CHAPTER VII

THEOLOGY

Part - I : History & Development.

The theological concept centering round the deities -
Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarsana developed through ages. This can be subdivided thus. First, from 350 A.D. to 500 A.D. when the Mathara kings were ruling over Kalinga and the shrine of their personal deity Narayana round whom the others congregated was possibly situated on the Mahendra mountain. From 500 A.D. up to 750 A.D. during the dynasties of the early Gangas and the Sailedbhavas the concept about the composite God Purusottama Jagannatha was further developed. Then between the middle of the eighth century A.D. and about the middle of the 11th century A.D. when Orissa was under the Bhauma and Somavamśi monarchs, and lastly from the 11th century A.D. onwards when Jagannātha and other deities were being worshipped by the Imperial Gangas, Sūryavamśi rulers and others, this development went on.

There is every likelihood that during these periods the concept about the deities was being developed and re-orientated by the different groups of their worshippers.

The Matharas described themselves in their inscriptions, as Narayana pādabhaktas and conceived the Main deity as Narayana. The early Gangas (Eastern Gangas) named it as Gekarneśvara a name of Śiva, for they were Saivas. The Sailedbhavas conceived the same deity as Swayambhū (Brahmā-Śiva). The Bhauma-Karas who were Buddhists thought that this God was Jagannātha which was another name of Buddha. It was the Imperial Gangas who became devout Vaisnavas in course of time, gave due importance to the already existing concept of
Puruṣottama-Jagannath with his three companions Balabhadra, Subhadra, and Sudarsana. It has already been shown in the first chapter how separate deities like Maninaga and Stambhesvari appear to have been intimately associated with Puruşottama Jagannath in course of time. Another concept about Ekānamsa, the sister of Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa appears also to have contributed to the development of the concept of the composite deity of Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra, and Sudarsana. The theology of Jagannath as found today developed actually during the Ganga and Suryavamśi period. It was during this period that some Mahāyānist elements mixed with tantricism were combined with the Saivite and Vaisnavite ideologies and gave rise to a new theological conception for the Jagannath cult.

Leading philosophers like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, Madhava and Naraharitirtha made great contributions towards the development of this theology. The tantra-yaga system of the cult seems to have been derived from the Nātha cult. The Hari-Hara cult that was developing in Orissa from the early medieval period reflected to a considerable extent its tenants in the cult of Jagannath. The sākta tantric elements are also noticed in ritualism as well as theological ideas about the cult deity. While Jagannath and Balabhadra together stood for the conception of Hari-Hara Subhadra stood for sākta and tantric ideas; she is not only Bhairavi but also Bhūpaneswari while Jagannath is regarded as a Bhairava and Bhūpaneswara. The deity Balabhadra is sometimes considered as Śiva and sometimes as Ananta or the serpent - thus representing the Nāga Cult. But essentially he is a puranic god. Haladhara as conceived by Vaisnavas, meaning the bucolic deity. The theology of the cult of Jagannath thus represents an amalgam, and its different aspects are discussed below.
With the accession of Chodaganga, Vaisnavism became the dominant faith in Orissa. It centred round the conception of Jagannatha and may be called 'Jagannathism'. A peculiar Vaisnavism developed at that time and might be called an eclectic form of Vaisnavism that prevailed in medieval Orissa. It did not completely eclipse Saivism and Buddhism and Sakti worship, rather it assimilated certain ideas from these faiths.

When we come to the age of Sarala Das and then that of the Panacaskhas we see various conceptions developed during this period. The advent of Caitanya gave a new impetus to Orissan Vaisnavism. These Panacaskhas are the five associates of Chaitanya who was a great reformer. But peculiarly enough his associates conceived these four forms of Puri in various ways and some amount of Buddhistic principles were also noticed in their ideologies, although Buddhism was given a death blow as soon as the Bhaumkaras' rule was extinct from the land.

The second half of the 15th century is generally regarded as the formative period of the new ideology of the Jagannatha cult. It burst into fruition in the 16th century, when the five great associates - Balarama, Jagannatha, Yasovanta, Ananta and Achyuta appeared and gave it a noble exposition. These five associates of Sri Caitanya preached the gospel of devotion based on knowledge and Yoga in preference to the doctrine of emotional love and faith as professed by the Gaudiya Vaisnavas. Their contributions to the Cult of Jagannatha are so great that these five poet sages are not only regarded as the five elements constituting Jagannatha, but also are considered sometimes as the very soul of the Lord,
a living god enshrined in the hearts of the children of the
soil. 'The Muslims new and then disturbed the visible Jagannātha
but they were totally powerless against the invisible one'.
This invisible Jagannātha is no doubt the ideology of the
Jagannātha cult that not only pervaded the whole of Orissa, but
also inspired the Hindus of India during the Islamic rule.

Of the post-pañca Śākhā philosophers who popularised
the tenets of the Jagannātha cult in Orissa in the most
trying period of her History, mention may be made of Divākaradāsa,
the author of Jagannātha Charitāmrtam, Haridāsa, the writer of
"Māyāra Candrika", Govinda Chandra, of the Sāhānāi's "Sundara
Gītā", Nanda Dāsa, of "Anakāra Sāhītī", Ratnakara Dāsa of "Sarasvata
Gītā", Kṛṣaṇa Dāsa, of "Chaturdāna Mūrti Varāhanī", Śīkhara
Dāsa of "Nilaśundara Gītā"; Nathia of "Jhānandaya Keiti,
Dvārakadāsa of "Parace Gītā" and "Premarasa Candrika" and last
but not the least Candramani Dāsa, the author of "Sudhāsāra
Gītā". It is impossible to take note of all the contributions
of these writers in the exposition of the Jagannātha cult here,
but there is no doubt that the collective efforts of these
and many other writers kept the flame of the cult burning
vigorously in Orissa.

It has already been pointed out that the cult of
Jagannātha is formulated as a result of the remarkable
synthesis between tantric Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism and Sāktism.
The synthetic nature of this cult is clearly seen in the fact
that it contains some Buddhistic conceptions in Vaiṣṇavite
setting remaining at the same time the Vaiṣṇavite elements in
more or less Buddhistic forms. Thus the striking interaction
between these two important faiths can not but remain a matter
of great interest to the students of Indian culture, and
attempts have been made below to examine the nature of it.

The ideology of Śūnyā : The most characteristic ideology

behind Jagannātha formulated by the Pañcasakhās is the

predominance of the concept of Śūnyā. There can be no doubt

that this fundamental concept is a continuation of the Vajrayāna

idea of void accepted by Vaiṣṇavism after identifying it with

the Vedaṇtic ideal of Nirguna Brahma. Balarāmadāsa in the

first chapter of his "Sārasvata Gītā" declares that Śūnyā and

Brahma are one and identical ideas and in his "Siddhānta Dambaru",

he presents a Mījamantra which reads; "Om salutation to Śūnyā

Brahma. It may be pointed out here that Brahma in its Saguna

aspect is perceived in the world-manifestations, while in its

Nirguna form it is conceived as the prime mover behind all

such manifestations. But its association with the conception of

vacuity gives rise to a new ideology which appears to be the

same as that of the Abhuta Parikalpa of Vijnāna Vāda where the

world manifestations become unrecognisably unified with Śūnyā.

The conception of Vaijrasattva as Śūnyā Purusā :

But these Vaiṣṇvas of Orissa differ from the Vijnānavadins,

and become one with the Vajrayanists in maintaining this Śūnyā

as a supreme Being - the Śūnyā Purusā, who appears to be the

same as Vaijrasattva. Ačhyutāñandadāsa in his "Śūnyā-Saṁhitā"

states - "You have well asked me of the esoteric mystery. The

Śūnyā Purusā is just a prisoner in Śūnyā, and creating all

illusions. He remains quite indifferent to them. But at the same

time He is very kind to all and He also resides in all the

created things. Moreover, He is well versed in crafty devices

and so is the author of all sorts of performances."
In the "Virata Gita" of Balaramadasa we find Arjuna entertaining doubts as to "how the Sūnya Purusa, who has neither form nor figure, who is void personified, and whose body is the Sūnya, can possess a name?" and Kṛṣṇa then removes his doubts by explaining him the subtle principles of the creation of this universe.

Caitanyadāsa, a contemporary of the Pañcasākhas, declares in his "Visnugarbha Purana" that incomprehensible Being has neither form nor colour; He is the great void and He has no existence; He is not a shape, and shapeless is His body and so He remains in Śunya with the Śunya. One who possesses a body cannot describe the secret of His form, because even Veda fails to depict His merit. The same writer states in his "Nirguna Mahātmya", 'The beginningless and the shapeless Lord fulfils the desire for emancipation of the living creatures. In the belief of the devotees He resides in all the material bodies and so the merit of this Īśvara, who is for the well being of the universe, is unknowable. For the good of the pious He assumes the comprehensible form in the void". Almost all the writings of many other such Vaisnavas of Orissa are replete with similar brilliant descriptions of the Śunya Purusa who is sometimes called Virāta Purusa, Nīrākāra, and Ādi Brahma; and the same ideas may also be traced in the description of Vajrayanists. The "Jñānasiddhi", for instance, states, "He (Vajra Sattva) is the Being without origination and destruction, the all good, the soul-substance of all, the enlightened one including in Him all the static and the dynamic". In the "Śrī-Vajra-Mandala-lāṅkāra" quoted in the Jñānasiddhi it is said "He eternally belongs to all
the elements, to all the beings - He remains pervading all the bodies in the form of the flow of consciousness; He is immutable, unthinkable, pure, passionless, perfect void like the sky, free from existence and non-existence. Examples of this type need not be multiplied here, but they abound in the Vajrayana works like "Prajñāpāramitā Vinisāvaya Siddhi", "Advavajra Samgraha", "Hevajra Tantra", "Samputika" etc. The Śūnya Purusa of the Jagannātha cult in Orissa embodies almost the same conception as the Vajrasattva of Tantric Buddhism. It may also be pointed out that both Śūnya Purusa and Vajrasattva are alike regarded as the nondual state of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā, and are characterised as the Primal enlightened One-Ādi Buddha or Ādi Brahma.

Representation of the Dhyāni Buddhas:

The theory of five Dhyāni Buddhas, expounded in Tantric Buddhism, has found a striking exposition in "Viśnugarbha Purāṇa" of Chaitanyadhāsa, where it has been given a novel Vaiśnavite setting. This great philosopher conceives of six Viṣṇus, one of which known as Nīrākāra Viṣṇu is characterised as the shapeless and figureless Śūnya and hence, is the same as Vajrasattva, while the other five who are emanations of Alekha Purusa, do undoubtedly resemble the five Dhyāni Buddhas, Vairodana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amogha Siddhi. The tradition about the position of the Panca-Dhyāni Buddhas in the Mandalas and similar mystic diagrams, is also to be found in the Cult of Jagannātha. In the "Viśnugarbha Purāṇa" the six Viṣṇus including Nīrākāra Viṣṇu are given similar positions in the Śūnya Mandala. Even the colour scheme found in the Buddhist pantheon is not missed and in the manner of the Six Tathāgatas these six Viṣṇus are represented in different
colours like white, yellow, saffron, red, blue and green.
Moreover, as the five Tathāgatas have their respective
Bodhisattvas, four of these Visnus have four Brahmas of their
own who are credited with the creation of eighty-four worlds.
It may also be pointed out that the conception of the five
Tathāgatas, is present in the Yogic speculation of the
Jagannātha Cult, where five out of the six plexuses (Śatākra)
of the human body are presided over by five Devas, viz. Ganesa,
Kāmadeva, Brahma, Visnu and Śiva, and the sixth one by Anādi
the analogue of Ādi Buddha. The noticeable fact is that the
five Devas are represented with a number of accessories i.e.,
the divine Śaktis, Vāhanas (Mounts), Mantras, colours,
Karmas (Actions), Prānas, and vital winds, almost in the manner
of the five Tathāgatas (Dhyāni Buddhas); the minor differences
existing between the accessory schemes of the Dhyāni Buddhas
and the Devas are very probably due to the assimilative nature
of the Jagannathā Cult itself.

The theory of Āśmeogeony :

According to the Aīśvarika school of Tantric Buddhism
the visible world is created as a result of the union between
Ādi Buddha and Ādi Prajñā, and this conception with some
modification is noticed in the speculative philosophy of the
Jagannatha cult. In the case of the latter Ādi Prajñā is
represented by Yogamaya, also named as Ādi Śakti and Ardha
Mātrā, who remains immanent in the void. According to Tantaric
Buddhism, Buddha first came out of Ādi Prajñā and then
uniting with her created the visible world - a process,
which corresponds exactly with the Śaiva conception of
creation where Ādi Śakti is considered first as mother and
then as wife of Śiva. But in the case of the Cult of Jagannathā
this idea of the union between the mother and the son appears
repugnant, and so is a priori discarded. On the other hand, it
has been stated that when Nirakāra or Sūnya Puruṣa was desirous of creation, there generated from his body the natural energy consisting of five elements, viz. Urma, Dhūrma, Jyotī, Jvālā, and Ājīva. No sooner these fell on the sea of causation then Yogamaya, or Ādi Sakti was born. Time (Kālarupa), who was hitherto in deep slumber now rose up from the same sea, but He was unable to stand by Himself inspite of His repeated attempts. Yogamaya asked Him to assume the form of the adamantine phallus (Vajra Kīla), whereupon He requested Her to be the Sakti, so that He would penetrate into Her and would remain still. The Devi agreed to this and as a result of their union the process of creation was given a start.

