durgeshwargarh (2) Mulagarh (11) Nipaniagarh (3) Golaragarh (12) Shreerampur garh (4) Nayangarh (13) Chakrapada garh (14) Jhadautha garh (5) Garhrupas (6) Shithagarh (15) Etamati garh (7) Amarprasadgarh (16) Baharana garh (8) Krushnaprasadgarh (17) Bangara garh (9) Garh Karmala (18) Silei garh

Even today the congregation of the Garh samantas at the Konark Bhagavatipitha, Garhkaramala Dasahara Ground, Madhaba Siddhamath, Dhumala mango groves and Nipaniagarh is singing the glory of those memorable days at the eighteen forts but it is the bad luck of Odisha that the Odia people became the chief enemy of Odisha. In spite of his sincere efforts to strengthen the army, to construct the Forts and to keep Odisha free from the Britishers, Jai Rajguru was defeated at last because of the betrayal of a selfish traitor named Charana Pattanaik who took bribe and helped Major Fletcher to reach Khordha border through Chilika. Lord Wellesley had sent a brahmin pundit named Jagannath Tribeni to the pandas of Puri. Through him he had sent some attractive proposals like giving security to the Pilgrims, to beautify the temples and Maths, not to harm the religious institutions etc. and gradually those proposals attracted the Sebak community of Puri. In addition to that the king of khordha was also promised some benefits. That included the return of productive Praganas like Rahanga, Sirai, Chabishkuda and Lembai to the king of Khordha because these praganas were being used for the worship of Lord Jagannath. Apart from that there were a lot of disturbances in the rituals of Lord Jagannath and also in the Rath yatra so it was promised to return the post of Superintendent to the king. Even though the king was honoured and presented as the moving Image of Lord Jagannath yet the real power was with the Marahata administration. It hampered the sovereignty of the king. So Mukund Dev, the king of Khordha permitted the movement of the British Army through the state of Khordha. Though Jai Rajguru initially objected to this but the real truth was in darkness and it

came to light only after sometime. The Britishers did not fulfil any condition so the Paik Mutiny started and Jai Rajguru took the leadership. It became a headache for the Britishers so they tried to create misunderstanding between the king and Rajguru but it was not successful. While war was going on Rajguru had sent the king secretly to Gangamata Math at Puri. From this event the loyalty of Rajguru to Lord Jagannath and his Sevak Gajapati Dynasty is clearly evident. Rajguru had endangered his own life by taking care of the safety and security of Gajapati, the head of one lakh kings. It is evident from the letter written by Rajguru to the Head of Gangamata Math how careful he was about the disciplined worship of Lord Jagannath and the safety of Gajapati. But it is the misfortune of our country that for the selfish traitors, the sacrifice of the brave Paikas of Khordha became fruitless. King Mukunda Dev was imprisoned because of the conspiracy of the traitors and all the efforts of Rajguru became meaningless. Yet Rajguru did not accept defeat. To prove the King innocent and to keep Lord Jagannath safe Rajguru confessed himself guilty. As a result this Martyr Hero had to face the terrible capital punishment that is rare in the history. It is because of Rajguru the King safely resided at Balinara, Puri and left Khordha. From that day the King of Khordha became the Gajapati of Puri. That tradition is alive today. It is because of Jai Rajguru Khordha is regarded as the last Independent Fort of entire India.



Jayee Rajguru: The Doyen of Resistance Movement in Odisha

Dr. Debaraj Swain

Assistant Professor, P.G. Department of History, SBRG (A) Women's College, Berhampur

The much acclaimed resistance movement of 1817 in Odisha against the British that goes down in history as the *Paik* Rebellion, is actually a recrudescence of the stubborn resistance movement put up by the virulent *Paik*s of Khurda in 1804. The chief architect of the uprising of 1804 was Jayee Rajguru who showed the rare gumption of fighting the expansionist policy of a power at its height and laid down his life at the altar of freedom and dignity of the kingdom of Khurda. The present article makes an earnest effort to revisit the exploits of Jayee Rajguru in a perspective that is long overdue.

Jaya Krushna Rajguru Mohapatra, better known as Jayee Rajguru, hailed from a Brahmin *Pundit* family of noble pedigree on 29th October in 1739, in the village of Biraharekrushnapur *Sasana* near Puri. As per the wont of the family he received a sound schooling and emerged as a great scholar well versed in *Vedas* and other *Sastras*. His forefathers were the hereditary political and military advisers to the kings of Khurda. Jayakrushna was also invested as the Rajguru in 1780 by Gajapati Divyasingha Dev II. Soon he earned a name for himself and proved his mettle worth his post. His personality, style of functioning, scholarship, integrity etc. attracted the attention of other native rulers who tried with all possible means to have him appointed in their courts.¹ But Jayee Rajguru remained firm in his resolve to serve the throne of Khurda. Death of Divyasingh Dev II triggered a war of succession. Jayee Rajguru championed the cause of late king's minor son Mukundadev II who ascended the throne in 1798.

After being invested as the Rajguru in 1780 Jayee Rajguru took several steps to help the state become militarily strong and wriggle out of the economic doldrums. It may be mentioned here that earlier in 1760 the king of Khurda had entered into a bad deal with the Marathas and had to cede four

important *praganas* viz. Rahang, Chabiskud, Serai and Lembai (*amruta manohi* areas) along with management of Lord Jagannath Temple at Puri in lieu of a cash of Rupees one lakh to the Maratha ruler. Jayee Rajguru devised ways and means to make good this huge economic loss. He organized the *Paik*s and trained them in martial art and guerrilla warfare. He procured new arms and ammunitions and fortified strategic locations.² *Akhadas* (gymnasiums) were kept under surveillance. Titles were liberally conferred on the *Paik*s in recognition of their merit and loyalty. Thus he boosted the morale of the *Paik*s.

Through the treaty of Deogaon concluded on 17th December 1803, Maratha Chief Raghuji Bhonsle had to cede to the East India Company in perpetual sovereignty the province of Cuttack including the port and district of Balasore. 3 Now the British felt the necessity of obtaining a trade route on land to facilitate transportation between Ganjam and Balasore. Earlier in 1798 Jayee Rajguru had thwarted the British plan of getting a land route through the kingdom of Khurda. Therefore, keeping Rajguru in the dark, the British entered into an agreement with the minor king by which they agreed to give one lakh rupees, four praganas and management of Jagannath temple at Puri as a quid pro quo for a land passage through Khurda. But the British violated the provisions of the agreement and refused to return the four praganas. Exasperated by this breach of faith Jayee Rajguru swung into action and formed an alliance with the kings of Kanika and Kujanga, mobilized the support of many zamindars and the public. He also sought the help of the Bhonsle king of Nagpur. The zamindars of Bishenpur, Harishpur and Marichpur also threw their weight behind Jayee Rajguru. 4 Arrangement were made to collect taxes from disputed areas. Management of the Jagannath temple of Puri was also taken over by Jayee Rajguru.

Smelling a rat in the designs of Jayee Rajguru, the British took stern measures. Sambhu Bharati who was in charge of mobilizing anti-British sentiment was arrested. Local *Dalabeheras* and zamindars were forbidden to help the king of Khurda. Governor General Lord Wellesley roped in the services of Lt. Colonel Campbell, Mr. Melville and Captain Morgan for the conquest of Odisha. But due to serious illness, Lt. Colonel Campbell was replaced by Lt. Colonel Harcourt. ⁵ Attempts were also made to win over the officers of the Maratha government in Odisha. In November 1804 military action was taken against the king.

Jayee Rajguru retaliated by occupying Pipili. This debacle forced Col. Harcourt to seek reinforcement of British troops to face Khurda *Paiks*. The British made an elaborate plan and attacked Khurda from different directions. Captain Hickland overpowered *Paiks* and occupied Delang. The Fort at the foothills of Barunei was laid to sieze by Harcourt and Robert Fletcher. When Rajguru apprehended the capitulation of the fort, he made arrangements for the safe escape of the king to Puri which is attested by a recently discovered letter from Gangamata *Matha*.⁶ This bears testimony of his loyalty to the king even at the risk of his personal safety. By a proclamation the King was deposed and his kingdom was annexed to the British Odisha in 1804.⁷

Jayee Rajguru was arrested and interned in the fort of Barabati at Cuttack. Because of the betrayal of Fateh Mahammad Khan, a British spy, the king was captured and made a prisoner in the fort of Barabati. ⁸ During the trial Mukundadev II passed the buck on Jayee Rajguru and feigned innocence. He was aquitted and released in 1807. But he was not allowed to stay at Khurda. His residence was shifted to Puri. King's traditional right on the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri was restored. By the Regulation IV he was given a *malikana* of rupees one lakh of the revenue of his estate. ⁹ Balabhadra Bhanja, the *Raja* of Kanika, was taken a prisoner and sent to Midnapore jail. Chandra Dwaja Sendha, the *Raja* of Kujanga was dethroned and his elder brother Madhusudan Sendha was made the new king of Kujanga.

Jayee Rajguru arrogated to himself all the responsibilities. The British put the blame of abetting the rebellion on Jayee Rajguru. He was held responsible for the loss of life and property in the rebellion of 1804 and was ordered to be hanged. One is bound to get goose bumped to know the brutal way the British executed Jayee Rajguru on December 6, 1806 at Baghitota of Medinipur.¹⁰

Though the movement failed to yield the desired results, yet it set in motion an anti-British feeling that was to gather momentum in years to come. It had prepared the ground for the recrudescence of the resistance movement just thirteen years later i.e in 1817. By sacrificing his life Jayee Rajguru became the first martyr of the *Paik* Rebellion and thus infused a sense of patriotism and anti-colonial feeling among the people. In terms of magnitude, intensity and long term dividend the *Paik* rebellion of 1804 is no mean an effort. Yet the *bicentenary fiesta* of the *Paik* Rebellion of 1817 did not include



the incredible feats of Jayee Rajguru. It behooves the historians and the intellectuals especially of Odisha to showcase the contributions of Jayee Rajguru at national level in right perspective and secure for him a space in the annals of history of our nation where he richly deserves.

References:

- Narayan Rao, Jayee Rajguru: a profile of a great patriot of Odisha, Gopabandhu Sahitya Mandir, Cuttack, 2016, p.61.
- 2. Bijay Chandra Rath, *Jayee Rajguru and Anti Colonial Resistance in Khurda*, Sisu Kalam, Bhubaneswar, 2017, p.64.
- 3. K.S.Behera, "Highlights of the Freedom Struggle in Odisha", in Odisha Review, Vol. LIV, no.1, August 1997, p. 6.
- 4. Odisha Review, Nov, 2011, p. 45.
- 5. Guide to Odishan Records, p.xxi.
- 6. Narayan Rao, op.cit, p63
- 7. Odisha Review, Nov, 2011, p. 45.
- 8. R.C. Misro, "Jayee Rajguru: The unparallel Freedom Fighter of Khurda Paik Rebellion (1804 A.D.) in Odisha Province: A Study" in Odisha Historical Research Journal, vol.LVI no. 3&4, 2017, p.8.
- 9. Odisha Review, Nov, 2011, p. 46.
- 10. R.C. Misro, op. cit p.10.

Saheed Jayee Rajguru

Dr. Bayamanu Charchi

Researcher, Teacher Educator, D.I.E.T, Kandhamal, Tikabali

In the martial tradition of India, Odisha has a special place. Odisha is formed with the parts of ancient Odra, Utkal, Kalinga and Kosala. Kalinga was most powerful under Mahameghabahan emperor Kharavela in the first century B.C. Chandragupta, the founder of Mauryan dynasty in the 4th century B.C. could bring under his control the whole of India except Kalinga. But he did not venture to take recourse to a war against the powerful Kalinga. (1) Maurya emperor Ashok, emperor Kharavela of Chedi dynasty and in course of time Sailodbhavas, Bhaumakars, Som vamsis, Gangas, Gajapatis and Bhoi dynasty Kings were the rulers of Odisha. The trumpets of military glory blown from the banks of Ganges to the banks of Kaveri with triumph of heroism and valour. "In 1570 A.D. Sri Ramachandra Deva of Bhoi dynasty saved a portion of Odisha by establishing his capital at Khurda. Once again the military strength of Odishan Paiks was revived under his stewardship. When the rest of India came under the sway of Afghans and Mughals, the Odia Paiks maintained the glory of Odisha." (2)

During the reign of Bhoi dynasty, Khurda was the centre for art and culture. Poets and Pandits were appointed in Raj Sabha by Gajapati. They had highest regards and respect. Ministers, Military Commander (Senapati) and Dewan were also appointed for the smooth administration and safety of the Kingdom. The Kings of Khurda ruled over the Kingdom with formal obligation to Moghals and Marahattas. The 12th King of Bhoi dynasty, Mukunda Deva-II was the last independent Gajapati of Odisha. During his reign, Jayakrushna Mohapatra was the dewan. "In the annals of martial tradition of Odisha and its resurgence in 1st half of the 19th century chivalry and sacrifices of Odia heroes revolted against the British misrule are to be remembered and these heroes are to be honoured for their sacrifices. The sacrifices of

dewan of Khurda "Jayakrushna Rajguru Mohapatra" popularly known as "Jayee Rajguru" who was publicly hanged to death in 1806 cannot be undermined. ⁽³⁾

Birth place of Jayee Rajguru was Biraharekrushna Pur Sasana, 5Kms away from Puri on Jagannath Sadak. His father Chand Rajguru and grandfather Gadadhar Rajguru were the spiritual Gurus of Gajapati of Odisha (Khurda Kingdom). He was born on 29.10.1739 (Kartika Sukla Navami). His mother Haramani Devi was the daughter of Rath Samanta family of Narasinghpur Sasan. He was Batchha gotriya samanta Brahmin. His grandfather Gadadhar had written "Gadadhar Padhhati". Prof Rama Chandra Misro says, "after getting Sanskrit education from the Pandits of Puri, Jayakrushna joined the royal court of Divyasingha Deva-II as Rajguru and Minister in 1780 A.D. His forefathers were the political, military advisors and spiritual teachers to the King of Khurda were traditionally called Rajguru." ⁽⁴⁾

Gajapati Dibyasingha Deva-II died in 1798, Mukunda Deva-II by that time was minor and ascended the throne of Khurda Kingdom on the same date of death of Gajapati as per royal tradition. Mukunda Deva-II became the 12th Gajapati of Odisha from Bhoi dynasty. So as Rajguru and Dewan, Jayee Rajguru took prominent role. He acted as regent and took bold steps for the safety and glory of the Kingdom.