Thus, according to the speculation of these Vaisnava of Orissa the whole process of creation is the result of the union of space (Yoga-māya) and time (Kālarupa), symbolically expressed as the union of the primordial Sakti and phallus. In this connection an ideological similarity between Tantric Buddhism and this form of Vaisnavism may also be noted. In the case of the former the factors of cosmogony i.e. Adi Buddha, Prajñā (the first mother) and the created world are symbolised as the well known triad Buddha, Dharma and Samādhi, whereas in the case of the latter, the Sunya Purusa is taken as Jagannātha, Yogamāya as Subhadra and Kālarupa as Balabhadra (also given the names of Virūḍha, Ananta and Śeṣa).

But the theory of cosmogony does not end here and the philosophers of the Jagannātha cult have tried to introduce some mystic elements in the process of universal creation. According to them, when the genital fluid (Vindu) fell into the womb of Yogamāya she brought forth a twin known as
Ra - Ma, Ra denoting the universal Jīva (life) and Ma the universal Parāma (Soul). 'Ma' was Kṛṣṇa, while the love emotion (Premarūpa) of both of them was personified as Premarūpa who conceived and gave birth to Tripūrā. This Tripūrā represented the three qualities Satva, Rāja and Tama, and her body was identical with the three worlds (Purasā - the celestial (Svarga), the terrestrial (Martya), and the nether (Pātāla) worlds. Tripūrā is variously called as Adi Durgā, Mahāmāyā and Mahā Durgā, and she is represented as having ten hands denoting ten directions of the universe.

These Vaiṣṇavas, further conceive of an eternal region (Nitya Sthāl) known Goloka Mandala, where the eternal Rādhā representing the universal Jīva, and eternal Kṛṣṇa the universal Parāma, enjoy the eternal Rāsa sport. It is stated that there are six corners of this eternal Rāsa arena, which are presided over by six Sakhis in the form of six angles, who are Subhadra, Rangadevi, Lilavati, Priyavati, Vṛndavati and Ratnarekha. Very probably, this Goloka Mandala has been conceived after the esoteric mandala or Cakra of Goddess Prajñā in Vaijñava theology, where there are four corners and four (sometimes six) gates, presided over by four (or six) Saktis. In Hayāja tantra, for example, we find four corners and four gates of this Śūnya Cakra, each gate being in charge of the following Saktis: Gaurī in the east, Saurī in the south, Vṛṭṭī in the west and Ghasmari in the north; and besides, there are two other Saktis i.e. Bhūcari and Khecarī in charge of the lower and upper regions respectively.

Further, influence of Buddhism in connection with the eternal Rāsa arena may be traced from the following story.
narrated by Achyutananda in his *Sunya Samhita* (Chapter IX). One day when the Mundane Kṛṣṇa was pining for Rādhā's company his Ṭhāpatattavamsis (eight chief consorts), namely - Rukminī, Satyabhāma, Tulasī and others asked him of the reason of his anguish, and to them Kṛṣṇa explained that he was an amorous lover of Rādhā and that their dual bodies were just like the two cetylidens of the same seed. Then he narrated before them the divine glories of the Geleka Mandala where the eternal Kṛṣṇa sports with the eternal Rādhā, and the eight chief queens were thereupon desirous of having a glimpse at the eternal Rādhā. All these queens accompanied by Sudāma and the mundane Kṛṣṇa sat on the back of Garuda who flew towards Geleka. But while they were at a distance of two Yejanas from the Rasa arean, all of them including Garuda fainted at the glare of countless suns and after coming to their senses they decided to go back to Dvārakā. But Kṛṣṇa and Tulasī together could manage to advance one mere Yejana, followed by the fortunate Sudāma. At this time Buddhamātā, one of the eight associates of Tripura (Mahāmāya) the Guardian-Angel of the Rasa arena, came to Sudāma and astonishingly congratulated him for his entry into that sphere. She told him that, the Rasa arena being a *Sunya* Mandala, none but those who practised the *Nirākāra* (formless) Mantra could enter there, and as he had been able to come by virtue of his devotion to Jagannātha, she was inclined to teach him that Mantra. Hearing this Sudāma fell at the feet of Buddhamātā, and she out of compassion gave him the Mantra with the instruction on the tenet of the "Thirtytwo letters".

This discussion reveals the remarkable assimilative power of the cult of Jagannātha in its interesting speculation
en cosmogony. We notice here that the universal Jīva represented as eternal - Radha and the universal Parama as eternal Krsna originated as a result of the union between Space and Time, and that these Radha and Krsna as the embodiment of void, enjoy eternal Rasā sport in the mystic Goloka arena which is nothing but the void region. Again, the void Mantra is characterised as the only help for attaining to that region, and the significant fact is that this Mantra is inculcated by the compassionate Buddhātā, an associate of Tripura, who is identical with the three universes. Thus, the cosmogonical theory of Orissan Vaisnavism and the Jagannātha cult is a mystic and idealistic one; although it contains a great amount of originality it appears to be based on the Sarva Śūnyatā doctrine of Buddhism.

The Nirākāra Mantra of Thirtytwo Syllables:

Let us now examine the composition and the nature of the Nirākāra Mantra, consisting of thirty-two letters, as, it is also one of the important features of the cult. It should be remembered in this connection that the origin and unfolding of these thirty-two letters resemble closely the process of creation, discussed above, and in fact, both the processes are almost one and identical. The Śūnya Purusa, who cannot be represented in any comprehensible letter or figure is given the name Alekha and is, therefore, regarded as "Anāksara"; when Yogamāyā in the form of Sakti unites with Kālarupa who assumes the shape of adamantine phallus, Śindu is added to Ardhamātra, and thus is created the letter 'Om', which, although phonologically composed of three sounds i.e. a Om, is regarded here as "Ekāksara" or one letter. This Om, which resembles in shape the mythical snake Ananta is
supposed to be the cradle of the infant Veda (Sisu Veda) and is also called the "Avāvi Mandala", the mystic circle. After Ekāksara Om, the two letters "Ra" and "Ma" come into origin, which are characterised as Radha and Krsna, and the love emotion between them is given form as Premarupa also known as Chandrāvali. Thus, we get the trio-Chandrāvali, Radha and Krsna, who are represented in Trivija form as Hlim (Lājja Vīja), Slim (Rajabāja), and Klim (Kāma Vīja) respectively. This Trivija being transformed into Mantra becomes "Hare Rāma Krsna", which is the famous Mantra of three names and six letters of these Vaisnavas of Orissa. These six syllables are further regarded as the six corners of the mystic Goloka-Mandala. The Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā says that Jagannātha-Krsna reveals himself to Arjuna as This Trivija Mantra of six syllables, which is also described as Mahāmantra, it being as great and as sacred as Jagannātha himself. Out of this Mantra (Hare-Rāma-Krsna) was developed the Mantra of 32 syllables, - Hare Rāma Hare Rāma Rāma Rāma Rāma Hare Hare Hare Krsna Hare Krsna Krsna Krsna Hare Hare. The four Krsnas are stated to be Lilāṅga Krsna, Sūkta Krsna, Śrī Krsna and Bāla Krsna, whereas, the four Rāmas are called Virāta, Balabhadra, Sesadeva and Ananta; and out of the eight Hares, four are regarded as the associates of the Kṛṣṇa group, while the other four are classed in the Rāma group. The associates of the Kṛṣṇa group are named as Radha, Chandrāvali, Duti and Tripūra; and those of the Rāma group are Rāmaratana, Rāmayani, Revati and Yogamaya.

The discussion about the composition of the 'Nirākāra Mantra' bring forth three very important ideas of the cult of Jagannātha, that feature very often in the writings of the
philosophers of this cult. In the first place, it shows that although these philosophers accept the ideology concerning Gopīs and Rādhā, they do not treat it in the same passionate manner as is done by the Vaisnavas of Mithila and Bengal. The conception of the Goleka area as the region of Śūnya of which the Gopīs are merely the component parts, has entirely changed this ideology, and the love dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is looked upon by them as the creative rhythm that takes place in the bosom of the great vacuity. In the light of this, the constituent units of the Mīrākāra Mantra i.e. the four Kṛṣṇas, four Rāmas and eight Hares are all but manifestations of vacuity; and the proper realisation of this Mantra is the only way of attaining to the stage of vacuity.

Secondly the Orissan Vaisnavas of this order appear to have made an attempt to identify this Mīrākāra Mantra not only with Lord Jagannatha, but also with His four emanations, viz. Jagannatha, Subhadrā, Balabhadra and Sudarśana. We have already noted how the Mantra of six syllables; "Hare Rāma Kṛṣṇa" has been explained in terms of the limbs of the image of Jagannatha. Yosavantadasa further states that even the four syllables "Hare-Kṛṣṇa", which are but a part of the whole Mantra, represent the four images in the following manner; 'Hr' stands for Subhadrā (Bhadra-Sūkha), 'Re' for Baladeva the consort of Revati, 'Kṛ' for Jagannatha and 'Śa' for Sudarśana. Thus the Mantras and the deities are made identical with one another, and they are considered as the representation of the complete void. Achyutananda in his "Śūnya Sāchita", strongly asserts that the Jagannatha quartet is shapeless and formless void, and that the worshipper, who possesses the void body like his God, should not put faith on his corporeal existence;
considering the phenomenal world to be void he should worship Sūnya Purusa by the Nirākāra Mantra. Evidently these Vaiṣṇavas follow here the fundamental principles of Vajrayāna Buddhism, according to which the deities the Mantras, the worshipper and the materials for worship are all characterised as complete void.

Lastly, it seems quite clear that the philosophers of this school have made constant efforts to reconcile principles of vacuity and eternity. The Geleka Mandala, which is regarded as a space of void is at the same time described as the eternal region, and Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the Gopis of the Rasa sport are all represented as embodiment of both Sūnya and Mitya. If Lord Jagannātha is characterised as Ālekha and Sūnya Purusa, He is also regarded as the great Brahma and the Mitya Purusa. The ideological synthesis between Sūnya and Mitya has also been given a tangible form by making the temple of Jagannātha (Nilagiri) as identical with Geleka and declaring Mitya and the Nilagiri as one and the same concepts.

The System of Yoga: The most important aspect of the cult of Jagannātha is its elaborate system of Yoga which is mainly based upon the Hathayoga. The aims of its Yoga system like to control disease, decay and death through physical culture and to realise the Ālekha Nīrājana (the formless and the spotless) by transmuting the incipient body into a super-conscious one. The theory of the six plexuses (Sat Cakra) and the Thousand petalled Lotus (Sahasrāra) that of the three mystic nerves i.e. Ida, Pingalā and Śusumna of the processes of air control like Pūraka, Kumbhaka and Rākṣaka together with various practices of Mādṛśas and Bandhas are taken in more or less modified form by these Vaiṣṇavas as from earlier Tantra-Yoga practices. They also name after 'Hatha Yoga', their Yoga
system as 'Ghatā Yoga', which means the Yoga for the body (Ghatā).

It is impossible to describe her in detail the elaborate Yogic processes of the Jagannātha Cult, and we simply present below the salient features of it with a view to pointing out its distinctive nature. The Yogic philosophers of Orissa, seem to have made a thorough survey of the whole nervous system of the human body, and they counted altogether 72 thousand nerves rising from the neval region of the body.

Out of these 72 thousand only ten nerves are considered to be essential for Yogic practices and they are named as Iḍā, Pingalā, Susumnā, Gāndhārī, Hastijihā, Pusā, Yasūsvinī, Alembhusā, Kuhu and Sankhini. But only the first three nerves are regarded as the most important ones and they are located inside the spinal column - Iḍā on the left, Pingalā on the right and Susumnā in the middle - running parallel to one another. These three mystic nerves meet together inside the forehead in between the two eyes, where both the nostrils meet, the juncture is known as "Trikūṭa". Above this Trikūṭa there is a small slit known as the "Brahmarandhra" leading to the region of Ālekhā, and the valve of the slit is as delicate as the skin of the sesamum seed. The Śādhaka is to raise the vital wind upward through Susumnā and keep it in the Trikūṭa, and then opening the gate of Brahmarandhra, should concentrate upon Ālekhā, whereby he would easily conquer Yama the God of death. The vital energy or the life-force, conceived in the nature of the coiled snake and hence, called Kundalini, is taken to be tending downward in the case of the ordinary human being who fritters it away in various worldly indulgences. In Yogic Śādhana this vital force is to be given an upward
direction, which is called the "Ultā" or "Ujāni" (reverse)
Śādhanā implying a process of reversal from the world of
Pravṛtti to the state of Nivṛtti.

There are six 'Cakras' in the human body, and Kundalinī
in her reverse (Ultā) ascent towards Nivṛtti, is to gradually
pass through them, marking the different stages of Yoga. The
final stage, however, is reached when the slit at the top of the
Trikūṭa can be opened by constant Yogic concentration allowing
thus the Kundalinī to get through the Vāṅkūnāla to the Brahma
Cakra, situated inside the cavity of the head below the skull.
This Brahma Cakra is also called the 'Sahasrāra', the thousand
petalled Lotus which is as luminous as the rays of a thousand
suns and is described as the incomprehensible region of Ālekhā.
The upward journey of the Kundalinī towards the Sahasrāra is
considered as the march of the finite towards the infinite, and
their union is taken to be the dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in
eternal Rāsa arena. Moreover, the Brahma Cakra or the thousand
petalled Lotus is regarded as the seat of Jagannātha,
Achyaṭānanda in his Chāvālīsa Tātalā, and Balaramadāsa in
Virāṭa Gītā identify the human body in all respects with the
temple of Jagannātha, making the Sahasrāra region the seat of
the great Lord. Divakaradāsa conceives of the temple itself as
the thousand petalled Lotus. The logical corollary is that
these Orissan Vaiṣṇavas visualise the union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa
in the image of Jagannātha; in other words, Jagannātha to them
is not only the visible expression of the incomprehensible Ālekhā
Brahma but also the nondual conception of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

The Guru Vāda: One of the important features in the Yoga
system of the Jagannātha cult is the Guru Vāda, as well as the
principle of "Pinda Brahmānḍa". The complex and arduous nature of
Yoga necessarily requires the help and guidance of a Guru, and as in the case of Tantric Buddhism, he is invariably held in the highest regard, and is even openly declared as a substitute for God. Balaramadāsa in his Gupta Gita, says — "Guru is Brahmā, Hari and Hara, and He is also the formless void himself". Achyutānanda in the same strain declares:

"The Formless One that remains eminent in the Sunya incarnates in Kaliyuga in the form of the Guru for the good of man". This Guru Vada is also accepted in almost the same sense and spirit in the Upanisadic and Purānic literature of the Hindus and may not, therefore, be regarded as the monopoly of the Tantric Buddhists. In the case of the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas, however, Lord Jagannātha is regarded as the ultimate Guru not only of the individual, but also of the whole universe.

The Theory of "Pinda Brahmandā".

The principle of identifying the human body with the universe is markedly present in the Yogic philosophy of the Jagannātha cult. All the Oria philosophers declare in almost the same voice that the entire universe is located within the body and that the Pinda and the Brahmanda are one and the same. In "Santana Yogasara Tīkā" of Balaramadāsa and "Śiva Svaredava" of Yāsāvantā Dāsa, the various phases of time, i.e. day, night, week, month etc. are explained with reference to the functions of the vital winds in the nervous system, and it has also been repeatedly pointed out that by controlling the vital wind one might escape the malignant influence of the "Whirl of time" (Kāla Cakra). This concept in the cult of Jagannātha might have also been partly due to the influence of the Yoga system of the Kāla Cakra Yana of Tantric Buddhism. In the Gupta Gītā Kṛṣṇa explains to Arjuna the theory of Pinda Brahmandā.
attributing the sacred places of Orissa to the limbs of the human body in the following manner. "Your feet represent Yajapura, the pleasure-ground of Varahanatha and the seat of the Goddess Viraja, and to the north of it lies the region of Yama. The waist that represents Kataka, is the home of the Goddess Vaseli, and the east of it is Balakati the place of her haunt. Your abdomen represents the hill Khandagiri the secret resort of the Siddhas and the naval represents Bhubanesvara, while the belly is the same as Tulasí Chaura (Tulasipura). Hatesvara, the seat of the son of Parvati (Kartikeya) is represented in your right hand, and Chandrabhaga in your left hand while the throat is no other than the famous Atharamala of Puri. The cavity of the mouth is the lion gate (Simhadvara) of the temple of Jagannatha, where stand Jaya and Vijaya the mythical gate keepers, while the left and the right nostrils are guarded respectively by Kumbhakarna and Ravana. The author proceeds in similar view and finally asserts that the white portion, the black portion and the pupil of the eyes are to be respectively recognised as Balabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannatha.

The Great Lord Jagannatha:

The discussions about the speculative thoughts and Yogic system of the Jagannatha cult prove the tendency of these Vaishnavas to make the Jagannatha concept the most salient and the central feature of this faith. The most significant factor in the faith of the Orissan Vaishnavas is the identification of Lord Jagannatha with Lord Buddha, and it may be pointed out that in this case these poet philosophers (Pañcaśākhās and some of their contemporaries) appear to have followed the traditions left by the Buddhist Siddhas. Much earlier in the 8th century
A.D., the Uddiyana king Indrabhuti, the reputed systematiser of Vajrayana, is found paying obeisance to Jagannatha in the opening verses of his 'Jāna Siddhi' with the following words:

"Lord Jagannatha who is the same as all the Buddhas, and who as all prevailing Siddhi is compared to the sky, is worshipped by all the highest Jinas; He is the giver of all, the omniscient of the essence of all and the best of all the Vajrayānists. After bowing low before Him with all my feelings and devotion, I now enunciate His great Sādhanā.\textsuperscript{62} Anangavajra, who is regarded as the preceptor of Indrabhuti declares that "Jagannatha, the worshipful Lord, is the giver of all artha and siddhi".\textsuperscript{63} Coming to the Dharma cult, we find almost the same tendency of identifying Jagannatha with Lord Buddha, who, in this case, is but one of the incarnations of Hari. The "Dharma Pūja Vidhāna", and authentic book of this cult states; "In the ninth incarnation God was born as Jagannatha, who was none but Lord Buddha, and He settled His residence on the sea coast, where He has relieved the whole world by distributing to all (irrespective of caste and creed) His Prasāda".\textsuperscript{64} It may be pointed out in this connection that among the ten incarnations of God, inscribed on the gateway of the Jagannātha temple in Pūrī, Buddha the ninth incarnation, has been represented by Jagannātha, a fact which thus clearly corroborates the statement of the Dharma Pūja Vidhāna. In the same work it has further been said that the Lord revealed Himself as Jagannātha to unite together the Hindus and the Muslims in his land (i.e. Orissa), while in the country of Gauda He revealed Himself as the Dharmarāja.\textsuperscript{65}

With this tradition behind them the poet-sages of the Jagannātha cult, not only presented the cosmic picture of
Jagannātha by their supernormal vision, but also they looked upon Him as Buddha and burst out into rapturous songs in praise of His glory. Śrīlādāsa in the Sabhā Parva of his Mahābhārata prays: "Jagannātha, you are present here as Buddha for the deliverance of the people of the world". The same devotional expression is found in various places of the Adi, Vana, Musali, and the Salya Parvas of his famous work. Jagannātha Dāsa while narrating the legendary origin of Jagannātha in his "Pāru-Brahma Gitā" for instance, he and "Daula Telā" asserts the identification of the deity with Buddha. In the "Pāru-Brahma Gitā", for instance, he writes "After the sixth day (in course of His formation), His hands and feet became feeble and He then discarded them in order to be Buddha". Achyutanandanda Dāsa, in many places of "Śūrya-Samhitā" declares in clear terms that Jagannātha is no other than Buddha. Addressing Him, he says: "Lord, You will enjoy as Buddha in the Kaliyuga the oblations of the devotees on the shore of Mahodadhi (Bay of Bengal). Elsewhere in the same book Jagannātha Himself is supposed to have said, "Hearken to us, Oh, Acyuta, in this Kaliyuga we have again appeared as Buddha, and thus disguising ourselves as Buddha, we have incurred the curse of the Munis. Even Pratapa Ray the writer of "Sāṭiṣeṇa" declares "Hari Himself is present in the sanctuary of Śrī Nilagiri (the Jagannātha temple, Puri) in the form of Buddha. Examples of this kind abound in the writings of these Vaishnavas, who as worshippers of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, are attracted at the same time towards Buddha and Buddhism. It may be said that the undana Kṛṣṇa, who is born in Mathura, is brought up at Gopa, and subsequently becomes the ruler of Dvārakā, is regarded by these philosophers as inferior to Jagannātha. Jagannātha, to them, is the embodiment of
sixteen divine attributes, and Krsna, who incarnates from Him as the son of Nanda, possesses one attribute (Kalā) only. Sri Caitanya is, likewise, regarded by the Orissan Vaisnavas as the manifestation of only one attribute of Jagannātha, and in 'Sūrya Samhitā' Jagannātha says, "My attribute will go to Navadvīpa and will manifest itself as Caitanya. Isvaradāsa, however, in his "Caitanya Bhāgavata" identifies Sri Caitanya with Buddha, and in this text the Lord declares "as mankind will be inconscient (Acheta) with ignorance, I shall appear as Caitanya (embodiment of consciousness), and imparting words of wisdom, shall be known as the incarnation of Buddha. To avoid confusion it may here be pointed out that Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Caitanya are still all regarded by the Orissan Vaisnavas as the incarnations of Jagannātha, and if sometimes the latter is identified with Buddha or Kṛṣṇa, He is then looked upon as Adi Buddha or Adiviṣṇu respectively.

Another important feature of the Orissan Vaisnavism of the 16th century is the concept of Subhadra who is conceived as Guru and is thus placed in the middle. Balabadrā is the sisya and is placed first in the order; Jagannātha is Bhagabān Kṛṣṇa and placed last in order. The sisya with the help of Guru will attain sākṣa with Bhagabān. So the order is Sisya, Guru, Bhagabān, or Hare Rāma Kṛṣṇa. They are also represented by three vijas namely Hīṅg, Kīṅg and Śīṅg. They have also added two more vija mantras - 1. Dhling for Sudarsana and 2. Plīṅg for Ratnavedi.

Further these deities have again been conceived as 'Vedamaya Purusas'. Balaram Das in his Guptas Gitā describes these four deities as representing the four vedas.
Balabhadra stands for Sāma, Subhadra for Rik, Jagannātha for Yaju and Sudarsāna for Athāvanavāda Veda. This is supported by Skanda Purāṇa as well as Niladri Mahedaya with some variation. Again in the order of trinity, Subhadra is conceived as Brahmā, ether two as Viṣṇu and Mahēśvarā.²³

Another conception suggested by Servus Serverum a Christian missionary in his book 'Mysticism in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri' supports the mystical aspect of this trinity. According to him "The Trinity are the first manifestations of existence and each of the trio represents an active principle. One is therefore led to think that the trio Jagannātha, Balaramā and Subhadra are the mystic representation of these three fundamental aspects of Viṣṇu (Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Kāla).

In spite of all the various conceptions advocated by the Pāñcāsākhās, the brahminical element seems to have attempted to make the institution of Jagannātha a strong hold of the Brāhminical orthodoxy. The rites and worship of Jagannātha are performed by them in the brahminical manners and mantras. The Brāhminical literature that developed centering round Jagannātha contained ideas of vedic and tantric forms of religion for example, the Śiva Mantras "Puruṣūkta" and "Oṃ Kāra" are profusely used in worship. On the other hand the cult of Jagannātha as envisaged by the Pāñcāsākhā was based on heterodox belief with a strong influence of later Buddhism particularly Vajrāyāna. This aspect of the cult got popular support and was given philosophical form in literature of Orissa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The cult of Jagannātha is thus found in two different aspects, Brāhminical and Heterodox ritualism - the
latter being a synthesis of the ideas of later Buddhism and pre-Caityanya Vaishnavism.
The Philosophy of Sri Jagganatha reviewed in the light of the Purusottamavāda of the Gita and other texts.

Our common knowledge of objects is dependent on sense impressions, and the apprehension becomes complete through psychical synthesis. But that which is not acquired through sense experience cannot be apprehended by the mind. The absolute spirit is therefore not only beyond sense impression but is also not accessible to any mental or psychical act. In western philosophy Kant advocated a view similar to this and the upanisadic tradition supports this idea. That is why the absolute reality or spirit is described as Aavāmānāsagocara, i.e. inaccessible to thought and speech. From the ordinary theoretical level of consciousness any thought of absolute reality leads to antinomies of pure reason according to Kant. But where Kant stops, the Indian spiritualists take up the clue and go beyond him. The antinomies and contradictions are resolved in a higher plane of consciousness where the contradictory aspects are discovered to be essentially complementary. The solution is not offered in the Hegelian way. Because Hegel will not admit any qualitative or absolute distinction between levels of consciousness. With Hegel all differences are of degrees and not of kind, and so while Hegel would be speaking of degrees of consciousness, the Indian Absolutists would speak of different levels or strata of consciousness. The synthesis of the contradictories is apprehended and realised in a mode of spiritual consciousness which is qualitatively different from our ordinary consciousness. It is on this level
that the unity of the manifest and unmanifest, the phenomenal and the noumenal, the immanent and the transcendent, the unity of \textit{Sat} (existence) \textit{Cit} (Pure consciousness), and the revealed and the revealing is apprehended. What is peculiar in the cult of Jagannātha is that this unity is not a mere aggregate or summation of the other two aspects but a new form which though inclusive of the two previous forms was not apprehended previously. The unit of \textit{Sat} and \textit{Cit} for instance gives \textit{Ānanda}, which comprehends the other two but at the same time goes beyond. \textit{Puruśottama} comprehends both \textit{Suddhā puruṣa} and \textit{Suddhā Prakṛti}, and at the same time goes beyond the two, and in so doing becomes the Absolute \textit{Puruṣa} as different from the Pure \textit{Puruṣa} which is the logical opposite of \textit{Prakṛti}. Here then is transcended Sāṅkhya dualism between \textit{Puruṣa} and \textit{Prakṛti}, and not only is the plurality of \textit{Puruṣas} resolved into unity, but we have a \textit{Puruṣa} here which is not a collateral reality in relation to other \textit{Puruṣas}. So the position of Sāṅkhya is not only transcended, but also the position of \textit{Yoga} which conceives the Lord of \textit{Īśvara} as a \textit{Puruṣavisesa}, that is, a superior \textit{Puruṣa} is excelled. What is remarkable is the spirit of synthesis of all rival and contradictory forms, and the recognition of this synthesis as a new fact not apprehended fully in the earlier forms (i.e. Balabhadra and Subhadrā).