Jayee Rajguru, a valiant freedom fighter erudite scholar of Sanskrit with creativity, epitome of moral courage, pragmatic diplomat, a fiery orator, a splendid and vivacious organiser, a strong administrator, stalwart and stout hearted general, and outstanding patriot dedicated to protect the freedom of Khurda against British Raj during the reign of Mukunda Deva-II, Gajapati of Khurda Kingdom. He fought against the British. He was the leader of Khurda revolts of 1804 prior to the Khurda revolt 1817, which was also against British rule under the leadership of Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar Mohapatra.

Background and Paik Revolt 1804 A.D.

Raja Jagannath Narayana Deva (1751 A.D. – 1770 A.D.) was a very powerful King of Paralakhemundi. It was a critical period. The Marathas, the French and the English contest each other for victory to occupy Odisha. "During that period Jagannath Narayan Deva tried to regain the past glory of the Gajapati Kings of his family who had once enjoyed the status of suzerainty

over the whole of Kalinga country including Utkala. He also attempted to save the sacred temple of the Lord Jagannath at Puri from atrocious action by some Non-Hindus. He found that Birakishore Deva of Khurda, who belonged to the Bhoi dynasty, was only a puppet King in the hands of the greedy Marahattas. So he collected a large army and attacked Khurda in the middle of 18th century. It caused terror in the minds of the Marahattas, who helped Birakishore Deva on condition that he should bear the whole cost of the war. A battle was fought near the fort of Chatragada in the modern Puri district. In that battle Jagannath Narayan Deva was defeated and retreated." ⁽⁵⁾ (History of Gangas, part-II, P-115 to 119, S.N. Rajguru)

Raja Birakishore Deva unable to discharge the money bargained for the war i.e. One lakh to the Marahattas and bound to mortgage the best portions of the Kingdom, Lembai, Rehanga, Serai and Chabiskud with Purusottam Kshetra temporarily for its liquidation. After collection of revenue tax from the Praganas the aforesaid amount, he expected to get back the areas. But in vain. The King became mentally unsound towards the last part of rule and killed his four sons. He became mad and died.

After the death of Raja Dibyasingha Deva, Mukunda Deva-II became the King of Khurda. As he was minor, Jayee Rajguru was appointed as regent of Khurda Kingdom. He took bold step to revive the financial status and to strengthen the military force of the Kingdom. He adopted new economic policy and strategies for the purpose.

In the year 1803, Col. Harcourt attacked Odisha. 'During his march from Ganjam towards Puri in September 1803, Harcourt had availed of the goodwill of Gajapati Mukunda Deva-II for provisioning of troops and movements of conveyance. He had assured the payment of rupees one lakh to the Raja for allowing him a safe passage. ⁽⁶⁾ The King agreed with the proposal with the condition to get back the four praganas after winning the war from Marahattas. Cunningly, Col. Harcourt avoided it. The King had revenge motive for the Marahattas and was also delighted to get one lakh rupees from the British. He believed that the English will return the Praganas in future. Col. Harcourt gave Rs.10,000/- to the King and assured to give the rest amount onwards.

Odisha came under the control of English on 17-12-1803 from the Marahattas as per "Deogan Treaty," all the four praganas came under the control of British from Marahattas.

After conquering Odisha, Col. Harcourt ignored the condition of the King of Khurda. He gave stress for the management of Sri Jagannath temple and tried his level best to strengthen the British Power. So Gajapati, Mukunda Deva-II became angry and sent Jayee Rajguru to meet Col. Harcourt at Cuttack.

Jayee Rajguru attempted to retrieve four praganas along with possession of Purusottam Kshetra of Puri from the occupation of British and rushed to Cuttack on 11 March 1804 with 2000 Paiks to meet Col. Harcourt. He demanded the following three provisions for immediate redress as per earlier assurances.

- 1. Release of balance of Rs.90,000/-
- 2. To reduce the amount of annual tribute (peshkash)
- To return the occupied four Praganas Lembai, Rehang, Serai, Chabiskud

Col. Harcourt agreed for the first claim but not the rest.

Jayee Rajguru came back and strengthened the army of Khurda under his direct guidance and control. War practice continued regularly. He opted the cooperation of Zamidars to fight against the British. The Kings of Kanika, Kujanga extended their cooperation and other Zamidars were also joined to fight against British. Rajguru also sought the help of Bhonsle King of Nagpur. One religion mendicant Sambhu Bharati was appointed to contact with the King. But unfortunately resident Alphan Stone knew it and the plan failed.

British Authority arrested Sambhu Bharati and ordered the Zamidars not to help Gajapati of Khurda. British Authority knew, everything is going on under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru. Without any hesitation, Jayee Rajguru took bold step to collect revenues from the four Praganas and right on Jagannath Temple with the help of Paik troops. "A contingent of 250 cavalry soldiers and 900 Barkandazes from Khurda entered into Lembai, Rehang and Puri." (8) He also sent Paiks to invade the British occupied territory of Pipili. Hence with revenge mood Captain Hockland took military action against Gajapati and all in sudden attacked on 22-11-1804. The Paiks of Khurda fought against the British force under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru.

The Paiks of Khurda had used the traditional weapons such as – Dhala, Khanda, Kati, Sabeli, Chhura, Katari, Nali (gun), Daruguli, Topa, Kanda,



poisonous bow and arrow, Pathari kanda, Ganthia, Chadaka, Jajala, Chhela, Kuntia, Karabala, Tuala, Pari, Barda Nali, Barachhi, chakora etc. But British soldiers used advanced weapons. So, Khurda Paiks were defeated.

Harcourt also proceeded from Cuttack against the Raja of Khurda. The fort of the Raja was seized by Captain Storey. King Mukunda Deva-II was arrested on 3rd January 1805 and was imprisoned in Barabati fort at Cuttack and transferred to Midinapur prison immediately and released in 1807.

Jayee Rajguru was also arrested and was sentenced to death on 06th December 1806. He never bowed his head near British. His contribution for the King and Kingdom of Khurda is worthy to praise. He became Saheed for the Kingdom and freedom movement against British Raj. Not only Odias but also our country should be proud of him.

Jayee Rajguru lives in the soil, water and air of Khurda Kingdom. We are proud of him.

References:

- Samarjyoti, Martial tradition festival of Orissa 2003, Essay Orissa and her martial tradition by Dr. H.C. Das, 2003, p-82, Publisher: Advanced centre for Indo Logical studies, Bhubaneswar
- 2. Ibid-P-89
- Leaflet Martial tradition Festival of Orissa, 23-25-Nov-2003 organised by Advanced Centre for Indo Logical studies, Bhubaneswar in collaboration with Dept. of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Govt. of Odisha
- Shaheed Jayee Rajguru Editor Charudatta Panigrahi, P-14, Essay Jayee
 Rajguru : The unparallel phenomenon by Dr. Rama Chandra Mishra
- 5. History of Gangas / P-115-119, S.N. Rajguru. Published part-II by Dr. H.C. Das, Superintendent of Museum, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, Edition-1972
- 6. History of Orissa-I, Authors Dr. N.K. Sahu, Dr. P.K. Mishra, Dr. J.K Sahu, P-388, publisher: Nalanda, Edition-1991
- 7. Ibid-P-389

Jayee Rajguru - Is He the First Martyr of India?

Dr. Binodini Das

Retd. Reader in History Dolamundai, Cuttack-753009

It needs a proper critical analysis before pronouncing Jayee Rajguru, the royal priest and the minister (*Dewan*) in the court of Khurda king, as the first martyr of India who fought recklessly with undaunted valiant spirit against the East India Company in the first decade of 19th century. Since, it is a contradictory and debatable issue, an evaluative assessment is made here dealing all available contemporary events inscribed on the genuine records. Occurrences of sporadic outbursts were noticed against the alien rulers inclusive of the East India Company which got momentum just after the Battle of Plassey of 1757. Ganjam was the first region of Odisha which was given to French General Bussy because of his help in installing Salabatjung as the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1753.(1) But, the feudatory chiefs of the Ganjam carried out resistance against the French domination by not paying the taxes. In order to create fear in the minds of the feudatory states, General Bussy devastated Bobili Zamindari along with royal family of Chicacole Sarkar. (2) Becoming terror panic, most of the Zamindars of Ganjam did not dare to defy the French authority except the king of Ghumsur. In the tussle with the Ghumsur Chief, General Bussy had to make a compromise as the geographic situation and climatic condition obstructed the advance march of the later. (3) After the defeat of Siraj-Udaula in the Battle of Plassey, the *Nizam* of Hyderabad, who was confronted with domestic feud, leaned towards the British to save his position. In 1759, Ganjam was transferred to the East India Company and in 1766; it was placed under the Madras Presidency. (4) Stiff resistance against the British authority arose in many occasions over the issue of paying revenues by the Zamindars of the Ganjam like Badakhemundi, Athagarh, Paralakhemundi, Chikiti, Khallikote, etc., which were vehemently suppressed making them to be obedient. (5) This was the historical scenario before the British occupation of Odisha in 1803.

Resistance to alien-rule either by the local chiefs or by the commoners appeared in other parts of India whose socio-economic and political interests was grossly violated from 1757 onwards. Uprisings were noticed in different parts of Bengal. The first among them was the Sannyasi rebellion (1766-1820)*, that broke out in Murshidabad and Baikunthapur forests of Jalpaiguri in Bengal in the late 18th century, which is referred by some as an early war for India's independence from British yoke** since the right to collect taxes had been given to the East India Company, where as others assess it as acts of violent banditry following the depopulation of the province in the Bengal famine of 1770.⁽⁶⁾ One Majnun Shah, a faqir of Madariya group of Sufi Silsila order from the present Uttar Pradesh was told to unite the Hindu and Muslim ascetics against the British on many occasions raiding government treasuries, killing British officers and causing acute chaos and misery. He is told to receive a severe wound while raiding the areas adjacent to Mymesingh in a battle against East India Company led by Lieutenant Brenan. After this incident, he was reported to retire to the dargah of Shah Madar in Maganpur in Kanpur district where he died on 26th January 1788. (7) Musa Shah, the nephew of Mainun, following his uncle's suit was killed in an encounter in 1792. The question here is that "Did Majnun Shah, Musa Shah and Dasnami Nagas truly fought for the liberation of Bengal or for their own financial gains?" Obviously, it was found that they were not imbibed with the spirit of 'Bengali nationalism or 'Nationalism' from broader perspectives rather they displayed their interest on their personal pecuniary gains.