In the religion of Jagannātha we have not only the one of the Advaita but we have also at the same time, the three which stand distinct and yet of which the third is a synthesis of the first two in a new and distinct form. There is Balarāma, there is Subhadrā and there is Jagannātha and from this angle we have three. But again in Jagannātha Himself we have all the three together in the form of an absolute unity.
So the earlier forms are transcended in the later, and the later form not only stands over against the earlier two, but it also becomes inclusive of the other two.

In this arrangement Balarama comes first, then Subhadra, and last of all Jagannatha. Balarama is the noumenal or the transcendent, the unchangeable and the unqualified, the unmanifest, the pure form, like that of Aristotle, the form of the Good like that of Plato, the cit or pure consciousness of the Advaita. It is infinitude or fullness in itself and by itself. The method of apprehending this form is pure knowledge or Sudhajñāna. There may be different reasons why this particular arrangement of the deities has been provided. One of these reasons may be that in the evolution of spiritual consciousness there is a tendency of consciousness at first to soar up to the transcendent, the Supramundane, the pure form, to the form which is antithetical to and in a sense the negation of the given order of reality and nature. A Sankarite would find culmination of spiritual consciousness in this abstract form; but not so the devotee of Lord Jagannatha. After having reached the pure, the qualitiless, the transcendent, he turns back upon its logical antithesis the phenomenal whole, the changeable order, the qualified, the manifest. Having reached the apprehension of pure purusa it turns again to its opposite the Prakṛti or the Śakti. From cit it turns back upon sat the existential and the revealed, from the Natura Naturans of Spinoza to Natura Naturata of the same philosopher, from the infinite which is complete in itself to the infinite which is complete in relation to the phenomenal plurality and is the source of it. This is Subhadra and the method of realisation of this form is karma or "Action". But this karma is not ordinary karma but the karma which goes before jñāna; but
which follows after jñāna and is attended by jñāna. This karmā which comes after jñāna culminates in prema or bhakti, and in bhakti or prema only an abstract realisation of Divinity changes into a concrete union with that Divinity. Prema or bhakti is the symbol of this union or identification. This is the reason why in the realisation of the form of Jagannātha, it is bhakti or prema which is considered to be the only method of Śādhanā. Jagannātha is the synthesis. It is the union or unity itself and so the mode of apprehension can only be that which is suggestive of union and so this is called love or prema. Jñāna gives the transcendent, the distant, karmā gives the immanent, the near or that which is close to us. But Bhakti gives that which is at the same time near and distant, transcendent and immanent, that which is the self and the other than the self. So there seems to be not only some logical reasons for this arrangement but also some deeper spiritual reason why the order of the deities is as it is.

The images are found incomplete. This has puzzled many investigators. Some thought that the images are purely symbolical in character. Even supposing that the original forms were the products of crude and undeveloped aboriginal art, it seems astonishing that such crude forms came to be retained through all succeeding stages when Orissan art and architecture reached a stage of rare perfection. What prevented the designer of the marvellous and exquisite male and female forms in hundreds of other temples from supplanting the crude forms of deities by forms which are more intelligible and more beautiful? Even supposing that these crude forms were developed by crude methods and by people who had no training in plastic art, the question remains why these were not
replaced by other forms of more artistic build in later years. The spiritual minds of subsequent generation of the people must have discovered some mystery, some inexplicable truth in the forms on account of which the forms were retained in their original setting without any addition or alteration. History tells us that there was a time when Kālāpāhād destroyed the original images. What prevented the king Rāma- chandra Deva from installing artistic images of a Balaram, a Subhadra and a Jagannātha? Blind veneration of antiquity and tradition does not fully explain why the images similar to the older forms were re-installed.

It can be seen that none of the forms is complete by itself. The three not only represent three forms but also represent three aspects of one whole. The incompleteness in the forms is suggestive of this inter-relation, and complementing character of the forms themselves. In a sense the forms are certainly symbolical. But they suggest or symbolise the inexplicable, the unspeakable, the unthinkable, and the absolute spirit is just that. How can that be fully represented, which is by its very nature unrepresentable, and which baffles understanding, subdues speech, and which is non-sensuous? The infinite can only be represented by forms which are by their very nature baffling to ordinary apprehension. This sublime height of conception has no where been attained except in the three images in the temple of Lord Jagannātha. In all other temples Gods have been carved in human forms. But the Supreme Lord Jagannātha can be shown in his Supreme form only by images, which though akin to the phenomenal or the mundane is at the same time different and distant. So the forms have remained partly intelligible, partly unintelligible, partly
pictureable and partly unthinkable, Where do we get the
suggestion of Infinite as Infinite; the unthinkable as unthinkable; of a God who is not only immanent but also transcendent except in the temple of Lord Jagannātha?

Besides the three forms there is another, a formless
form, called Sudarsana which also is enumerated in the total
assessment of the forms. The forms are described as fourfold,
but while the other three are worshipped as persons this fourth
called Sudarsana is worshipped as a symbol. It is not given the
form of any particular thing. In the purānas Sudarsana is the
wheel which along with the conch shell and the club is an
ayudha (weapon). The purāṇas describe how Lord Viṣṇu killed
his enemies by decapitating them with the wheel. The demons
Madhu, Kaitabha, Mura etc. met their end in this way. In the
Mahābhārata, Kṛṣṇa is described as the wielder of Sudarsana
and with it he decapitated Śiśupāla. But this is only one aspect
of the thing and not a very deep one. The Cakra of the
Cakradhāri is also symbolical of the cycle of change. The
phenomenal order or Jagat is ruled by the principle of change,
but this law of change proceeds from the changeless - the
Eternal. Again the supreme reality beyond all things is
related to the given phenomenal order in a mysterious way.
Sudarsana seems to stand between the given order and the
unfathomable beyond. It is the principle of inscrutability of
the inscrutable, the principle of mystery of the mysterious,
the Cakra of Cakrī. It is by the principle of mystery of
essential unintelligibility or unfathomableness, that the supreme
Lord of the Universe is connected with the Universe. Sudarsana
seems to be the symbol of that mystery. It symbolises time and
change, and is connected with the unchangeable the inscrutable,
the eternal as its source. It is remarkable that, during the Rathayātra festival this Sudarsana form is taken to the chariot first. This seems to indicate that without the introduction of Sudarśana which is the connecting link between the three forms, the forms cannot be separately introduced. It is also remarkable that Sudarśana is not placed in the chariot of Lord Jagannātha, but placed in the chariot of Subhadrā who is the symbol of the manifest order of the changeable whole. This seems to suggest that the changeable infinite is not intelligible except under the shadow of the unchangeable, and this connecting link is the principle of mystery or change and this is Sudarśana. The formless form of Sudarśana is also suggestive of the fact that the changeable can be figured in some way, but the principle of change cannot be grasped in any definite form. So Sudarsana has no definite form.

The three deities have different colours, Subhadrā, the symbol of Prakṛti or Sakti has yellow colour. Prakṛti is the source of all living things and forms, which assume various colours as they grow and develop, but at the origin are characterised by yellow colour. Balarāma who is the symbol of pure being or pure indeterminate spirit, has white colour, which is at the same time the synthesis and negation of all spectral colours. Lord Jagannātha has dark colour. This darkness seems to suggest the veil of mystery which surrounds the Supreme Lord. Black is no colour in itself, nor is it a synthesis of colours. It is the negation of all colours as well as colourlessness.

The philosophy underlying the cult of Jagannātha has a support in the Purusottamavada of the Gītā. The Gītā makes the distinction between Ksara and Aksara presents the Lord who is beyond both and at the same time who comprehends both
of them in a new form, distinct from the other two. The
supreme Lord is incomprehensible (acintya). But the ksara
and the aksara are both comprehensible. Besides there is a
dualism and opposition between ksara and aksara; but the
absolute is not opposed to any. Lord Jagannatha is conceived
in the same way. He is other than pure puruṣa (Balarama) and
Para Prakṛti (Subhadra), the ksara and the aksara. He is
neither parināminitya nor aparināminitya. He is beyond both,
that is, neither opposed to any of them nor identical with
any of them or both of them together. Were he identical with
both he could not be a deity transcendent of both and were
he opposed to any of them or even opposed to both of them
together he would be limited and not the infinite Lord. The
Absolute is incomprehensible. This incomprehensibility of the
supreme Lord is also suggested by the dark colour. But the
incomprehensible here is not the unknowable of the agnostics.
The incomprehensible is the unfathomable - that which can only
be partly known and which always remain partly unknowable. The
eyes of the Lord glisten with divine grace (kvya) and the
supreme Lord is connected with the world of things and beings
by bhakti or prema. He is both mūrta and amūrta. The mūrta form
is premāchāna and, the amūrta is viṣṇāchāna. It is this
form aspect of the Lord which becomes the object of worship
and the method of worship is prema or love, bhakti or devotion
involving self surrender (Prapatti). He is not merely a
puruṣa like the Sāṁkhya Puruṣa which is bare witness, pure
consciousness, itself without quality or determination. His
Puruṣottamata is suggestive of this compassionate aspect or
the worshippable aspect. The sāṁkhya purusa is the true self
of the individual (jīva). It is never universal or one.
There are as many purusas as there are jivas according to the sāṃkhya. But the philosophy of Jagannātha does not accept this pluralism (Bahūsvavādā). The supreme Lord is not the identity of the phenomenal selves. He transcends all of them although He is the sustainer of all of them again. The Brahma Purāṇa describes the Purusottama as one whose principal characteristic is that he is conceivable only in terms of contradictory qualities or dhāma.

**Philosophy of Jagannātha reviewed in the light of Upanisadic mysticism.**

There is another angle from which the thing may be judged. As religion in India has a philosophical foundation this philosophy again is based upon a transcendental principle of mysticism. Unfortunately this last point which is the most basic to the rest has been over-looked not only by ordinary people but also by renowned scholars and philosophers. The mystical basis of Upanisadic philosophy and religion lies in 'Prāṇava'. The meaning of Prāṇava is not accessible to logical understanding. It is grasped only in meditation or yogic practices. How Reality is one, that is Brahman or self, and how the individual-selves and the phenomenal universe are one with this Brahman or this self cannot be grasped fully by logic. It is a matter of deeper spiritual experience. Sāvāna and Manana are to culminate in nīḍādhyāsana and this nīḍādhyāsana is the gate or the entrance to the otherwise inaccessible truth. Nīḍādhyāsana leads to that mystical experience in which the philosophy of Brahman and Ātman culminates in the philosophy of Prāṇava. When Nachiketa asked Yama to unfold to him the nature of the self and immortality, the reply which Yama gave was that the self or
immortality was Om. This is again described as angusthamastrā purusa in the subsequent chapters of the 'Kathopanisad'. The Māṇḍūkyya which attempts a correlation of the various depths of experience with the various aspects of reality, begins with the an analysis of 'Om', and concludes with the fuller presentation of the significance of 'Om'. But unfortunately this part of the Upaniṣadic doctrine is left out by the ordinary searchers on the ground of its mystic nature. But truth is mystery and the mystery is the truth, and the tattva which underlies all dharmas is hidden in the inner depths of consciousness (dharmasyatārym nihitam guhāvām). But some blame should go to our spiritual guides also because they wanted to screen off the sublime truth from ordinary enquirers and catered to them only the themes and anecdotes which could interest men of limited capacity. So philosophy came to be interpreted in terms of popular stories with fancied characters which are not historical figures at all but were intended originally to be only symbolical. But the fools took the symbols or only symbolical characters in a non-symbolic way with the result that there has always remained a yawning gulf between popular religion and true religions. The relation between spiritual experience or philosophical mysticism and the elaborate philosophical systems can also be viewed in the same way. It seems that there have been three stages in the evolution of Indian spiritual thought. The original mystical experience and direct apprehension of Truth through realisation - the first stage; an indirect representation of that truth in philosophical thoughts and themes - the second stage; a graphic and picturesque representation of that philosophical truth again in Purānic anecdotes and stories - the third stage; At the
fourth stage, if it is to be called a stage at all, we have our popular beliefs in religion, morality and social laws. For a thorough understanding it is necessary to review all the stages together. This principle of interpretation if applied to the cult of Jagannātha can throw a new light on the universality of the cult. And this is substantiated by evidence, and is not a mere guess work. Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā as paurānic personages have one kind of appeal to the popular mind. But while the forms of Balabhadra and Jagannātha become easily intelligible the relevancy of the form of Subhadrā in the trinity remains an element of mystery. In the Purāṇas Subhadrā does not occupy a place of such importance that she should be associated with the worship of the other two forms Balabhadra and Jagannātha. In the Purāṇas, Subhadrā is a sister of Kṛṣṇa and wife of the third Pāṇḍava, Arjuna, and the best and the noblest in her became manifest in the house of the Pāṇḍavas and not in the house of her father or brothers. It may be that the three forms came to be known as Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā under the religious teachings of the Vaiṣṇavas, and the female form was taken as Subhadrā, because the other two forms were to be identified as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. Varahamihir in the 6th century A.D. however introduces Ekānāmśā to be worshipped along with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. She will be installed in between them. This Ekānāmśā was later on named as Subhadrā.

Before Varāha Mihir the worship of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was prevalent in India. In the Nānāghat cave inscription of Naganika there is mention of Sankarṣana and Vāsudeva with other deities. This inscription of the 2nd or 1st century B.C. shows that the Bhagavata religion has spread to south.
Professor Bhanda-rkar in his "Archaeological remains and excavation at Nagari, pp.130-133" suggested that Vasudeva and Sankarsana were worshipped together. This was incised in the Ghosundi stone inscription of the 2nd century A.D. The Besnagar pillar inscription also supports the identification of Vasudeva with Krishna (Vaisnavism in Orissa by P. Mukherjee, p.4).

The formless form standing by the side of the form of Jagannatha came to be described as Sudarsana on account of similar reason. There are some again who explain these images with reference to the Chaturvyuhas, Vasudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. But we are not going to accept this order as all the four Vyuhas are males whereas in Jagannatha Pitha there is one female. It is not known if the cult of Sita Rama ever interpreted these forms naming one as Rama, the other one as Lakshmana and the third one as Sitâ. But the facts are like this, the forms were there, and they were objects of worship, and each religious sect came to give different names to these forms suiting the exigencies of their inclination. Subhadra is not, however, worshipped as Subhadra alone but as Mahadakty, Yagamaty, Visnumaty. She is also called Katyayani and Bhuvaranvari which are names of Durgâ. It seems probable that these different religious preachers arrived and prescribed these different modes of worship and ultimately some form of synthesis has resulted giving rise to the existent religious traditions and practices in the temple of Jagannatha. The cult of Jagannatha has attained universality on account of this synthesis, on account of the integration of all the manifold and varied modes of worship. Again in the worship of the Lord there is no distinction of caste and creed and all the castes and
communities have a distinctive role in the worship that is staged. But this is only one aspect, the religious aspect of the deities or the worshipable aspect. Behind this there is a mysterious aspect also. Mr. Petersen recounts that after the bathing festival of the forms when all the outer colouring, ornamentations and dresses are removed, the images appear in their original symbolical forms. And what is the basic symbol there? This symbol is the Pranava. When dilating on the Atmatattva, Brahmatattva and Pranava Tattva, the ancient Upanisads declare that each has got four "Mataras" or "Padas", the first three matras or padas are specifically described and the fourth one which is unspecific is referred to as the transcendent (turiya). In respect of Atman these four are Jagrat, Svapna, Susupti and Turiya. In respect of Brahman, these four are Vaisvanara, Vaijasa, Prajna and Santam. In the context of Pranava these four are the four matras - A, U, M and Jvati. These four are not to be understood separately or in distinction.

The first three are represented in interconnected form, but the fourth one is absolutely formless. The second one is "Madhyama" the connecting link between the first and the third and the form of Subhadra is symbolical of that. In the statement given by Petersen, Subhadra stands for symbolic connection merely, the connecting link between the first and the third, and he says that it is for that reason that Subhadra has no hands. The form called Sudarsana becomes extremely significant in this context. This Sudarsana is shown on the left hand side (extreme side) of Lord Jagannatha. So this formless form is the symbol of Turiya, of Jvati and of Santa.
The Sānta or the tranquil, says the Upanisad is motionless in the intimate expanse of Akāsa like a tree, Stabdhaiva divi
at 90 tisthyaka. Who can say that Sudarsana which has the form of a long red club does not symbolise that tree which is the tranquil or the motionless one in the eternal sky, behind the
and beyond the manifest universe, passing through phases of
birth, maturation and decay? Who can say that it is not the symbol of Ānanda or Bliss into which all ultimately enter,
from which all spring, and by which all the sustained? The
name Sudarsana is given to this by the Vaiṣṇavas. Again
Sudarsana is a wheel, and the wheel is further taken as the
Jyotirūpa of the Lord described in the Gāyatri Mantra as the
"Bhurge deva". The name Darubrahma became significant in the
context of this interpretation. Dāru or wood becomes a means of
symbolisation of Brāhma. Ātmān and "Om" in all its four
matras or padas (Padāsca mātrāḥ mātrasca pādah).

Pranava is called Sabda Brahma because it is at the
root of the world of sounds. Tasyavācaka Pranavaḥ says the
Yoga system "Om ityatad aksaramiṇām sarvam or Sarvatma Oṃkāra eva"
the Mandukya also says - Sarvam hi etad Brahma. Aṇamatmā Brahma.
The Mandukya continues "Oṃ-iti dhyāvatva Ātmānām" says the
Chāndogya. So Brāhma, Ātmān and Oṃ and if we like, Paravak,
these four are to be related. Strangely each has got four
mātrās or padas. As far as "Vāk" is concerned the padas are
Parā, Pasyanti, Madhyamā, and Vaikhari. From this context
Balabhadra may be Vaikhari, Subhadrā the connecting link may
be Madhyamā and Jagannātha the lotus-eyed may be Pasyanti and
Sudarsana the Paravak. According to the Pañcarātra School,
these may be interpreted as Virat, Sutrātmā, Antaryāmā and
Suddha. There is perfect correspondence between these four and
and other forms like Vaśvānara, Taijas, Prajnā and Santa or Viśva-Taijas, Prajnā, Turīya advocated by the same Pāñcarātra school. So there seems to be definite reason to believe that the Jagannātha in all the four forms taken together is not only the universal deity, worshiped by all the castes of the Hindus but that it is the most ancient divinity, the one and the only Lord worshipable, the one and the only truth realisable, the one and the only end attainable namely the Brahman, the Anandam and the Parama Jyoti as sighted in the deep spiritual experience by the seers of the Upaniṣads. And Jagannātha is Jagannātha not because He is the Lord of the Universe, but because He is the Universe and the source of the Universe and more particularly, because He is all and everything. His total aspect is revealed in the four forms taken together and when these are taken together we not only have a comprehensive view of things, a comprehensive view of reality but we have comprehension itself. If comprehensive view is philosophy, then the Philosophy of Jagannātha is not a type of philosophical doctrine, but philosophy itself.
REFERENCES

1. The History of Medieval Vaisnavism in Orissa by Pravat Mukherjee, pp. 2 and 21.


3. Reference has already been given in Chapter I.


5. Ibid., pp. 510-511 and p. 525.

6. The History of Medieval Vaisnavism in Orissa, Ch. IX, pp. 123-142.

7. Reference has already been given in Ch. I.

8. The description of Sita in the Vïlãkã Rãmãyana is almost exactly like that of Uddiyana Kurukula of Tantric Buddhism, the presiding deity of Uddiyana (Orissa), found in the Śādhana Mālā, Part II, pp. 344-45.


10. Sārasvata Gītā, Ch. I, MahaŚûnyakû ye Brahmabêli Kahi

11. Siddhanta Dāmburu, Vide, M. M. Vasu, Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj, p. CXXXIII.

Om Śûnyabrahmane namah.


Avûta Parikalpaquote dvayamatra navidyate Śûnya vidyate tvatra tasyāmapi sa vidyate.

13. Śûnya Samhita, Ch. VII.

Yâlā pacārilo gupata sandhi, Śûnya puruṣā Śûnyaephya vandī.
Śûnya puruṣā udasare râhe, Śûnya puruṣā savu maya vyāye.
Śûnya puruṣā dayâlu atai, Śûnya puruṣā sarva ghate rahi.
Śûnya puruṣā kare nāta ghata, Śûnya pruṣā jane chanda kūtā.

14. Virata Gītā, Ch. I.

Yâhāra rupa rekha nahi Śûnya puruṣā Śûnya dehi.
Yâhāra śûnya ate dehi, 
Avara namathiva kâhin?

Agacara purusma se nāhi rupe varna,
Thāya thiti nāhi tāra stai mahaśunya.
Rūpavanta nihai se grūpa tāra dehi,
Sunya sangate se Sunya heithai.

Dehavanta hēle ta kariva rupe veda,
Yahara mahima vakhari napārśiveda.

16. Nirguna Mahatmya, Ch.II.

Jīvara mokṣakalpāra, Anadi pravu nirakāra
Yagata janākavisvasa, sakala vūte tāra vasā.
Jagata mangala Īśvara, Tāra mahima agacara
Sadhujanākakhitakare, Šunyare thula rupadhare.

17. Jñana Siddhi, p.84, the translation of the passage is taken from Dr. S. P. Dasgupta, Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, p.88.

18. Vide Jñāna Siddhi, p.84.

19. For the description of Nirakāra Visnu along with five other Visnus vide Visnugarbha Purāna, Ch.III; See also N.N. Basu, Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj, pp.CLXXVII.
Mr. Artaballabhah Mohanty in his preface to Visnugarbha Purana (Praci edition) strongly criticises Mr. N.N. Basu for his identification of the five Visnu with the five Dhyani Buddhas. Mr. Mohanty, however, seems to be quite ignorant of the theological position of the Tantric Buddhists.

20. Visnugarbha Purāna, Ch.III.

Avarna anguru tāra varna prakāśilā,
Svetā pīta kunkuma lehita carikalā.
Jaladhare nirjharaka yemanta chadavarna,
Ye chadavarnaru chada Visnu hele janma.

21. For the description of these Devas and their accessories, see the discussion on Yoga, infra.

22. There are four schools of this system of Buddhism:


25. *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā*, Ibid.

Urmadhūrma Se jyetijvālā,  
Vindu Sahite pancakālā.  

Uchudi padante ye pāñca  
Salīla jale padisanca.  

Jale padante pāñcavātā  
Tatksane yoga māyā jāta.

26. Ibid.  

Sekala rūpa nidragata, jalaru heila samvūta,  
Sejala naparila rahī, urmīre talātala heī.

27. Ibid.  

Devi veile tahajani tuvajrakā hua punī  
Tu adī mūtā saktihebu, mēte tu linga sekarivu.  
Yeṣ anga vedi mūhin thivī, sakala srusthi munkarivī.

28. In Chapter III of Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā  
Adimāta is represented as the universal space  
extending in ten directions.

29. Ibid.  

Vale mūn hevi valiar, virāta nama heva mēra  
Me ante napāive kehi, Ananta nama hevi mūhin.  
Avara Balabhādra šesha, Menama heiva vīsesha.

30. Ibid, Ch.II.  

Sekalse purusā ma kṣarīle,  
Ma a aksara velailā  
Se rasun sa aksara hela,  
Radhikā nāma velailā  
Yemisī Radhakṛṣṇathithi,  
Jīva paramahin velanti.

31. Ibid, Ch.II.  

Se Radhā Kṛṣṇa premarasun,  
Se prema rūpa Garvavasun.  

Tahun tripura hela janma,  
Se adī triguna ta nāma.  

Tini purane yeka dehi,  
Yenu Tripura nama heī.  

Se dasa vujare samvūta,  
Se adī Durgā adimāta.

32. Ibid, Ch.IV.

33. Ibid, *Vadūntasāra Gupta Gītā*, Ch.XXI mentions Nītya  
and Pramāda, instead of Ṭīḷavati and Priyavati.
34. Hevajra-tantra; MSS. pp.55B-56B.

Indre Gaurī Yame Saurī vētalī varunedīsi
Kauverighasmaricaiva adhe vucarī smṛta.
Urdhe khecari prokta utpanti krama praksatah.

35. Śūnya Samhitā, Ch.IX.

Age Rādhā pache mūhin lampata vāvare,
Yekavija veniphāla yugala angare.

36. Ibid.

Nirākāra mandala se galēka rāhāsa,
Nirākāra vaṭāna sethāku tāra asa,
Nirākāra vaṭīthila se vumikī pāsi.

37. Ibid.

Dayakale vṛdha māṭā nirākāra mantra,
Dvātriṃśā āksara upadesā dele tattva.

38. Prema Bhakti Br. Gitā, Ch.I.
The same thing is also expressed in Ch.III of the text.

Yāhāku anākāra kahi, Se vindi Brahma achi bahi
Se vindi yega māya pare, Rahilā ardha mātra sīre.
Tahun jamnila yagūksara, Añanta sarpara akāra,
Tāhāku sushumunā kahi, Se sīsūveda ghara sehi.
Avani mandala āksara, Sāmisā thapana Omkāra.

39. Ibid, Ch.IV.

Śrīrādhā Kṛṣṇa Candrāvalī,
Yenitya tin’rūpe keli.
X X X
Kliś Slīm ku gheni hlim.

40. Vide Prema Bhakti Brahma Gitā, Ch.IV.

41. Ibid, Ch.V.

Haa āksara vadrasakā, Gupatarupe Se Rādhikā.
Re akṣara Baladeva, Revatipati anuvava.
Kuru akṣara Kṛṣṇa dehi, Śrī Jagannātha yāhā kahi
Snau Se Sudarsāna Puṣa, yemante caturthā pramāṇa.