Another uprising of great importance called 'Chuar Revolt' (1766-72) against the British rule continued for around three decades from 1768-1799 in Jungle *Mahal* of north-western Midnapur. The leader of this revolt was a displaced Zamindar called Durjan Singh who along with 1500 local followers fought against the British, but was suppressed with utmost cruelty and deceit with the help of local zamindars. ⁽⁸⁾

In Kerala, uprisings emerged towards the last part of 18th century which continued to the early decade of 19th century. Keral Varma replaced his own uncle Vira Verma as the ruler of Kottayam (Cotiote) in 1774 at the age of 21 since the later fled away to Travancore and became popular as Pazhassi *Raja*. Vira Verma who was raised as the ruler of Kottayam collected exorbitant taxes from the peasants to meet the revenue targets fixed by the

British authorities and this led to a rise of mass resistance in 1793 under the leadership of Pazhassi *Raja*. Records show that he was a great ally of East India Company in the seige of Mysore in 1780. Further, he extended his absolute support to the British during Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-1792). But, when the provisions of the understanding between him and the British were reversed by the Treaty of Seringapatam (1792) after Anglo-Mysore War III, Pazhassi *Raja* was obstinate to accept British sovereignty. So the wars fought between him and the British in two phases and he was killed on 30 Nov. 1805 in a gun fight at Mavila Thodu. ⁽⁹⁾

Such was the case with Velu Thampi, the Dalawa (Prime Minister) of the kingdom of Travancore, who cultivated good relationship with Major Macaulay. When he got the information that a conspiracy was hatched out against him to oust from Dalawaship because of his undue severity and overbearing conduct, he fled away to Cochin to seek refuge with Maculay. Further, when the Nairs, the principal component of Tranvacore army rose in rebellion against him, he with the support of the British Resident suppressed them inflicting severe punishments, e.g., tying the legs of Krishna Pillai, a commander of rebellious regiment, with two elephants which were driven in two opposite directions, tearing him to pieces. Shortly after this event, his relationship with the British was estranged on the issue of payment of expenses made by the British on putting down the Nair mutiny. Though the king supported the British, but, Velu Thampi with Govinda Menon attacked the fort of Cochin and murdered Major Macaulay and Kunju Krishna Menon in the battle of Quilon in 1807. In the aftermath of the battle Velu Thampi fled to Mannadi temple where he committed suicide. (10)

Jayee Rajguru alias Jayakrushna Rajguru Mahapatra, the valiant and undaunted hero of the freedom struggle of India, was born in an aristocratic noted learned family to Chand Mahapatra and Haramani Devi on the 9th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Kartika*, i.e, 29th October 1739 in the village of Biraharekrushnapur Sasana of Puri district. (11) After the performance of sacred thread ceremony at the age of nine, his childhood name Amulya was changed to Jayakrushna which was further made shortcut as Jayee by his mother. (12) Then began the pupillary state at the traditional Sanskrit tols, Emar *Matha* and then at Govardhan *Pitha* in Puri in learning the Vedas, Sastras, Puranas, Kavyas, Alankara, Vyakarana, Jyotisha Vidya, Yuddha Vidya, etc, in Sanskrit as it was the lingua franca by that time. (13) As

a born genius and brilliant boy, he could prove his mettle by mastering over the hundred slokas in Sanskrit perfectly reciting, explaining and interpreting its theme that made him to be conferred the title 'pundit'. (14) Not only that, he composed thousand and thousand slokas in Sanskrit properly explaining and analysing its substance. (15) His father's training made him to be adept in martial art like horse riding, wrestling, weight lifting, and swords play, etc. Self-confidence, strong determination, courage and dare devil spirit did not let him to break down due to the untimely death of his father rather it made him to be resolute to do something novel for the kingdom. After completion of one year of his father's death, he went to Gaya along with his friends to make 'asthi-visrjan' (immersion of ashes and half-burnt bones) of his father from where he proceeded to Benares and stayed there for long time learning occult mastering over special art Dhumavati. (16) On his return, he found his mother seriously ill and she died shortly. Now, he got determined to lead a bachelor's life serving the motherland.

His versatility and multi-talented personality drew the attention of the Gajapati king Divyasimha Deva who appointed him as the Rajguru and the minister in his court in the year 1780.(17) A conflict had been ensued over the succession of the throne between Mukunda Deva (the son of Divya Simha Deva) and Shyamasundar Deva (the second son of Birakishore Deva) after the death of Divyasimha Deva. However, the claim of Mukunda Deva was legalised due to strong support of Jayee Rajguru and the Marathas. (18) Jayee Rajguru becme the regent of minor king Mukunda Deva II and ruled the kingdom on his behalf. The prime objective of Jayee Rajguru from the very day of his appointment as a minister by king Gajapati Divyasimha Deva in 1780, were how to consolidate the Gajapati rule by cultivating friendly relationship with the neighbouring states and other states in Odisha; to organize and discipline the militia whose morale was at the lowest ebb; to infuse moral vigour in the minds of the common people inclining them towards royal family by distributing the unclaimed and uncultivated lands for sharecropping via the village headman; to save the common people from the oppression of the Maratha bargees; to promote mercantile community both for inland and out land trade for fetching financial prosperity in the one hand and on the other, doing the work of spying; and, to develop a strong coherent bond among the people of Khurda and rulers of the then Odisha by way of inclining all of them with the Jagannath Culture and thus, infusing Odia nationalism in their minds. (18)

He was that charismatic personality with profound knowledge and wisdom that fulfilled all the desired aims by adopting a very tactful strategy and deep love for the nation from which he never deviated even if some lucrative situations arose on different occasions. Some social scientists view that Jayee Rajguru was mainly fighting against the threat imposed by the British towards the seizure of his feudal lands is truly a misrepresentation of historical evidences. He was the man who exchanged his house site, situated in Kundheibent Sahi of Puri town near Buxi Naara, with a Maratha gentleman for a horse and borrowed some money from Narottam Das to make trip to Nagpur with an objective to dissuade the Maratha ruler, Raghuji Bhonsle to permit the English army to march through Odisha to Madras. (19) Though this attempt was a failure, but this action testified to his strong commitment to Khurda kingdom. He had enough opportunity to usurp the throne of Khurda, but, as he was a man of absolute integrity and utter dedication to the Gajapati rule and Khurda kingdom, nothing could distract him from his resolution.

It was very much against the wishes of regent Rajguru, the young King Mukunda Deva-II entered into negotiation with Colonel Harcourt permitting the latter to mobilize his army through Khurda to Cuttack on condition of payment of Rupees one lakh with restoration of four valuable *Praganas* of Limbai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskud which were ceded to the Marathas by Gajapati Birakishore Deva as he could not repay the promised amount of one lakh of rupees for their military help in defeating his arch rival Jagannath Narayan Deva. (20) After the siege, the British proclaimed its suzerainty over all the states of Odisha including Khurda asking them to acknowledge its authority and violated the treaty terms. The Khurda king remained adamant to put his signature on the agreement paper inspite of the various threats of the British officials. (21)

On 11th March 1804, Jayee Rajguru accompanied by Digambar Bhuan, Bali Sundara and 2000 trained soldiers gheraoed the office of Colonel Harcourt in the Barabati fort at Cuttack. (22) Colonel Harcourt bluntly refused to return four *Praganas* on the plea that the lands were transferred to them by the Marathas and only offered forty thousand rupees which was reluctantly received by Jayee Rajguru to spend it to organise the army. (23) It was told that Jayee *Raja*guru was offered two *Praganas* as a bribe on condition to maintain indifference towards British imperial expansion. This offer was really

insulting for a person like Jayee Rajguru who was a man of integrity, morality and self-prestige and deep love for the motherland. As all the efforts of Rajaguru failed, he occupied the four Praganas with his own army as a result of which the Khurda king was deprived of his traditional rights over the Jagannath temple in September1804. Rajguru united the kings of other feudatory states like Kujanga, Kanika, Harishpur and Marichpur, etc. He and the king were arrested in 1805 and were sent from Cuttack to Midnapore. Later on, the Raja was released on pleading innocence and accusing Rajguru as the real mastermind behind this episode. On the other hand, Jayee Rajguru, a man of self-sacrifice and undaunted spirit, declared that "he had caused the disturbance, that the Raja was a child and what had been done, had been done by himself". He was not grievous nor in remorse for his action. His bold and blatant statement exhibits true love for his own motherland and integrity to the royal dynasty. Considering his effort to unite some of the feudatory states against the British, he was the earliest promoter of nationalistic cult or nationalism in India. This great selfless man received a very sorry end of his life by being hanged in a banyan tree with two legs tied to opposite of the branches on 6th December 1806 in Baghitota in Midnapore. (24)

Jayee Rajguru had no personal ambition and interest. His ambition centered around Khurda kingdom, Jagannath temple and the Gajapati dynasty. The hypothetical overview, "Is Jayee Jajguru, the first martyr of India?", turns to an acclaimed theory and that Jayee *Raja*guru was unique in sacrifice, determination, resolution and confidence. Considering all other aspects, he must be undoubtedly judged as the First Martyr of Undivided India.

References:

- Dash, Pandit Surya Narayan (1957), Odishare Swadhinata Sangramara Itihasa (Odia), Part-1, Odisha Itihasa Gabeshana Bhawan, Armstrong Road, Puri, p.3
- 2. Ibid, p.4
- 3. Ibid, pp.3-4
- 4. Ibid, pp.8-9
- 5. Ibid, pp.12-16



- 6. *The rebellious activities carried out by both the migrant Hindu Sannyasis and the Mulim Fakirs against the East India Company as the latter prohibited them collecting taxes from the Zamindars and other laymen while on their pilgrimage to different holy shrines in Bengal in 1786.
- 7. **Since the right to collect tax had been given to British East India Company after the Battle of Buxar in 1764.
- Lorenzen, D.N. (1978), "Warrior Ascetics in Indian History, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol.98(1), pp.617-75
- 9. Ghosh, Jamini Mohan(1930), Sannyasi and Fakir Raiders in Bengal, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, p.47
- 10. O'Malley, L.S.S, ICS(1908), Bengal District Gazetteers, pp.21-41
- 11. Pazhassi Revolt, https://en.m.wikipedia.org
- 12. Velu Thampi Dalwa, https://en.m.wikipedia.org
- 13. Mishra, Jatadhari(2017), Amar Sahid Jayee Rajguru(Odia), Gopabandhu Sahitya Mandira, Gopabandhu Bhawan, Cuttack, pp.19-20
- 14. Ibid, p.22
- 15. Rath, Bijay Chandra(2017), Jayee Rajguru and Anti-Colonial Resistance at Khurda, Sishukalam, B/9, Sahid Nagar, Bhubaneswar, p.58
- Rao, Narayan(2016), Jayee Rajguru(A profile of the great Patriot of Odisha), Gopabandhu Sahitya Mandira, Gopabandhu Bhawan, 'Samaja' Office, Cuttack,p.18
- 17. Mishra, Jatadhari, op.cit, p.22
- 18. Ibid, pp.25-26
- 19. Rath, Bijay Chandra, op.cit, pp.60-61
- 20. Ibid, pp.62-68; Mishra, Jatadhari, op.cit, pp.35-42
- 21. Ibid, p.71
- 22. Ibid, p.50
- 23. Ibid, p.89
- 24. Mishra, Jatadhari, op.cit, pp.56-57
- 25. Ibid
- 26. Rath, Bijay Chandra, op.cit, .119



Jayee Rajguru: Re-Assessing the Strength of his Undaunted Bravery

Dr. Ram Chandro Misro

Professor of History (Retd) House No: B2/41, Lingaraj Vihar, Pokhariput, Bhubaneswar - 751020

The *Paik* Rebellion of 1804 that took place in Khurda region of Odisha, under the able leadership of Jayee Rajguru, was an organized armed revolt against the British. As the *Paiks* belonged to various categories of people including the hill tribes, irrespective of caste and creed, the Khurda revolt of 1804 was in fact a mass movement in which we find a unique harmony of non-cooperation and aggressive nationalism. The hero of this earliest war of Independence was Jayee Rajguru, the central figure of mass movement with unflinching courage and unwavering patriotism, a great statesman and a freedom fighter who was brutally executed by the British on 6th December 1806 and till date who has not been accorded his due place in the pages of the history of the freedom movement of our country.

Jayee Rajguru played a pivotal role in organizing the *Paiks* at a crucial juncture of history of Khurda. As Jayee Rajguru was adept in diplomacy and state craft, he dared to confront the formidable British forces, and definitely it was a challenge to the colonial hegemony and a resistance movement against the expansionist policy of the British. It is now our duty today to appreciate the courage and valour of this super hero of the soil who had the audacity to challenge the British authority with firmness and defiance.

Jayee Rajguru stood as an animated and energetic leader with fearless spirit and indomitable courage to face the impending challenge of the British by uplifting the sagging morale of the *Paiks* and the local militia. And with the consent of the minor king became the "Buxi' or the Commander-in-Chief of Khurda kingdom to gear the war, with greater zeal and vigour, against the British. Jayee Rajguru, the chivalrous hero, was much manly and elegant in dealing with the British, and he had also the strong determination and courage to lead the people and also the *Paiks*.

Jayee Rajguru had the spirit of sacrifice to safeguard the interest of his countrymen. His emphatic and energetic appeal to the people of Khurda region was so potent and powerful that it energized the whole people of the kingdom who made the vow to support the king and the *Diwan* as well as the daring and valiant *Paiks* to defend the independence of Khurda territory. Rajguru's persuasive advice to his people was very much compelling and convincing, and his weighty words were potent to inspire the people who came forward with dynamic spirit to take domineering and drastic steps with vigour and fierceness in order to repel the aggressive march of the British forces. Thus, in the *Paik* Rebellion of 1804 A.D. all the households of the entire Khurda kingdom, directly or indirectly, participated which made it a "Mass Movement".

In spite of Jayee Rajguru's gifted talents and adequate skill in organizing the *Paiks* of Khurda, the war was won by the British because of their superior armaments. However, the coherence and diligence shown by the tenacious General Jayee Rajguru, and also the tough fight given by the determined and unyielding *Paiks* were greatly responsible for their increased annihilation and sacrifice by the superior guns of the British.

Jayee Rajguru laid the first foundation stone of the *Paik* Rebellion on 11th March 1804, when he marched from Khurda to Cuttack heading two thousand armed *Paiks* with a plan to show his strength to Colonel Harcourt to persuade him to stand by the earlier deal, but Rajguru was only paid Rs. 40,000/- and was refused to get back the four *Praganas* like Lumbai, Rahanga, Surai and Chaubiskud. This was the beginning of *Paik* Rebellion on the soil of Odisha and this day of 11th March 1804 saw the birth of the *Paik Bidroha* under the single leadership of Jayee Rajguru who with his uncompromising patriotism and selfless sacrifice determined to fight against the British to protect the independence of the Khurda kingdom, it's minor king and his subjects including the Jagannath culture, it's traditions and rituals. Indeed, Jayee Rajguru was the *Janaka* or Father (i.e. Chief Architect) of the Khurda *Paik* Rebellion of 1804 A.D.

However, the horrific holocaust in the Battle of Barunei, fought at the foot of Barunei hill in the first week of December 1804, created a gloomy and melancholic situation in the Khurda kingdom and the very carnage which brought direction in the *Paik* families made it inevitable for a big pause of thirteen years. After an elapse of a period of thirteen years i.e. in 1817 A.D.

the revengeful attack on the British was started by the youngsters of the *Paik* families who by now grew up as young and energetic fighters with proper training in martial art and also in guerrilla warfare in various village *Paik Akhadas*.