42. Śūnya samhitā, Ch.VII.

Nirākāra rūpa arūpa deha
Caturdha rupe vije Nirakāra.

43. Ibid.

Tohara mehara śūnya kāyāti,
Jagata śūnya rūpare udeti.
Ye dehaku bavu parate naya
Nirakāra vaji parate ya ya.
44. Vedāntasāra Gupta Gītā, Ch.VII.

Se Nilagiri nitya sama
Tenu Srikṛṣṇa nitya dhama.
Se Nilagiri nitya dui
Avinna aveda atai.

Jagannātha Caritamṛta, Ch.XVIII.

Yehu Gelekanityasthala
Sehuti giri Nilacakal.

Ketia yuga yeve yai
Sethira lila nasaraī.

45. Saptāṅga yega sāra Tīkā, p.2.

Yamaku ehada mte se juama kahiva
Acketana pindaku cetana kaṁiva.
Alekha Niranjananku cihiva kemantē
Ye dehaku ghenī srami ra-hiva yeḿante.

46. Ibid, p.3.

Ghata yega svami mte kahiva vistari

47. Siva Svarodaya, p.4.

Navistana mularu ankuredita heī
Vastari hajara nādi dehā madhye raḥi.

But according to Saptanya Yoga Sāra Tīkā there are altogether 60 thousand nerves:

Shathia sahasra nādi prakriī vikara

48. See also Gupta Gītā, Ch.III Virata Gītā, Ch.VI.

Venicaksunḍa madhye sthāna trikūṭa veli tāraṇāma.


Tathi upare putare Brahma randhra dvara
Tilacēpa prayṛd puta kapata sethara.

50. Brahma Sankuli
Ujāni pavanakunei trikūṭa madhye varatuhi.


Brahma kapata phitai alekhaku dekha.

Teveti yamara trasa nalagiva tete.
52. Ibid. See also Gupta Gita, Ch.V; Chatisa Gupta Gita, Ch.IV, for ulta sadhana of the Natha Cult, see Geraksa Vija, pp.115, 116, 145 etc. Gerakṣabodha, Verse No.33.

53. Gupta Gita, Ch.IV.

Taluka Sandhire se yai,
Padmakesara ye achai.

54. Chayalisa patala, Patala No.78 21.
Virata Gita, Ch.IV.

55. Jagannātha Caritāmṛta, Ch.XII.

Vada deula se velai
Sahasra dala padma sehi.

Alsé Ibid.
Cahan delare Nilacalare
Vije daru Brahma sasra dalare.

56. Ibid.
Nilacalare Parama Brahma,
Radhanka sange vege Krsna.
Radhakṛṣṇa yeka sarire
Achanti supremavavare.

57. Gupta Gita, Ch.III.

Guruthe Brahma Hare Hara
Guruti Syama Nirakāra.


Nirakāra rupa sunyare
Prakasa manava hitare
Srigururūpe avatāra
Heicha Se Kaliyugara.

59. The same spirit is also found in Rudra Yamala tantra, where it is declared.

60. Virata Gita, Ch.IV.
See also, Sunyā Samhita, Ch.III, Vedanta Sara Gupta Gita, Ch.I; Chatisa Gupta Gita, Ch.XXIV etc.

Brahmānde yete vidhimata,
Pindāre achanti-samasta.
Pinda Brahmanda yekamata
Te āge Kahidelitatva.

61. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tīka.

Anadi tharu Rudra paile upadesa
Teveti katile puta kala cakra pasa.
Teveti kala cakrare nāhivu tu veda.
62. Two Vajrayana works, p.31.

Prapipatya Jagannatham Sarvajina-varārcitam.

Sarva Buddha mayam siddhi vyāpinam gaganoparam.

Sarvadām sarva satyovāh sarvajna varavajinam. 

Vaktyaham sarvaśāvāvena vaikṣṭat sādhanaṃ param.


Paryupasya Jagannāthe Guruḥ Sarvārtha Siddhidāh.

64. Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna, pp.206-207; 208.

See also Govinda Vijaya of Syamadāsa

Vangavasi edition, p.3.


66. Sarala Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva.

Samsar janaṅkū tariva nimante 

Baudha rūpare vije acha Jagannāthe.

67. Dāru Brahma Gītā.

Shashtādīvasa antareṇa, 

Padaye pani hela Ksina 

Baudha rupa heva pain, 

Pada pani chadile nabin.

Deula Tela:

Thakure voila rūjā hōiluki va-i 

Kali yuge vasibun Baudha rupa hōi.

68. Śunya Samhitā.

Baudha rūpe mahedāñdi kule 

Bhagavilasivaś tu setevete.

69. Ibid, Ch.X.

For further references, see Sunya Samhitā, Ch.IX, 

Ch.XIII and Ch.XX.

Veile Acyuta tumhe suna ambha vani 

Kali yuge Baudha rupe prakasivu puni 

Kaliyuge Baudha rūpe nija rūpa gēpya 

Sunahē sakala munijane dele sapa.

70. Sasi Senā, Ch.IX, verse 52.

Srinilagiri kandare Hari 

Baudhārupe chanti vije kari.

71. Jagannātha Caritamrta.

Śrī Jagannātha Shelakala 

Yethun kalaa Nandavala.
72. Śūnya Samhīta, Ch. IX.

Ambha kalā puni yae Nadia dvipare
Caitanya rupe prakāsā heībun ye thāre.

73. Caitanya Bhāgavata, Ch. III.

Although Śrī Caitanya is regarded by the Orissan Vaishnava writers as the incarnation of Buddha, the Vaishnavas of Bengal represent him as the hater of the Buddhists. In Caitanya Caritamrta it is written: —

"He is a wretch who denies form to God; touch not, behold not that slave of Death. The Buddhists are atheists for reciting the Vedas" (J. N. Sarkar's translation, II, p. 6).

73A. Śūnya Samhīta, Ch. III, pp. 24-25.

73B. Balārama Das Gupta Gītā, Ch. XVII, p. 18, Ch. XXIX, Sloka 34, and Nīlakūṭalodeśa Ch. V, Page 51.

73C. Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā, Ch. V, p. 37.

74A. Kant - Critique of Pure reason - Transcendental dialectic.


76A. Spinoza - Ethics, God or nature as the cause of all things and God is identical with all particular manifestations or system of effects.


From Natura Naturas to Natura Naturata.

77. Sudarśana is Kāla-Cakra (Ahirbudhṇā Samhīta, Ch. 33, sloka 8) and was created first. Se it is brought first to the chariot and kept with Subhadra, the Goddess Sakti.

Tataḥcakramayam sarvam jagatsthāvararajaṅgamanam
Sudarsana-syaiva kālacakraṇāṇām.

78. Bhagavat Gītā, Ch. XV, Sloka 18.


80A. Brahma purāṇa:

Asthūlemananurupe asauvāñśevvisvaāvaca
Viruddha dharma-rūpe-sau niśvavyat Puruṣottamah
and Utkala Khanda Skanda Purāṇa, Ch. VIII, Sloka 32.
279

83. Ibid, I., 2. 20.
85. Archaeology and Vaishnava tradition by R.P. Chanda, p. 163.
87. Brahma Purana, Ch.LIII, Sloka - 58.

Namaste Sarvaje dayi
Namaste Sarvasankhade

Ṭráhi mām Padma pratāksī!
Kātyāyani namastute.


89. Māndukya Upanishad, Sloka 1-2.

Omityetādaksaramidam sarvam
stasyapavyākhyanam
bhṛtambhavadbhavisyaēite
Sarvamākara eva sarvam
hyetabhramahyayamātmā
brahma seyamātmā catuspāt.

89A. Ibid.

90. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna III, Ch.340, Slokas 43-44.
Mahanārayana Upanishad, Kanda IX, Sloka 4.
91. Māndukya Upanishad, Sūtra V, Rg. No. 8.
92. Nārāyana Upanishad and Māndukya Upanishad, Sūtra V, Sloka I.
93. Chāndogya Upanishad, Mantra 10.
APPENDIX - I
EKĀNAṀṢĀ AND SUBHADRĀ

The worship of Sakti or Devī was popular in ancient and medieval India. Ekānaṁṣā was then considered to be a special form of Durgā or Sakti and her worship was also a regular feature in ancient time. In the Mahābhārata Ekānaṁṣā was associated with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. In the Vīraṭa Parva she was identified with the daughter of Yaśodā who saved the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma from the mighty hands of Kaṁsa. She was then called Yoganīyā or Yoganidrā and was said to be the sister of Kṛṣṇa. During Muhammadan ascendency in India Saktism had a great sway over the people and so the worship of Ekānaṁṣā was a regular phenomenon all over the country. The Mahābhārata also identifies this Goddess with Kuhu, the daughter of Angirasa. The word Ekānaṁṣā literally means a goddess who is one and not a part of any other - both Advaita and Akhaṇḍa at the same time.

As Ekānaṁṣā and Subhadrā were described side by side as the sister of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma from the days of the Mahābhārata, both were treated as identical by the 8th century A.D. Curiously enough, the Utkalakhaṇḍa section of the Skanda Purāṇa attempts to identify Subhadra with Lakṣmī. In one passage of the same, Subhadra is described as the Sakti of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa inspite of her being a sister of the latter. Perhaps the identification of Ekānaṁṣā with Subhadrā was made during the period of composition of the Skanda-Purāṇa. In the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa it is said that the image of Ekānaṁṣā should be placed in between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa and that her left hand should rest on the waist and the right should carry a lotus. Thus Ekānaṁṣā is identified with the Goddess Subhadrā.
A living example of the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Ekāmaṣā-Balarāma is found at Puri in the temple of Jagannātha. The central figure there is not named as Ekāmaṣā but as Subhadra. The presence of three symbolic images (representing Balarāma-Subhadra-Jagannātha of the holy triad) in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri has given rise to various speculations as to their original character. Some scholars see in these images an influence of the Buddhist doctrine of Tri-ratna and others of the Vaisṇavite representations of Balarāma-Subhadra-Kṛṣṇa. Mr. J.C. Ghosh has tried to show that the said triad represent only the superimposition of Vaisnavism over Śaṅktism. Traces of Śaṅktism are also found in the two subsidiary shrines of Vimala and Annapurna at the temple-enclosure of Jagannātha himself. Vimala and Subhadra represent, however, the two aspects of Durgā-Ekāmaṣā. When the Śaṅkta deity became Vaisnavised and was identified with Subhadra, Śaṅktas started worshipping Vimala in the temple compound.

Although various interpretations are given to the presence of Subhadra in the middle of Balarāma and Jagannātha, none of them is satisfactorily dealt with. The word Subhadra literally means a goddess who is a miable, blessed, auspicious, prosperous, good, gracious, friendly, kind and excellent and the benefactor of the world and the presence of such goddess between Jagannātha and Balabhadra provides the temple an air of magnificence. The fact that Subhadra has no hand is a sure sign to conclude that she has no separate existence of her own and she is a part of the whole. So she cannot be studied in isolation. She is the creative energy which governs the entire universe. She, because of her position in the middle, is a connecting link between Baladeva and Jagannātha.
The Hayasīra Pāñcarātra (Circa 800 A.D.) in its section "Puruṣottama Sthāpana Paṭalam" identifies Ekaṇāmsā with Subhadrā. The text also says that the Goddess should be consecrated according to the procedure of installation followed in the case of Lakṣmī. The Utkalakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa also supports this by identifying Subhadrā with Lakṣmī (Ch.XIX, V.17 and Ch.XXVII, Vs.11-14). The deity Subhadrā, according to the Hayasīra Pāñcarātra, should be placed on the right side of the Lord Puruṣottama and Balārāma whose eyes are rolling through excessive drink on the left. This procedure of placing the deities has been followed in the temple of Jagannātha.

Several medieval stone and bronze reliefs of Ekaṇāmsā have been discovered in India. One such bronze image of Ekaṇāmsā with the other two associates has been preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneswara (Plate No. ). Another living example of worship of this deity Ekaṇāmsā is to be found in the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswara (Plate No. ). Here the deity is placed middle and other two Kṛṣṇa and Balārāma on her two sides. These three deities are called Siṁhā Bhraṁśa, whereas in the Jagannātha temple they are called Daru Bhraṁśa.

Some writers, quoting a sloka from Skanda Purāṇa (Tatsya Śakti-Svarūpāyam Bāgīnī Strī Praśāntikā) consider Subhadrā as both the sister and the wife of Jagannātha. But this idea is fantastic because in the realm of Hindu religion the concept of brother-sister worship is not a prevailing feature. On the other hand there is the worship of Prakriti and Puruṣa as a God and His consort. Perhaps either the critics have misread the Sloka in the Skanda Purāṇa or the editors of
the said Purãna have misrepresented the fact. The sloka may stand as "Bhagini Sva Pravartikã" with mere authenticity. The word 'Bhagini' in this context may not be taken in the ordinary sense as 'sister' but as a Sakti who is endowed with Bhogas or Aisvaryas. The words 'Sva Pravartikã' may mean one who can act herself and make others act according to her wish."Svayam eva Pravartitum Pravartayituin va śīlam yasyāḥ sā svappravartikā"- Ichā-śakti. This new interpretation suggested by us will suit our theory. Sa Subhadra here stands for Adyaśakti or primal energy of God and should be considered as the Sakti of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and not as a sister and wife at the same time as advocated by the aforesaid scholar. The Saivagama of Bhejarāja describes this Maya śakti of Īśvara (God) as the creator of kāla (time).

Nānāvidhā śaktimāyasyā ājanayati kālatatvamevādau
Bhavi Bhava bhuti-mūyam kālayati jagat kāle atah
(Kāla Nirūpanam Gadādhara Padhati, pp.2-3).

It is interesting to note here that during Ratha Yatra festival Sudarsana being the kāla cakra is first of all brought to the chariot and placed with Subhadra. This is suggestive of Subhadra being the creator of kāla and she is endowed with different power or energy.

Moreover, according to the Rudra Yāmala Tantra (Ch.XIV, Sl.24), Subhadra is the Goddess Rāgini and she is to be worshipped with Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha and Rāma-Balabhadra. According to the same text (Ch.XXXII, Sl.112), Subhadra is conceived as the Sakti or Bhairavi and Jagannātha the Bhairava. Here Jagannātha and Subhadra are described as the one and the same. The same text while describing the Kṛṣṇa Mantra (Ch.XXXVIII, Sl.4-5) states that Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa are the Brahmas and Subhadra is the Sakti Kakini united as Prakṛti and Purusa (Ch.XXXXII, Sl.110).
It is necessary to describe how these three deities stand i.e. the three levels in divine emanation.

Balarama stands for the Noumenal and Transcendent - the unchangeable, the unqualified, the unmanifest, the pure absolute, Siva or the pure form of the good (Plato) or pure form of reason (Aristotle). The cit or pure consciousness (Advaita). The ungiven - the Infinite (purnamadah) and full in itself. The method of realisation of this form is pure knowledge or jñana. Hence, Balarama may be called a form of Anti-thesis.

Subhadra stands for the phenomenal immanent whole. The changeable order (ksara), the qualified (saguna), the manifest (vaktya), Prakṛti or Śakti, the Sat - existential, the world pervading, the given Infinite (Idam sarvam), Natura Naturata (spinsza), full in relation. The method of realisation of this form is karma or action. Hence, Subhadra may be called a form of Thesis.

Jagannātha stands for the Absolute - Puruṣottama (synthesis of the qualified and the unqualified). The transcendent and immanent, the manifest and un-manifest, parama Brahma or parama Puruṣa, the ananda or bliss. The method of realisation of this form is bhakti or prema. Hence, Jagannātha may be called a form of Synthesis.
References

1. The cult of Ekanāmsā -

2. Ibid.

3. (a) Mahābhārata III, Ch.213, Verse 118.
   (b) Journals of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.II, 1936, Article No.5, p.41.

4. Skanda Purāṇa, Ch.XX, Verse 31.

5. Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa III, Ch.85, Verses 71-72.


8. Ibid, p.197.

Gita Govinda by Jayadeva is considered to be one of the most popular books in Sanskrit literature. It has a wide human appeal throughout the length and breadth of India. But despite its wide circulation the birth-place of its author is yet shrouded in mystery. We are now attempting, in brief, to give a solution of this problem.

Many scholars have, however, opined that Jayadeva with other four poets was in the court of king Laksmana Sen of Bengal. But there is no conclusive proof that all the five poets mentioned in the first Sarga of Gita Govinda belonged to Bengal and adorned the same court. The very name Gita Govinda literally means a hymn to Govinda or Lord Krsna. So the book is a song of devotion only to be recited before the Lord and not in a king's court. From this it can be safely asserted that Jayadeva was not a court-poet of Laksmana Sen.

Jayadeva, in his Gita Govinda (Canta III) has clearly pointed out that he was born from the ocean of Kendulvilva. Some historians identify this place with a village named Kenduli in the Birbhoem district of Bengal, but this view is not amply supported by other scholars. Kendubilva of Gita Govinda can be convincingly identified with a village named Kenduli Sasan in the Balipatna P.S. of the Puri District, Orissa. This area has possessed hoary antiquities. In the outskirts of this village Kenduli still stand three large dilapidated brick temples and around it there are many small temples containing various Visnu images. The Kenduli village of Birbhoem district of Bengal has no such archaeological back-ground. The splendour and magnificence of Kenduli Sasan with a large number of
beautiful temples around it must have made a deep impression on the contemplative mind of poet Jayadeva.

The most important thing which deserves mention is the lack of any mention of the Kenduli village of Birbhum as the birthplace of Jayadeva in the biographies of Chaitanya. Chaitanya, a great admirer of the Gita Govinda, had the Kenduli of Birbhum been considered a sacred place Chaitanya must have paid a visit at least once during his life time. But the contemporary Vaisnava literature is silent about this matter.

The identification of the Kendubilva of Gita Govinda with the Kenduli Sasan of Puri district is supported by literary evidences furnished by works written in different parts of India. In Samuradaya Pradep written by Gadā Dwivedi, it is stated that Jayadeva belonged to Utkal. Mahanati of Maharashtra in his Bhakta Vilasa speaks of Jayadeva as an incarnation of Vyasa belonging to a village near the sacred city of Jagannatha. Chandra Dutta of Mithila in Bhakta Mala in Sanskrit does not claim Jayadeva for his own land but mentions definitely that he belonged to a village named Vinduvila near the Jagannatha Puri. Navaji of Govaliar in his Bhaktamala in Hindi assigns Jayadeva to Utkal.

The Dasabatrastotra in the Gita Govinda furnishes a clue to locate the birthplace of Jayadeva. Vaisnavism in Orissa certainly made a contribution to the systematisation of the theory of Avatara. In a village called Saintala of Belangir Patna there are two images of Matsyavatara and Kurmakvataras built either by Mahasiva Gupta Valarjuna or his son Mahabhagagupta Janmejay. In a place called Tirtha Matha situated in Erasam P.S. of the Cuttack district there was an ancient temple containing very beautiful images of the ten
incarnations of Viṣṇu of which the figures of Rāma, Parāśurāma and Haladhara are still preserved. The images of ten incarnation were also set in a temple of Kākaṭapur in the Puri district.

With all these archaeological evidences it can safely be ascertained that the theory of Dasa Avatāra had gained much popularity in Orissa at least from the 8th century A.D. So neither Jayadeva nor Vaśnavism in Bengal had anything to contribute to the systematisation of the theory of Avatāra.

Jayadeva is thus claimed as an Orissan poet out and out because the earliest commentaries on his Gītā Govinda were written by two poets of Orissa and its first imitation was made on Orissan soil. Udayana Āchārya of Orissa wrote the first commentary of Gītā Govinda known as Bhāva Bibhaviṇī. The second commentary on Gītā Govinda called Sārvēśa Sundari was written by Kaviṛā Narāyan Dās who was the court poet of Narasingha II. This commentator, according to the Madala Panji, introduced the recitation of Gītā Govinda in the temple of Jagannātha which enhanced the glory of the temple, as well as the Kāvya.

The first imitation of the Gītā Govinda so far discovered is the Adbhinava Gītā Govinda the authorship of which is attributed to the famous Gajapati king Puruṣottama Deva, though its real author is Kavichandra Divākara Misra. The second imitation of the Gītā Govinda is, perhaps, Jagannātha Vallākā-Nāṭakawritten by Ray Rāmānanda Patnaik, the Oriya Governor of Rājmahendra under Gajapati Pratāprudra Deva.

Thus the earliest commentaries and imitations of the Gītā Govinda were written in Orissa. It leads us to conclude that the poet Jayadeva was born neither in Bengal nor in Bihar but in Orissa. The fact that Gītā Govinda would only be
The word 'Kendubilva' literally means a village where 'Kendu' and 'bilva' are profusely found. 'Bilva Patra' is offered to the deities specially to Lord Siva by the Brahmins and the brahmins generally live in a place where Bela-leaves are found in plenty. The village Kenduli in Birbhum district is inhabited by Sudras, whereas Kenduli Sasana of Puri district is inhabited by brahmins. This is corroborated by Navaji of Gwalior in his Bhaktamal. So Jayadeva, born of a Brahmin family and in a Brahman Sasana, cannot be claimed as an inhabitant of Kenduli of Bengal.

There are many villages in Orissa, the names of which begin with the epithet 'Kendu' namely Kenduapada, Kendupatna, Kendrapada etc. This leads us to assert that Kenduli is a village in Orissa.

There are, however, some internal evidences which support the view that Jayadeva is a devotional poet of Orissa. Almost all the Rāgas in his Gīta Govinda were used by early Oriya poets while composing their verses. The number of rāgas used in Oriya poetry began to increase in course of time, the number reaching its maximum during the time of Upendra Bhanja. But in the old Bengali literature the use of rāga of Gīta Govinda are scarcely found. There was practically no distinct age of the Kāvyas in old Bengali literature. Music in Orissa was tremendously influenced by the Gīta Govinda which was perhaps not in the case of Bengal.

From all these facts stated above, it can be concluded that Jayadeva is out and out a poet of Orissa.
References

   (b) History of Bengal, Dacca University, p.403 by Dr. P.C. Bagci.


   Varnitam Jayadevakena Hariridam Prapavanena
   Kenduvilva samudrasambhava rehini ramanena
   Gita Govinda, Canto III.


5. Ibid, p.197.


   (Navaji of Gwalior in his Vaktamala in Hindi assigns Jayadeva to Utkal).


13. Upendra Bhañja has used as many as 100 ragas in his Kāvyas.

   Malava rāga, pp. 10 and 96.
   Basanta rāga, pp. 24, 100, 139.
   Rāmkeri, pp. 20, 167.
   Bhairavi, p.116.
   Karnat, p.64.
   Gondakeri, p.89.
   Gujjari, pp. 18, 55, 80, 104 and 123.
   Desi Varadī, pp. 77, 110 and 128.
   Varadī etc., pp. 146 and 150.

   All these rāgas have been used by almost all the medieval poets of Orissa.
The fabulous account of the riches of the temple of Jagannatha served as an inducement to the Muhammadan invaders of Bengal to raid it from time to time. Some iconoclasts also, in their religious fanaticism were prompted to attack the Hindu temples. There was a raid by Sultan Hussain Shah in 1509 during the reign of Prataparudra Gajapati. The priests removed the images of the presiding deities in a boat and concealed them in the Chadī guhī hill of the Chilkā lake. The Sultan, in rage and disappointment, broke many other images in the temple, but retreated on return of the Gajapati king from his southern expedition.

The next attack on the temple was made in 1568 by Illahadad, popularly known as Kalapahād during the reign of Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa. Kalapahāda is said to have been a Brāhmīna convert to Islam. After his conversion he came to Puri to perform expiation in the temple of Jagannatha where he was turned out and insulted by the priests. That is why he invaded Orissa to wreak his vengeance on the temple and its priests. But this tradition is disproved by historical examination which shows that Kalapahāda was an Afghan and not a Brahmin, whose real name was Rājū. His invasion of Orissa was a sequel to the continued hostilities between king Mukunda Deva and Sultan Sulaiman Kararani of Bengal. At first Mukunda Deva made heroic attempts to repulse the Muslim attack, but his attempts were ineffective owing to the treachery of some of his officers. According to tradition Mukunda Deva died fighting with the Muslims at Bobiree Tikri, near Jajpur. But Madala Panji says that when the Oriya king
was staying at Koti Sima fort in the Hugli district, he got the news of the occupation of Cuttack by Kalapahad and revolt of Ramachandra Bhanja, Commandant of Saranga-garh, who proclaimed himself king. So he submitted to the Sultan and left for Saranga-garh to fight with Ramachandra. In the fighting both of them were killed on the same day. With the death of Mukunda Deva, Orissa lost her independence and passed under the Afghans.

Kalapahad entered the coastal area near Balasore through the highlands of Mayurbhanj. According to the Mdadal Pani he came to Cuttack through Cassabansa river. Krupasindhu Misra says that after the occupation of Jajpur followed by that of Cuttack, Kalapahad raided Bhuvaneswar, Puri and Kanarka. According to a tradition, he invaded Sambalpur also. The broken images almost everywhere bear testimony to the ravages caused by this relentless persecutor of Hindu faith. The Superintendent of the temple of Jagannatha, Parichha Dibya Simha Pattanaik had secreted the images beforehand near the Chilkà lake. Kalapahad however traced them out and carried them away upon the back of the elephants to the bank of the Ganga where he set fire to them. According to tradition, which is disproved by historical facts, the notorious iconoclast died on the spot miserably as a consequence of sacrilege. A bystander threw the charred of Jagannatha image into water. The charred floated down the stream. Bisor Mahanti, a Vaisnava devotee followed it and extracted brahma or the sacred part of it and secretly entrusted it to a Khandait of Kujang. Later Raja Ramachandra Deva of Khurdå brought it back from Kujang and installed it in a new image. Before leaving Puri, Kalapahad desecrated the temple of Jagannatha, plundered the store, damaged other images and uprooted and set fire to the Kalpavata tree.
Regarding burning of the images by Kālāpāhād, Abul Fażl states that Kālāpāhād flung the images of Jagannātha into fire and burnt it and afterwards cast it into the sea. It is assumed that the images were taken to the sea-shore near Kujang where Besār Mehanty was present. Kālāpāhād long survived the desecration of Jagannātha temple and was killed in 1583.