Thus, between the years 1804 and 1817 A.D., during these thirteen years, the boys in the *Paik* families between the age group of seven and seventeen years grew up, and the youngsters now became youthful persons with well built physique with adequate training in martial art, to resist the British hegemony by organizing various protest and resistance movements under various local leaders; and to a great extent increased the worries and anxieties of the British police and other officials.

When we critically analyse and compare the two Paik Rebellions that took place in 1804 A.D. and 1817 A.D. on the soil of Odisha, we notice one important feature which distinctly attracts the attention of the scholars. The fact that both the rebellions were not separated from each other but a single resistance movement developed into two phases in 1804 A.D. and 1817 A.D., and on these two occasions the Paiks of Khurda fought against the Imperialist and the Expansionist policies of the British. The history of 1817 Paik Rebellion cannot be studied in isolation side-tracking the Paik Rebellion of 1804 A.D. The 1804 resistance movement more properly laid down the basic foundation upon which the 1817 revolt rested for its prolonged struggle against the aliens. Moreover, in 1804 revolt there was unitary leadership i.e. a single and solitary leader Jayee Rajguru who was seen in the war scene to defend the minor king, his kingdom and subjects heading thousands of daring Paiks of Khurda land. And Jayee Rajguru had possessed inborn qualities of leadership in his character and he developed spontaneous leadership in the wake of challenging situations. Indeed, he was not a made leader, but was a born leader.

On the other hand, in 1817 revolt we notice multiple leadership, more than a dozen leaders, who were made leaders in different periods in various localities and pockets, mostly by the *Paiks* and local militia of Khurda land. When the new generation of *Paiks* came to the forefront to take revenge against the British for the huge and heavy losses in terms of men and money inflicted by the British army in 1804, they wanted to boast some people in their localities as leaders who could help them to co-ordinate the whole affairs of their resistance movement against the oppressive colonial government.

The thousands of *Paiks*, who were either killed or wounded and crippled by the British army in 1804 revolt, were mostly the kith and kin of the new generation of *Paiks* who did not forget the cruel action of the alien foe. Under these circumstances more than a dozen leaders suddenly sprang up in 1817 A.D. in various pockets of Khurda territory under whose leadership the *Paiks* determined to harass and jeopardise the British administration through various acts of revolt and violence. Thus, these leaders in 1817 made sudden appearance at the call of the pressing situation, and hence were not born leaders but more or less they were leaders by circumstances.

It is absolutely amazing to the scholarly world today when it is noticed that there was mostly absolute silence on the soil of Khurda territory for nearly thirteen years from 1804 A.D. to 1817 A.D. and not even a single leader during these thirteen years came to the forefront to raise any voice of protest in any corner of the Khurda land when the fall of Barunei Fort took place on 4th December 1804 by the British army under the leadership of Major Robert Fletcher. The so-called leaders who were seen in 1817 revolt did not raise any voice when on 5th December 1804 the British declared that Mukunda Deva-II was no longer the king of Khurda, and again when on 7th December 1804 the British by a Proclamation deposed and dethroned the Raja of Khurda and also annexed his territories to British Odisha. None of the leaders of the 1817 revolt even raised any protest voice earlier when on 3rd January, 1805 Raja Mukunda Deva-II was captured by Col. Harcourt, being betrayed by a British spy Fateh Mohammad Khan, and also when the Raja was sent, as a prisoner, first to Barabati Fort, and then to Midnapur Jail as a State Prisoner. And there was also no protest in any corner of the Khurda territory when the Raja Mukunda Deva-II was at last released from Jail in 1807 A.D. but was not allowed to reside in Khurda. Even the successors of Mukunda Deva-II were not allowed to stay at Khurda. Their residence was shifted to Puri and thereafter they came to be known as the Raja of Puri, but not the Raja of Khurda. Though Raja Mukunda Deva-II's position was degraded, no leader raised any standard of revolt against the British in support of their Raja.

On the other hand, Jayee Rajguru was captured by Colonel Harcourt's forces soon after the fall of Barunei Fort at Khurda, and the trial for his alleged offence commenced at Midnapur, a far off place, because his presence alone was sufficient to spark off fresh rebellion in the state. Jayee Rajguru neither

blamed the king nor pleaded for lenience rather was proud of what he had done. With undaunted courage he accepted all the charges levelled against him, and fearlessly told the court that fighting for freedom of one's own motherland was never a crime. In the trial which was a mere mockery, Rajguru was not only found guilty of waging war against the lawfully established government but also held responsible for the loss of many lives in the rebellion of 1804, and was later ordered to be hanged to death. Thus, on 6th December 1804 at Baghitota (i.e. Baghi-grove) of Midnapur, now located 17 kms away from Balasore city, the two legs of Jayee Rajguru were tied to two separate and opposite branches of a Banyan tree and the branches were left off splitting his body into two parts. Thus, he was made Saheed in a brutal manner. But the irony of history is that when the super hero of the soil with immense bravery and valour fought against the British heading thousands of courageous *Paiks* of Khurda territory to safeguard the independence of the kingdom as well as to protect the Jagannath culture, its rituals and traditions, and made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the motherland, no leader on the soil raised any voice in his favour against the alien foe. This alone proves that the people during this crucial period were very much afraid and frightened to take leadership in raising any voice or any standard of revolt to oppose the British government.

As discussed in the preceding paragraphs after a big pause of thirteen years in 1817 with the desire of the new generation of young *Paiks* few leaders appeared on the soil of Khurda territory to help the *Paiks* to co-ordinate their revengeful actions against the alien administration. Thus, the outbreak of the second phase of *Paik* Rebellion in 1817 greatly owes to the revengeful attitude of the new young generation of *Paiks* whose kith and kin were either killed or crippled in the Khurda revolt of 1804 A.D. The 1804 Khurda *Paik* Rebellion was one of the earliest resistance movements on the soil of the Indian subcontinent, and the first of its kind on the soil of Odisha Province. Jayee Rajguru was not only one of the first martyrs of India, but also a prominent figure of the Indian Independence Movement. He was a man of fearless spirit with undaunted bravery and indomitable courage in the colonial era of India. His hold of patriotic flag is flying high, even today after two hundred years, in the annals of the history of Indian freedom movement. Indeed, as a freedom fighter Jayee Rajguru was par excellence in the modern era of Indian history.

The 1804 Khurda Rebellion was actually an original rebellion i.e. an independent upheaval which was nothing but a spontaneous movement

against the British betrayal and treason. On the other hand, the 1817 upheaval, which broke out as the second phase of the *Paik* Rebellion, was never itself an independent rebellion, but mostly a dependent rebellion (*Ashrita Bidroha*), dependent on the 1804 event and its consequences. Hence, the very originality or root of 1817 upheaval can only be noticed in the 1804 event and its aftermath consequential effects. Therefore, the 1817 resistance movement was a mere shadowy rebellion (i.e. *Chhaya Bidroh*) or is more candidly it can be called as a 'sheltered' (i.e. *Ashrita*) rebellion. In other words it can be said that the 1817 rebellion was a mere extension (*Samprasarita*) of 1804 rebellion, and this itself establishes the fact that there was a definite 'causation' link between the two events.

In 1817, the perfervid *Paiks*, being frenzied and furious, determined with acrimonious zeal to take intense revenge against the British for their cruel and cold-hearted action which led to the brutal and cold-blooded killings of *Paiks* during the seize of the Barunei fort in the first week of December 1804 A.D. The fervour and fieriness in their revengeful action was so much that the *Paiks* also became stern and hard-hearted in dealing with the British because 'revenge' was their slogan and 'revenge' was also the sole motto of the *Paiks* of 1817 A.D.

However, the *Paik* Rebellion of 1804 reminds us of the struggle of the masses including the *Paiks*, Daleis, Dalabeheras, peasants, artisans and tribals, who participated in this freedom struggle of our country. Jayee Rajguru stood as an animated and energetic leader among the vivacious and high-spirited *Paiks* of Khurda kingdom, and was bold enough to infuse new spirit and confidence in the hearts and minds of all *Paiks* of Khurda kingdom in fighting against the British. The *Paik* Rebellion of 1804 remained as a torch bearer for the anti-colonial movements in Odisha and outside, and thus, inspired greatly for further movements for freedom on the soil of the Indian sub-continent.



Resisting Dominance: Situating Jayee Rajguru

Dr. Soma Chand

Professor and Head of the Department Post Graduate Department of History Utkal University, Bhubaneswar

This, State Level Seminar has been organized in collaboration with Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Parishad, Odisha. The theme of the seminar seems befitting in the present context. When, the bi-centenary celebration of *Paik* Resistance has drawn the attention of all concerned at the regional and national level, an assessment of Odia resistance movements since 1803 to 1857 deserves greater significance. The list is long and exhaustive. My focus in today's address will mainly centre around Jayee Rajguru in particular and then, short references to the outbreak of resistance movements in various parts of the region till the Great Revolt of 1857. I shall try to situate Rajguru Jayakrushna Mohapatra familiar as Jayee Rajguru who has remained as a less discussed leading protagonist on the stage of Anti-British Struggle of 1804.

Dominance and Resistance are exhaustive words. Where there is dominance, resistance is there in the sense that both are inter-linked. Dominance causes resistance and resistance challenges the status-quo: may be implicit or explicit, silent or vibrant, direct or indirect, internal or external, physical or mental. The Conflict Theory of Karl Marx between the haves and the have-nots, Max Weber's Theory of Resistance between Authority and Power, Vilfredo Pareto's Concept of Resistance between Elites versus Non-Elites can be better cited in this regard.

In the context of Odisha, the spirit of resistance to dominance is inherent with Odia blood. The reference to Odia martial and resistance spirit has got reflection in the epic of Mahabharat. The mythological description gets further strengthened with recorded history of Odisha from Kalinga War of 261 B.C. The inscription of Ashoka refers Kalinga as an *Abijita* (unconquered) country which was proud of its independent existence since

olden times. The war is a unique testimony to the Odia spirit of resistance in challenging the political dominance of the third Mauryan Emperor Ashok. The figures of the dead and injured engraved in the edicts though present an inflated picture point to a sanguinary conflict.

In the subsequent period, the regional, sub-regional dynasties have exhibited the spirit that needs no further description. In the medieval phase, the Odia spirit of resistance can be best illustrated by the fact that in the face of Muslim dominance at the national level, the Gangas and *Gajapatis* ruled the region with extraordinary glory and glamour.

After 1568, Odisha came under the Afghan, Mughal and Maratha dominance respectively. The British occupation was the last in the process though the foundation of their rule was laid in 1757 with the defeat of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah in the Battle of *Plassey*. From 1757 to 1803, it took 46 years to bring the coastal districts of Odisha under colonial hegemony, an index to the courageous resistant Odia spirit.

In 1799, was published '*The Pleasure of Hope*' by Thomas Campbell. Few lines run as follows:

To pour redress on India's injured realm
The oppressor to dethrone, the proud of whelm;
To chase description from her plundered shore
With arts and arms that triumphed once before
The tenth Avtaar comes!....
Come, Heavenly powers; primeval peace restore
Love! Mercy! Wisdom! Rule for even more.

Campbell wrote the poem in 1799 anticipating Indian spirit of resistance against colonial misrule and exploitation even to the extent of Tenth incarnation for restoration of freedom and prosperity.

The 19th century India thus witnessed a series of resistance movements ultimately culminating in the Great Revolt of 1857. Odisha was not an exception to this general trend. In 1803, the coastal belt of Odisha came under British occupation. Rajguru Jayakrushna Mohapatra, a less discussed figure in the anti-colonial resistance in Khurda of 1804, has left an indelible impression of his remorseless embrace of martyrdom.

Over the year as we analyze, proper attention has not been paid to portray the true picture of his role in the entire sequence of events and to place him on proper footing. His iconic personality, sense of commitment and sacrifice amaze gen-next with a sense of Odia national pride and dignity.

The British were fundamentally different from indigenous and other Asiatic invaders. Their political acumen as well as military equipment made them superior to others. Since 18th century, diplomatic efforts to acquire Odisha had been unsuccessful. In 1803, Odisha was conquered being one of the last provinces to come under the process. After the British occupation, they advanced agreement to the rulers of Khurda, Mayurbhanj, Angul and other princely states to recognize them as their paramount authority and to pay regular *Peskash* or tribute. An offensive, defensive triple alliance was formed among *Raja* of Khurda, Kanika and Kujang. Zamindars of Bishenpur, Marichpur and Harishpur joined the alliance. Even two representatives of *Raja* of Berar-Anant Naik and Kanoji promised assistance to the king. But the resident of Nagpur and *Raja* of Khurda could not get any help from Berar at the hour of need.

After the arrest of Jayee Rajguru, on 3rd January 1805 the *Raja* of Khurda was captured. Balabhadra Bhanja, *Raja* of Kanika was taken as prisoner while Chandradhwaja Sendha, *Raja* of Kujanga was dethroned.

Jayee Rajguru was captured by colonel Harcourt's forces and was regarded as the mastermind behind the rebellion. On the basis of the averment of Khurda *Raja* Mukundadev-II and by his own assertion, Jayee was convicted of waging a war against the lawfully established government and was ordered to be hanged to death which was implemented on 6th December 1806. The rebellion was curbed but not scotched. It reappeared in greater magnitude in various forms in subsequent years.

The story of anti-colonial resistance in Khurda is quite long. But as pointed earlier, it is necessary to situate Jayee Rajguru whom posterity looks back with gratitude, to his greatness and sacrifice.

A strategist to the core, his tenure of office was marked with multifarious innovative reforms in administration. It was a period of favourable inter-state business relation, which was utilized for furtherance of Odia nationalistic aspirations.

Reorganization of the *Paiks*, rationalization of the process of recruitment, procurement of proper arms and ammunition, effective strategy during the war (reference to *Dhumavati Art*) made the resistant force more effective. The division of army to Pahadi (to be deployed in hilly tracts with sword, spear, shield, berger), *Banua* (proficient in fighting with bow, arrow, cracker, trident), *Dhenkia* (tall, well-built *Paiks* to be deployed as bodyguards or in strategic location), *guerrilla* (heavily built *Paiks* of aggressive demeanour to fight in forests and hilly regions with sudden attack) speak of Rajguru's farsight in developed technique and skill to resist dominance.

Despite his dynamism and strength, he never tried to belittle the importance of the King of Khurda, *Raja* Mukundadev-II. In his encounter with colonial power, he had earned unconditional support of the people and in his deeds, he provided the base to the Odia identity and finally in his death, he conquered life, aptly justifying his name Jayee, the victorious one.

Leadership constitutes the single most important factor in a movement. The ability to lead with courage, conviction and determination for the attainment of goal, forms the cardinal trait of a good leader. Jayee Rajguru essentially fits into this stereotype. He was the last achetype to adorn the coveted post in the long line of Rajguru tradition who dedicated himself for nationalistic cause.

Lord Byron wrote in 1824 in 'The Curse of Minerva'-

Look to the East, where Ganges' swarthy race Shall shake your tyrant empire to its base Lo! Their Rebellion rears her ghastly head And glares the nemesis of Native dead Till Indus rolls a deep purpureal flood And claims his long arrear of northern blood.

'The Pleasure of Hope' of 1799 and 'The Curse of Minerva' of 1824the compilation gap is 25 years- but both the poems have smelled the spirit of dissent, protest and resistance.

In this background, Odisha does not lag behind. The Anti-Colonial Resistance in Khurda of 1804 was followed by *Paik* Rebellion of 1817, which can be regarded as an extension of the earlier one. Popular movements of Kandhas of Ghumsur and Baud under the leadership of Dora Bisoi and



Chakra Bisoi of afteryears also demonstrate the spirit resistance to dominance. It seems some landlords and ruling chiefs of Patana and Kalahandi maintained link being threatened by colonial rule. There was *Savara* Rebellion in Paralakhemundi under the stewardship of Radhakrishna Dandasena. The Banpur Rebellion of 1836 with Krutibas Patsani, Lochan Bisoi et, al, resistance by *Raja* Somnath Singh of Angul 1846 can be well fitted to the Odia resistant spirit against colonial domination.

Time rolls on. Landscape, reality and surrounding change. Regimes come and go. But what is left is memory. We must remember the spirit exhibited by our great ancestors who fought for our existence, stood firm on the sweeping flow of time as a strong embankment to keep our roots, our origin, our heritage and tradition alive with supreme selfless sacrifice. Thus, they have preserved our identity and existence.

The stories of their sacrifice are to be protected for posterity and disseminated.

First Leaf of Paik Rebellion: Raja and Rajguru

Dr. Asit Mohanty
Researcher

With the acceptance of 1817 as the year of *Paik* Rebellion, its second centenary has already been observed. Buxi Jagabandhu has been described as the pinnacle entity of this historic uprising against the British colonialism. If Buxi Jagabandhu happens to be the apex of this revolution against British colonialism, Jayee Rajguru was the real pioneer. This fact is getting accepted slowly. This historic fact is hard to ignore.

Jayakrushna Mohapatra alias Jayee Rajguru was the first Odia rebel against the British and also the first martyr from Odisha.

If we ponder over the two ends of 1803 A.D. and 1817 A.D., we discover two prominent rebels against colonialism. Buxi Jagabandhu who was defeated at the fag end of *Paik* Rebellion, surrendered before the British with a series of clauses. He was put under house arrest but provided pension. British historians documented all the events for their future generation. On the other hand, Jayee Rajguru did not surrender till his last breath. He was awarded death sentence. All attempts were made by colonial rulers to make history forget the freedom struggle of this brave man. It seemed British colonial ruler's fangs were unable to make Jayee Rajguru bow down before them.

More than two centuries have passed since then. But till now it has not been possible to collect and compile these lost pages of history of British rule in Odisha. Jayee Rajguru has not yet received his due place and respect in history. It seems historians do not have the courage to accept the recently discovered facts to rewrite the chronicles. But he continues to live in minds of Odia commoners. Now by the call of the time, historians are also trying to rediscover lost pages of life of Jayee Rajguru.

It is the historic event of a *Raja* and his mentor, the Rajguru. It was the time of entry of colonial rulers. At that time Mukunda Deva, a minor in age was enthroned as king of Khurda. Jayi Rajguru was his guardian.

By that time British colonialists had taken over several parts of Odisha. Odisha was completely conquered by them in 1803.

For Odias, real ruler of their State is Lord Jagannath of Puri. This has kept Odias united since ages. This is evident from writings in 'Madala Panji' and various rock edicts.

After taking charge as Rajguru or royal mentor, Jayi Rajguru had tried to be regular in touch with rulers of *Gadajat* areas to bolster Odia unity. It has been documented in 'Jayee Rajguru and Anti-Colonial Resistance in Khurda' by eminent historian, Bijay Chandra Rath. Mr Rath has written, "The Lord of the Universe, Jagannath became symbol of unity and integrity and Odia identity started making its presence felt. In sync with the tune of Rajguru Parama Lakshmi Mohapatra (during the tenure of Raja Rama Chandra Deva II) he dreamt of building a united front of Odia states to combat the alien onslaught. Jayee Rajguru took the lead and in the end made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the motherland'.

In this context, tradition of Rajguru has to be elucidated. Rajguru had special status and duties in the royal family of Khurda. He was the administrative head and ultimate rule framer. He was second in command after the Gajapati *Maharaja*. Historian Chakradhara Mohapatra in his book 'Utkal Itihasa ra Ajnata Adhyay (1969)' has mentioned that the person for post of Rajguru was being selected from the knowledgeable persons of 16 sasana and 32 karabada. Rajguru was considered to be the prime minister of the state.

King's consent and faith were key factors during selection of the Rajguru. He was to be person with brain and brawn. He was to be adept in warfare and proficient in scriptures. Added to it political acumen was to be his forte. As representative of the sovereign, he had to take important decisions in consultation with the king. He was chief administrator of Sri Jagannath temple and as part of his duty chaired important decision making meetings of temple's 'Mukti Mandap'.

An important mention in Chakradhar Mohapatra's book describes a vital aspect of powers endowed with the Rajguru. It had provided a special title to Rajguru, the 'prahar-raj'. Rajguru had a special role to play after death of a reigning king. For at least a 'prahar' the Rajguru was taking over the throne till the new king got coroneted. So, he was termed 'prahar-raj'. On the premises of Sri Jagannath temple he had special power and prestige as the law maker. For it he used to hold a gold plated flag in his hand. 'Record of Rights' of Sri Mandir mentions him as the administrator of the temple. So, he was named Parichha/ Parikhya/ Rajguru. As servitor of Sri Jagannath he was next in rank after the Gajapati Maharaja. Historians accept that this continued till 1804.

It is noteworthy that Mukunda Dev II was coroneted after death of his father Dibyasingha Dev II who ruled for 17 years (1781-1798). The coroneted king was a minor. So, as the Rajguru, Jayakrushna Mohapatra had to take charge of administration of the State. He was erudite and a brave warrior. In no time he became famous all around as Jayee Rajguru.

Odisha was facing its saddest days of its history when Jayakrushna Mohapatra took charge as the Rajguru. His predecessor Narasingh Rajguru had died fighting against Bhanuji Bhonsle in the battle of Badambagada. So, Jayee Rajguru had to immediately lead the soldiers as their commander, after taking charge as the new Rajguru. Due to continuous invasions, his army was in a state of disarray and panic. But it had not affected their discipline. Paucity of funds and drought situation in the kingdom was added burden for the new Rajguru. Since the reign of Birakishore Dev, around 20 'hazari Mahal' landed property was under mortgage with Maratha rulers. It included four *Praganas* like Rahanga, Lembai, Sirai and Chabiskuda. As these properties were part of 'Amruta Manohi' assets of Sri Jagannath temple, its mortgage had started to affect day to day expenses of the temple.

After taking charge Jayee Rajguru first got the army organised. He could motivate and strengthen up defence forces through induction of new breed warriors from tribal community like *Pahadi Banua*, *Dhenkia* to build up a guerrilla force. It has been described in the book 'Amar Sahid Jayee Rajguru' by Jatadhari Mishra.

Jayee Rajguru continued to be anti-British. From 1797, he had minutely analysed and assessed long term motives of the British colonialists.

In his book 'Foundation of British Orissa (1960)', B.C.Ray has provided important information about it. East India Company management had requested Maratha ruler Raghuji Bhonsle to allow British army to travel to Madras via Odisha. But Jayee Rajguru had smelled dubious behind this move. He had rushed to Nagpur on his horse to appeal to the Maratha rulers not to allow this ploy of British colonialists to happen.

But later, British colonel Harcourt had managed to impress the king of Khurda to get a treaty signed. As per this treaty the four *Praganas* under the Marathas were to be returned back and one lakh rupees was to be paid in lieu of them. But this treaty with much hidden agenda had been signed in absence of Jayee Rajguru. This treaty had proved fatal for Odias in future.

On December 27, 1803 British rulers took over all Odia land that was under Marathas. But they did not return back the four *Praganas* to the Khurda king. Out of promised one lakh rupees, nothing was paid up except the initial payment of ten thousand rupees. Aggrieved by it, with a group of around 2000 soldiers, Jayee Rajguru detained Colonel Harcourt at Barabati fort.

Not only that, he also did not care for the threatening letter sent to king of Khurda by the Britishers. Instead in October 1804 he made a surprise attack on the troop of British army, while it was involved in warfare practice at Mahanadi river bed. It was followed by attacks on British army camps at Pipili and Delang.

Jayee Rajguru had anticipated British army attacking Khurda fort to target the king. So, he had secretly sent the king for safe shelter at Ganga Mata *Mutt* in Puri. He had made all arrangements for king's safety and well being at that place. He had sent a handwritten letter regarding it that has been discovered from premises of Ganga Mata Mutt. A noteworthy sentence of this letter says, "*Ethare ja hebara heba, ambha byabastha ambhe bujhibu* (Here will happen that has to happen, we will look after ourselves)". This hints that safety of the king was his primary duty and purpose. He was ready to put himself in any kind of danger for it.

Jayee Rajguru had made all efforts to get the two clauses in the treaty fulfilled by the British. But Colonel Harcourt did not agree to return back four *Praganas*. From the rest 90,000 rupees to be paid the British colonel paid up only 40,000 rupees. Irked by it, Jayee Rajguru had criticized lack of vision of his king Mukunda Dev II in extreme harsh words.

Jayee Rajguru had realised that heavy price had to be paid for the mistake made by the king by allowing British army to travel through Odisha. So, he did not hand over the 40,000 rupees he had collected from Colonel Harcourt to the king. He used it for development of Khurda kingdom and reorganization of *Paik* soldiers. He was hell bent to banish the British colonialists from Odisha.

British government had also realised Jayee Rajguru will continue to be thorn in the path of their colonial motives. So, British rulers had tried to make direct contact with the Khurda king. This duty was entrusted to Captain Blunt, who had sent a special envoy to the king. But Jayee Rajguru had proved to be the barrier between the king and the kingdom. The envoy could never meet the king.

Finding no other way out, British rulers had decided to eradicate both the king and the Rajguru from their path. The king was declared to be a rebel. Announcements were made that the king had been dethroned and anyone helping him will be punished.

At this juncture, an important fact should also be discussed. It is always claimed that while taking over Odisha, British government had promised not to interfere in the continuing rituals and day to day affairs of Sri Jagannath temple. But in reality it had never happened. Former curator of Odisha State Museum and historian Ramesh Prasad Mohapatra has elucidated it in his book 'Military History of Odisha (Cosmo Publications 1986)'. He has written, "When that was the situation between the Bristish and the Raja, the war between British and Maratha confederation was over. The possibility of an alliance between the Maratha and Raja was therefore, no longer there. Harcourt now decided to settle the matter once and for all. The commission in a proclamation of 1804 deposed the Raja of Khurda. All his subjects were now required to submit to British government and carry out their order. All debts contracted by the Raja were declared illegal".

Added to it historian Mr Mohapatra has also described how the British had intervened in the rituals of Sri Jagannath temple. He mentions in his book, "The Parichha of the Jagannath temple was directed not to invoke the name of Mukunda Dev at the time of worship of Lord Jagannath as he was greatest foe of the British Government".



Added to it Jayee Rajguru was also 'arch enemy' of the British. According to Mr. Mohapatra, 'He was considered the arch enemy of the British and as such he was awarded with capital punishment'.

Jayee Rajguru had accepted all the blame to protect Sri Jagannath and the Gajapati king, the foremost servitor of the temple. He had been tried at a dubious court of law with hidden agenda. He was killed in extreme inhuman manner. His two legs were tied to two branches of a banyan tree to get his body torn apart for this cold blooded murder.

Two centuries have passed since occurrence of this great sacrifice. But his remarkable revolt and fight to protect the motherland, the king, Sri Jagannath temple that ended in his martyrdom has got accepted as an immortal chapter of Odisha and India's history. It is our duty to provide him due position and respect in the annals of history.

References:

- 1. Madala Panji
- B.C. Rath, Jayee Rajguru and Anti-Colonial Resistance in Khurda, Bhubaneswar, 2017
- 3. Chakradhara Mohapatra, Utkal Itihasa ra Ajnata Adhyay (1969)
- 4. Jatadhari Mishra, Amar Sahid Jayee Rajguru
- 5. B.C.Ray, Foundation of British Orissa (1960)
- 6. Handwritten letter of Jayee Rajguru received from Gangamata Matha
- 7. Ramesh Prasad Mohapatra, Military History of Odisha, Cosmo Publications, 1986

Jayee Rajguru : Precursor of the Emerging Nationalism

Shibaprasad Dash

Retd. Reader, Dept. of History, Kshetramohan Science College, Narendrapur, Ganjam.

Jayee Rajguru sacrificed his life as a martyr for the sake of his motherland. He was the first martyr against the British rule who led a frontal war against the British. At the time of his brutal killing process he kept himself calm by reciting a sloka from 'Bira Saptapadi' and accepted the death bravely. With his martyrdom the territory of Odisha lost its independence and the chapter of the glorious history of Odisha came to an end.

His lifelong resistance to British rule has not been given its due place in the history. Jayee Rajguru was truly the pioneer and precursor of the emerging nationalism and the springing tiger of Odisha. It's time not to celebrate, but to act upon his ideologies, in a realistic way.

The Khurdha rising of 1804 was not only anti-British in nature but also served as the cornerstone for the establishment of the Odia identity. The uniqueness lies in the emergence of a sub- regional Odia nationalism alongside the urge for liberation. The support of the rulers and chieftains of the native States Kujanga, Kanika and others strengthened the cause against the British imperialistic policy.

Leadership constitutes the single most important factor in a movement. The ability to lead with courage, conviction and determination for attainment of the goals, forms the cardinal trait of a good leader. Jayee Rajguru essentially fits into this stereotype. His unmatched personality, fixity of purpose and the spirit of sacrifice set an iconic example and he merits timeless adoration.

Jayee Rajguru in many ways redefined the Odia character, infused self-respect and ambition and proved that leadership makes all the difference. Remembering Jayakrushna Rajguru Mohapatra/Jayee Rajguru, the statesman revolutionary and master of the kingdom (Rajguru) is akin to giving

oneself a lifetime opportunity to ingest and revitalize self-esteem and chivalry, which remains the life force of independent India and the spirit of indomitable Odisha. The first in the country to raise the voice of dissent against British Raj in 1803, Jayee Rajguru gave new meaning to statecraft and solidarity of the natives, then bereft of resources, moral courage & proaction.

Jayee Rajguru had the knowledge, the vision and the will power that he had inherited from his great forefathers, who were well versed in Sanskrit and were great scholars of learning and culture. That was his strength. He was an outstanding Sanskrit scholar and an intellectual of 18th century. He was also a great Tantra Sadhaka. He was an acclaimed Vidwan among the Pandits. He was not only an illustrious and voracious reader, but also had a brainy and witty mind. Besides, he had picked up from his father, Chand Rajguru, the techniques of wrestling, horse riding and sword fighting. It became his daily routine to pick up martial qualities in addition to worship of Gods and Goddesses and performance of Homa and Jagyan. Mother Haramani Devi taught her son that he should boldly and courageously support the king and save the kingdom from predatory raids of marahattas. He should protect the life and property of the people and repose faith and confidence on Lord Jagannath. The fighting qualities of his father and devotion and affection of his mother had a great impact on him.

He himself possessed superior warfare skills and knowledge of weaponry. Knowing very well the limitations of conventional weapons against a strong force like British, he encouraged the development of firearms in villages and tried to popularize this experimentation by various means. He personally moved from villages to villages to encourage the moral strength of the paiks. Jayee Rajguru was not only a splendid and vivacious organizer, but also a luminous and effulgent trainer in the art of warfare. He was considered as the chief Guru in the field of martial art. When he became the regent of the minor king Mukunda Deva-II, he introduced many changes in the administrative system and uplifted the sagging morale of the paiks and the local militia. As an animated and astute social worker, he urged the people to protest against acts of injustice and tyranny. Being a stalwart and resplendent leader, he organized Paik Akhadas in every nook and corner of Khurda kingdom where people were given training in martial arts. Indeed he was the chief Guru of paiks of Khurda. Ex-gratia grants were provided to the persons who were found to be disabled or diseased while discharging their

duties. The unused lands available in the villages were distributed for cultivation. Strict rules were followed for recruitment in the army. There appeared a popular resurgence of nationalism. His reforms in the army raised the morale of the paiks and threw off their feelings of inertia. At a crucial juncture of history of Khurdha, Jayee Rajguru played a pivotal role in organizing the Paika Forces.

He not only acted as chief priest and the regent of the king, but also assumed the role of chief advisor and commander of the armed forces of Khurdha Kingdom when the king was minor and the State suffered a great deal from internal dissensions. He dared to confront the formidable British forces that subjugated almost the entire country with much difficulty. He could influence the kings and chieftains of various adjoining localities and made a common cause against the British rule. His forces were defeated by superior artillery of British Army; notwithstanding, his personal bravery is exemplified at the trial before Col. Harcourt when he assumed all responsibility for the war to himself and exonerated the king Mukunda Dev II at the cost of his own brutal extermination.

Despite the terrible exemplary punishment like the execution of the leading protagonist (Jayee Rajguru) and extinction of the Khurda royal house, the resistance to the British expansionist policy did not die down and was resurfaced again in 1817. The revolutionary spirit thus inculcated in the minds of the people continued unabated. The high handed, retrograde policy of the British administration like frequent assessment of land, abolition of the rentfree tenures, consequent depreciation of 'cowree' currency and exorbitant rise in prices of essential commodities, introduction of the salt monopoly, arrogant and corrupt attitude of the police officials, atrocities and extortions of the Company's servants, dispossession of the landed gentries etc. affected adversely every section of the society. As a result, within a short span of time the valiant people of Khurda did not hesitate to register their protest in the shape of another rebellion in 1817 under the leadership of Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhara Mohapatra, who himself was a victim of gross official misdemeanor. This was an extension of the earlier anti-colonial movement which was carried on in 1804 under the stewardship of Jayee Rajguru.

We can't forget the sacrifice of legendry fighter Jayee Rajguru and his martyrdom which gave the Paikas an impetus to stand up against British and their exploitation with unparallel enthusiasm and courage subsequently

leading to various Paika Revolts. The revolt of 1817 by Buxi Jagabandhu, 1827 of Tapang by Madhab Chandra Routaray, 1836 of Banapur by Saran Singh and Krutibas Patasani, 1857 by Chandan Hajuri and Chakhi Khuntia, Sambalpur by Veer Surendra Sai, Kandhas of Ghumusar and Boudh by Chakara Bisoi, Savaras in Parlakhemundi by Radhakrishna Dandasena, Santalas in Birbhum and Bhagalpur, Koyas of Malkanagiri by Toma Dora, Mundas of Chhotnagpur by Birsa Munda and many more are some of the examples of the then revolts raised against Britishers. Jayee Rajguru became the role model of all freedom fighters of the country by his illustrious example of self sacrifice on the altar of liberation to liberate the motherland. More specifically the revolt of 1804 by Jayee Rajguru was a direct attack in the intricate web of conspiracy, deceit and manipulation of colonial administration and in defence of national honour. His challenge to colonial authority was based on astute diplomacy, undaunted courage and chivalry. Protection of the motherland was paramount in his operation and mission.

Jayee Rajaguru was the "Real Hero" & "True Champion" of the Paika Rebellion who was the architect behind the monumental recognition of Khurda Garh as the last Independent Fort of India. In other words Paika Rebellion was initiated under the able leadership of Jayee Rajguru and demonstrated in different rebellious forms at different places till India got her Independence.

References:

- 1. Jayee Rajguru A profile of great patriot of Odisha, 2016 by Dr. Narayan Rao.
- 2. Odishara Pratham Saheed Jayee Rajguru (Odia) by Jatadhari Mishra.
- 3. History of Odisha, Vol-II by Harekrushna Mahtab.
- 4. Freedom Struggle in Odisha, 2006 by Pf. Bhabani Charan Ray.
- 5. Martyr Jayee Rajguru: The Forgotten Hero of Paika Rebellion, November 10, 2017, Paper presented by Dr Dhirendra Nanda, Chairman, Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad, Odisha. In the National level History Symposium on "Paika Rebellion A Forgotten Era of Indian Freedom Struggle" by the Intellect with the help of the Govt. of Odisha and the Indian Council of Historical Research at India International Center, New Delhi.
- 6. Martyr Jayee Rajguru: The Forgotten Hero of Paika Rebellion- Dr P K Pattnaik
- Jayee Rajguru and Anti Colonial Resistance in Khurda, 2017 by Bijay Chandra Rath



- 8. Jayee Rajguru (1739-1805), in Orissa review, vol-I.LXI, no-1, Aug, 2002, p-27: T Mohanty
- 9. The First Resistance Movement In Khurda, in Orissa Review, vol.LX, no-1, Aug, 2003, p-27 J. Choudhury,
- 10. Bakhshi Jagabandhu: The Path Finder of Freedom Movement of India, Bhubaneswar, 2001, P-4, B.C.Ray,
- 11. Jayi Rajguru: A Profile of Courage, in Orissa review, vol.LIV, no-1,Aug,1997,p-41 Monalisha Jena,
- 12. A Forgotten Chapter of Orissan History, Calcutta, 1979. P.K .Pattanaik:
- 13. The First War of Indian Independence, Freedom Movement In Orissa, New Delhi,2005. P.K. Pattanaik:
- 14. Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th century, Calcutta, 1983 PK Mishra,..
- 15. Jayee Rajguru The marshal & first martyr of India's war of independence, Paika Bidroha. Edtd-Charudatt Panigrahi, 2017
- 16. Jayee Rajguru: The Unparallel Freedom Fighter of Khurda Paik Rebellion (1804) by Prof R C Mishro, in: OHRJ, vol.LVI,no- 3&4, 2017, p-1
- 17. Highlights of Freedom Struggle in Odisha, in Orissa review, vol.LIV, no-1, Aug, 1997, p-6-K S Behera

Authentic Identification of Medinipur The Place of Brutal Execution of Jayee Rajguru

A Report presented by Secretary Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Parishad, Odisha

Introduction:

Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad was formed at Bira HareKrushna Pur in the district of Puri, Orissa in 1983~84. Bira Harekrushna Pur happened to be the native place of Jayee Rajguru with a glorious ancestral background since the establishment of Biraharekrushna Pur Sasan. The sansad was registered on the 08th day of May, 1989 under Societies Act XXI of 1860 vide PR No: 2107/14 of 1989-1990.

The main objectives of the Smruti Sansad are:

- To "disseminate Knowledge" about Saheed Jayee Rajguru and spread his message amongst citizens of the state and the country.
- To make sustained efforts of finding the rightful place for Jayee Rajguru in the National History, particularly highlighting his significant contribution in the struggle for Indian freedom against British colonialism.
- To work for inculcating the spirit of nationalism amongst the youth of the country through the exemplary achievement of Jayee Rajguru.
- To take steps for preservation of birth site of Saheed and to make effort to construct a memorial in his honor and install a statue of Saheed Jayee Rajguru

The sansad investigated the past records of the family and brought to limelight the deeds of Saheed Jayee Rajguru. The birth site was acquired by gift and was transferred to Sansad vide gift deed no 3034 dt. 20.07.1989. After strenuous effort of eleven years, the memorial was completed. The foundation was laid down on 21.06.1988 by Dr. Radhanath Rath, the then Chairman of People Society of India. It was dedicated on the death Anniversary

of Saheed Jayee Rajguru on 06.12.2000 by Shri Lingaraj Rath, the Honorable Justice, Orissa High Court.

The old broken statue of Jayee Rajguru, recovered earlier from Gadadhara Pathagara, was recast in the form of a new statue and was placed in front of Smruti Bhawan building. This momentous occasion was inaugurated by Gajapati Dibyasingh Dev, the Chairman of Shri Jagannath Temple Managing Committee on 06.12.1994.

On the persistent request by the Sansad, on 24.08.1992 Government of Odisha decided to celebrate the birth anniversary of Saheed Jayee Rajguru by the Information and Public Relations Department on every Amlanavami Day. This decision was communicated by Government of Odisha to Smruti Sansad vide letter number - 9395 dated 19.10.92. This Sansad also arranged seminars (alochanachakras) on the life and achievements of Jayee Rajguru at least twice in a year in different parts of the state. Three books on Saheed Jayee Rajguru have already been published in collaboration with the Council of Culture, Puri with two souvenirs as on date. Government of Odisha has been pleased to sponsor one article to internet in English prepared by the sansad to create awareness and wide publicity among the public.

This Smurti Sansad has also formed a research committee consisting of enlightened scholars who are working on the thrust area. In the process it collected many relevant and authenticated data on the life and times of Saheed Jayee Rajguru. To its great satisfaction, Government of India has acknowledged Jayee Rajguru as the first great Martyr of India's Freedom Struggle and oil painted photograph of the Saheed was placed in the Central House of the Parliament. This was inaugurated by the then Honorable Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh on 22.12.2008 in presence of Honorable Vice President of India, Honorable Speaker and Honorable Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, Member of Parliaments and so many other dignitaries. Again the postal department has released a commemorative envelope with the photograph of Jayee Rajguru.

In the process of highlighting the different aspects of Jayee Rajguru's activities, independence of Kingdom from East India Company etc. the Sansad made an attempt to locate the right place of brutal execution of Jayee Rajguru. In spite of many opinions, the most acknowledged version was that after the trial, Jayee Rajguru was brutally hanged at Medinipore near Baghitota

by tying his legs on two branches of a banyan tree and subsequently made the branches free causing the body of Jayee Rajguru into two pieces. It was believed that this Medinapore is situated in West Bengal. The place Medinapore was also found from a manuscript record letter dated 21.07.1819, sent from the Secretary to the Commissioner, Orissa to the Chief Secretary to Govt., Fort William that;

"It was now 14 years since the province of Cuttack was conquered by British Arm. At that period Maharaja Mukund Dev-II, who was quite youth, was urged on by the evil counsels of Jye Rayegooroo contrary to our earnest advice and remonstrances, to oppose the establishment of British Authority. He was accordingly taken prisoner and sent to Medinapur."

The matter has also been mentioned in Madalapanji published by Artaballav Mohanty which says that Jayee Rajguru was sent prisoner and hanged there. This has also been referred by Dr. B. C. Ray, an eminent Historian, in his book "British Foundation in Orissa."

On the basis of above facts, the Sansad made correspondences with the Collector of Medinapore (West Bengal) through the Collector, Puri in order to ascertain the confinement of Jayee Rajguru in Medinapore jail. The Collector of Medinapore after verifying the records replied as follows:

Copy of Letter No: 171/C dated 17.01.1992 from District Magistrate Medinapur addressed to district Magistrate and Collector Puri:

"Kindly refer to your D.O No: 1445 dated 24.12.1991. We have tried to ascertain the details regarding Jayee Rajguru, but no information could be collected so far. In Medinapur jail also, no such information was available since the jail was established well after 1805. I would request you to enlighten further so that required information can be searched more intensively. "

There after the Sansad tried to enquire about the jail of Medinapore and came to know that the present IIT Campus of Kharagpur, West Bengal was utilized as the then jail of Medinapore. Then the sansad tried to contact the District Magistrate of Medinapore through the Collector Puri to verify the IIT records and if any tomb/pillars fixed against each accused those who had been hanged in the campus.

Copy of Letter No: 1031/C dated 25.03.1992 from the District Magistrate Medinapur addressed to district Magistrate and Collector Puri:

"In continuation to my previous D.O No: 171/C dated 16/17.01.1992 and in reply to your D.O No: 325 dated 08.02.1992, I am to inform you that the matter was taken up with IIT, Kharagpur. It has been intimated by them that to the best of their information there is no tomb stone of Shri Jaya Krushna Rajguru Mahapatra in IIT campus. Also they do not have any other information to the death of Shri Mahapatra."

On the basis of above queries the sansad came to the conclusion that the Medinapore of West Bengal may not be the place of hanging of Jayee Rajguru. Then the sansad approached the Collector Puri to make correspondence with the Collector of Balasore/ Khurda to find out the place named Medinipur/ Medinapur which is said to be having been situated besides Baghitota at Khurda Fort or in Balasore. Accordingly, the Collector, Puri vide his letter no 272/273 Culture, Puri dated 14.11.1996 requested the Collector Balasore/Khurda as follows.

Sub:: Ascertaining of the place of death of Saheed Jayee Rajguru. Sir,

In inviting a reference to the subject noted above, I am to draw your attention that, The Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad, At/Post- Bira HareKrushna Pur, Dist- Puri has taken steps to identify the actual place of death of Saheed Jayee Rajguru who was one of the Kingpins of Last war of Independence of Khurda. They have collected information that the Great National Fighter might have been hung on a banyan tree at Baghitota in the district of Balasore. The committee has also received information that the leader might have been killed in Khurda fort.

Therefore as the chairman of the District level committee, I request you to spare a little bit of your valuable time to look into the matter which will enable us discovering life history of a great person of our country.

Sd/-

Collector, Puri

The Sansad did not receive anything about the matter stated above through its Chairman cum Collector, Puri, neither from the Collector of Khurda nor Balasore. In the meantime the sansad received information from Sri Harihar Samal, the Manager of the Circuit House, Balasore that there is a

place called Medinipur in the district of Balasore which is located about 14 Kms away from Balasore town. The Sansad discussed the matter with the ADM who was in charge of Collector, Puri and finalized to send a team to the spot in order to find out the truth and significance of the place. Fortunately Baba Balia assured the Sansad to provide a vehicle to visit the spot and to locate the real place of execution of the Jayee Rajguru.

A committee was formed by Sansad with three eminent historians of the state who have worked on the subject. It consisted of Dr. Narayan Rao, Professor of History (retd) and former registrar of Berhampur University, Dr. Prafulla Kumar Pattanaik, Principal of Khurda women's college (retd), Dr. Prasanna Kumar Jena, Principal SCS College, Puri (retd), former registrar Samablpur University, Sri Suresh Chandra Das, Chief executive of All India Radio, Puri (retd), Sri Premananda Das, the secretary of Sri Anant Balia Trust, Bhubaneswar and Sri Jatadhari Mishra, secretary of Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad, Bira Hare Krushna Pur, Puri.

The committee visited Balasore on 10th August, 2008 and moved to the place named Medinipur along with local intellectuals Sri Braj Nath Rath, Sri Satrughna Mallik, Sri K. C. Biswal, the culture officer, Balasore, print and electronic media. While going to Medinipur, Madhapur, Anantpur and Digapada of Chasakhanda Panchayat, the search committee saw the Baghajatin memorial on the way. Here Bagha Jatin was captured in the fight against Britishers on 09th September 1915 along with other accomplices like C. Ray Choudhury, Narendranath Das Gupta, Manoranjan Sengupta and Jatis Pal. Bagha Jatin died on 10th September due to profuse bleeding where as Narendra and Manoranjan hanged at Balasore jail and Jatis Pal was sent to Andaman. There the committee came to know from Sri Maguni Charan Das, the secretary of Bagha Jatin Smruti Parishad that Jayee Rajguru was hanged not at Medinipur but at Anantpur, a hamlet of the then Medinipur revenue village. This information, he had received from the local inhabitants when he was contesting for Sarpanch of Chasakhanda Gram Panchayat long back. The locals had also requested him to arrange some funds to preserve a great banyan tree where it is believed Jayee Rajguru was brutally hanged.

The Committee moved to Medinipur and met the village elders and youth in order to collect the necessary information. The people showed

Kapileswar Temple where Jayee Rajguru was confined before death. They also showed a place where banyan tree was there which was subsequently cut down. They expressed that they have formed a Yubak Sangha in the name of Jayee Rajguru and also a Kirtan Mandal has been named as Jayee Rajguru Kirtan Mandal for the commemoration of Saheed Jayee Rajguru. Then the committee proceeded to Anantapur village where an old banyan tree still exists. Sri Harischandra Nayak, aged about 66 years, narrated that Jayee Rajguru was hanged on that particular tree and they showed the two branches was cut off by the villagers on which the legs of Jayee Rajguru were tied. The villagers also said that every year they are celebrating a yajna in the name of Jayee Rajguru since last 20 years. They also showed a Tota named Baghitota adjoining to this village and a Baghinala besides this tree is existing. The people surrounded by the banyan tree are Khandayats in caste and his forefather's fought with Britishers as Paika of Khurda. They have migrated from Khurda, Nayagarh and Delang. The people, present in the village, said that they had heard from Sri Aparti Lenka and other old people of their village. (They heard it from their forefathers).

The committee after taking observation and collecting views of the local people returned and visited Medinapore & Haladia (West Bengal) on 10/11th September 2008 where a bust of Jayee Rajguru has been installed in the campus of sutahat police station near Haladia port. It is mentioned that Jayee Rajguru was the first martyr of Indian Freedom Struggle. But on investigation and interview with the local people, it was found that Haladia Utsav committee, celebrating the commemoration of attack of Sutahat police station by the rebels held on 29th September, 1942 during guit India movement. The site of the place is situated by the side of the road near the old police station of Sutahat. It was ascertained from the local people that Jayee Rajguru participated in the great Sannyasi Revolution. The elderly people interviewed are not aware about the brutal hanging of Jayee Raiguru either in Sutahat or in Medinapore. It is also enquired from the local political people about the hanging of Jayee Raiguru. They replied that they know the brutal killing but the exact location is not identified. Information is available in book named "Shri Jagannath Chetana ra Analochit Diga" published by Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri in the year 2002 where it is mentioned Jayee Rajguru joined a meeting of Santhas at Ketakijhara in Puri in during 1770 A.D. and prepared himself to protest Britishers in about 1770 A.D. So it

is believed that Jayee Rajguru may join in the Sannyasi Revolution which took place in West Bengal and might have stayed in this place at the time of revolution. Regarding the hanging of Jayee Rajguru at Medinapore or in Sutahat or in Haladia appears to be weak. More ever the correspondence with jail authorities of Medinapore, West Bengal which was established after 1805, no evidence of Jayee Rajguru being locked in the jail and subsequently hanged was traced out in West Bengal.

The above study leads to the logical conclusion on the basis of available evidences that Jayee Rajguru was not hanged in Baghitota of Medinapore of West Bengal but at Anantpur, an extension of Medinipur of Chasakhand Panchayat of Balasore District, Odisha. Therefore, the committee proceeded to collect some more information from different sources before release of the report.

Thereafter the committee opined that the age of the tree should be assessed by DFO, Balasore as both Anantpur and Medinipur villagers claiming that Jayee Rajguru was killed in their own villages and showing different places. It was essential to know whether Anantpur was a part of Medinipur in 1806?

Medinipur Yuvak Sangha demanded that they have formed a registered Yuvak Sangha in the name of Jayee Rajguru since 1980 for the commemoration of the departed Saheed and are celebrating the birth & death Anniversary regularly in Medinipur village. So it is to ascertain from the District Magistrate Balasore, whether any organization in the name of Jayee Rajguru Yuvak Sangha was registered in the year of 1980? If yes what about their performances.

The Collector, Puri wrote a letter No. 2080 dated 27.10.2008 and requested to the Collector, Balasore to provide fallowing information.

The DFO, Balasore may be requested to visit and confirm the age of the oldest banyan tree located at Anantapur Village near Balasore Town. (The people of Anantapur claimed that Saheed Jayee Rajguru was killed in the same banyan tree by tying his legs on the two branches of the tree).

The concerned Tahasildar may be directed to confirm whether Anantapur Village was a part of Medinipur Balasore during 1806?

Any organization registered in the name of Jayee Rajguru in 1980 under Society Act 1860, if so the details of organization may kindly be communicated.

As per the direction of the Collector Balasore, District Culture Officer furnished a report vide Letter No:265 Culture dated 6.11.2008.

- (i) The age of banyan tree in question is more than 200 years old as reported by DFO, Balasore in his letter no.5387 dated 05.11.2008. The copy of which is enclosed herewith for kind reference.
- (ii) The village Anantapur was a part of revenue village Medinipur, Balasore in 1806 as reported by the Tahasildar, Balasore.
- (iii) No organization in the name of Saheed Jayee Rajguru has been registered under the Society Registration Act 1860 in the year 1980.

Report of DFO, Balasore vide Letter No.5387 dated 05.11.2008 as follows:

With reference to your above letter this is to inform you that the banyan tree in question located in the village Anantapur area near Chasakhanda Gram Panchayat under Balasore Sadar Police Station and Remuna Tahasil was inspected by the undersigned on 05.11.2008. It was seen that the said banyan tree is an old one and the original main trunk of the said tree is missing and a present 92 independent banyan trees of different girth class arising out of prop roots of the original banyan tree have taken its place. The girth of the biggest such living prop root is 7 feet 2 inches. Age of the tree is worked out by counting the Annual rings of its main trunk. In the absence of such main trunk, it is not possible to find out the exact age of the tree.

Under the above Circumstances, the elderly persons available in the village were consulted to make out the tentative age of the tree. As per the statements given by the villagers and taking the present conditions of the said tree, it was assessed the age of the tree to be more than 200 years.

In this connection it is to further inform you that the exact age of the tree can otherwise be made out by making carbon dating study, the facility for which is not available at this end.

Sd/-DFO, Balasore, Wild Life Division. Meanwhile the followings have been received:

- (I) A photocopy of registration certificate number BLS 2533/492 of 1989-1990. In the name of Jayee Rajguru Jubak Sangha, At:Medinipur, P.O. Olipur, P.S.:Sadar, Dist.: Balasore on 21.07.1989 issued by Addl, Registrar of Societies, Balasore.
- (II) A donation receipt in the name of Om Shri Shri Jayee Rajguru Nama Sankirtan Nama Yagyan, Medinipur Receipt No: 304.

We have got a declaration that Jayee Rajguru was confined in the present Kapileswara Temple premises before he was hanged. The people of Medinipur said that they heard this fact from Late Kanduri Charan Dwari, Khetra Mohan Jena, Padma Lochan Bhuiyan and Kanuri Charan Sahoo. The matter was expressed by the people those were present at the time of investigation.

Regarding the confinement of Jayee Rajguru in Medinipur in the area of Kapileswar Temple may be accepted. The Yuvak Sangha and the local people have formed an association for the commemoration of Saheed Jayee Rajguru which may be believed that Jayee Rajguru was confined in Medinipur and subsequently he was hanged in the banyan tree situated in Anantpur village. Anantpur village was the hamlet of Medinipur revenue village in 1806 as per the report of the District Culture Officer vide letter number 265 Culture dated: 06.11.2008.

Balasore was occupied before 1806 and was under the control of Bengal Presidency which was controlled by Britishers from the Medinapore Headquarter (WB). So the present Medinipur was in the district of Medinapore of West Bengal in 1806. After its separation, the present Medinipur is in the district of Balasore, Odisha.

Report prepared by Prof. (Dr.) Narayan Rao, Dr. P.K. Patnaik, Dr. P.K. Jena, Mr. Suresh Das, Mr. Premananda Das along with Sri Jatadhari Mishra, The secretary Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad, Bira Harekrushna Pur, Puri:

Micro studies on the region leading to unfolding the untrodden territories of the local heroes are a welcoming trend of research at the pre-Nationalist era. Khurda Revolt of 1804 against British imperialism under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru gave a new dimension to the struggle for freedom.

His indomitable courage, statesmanship, organizing ability, mastery over military strategy, planning and above all his selfless sacrifice for the cause of the motherland is exceptionally exemplary. But, after the occupation of the fort of Khurda, Jayee Rajguru was imprisoned and subsequently produced before the court of Colonel Harcort. He was found guilty of instigating the people against Britishraj and hanged in a brutal way on 06th December, 1806 at Baghitota in Medinipore.

History is replete with controversial one such controversy surrounds the exact location of Medinapore where Jayee Rajguru was hanged. So far it was believed it was believed by the historians that Medinapore is situated in West-Bengal.

Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad started in quest to trace out the execution place of Jayee Rajguru mostly from 1991. The committee placed two letters of Collector, Medinapore(West Bengal).

The following informations were given from the confidential section of Puri District office vide letter No 163 dated 22.01.92 and letter No 614 dated 05.04.92 to Sri Jatadhari Mishra, village Bira HareKrushna Pur District-Puri respectively.

(I) Copy of letter no 171/C dated 17/01/92 from District Magistrate Medinapore addressed to District Magistarte and Collector Puri.

Kindly refer to your D.O. No. 1445 dated 24.12.91 we have tried to ascertain the details regarding Jayee Rajguru, but no information could be collected so far. In Medinapore jail also, no such information is available since the jail was established well after 1805. I would request you to enlighten further so that required information can be searched more intensively.

(II) Copy of letter No 1031/C dated 25.03.92 from District Magistrate Medinapore addressed to District Magistrate and Collector Puri.

In continuation to my previous D.O. No 171/C dated 16/17.01.92 and reply to your D.O. No 325 dated 08.02.92, I am to inform you that the matter

was taken up with the IIT Kharagpur. It has been intimated by them that to the best of their information there is no tombstone of Shri Jaya Krushna Rajguru Mohapatra in IIT campus. Also they don't have any other information related to the death of Sri Mohapatra.

The sansad tried to collect information from Khurda and Balasore about ascertaining the place of death of Saheed Jayee Rajguru.

(III) Office of the District
Magistrate & Collector,
Puri (Culture Section).

No.272, 273/ Cul, Puri dated the 14.11.96

From

The Collector, Puri.

To

The Collector, Khurda

The Collector, Balasore.

Sub:- Ascertaining of the place of death of Saheed Jayee Rajguru.

Sir,

In inviting a reference to the subject noted above, I am to draw your attention that, the Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad, At/PO: Bira HareKrushna Pur, Dist-Puri has taken steps to identify the actual place of death of Saheed Jayee Rajguru who was one of the Kingpins of last war of independence of Khurda. They have collected information that the great national fighter might have been hung on a banyan tree at Baghitota in the District of Balasore. The committee has also received information that the leader might have been killed in Khurda fort.

Therefore as the Chairman of the District Level Committee I request you to spare a little bit of your valuable time to look into the matter which will enable us discovering the life history of a great person of our country.

Your's faithfully,

Sd/-

Collector, Puri



No correspondence was made till 6^{th} December 2007 either from the collector, Balasore/ Khurdha.

Manuscript records, Letter dated 21.07.1819 from the secretary to the Commissioner, Orissa to the Chief Secretary to Govt. At fort William. Published in Orissan records volume:-

By

It is now 14 years since the province of Cuttack was conquered by the British army. At that period Maharaja Mukund Dev, who was quite a youth, was urged on by the evil counsels of Jye Rayegooroo, contrary to our earnest advice and remonstrances, to oppose the establishment of the British Authority. He was accordingly taken prisoner and sent to Medinapore.

Madalapanji by Arttaballav Mohanty:

Raiguru was hanged for abetting rebellion.

Both of the facts that Jayee Rajguru abetted rebellion against Britishers and subsequently hanged has been confirmed by Dr. B.C. Ray in "Foundation of British Orissa" published by New Students Store, Cuttackfirst edition 1960.

Page 51:-

Such statements from Rajguru appear quite credible. Harcourt in many of his letters to the Government has put the blame on Rajguru for hostilities between the Raja and the British Government. In one of them he said "It appears the Raja himself is not inimical to us but his Dewan is extremely so and he controls everybody and everything at Khurda." (Vide 23 October 1804, Harcourt to Shawe, Add. MSS. 13610, p. 102; also vide 12 February 1809, Buller to Government, Bengal Board of Revenue Proceedings, February 1809, No 1). The Subsequent events confirm our belief. Rajaguru was hanged for abetting rebellion (vide Madalapanji, Pg. 82). Again the Raja was in imprisonment, he filed a petition pleading his innocence and holding the Rajaguru responsible for the rebellion. Consequently he was released (vide Board's Collections, Vol. 318,7244, Pg.31; no date).

Then Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smurti Sansad decided to have a spot study of the facts available till date. Recently a group of historians on behalf of Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad, Bira HareKrushna Pur visited Medinapore in West Bengal and a place called Medinapore located almost 15 kms away from Balasore of Orissa. In Balasore the team was accompanied by the press and local elite for on the spot study of the site. Medinapore is a revenue village having Anantpur, Nidhipur and Digapade as hamlets.

While going to Midinapur, the team got a chance to visit the Smurti Pitha of Bagha Jatin. After the team arrived there, cause of visit was discussed among the people and some are told that Jayee Rajguru was hanged in Midinapur which is now located in Anantpur village, after the main revenue village Midinapur was bifurcated and created new V.C.P. The team cross examined the person to accretion the facts. The person replied that about 10 years ago he went to that village for election campaigning. The youths of that village demanded to arrange some funds for the development of the site because the site had got a historical importance that A great Son of the soil, Jayee Rajguru became Saheed in that banyan tree. The legs were tied in the two branches of the tree and left branches there after by which his body turned into two pieces. He narrated I got the similar demand from the aged people of the locality. Then we proceeded to Midinapur about 4 Kms from this place.

Midinapur is situated besides the old road connecting to Puri and Calcutta, is known as "Bad Danda".

The locals of Medinapore point out that near a Saiva Temple, there was a great banyan tree, where Jayee Rajguru was hanged. The youth of the place had formed an association and honoring the great martyr since last few years. Now it has become defunct due to lack of Govt. patronage and local enthusiasm. There was neither any trace of the existence of banyan tree nor Baghitota which has associated with the event.

The team moved to Ananthpur located at a distance of about three to four Kms from Medinapore and found to their astonishment a huge banyan tree appears to be more than 300 years old and a small sanctum, beneath the tree. The tree has grown substantially bigger in size occupying the area of more than one acre. So far it has been accepted that Jayee Rajguru was

tied in two branches of a banyan tree in Medianpore and the branches were left off splitting his bodies into two parts. That was the modus operandi of Britishers to execute the rebels at public place in order to create atmosphere of owe and terror among the subjects. Beside the existence of a huge banyan tree other evidences also correlate this spot of fatal murder.

There is a narrow water passage called "Baghinulla" and as per the statement of the locals there was an grove called Baghitota. Besides the inhabitants here belong to Khandayat caste, a warrior clan of the state and most of them migrated from Khurda, Balianta and Nayagarh. Their surnames also resemble with the surnames of the original inhabitants of Khurda division. It is believed that some warriors of Paika clan guarded the spot after the martyr's death and subsequently settled there. Further the hypothesis propounded by some scholars that this ghastly murder had taken place near Sutahat, Khurda, Kharagpur and inside Medinapore jail does not carry much weightage against the circumstantial evidence found at Medinapore and Anantpur at present in Balasore district of the state of Odisha. Incidently Chasakhand of Balasore located 6 Kms from Medinapore is the place where the freedom fighter Baghajatin and his mates were gunned down in a pitched battle against the British.

The team of scholars were also accompanied by Sri K C Biswal, the Culture Officer of Balasore, Sri Brajanath Rath, the eminent poet and social activist of Balasore, Sri Satrughna Mallik, the retired reader of FM College Balasore, Sri Maguni Charan Das, a social activist and the secretary of Baghajatin Smruti Parishad Balasore, Sri Harihar Samal, the Manager Circuit House and some representatives of press, electronics media and some noble personalities of Balasore. Besides the local inhabitants like Aparti Lenka, Harish Chandra Nayak etc participated the team during investigation. Sri Jatadhari Mishra, the Secretary of Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad Bira HareKrushna Pur, honestly feel that the Govt. of Odisha, Dept. of Culture should form a state level committee to examine the findings and take suitable steps to install a life size statue near the banyan tree and make necessary provisions for the observance of the Martyr's day in memory of the first great Odia Martyr of India's struggle for freedom.

The team further recommends that the Collector, Puri, the Chairman of Saheed Jayee Rajguru Smruti Sansad Puri district, may request the

Collector, Balasore to assess the age of the banyan tree by the expert of the Forest Dept. of Balasore/subject expert of OUAT University, Bhubaneswar.

The existing Anantpur village was the part of revenue village of Medinapore in 1806.

Wheather any organization registered in the name of Jayee Rajguru in the year 1980 under the Societies Act 1860?

After receiving the reports the sansad may release its views and will do the needful.

The Collector, Puri vide his letter no 2080 dated 27.10.2008 requested the Collector, Balasore to provide the detail information of Saheed Jayee Rajguru as follows:

The D.F.O., Balasore may be requested to visit and confirm the age of the oldest banyan tree located at Anantpur village near Balasore town. "The people of Anantpur are claiming that Saheed Jayee Rajguru was killed in the same banyan tree by tying his legs on the two branches of the tree."

The concerned Tahasildar may be directed to confirm wheather Anantpur village was a part of Medinapore, Balasore during 1806.

Any organization registered in the name of Jayee Rajguru in 1980 under Societies Act 1860 if so the details of organization may kindly be communicated.

In receipt of the letter of the Collector, Puri, The Collector and the District Magistrate, Balasore collected the information sought for by the DM Puri and replied through District Culture Officer by the letter no 265 culture dated 06.11.2008.

The age of the banyan tree in question is more than 200 years old as reported by the DFO, Balasore in his letter no 5387 dated 05.11.08.

The village Anantpur was a part of revenue village Medinapore, Balasore in 1806 as reported by the Tahasildar, Balasore.

No organization in the name of Saheed Jayee Rajguru has been registered under the Societies Act 1860 in the year 1980.

The photocopy of letter 5387 dated 05.11.2008 by the D.O. Wild Life Division, Balasore was sent by the District Culture Officer for the information of the Collector and DM, Puri.

Letter no 5387 dated 05.11.2008:

To

The District Culture Officer, Balasore

O/o Collector, Balasore

Sub: Request to provide information in connection with hanging of Saheed Jayee Rajguru.

Ref: Your Letter No 260 dt 31.10.2008.

Sir,

With reference to your above letter this is to inform you that the Banyan tree in question located in village Anantpur near Chasakhanda under Balasore Sadar Police Station and Remuna Tahasil was inspected by the undersigned on Dt. 05.11.2008. It was seen that the said banyan tree is an old one. The original main trunk of the said tree is missing and a present 92 independent banyan trees of different girth class arising out of the prop roots of the original banyan tree have taken its place. The girth of the biggest such living prop root is 7'2". Age of a tree is worked out by counting the annual rings of its main trunk. In the absence of the main trunk, it is not possible to find out the exact age of the tree.

Under the above circumstances, the elderly persons available in the village were consulted to make out the tentative age of the tree. As per the statements given by the villagers and taking the present condition of the said tree, it was assessed the age of the tree to be more than 200 years.

In this connection it is to further inform you that the exact age of the tree can otherwise be made out by making Carbon dating study, the facility for which is not available at this end.

Your's faithfully,

Sd/-Divisional Forest Officer Balasore Wildlife Division Balasore

Meanwhile the sansad has received a letter under registered post on 17.09.2008 signed by Sri Ajay Kumar Parida, Sarpanch, Chasakhanda GP and others, where they sort the views of the committee. The Letter itself was



placed before the committee and the committee sent one copy to them. No further correspondences are made so far.

The report in details had also submitted to the Department of Culture, Government of Odisha for information and doing the needful at their end.

Opinion:

Considering all reports the committee has given the views as follows:

- 1) Medinapore in the district of Balasore is the real place where Jayee Rajguru was imprisoned till death and his trial also made in the same place.
- 2) The banyan tree which is at present in Anantpur village is the real place where Jayee Rajguru was brutally killed by the Britishers.
- 3) Sutahat in Medinapore District of West Bengal is the place where Jayee Rajguru revolted along with Sadhus against the Britishers in 1776.