In the state of anarchy prevailing on the death of Mukunda Deva, Ramai Rautra son of Bhol Janardana Bidyadhar declared himself as Ramachandra Deva, the Gaţapati king of Orissa with his capital at Khurda. The Moghul army under the command of Raja Todar Mall, Revenue Minister of Akbar, brought the Afghan regime to its end after killing Daud, the successor of Sultan Sulaiman Kararani, and Orissa became a part of the Mughal empire. Todarmall, however, recognised Ramachandra Deva as a semi-independent king with a small territory in his possession. Subsequently Raja Mansingh came to effect the final conquest of Orissa. He enlarged the territory of Ramachandra Deva but reduced him to the position of a feudatory of the Mughal Emperor.
References

4. Madalāpāṇji Prāchi, p.60.
APPENDIX IV

CHATISANIYOGA

Chatisaniyoga refers to thirty-six kinds of servants types of employed in the temple. But at present there are 101 servants (Sevakas) as recorded in the report of the Special Officer, Jagannatha temple. They are:

1. Raja of Puri - Superintendent. (At present one of the Members of the Temple Committee).
2. Mudirasta - He officiates for the Raja in Cherapahara and other functions in case when the Raja is prevented to perform them for some reason or other.
3. Chatisa Nijage Nayak Patjeshi Mahapatra and Bhandar Nayak. He had vast powers and functions in the past but many have disappeared at present and he is of the Pasupalak class and had the key of the Bhandar till 1930. He is to execute all orders of the Temple authorities and to see that all the Sebakas do their duty properly. Performs Satri Bandha ceremony.
4. Bhitarche Mahapatra. He is the first man to go for Dwarfta ceremony and to examine the seals and has got Satri Bandha ceremony and checks the purity of the Bhog offered.
5. Taliche Mahapatra. He seals doors at night Pahur and controls and checks the purity of the Kitchen.
6. Bhandar Nekap. In charge of Bazar Bhandar containing all the jewellery, etc., required for the daily use of the Deities should be honest and reliable.
7. Parichas. Parichas were at one time managing the Temple whose work is now reduced to be present to hold a gold cane at the Sakal Dhup Patuar and in certain festivals.
8. Deul Karan. He keeps accounts of the Bhandar, Changada Ghars, transfer of Seba and distributes Farbani Kheis.
9. Tadau Karan. He keeps accounts of the Bhandar and as Tadau puts seals in functions when required and days about all Niti.
10. Various other kinds of Karans who keep accounts and distribute Kheis, etc.

*The list is taken according to the report of the Special Officer under Sri Jagannath Temple Act (1957), Orissa.
11. Charchait - who make Charcha or to see that the Hitis are performed regularly.

12. Brahmins or Purehit including Daul Purshít who make Rath Anukal, Avisék, etc. Shrí Bimala Pujaak who de Pujā in Shel-Pujā and Shretriya Brahmins who are deputed for Nabakalebar to perform as Achāryas the various other ceremonies connected therewith.

13. Pujaaks consisting of Pujā Pandás who de Pujā, i.e., Naibedya for the deities and the Bad-Panda is also a Pujā Pandā appointed to see that other Pujā Pandás perform their duties regularly.

14. Daitas who work on special occasions like Nabakalebar, Car festival, anabaser, etc.

15. Patis who work with Daitas but who have get other special functions, being Brahmin Sebaks.


17. Khuntias of various kinds like Palia Khuntia, Beharā Khuntia, Bilaljaga Khuntia, Nukuna Haran Khuntia, etc., their main duty being to give Manimā Dāk, etc., and watch the Deities.

18. Changada Mekāp who is in charge of Deities' clothes and other Mekāps like Palia Mekāps have specific duties to perform. Akhand Mekāp is to light Ratna Dip of the Deities from Dwar-fita to Pahur.

19. Padihāris who guard the Deities, go to call for Bhogs and are to look to the safety of the pilgrims.

20. Gachikārs - These belong to Padihāri class who watch Jaya-Bijaya Dwār.


22. Bhitar Gayen - Sings songs at the time of Pahur and at other festivals.

23. Sampadā Mijās, i.e., dancing girls who dance at the time of Patuar.

24. Madelī - Plays Madal at the time of Patuar.

25. Sankhuā - Plays with Sankh with Bajaysentrics.


27. Ghantūā and Ghant Mijās - Working with Bells daily and on festivals.

28. Amani Chater - Chatar, Taras, Kalakanati Sebaks - for carrying umbrellas at festivals, etc.

29. Gitgovinda Sakakawa who recites Gitegvinda before the Lord at Chandon Lāgi.
30. **Chakra Dihuri and Chamu Dihuri** who carry masals at festivals, etc.

31. The Sinharis or Pāsupālaks who dress the Lords in clothing and flowers at all times and do their abakūsh Puja.

32. **Suār Badus** (Bhog Saita Suar Badu, Behera Suar Badu) who wash the Pekhariā several times, supply Kath, Chauki, etc.

33. **Patri Badu** - Who supply Puja Upakarans throughout the day.

34. **Garābādu** who serve the Gods by supplying water at times of Pujās and other Nitis.

35. **Sudh Suār** and **Anṣar Sudh Suār** who make preparations for Puja (Pujatha at Ballav Bhog, etc.)

36. **Maduli** who keeps charge of Puja utensils and other daily Puja Upakarans and supplies to Mekāps.

37. **Hedap Nayāk, Bidia Jagniā and Tambul Sebak** who serve to prepare and carry betel to the Lords.

38. **Chaturais** to prepare and serve Amla, Chandan and Mahadip for daily and Parbajātrā Nitis.

39. **Tulasiā** who supplies Tulsi leaves daily.

40. **Davanamālia** who supply daily scented flowers.

41. **Mahābhēi** who supplies curd and other milk products.

42. **Pāni-apat** who supplies water-required in the Temple throughout the day.

43. **Balita Sebak** who supplies Ārati Balita.

44. **Kumbhar Bishois** who supply Nagdi and Kudus and other pottery required daily.

45. **Baudia** who supplies rope to draw water from Shri Bimalā well.

46. **Malchul Sebak** who supplies Chul, etc., for some festivals.

47. **Mulān Suansiā** who supplies Kath Pidha, etc.

48. **Jeganiās** for Kath Bhog, Parbajātrā, Ballav and Bahar Deuli to carry articles and Ballav and supply at required places.

49. **Bīmān Badus** who carry all Bījo Bimāns, etc.

50. **Chūp Beherā and Dalā-īs** who work to prepare Chāps.

51. **Rath Bhais** who work and supply labourers for construction of Cars.

52. **Kalabathisās** who drag the cars.
53. Karatlas or Sawers who work for Car construction.
54. Tamra Bishe who works as copper-smith in Car festivals.
55. Chitrakars and Rupkars who colour and prepare Pratimas for decoration of Cars, etc.
56. Oja Maharan who works as black-smith.
57. Rath Dham who sings on Cars.
58. Bann who supplies fire-works when required.
59. Chakra Ansar Sebak who keeps their charge from Tailors.
60. Mandin who ties Chandua when required.
61. Kath Suansi who works as labourers to prepare huts, Chamundias, etc., at festivals.
62. Suna Goswami who draws water from Suna Khun on Snan Purnima.
63. Daris who stitch clothes, Chaka Apsar, etc.
64. Patras who prepare silk ropes, etc.
65. Bechais or carpenters who work for Cars and Chaps.
66. Panikund Sebak, Lugasah and Mahasethi who work to wash Deities' clothes.
67. Bani who prepares and repairs ornaments.
68-70. Badu, Tatu, and Patar Bandha who work in sending Tat to Raja Superintendent.
71. Mukh Pakhal who prepares Tooth-sticks for the Deities.
72. Khatuli Sebak who puts Khatuli for Abkash Puja.
73. Darpani who supplies Darpan and also cleans Deities' utensils.
74. Baidya or Doctor who gives medicine at Anbasar to the Lord.
75. Jyotish or Astrologer who daily reads Tithis, etc., before the Lord at Abkash Puja time.
76. Chunchi who serve for Garud.
77. Lekha who works to call Sebaks.
78. Pradhan who works to call Pandas and has other duties, and distributes Kheis at Mukti Mandap.
79. Paiks with their heads Dalei and Dalbeheras who are to stay throughout day and night and work according to orders of Temple authorities.
80. Temple Police who guard the Temple.
81. The Mahāsuarās who take first "Chheka" to the Panti.

82. Suars of various kinds known by different names according to nature of duties who cook and prepare Bhog like Badu Suār, Pitha Suār, Tuna Suār, Thāli Suār, Amalu Suār, Bindūs, Pagūs, Amalu Tēli. Tēla Badu and Tēla Bati, i.e., who shows light.

83. Resh Āmina and Resh Paika who watch and supervise Kitchen.

84. Hāṇḍī Jogānī who supplies pots for Bhogs.

85. Bāhār Deuli Suars who cook in Shri Laxmi's Resh.

86. Resh Koth Bhog Pāniā who supplies water to Kitchen, etc.

87. Pāniki Pāta who prepares and dresses vegetables.

88. Resh Nikān who prepares Gandhan article like Ginger, etc., and distributes ghee to some Sebaks.

89. Chāul Pāchā who cleans the rice to be cooked.

90-92. Chunāmunda Samartha, Birimund Samartha and Biribuha Samartha - are those who supply rice, flour and ground paste black gram and those who carry.

93. Pātī Badus who carry Checks.

94. Biduas who make Muthmal or Checks ready.

95-98. Dhe-Phākhalī, Gebar-Pāniā, Angaruā and Rabādiā - who wash and clean the kitchen and Chulis and who supplies water for the purpose.

99. Sabut Mijāg who have Seba em Amabasya days at Swargdwar.

100. Mudrā who puts Mudra at time of putting seals.

101. Banthindī Paika has Seba on festive Nītis.
## APPENDIX IX - V

### LIST OF MATHAS AT PURI

(List procured from the Temple Office & the categories given here are according to traditions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Name of the Matha</th>
<th>Type-Sect (Sampradaya)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6th century</td>
<td>Vrugu Ashram</td>
<td>Angila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th century</td>
<td>Angirā</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th century</td>
<td>Gešardhana</td>
<td>Advaita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th century</td>
<td>Sankarānanda</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th century</td>
<td>Mahiḥprakāsha</td>
<td>Brahmachārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th century</td>
<td>Rāmānuja Keta</td>
<td>Viśistadvaita.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trīmāli</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bāda Santha</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emāra Matha</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sāna Santha</td>
<td>Gäduā Mēdhava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gopāl Tirtha</td>
<td>Advaita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siwa Tirtha</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bāda Jhadu</td>
<td>Angila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13th-de-</td>
<td>Dāśāyatām Matha</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th century</td>
<td>Languli Matha</td>
<td>Deśānāmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bāda Chatā Matha</td>
<td>Angiḷa, Rāmānanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>15th century</td>
<td>Chāumi</td>
<td>Angiḷa</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raghabhāsa Matha</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th century</td>
<td>Kabira Chaura</td>
<td>Santhamata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bauli Matha</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sidha Bakula Matha</td>
<td>Acintya Veda Veda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rādhā Kanta</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ganga Mata</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haridakhandī Matha</td>
<td>Rāmānandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Śrī Rām Dās</td>
<td>Viśistadvaita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narasīmhaḥchārī</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Name of the Matha</td>
<td>Type Sect (Sampradaya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th century</td>
<td>Sāna Jhādu</td>
<td>Angilā, Viśiṣṭādvaṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Kunja Matha.</td>
<td>Goudiya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Śīśu Matha.</td>
<td>Utkalya Vaiṣṇava.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Chakra Tirtha Matha.</td>
<td>Angilā, Viśiṣṭādvaṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Ghumusar Matha.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Ṛṣaga Matha.</td>
<td>Angilā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Labanikhiśi Matha.</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Purāṇa Sava Matha.</td>
<td>-de-</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gandharva Matha.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ahutā Matha.</td>
<td>Goudiya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Gswāmi Matha.</td>
<td>-de-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Śata Laharī Matha.</td>
<td>Ati Bādi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Śata Āsana Matha.</td>
<td>-de-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Haridās Matha.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Tētā Gopinātha.</td>
<td>-de-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Dukhisyām Bābā Matha.</td>
<td>Abadhuta.</td>
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<td>Baḍa Oriya Matha.</td>
<td>Ati Bādi Gadwa Madhva.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-de-</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Pañoḥa Rāmāṇanda.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Chhāuni Chhātra.</td>
<td>Khairatē.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
<td>Kadali Patukā Matha.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Jagannātha Ballava Matha.</td>
<td>Viṣṇusvāmī.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-de-</td>
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<td>Rāmāṇandi.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-de-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>-de-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Name of the Matha</td>
<td>Sect (Sampradaya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td>17th century</td>
<td>Balaram Keta</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sundar Das.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Khiler Matha</td>
<td>Community</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Nua Matha,</td>
<td>Ramanandi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Neuladas Matha.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Radhaballavi.</td>
<td>Nunarka.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mangu</td>
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<td>Narayana Chhata.</td>
<td>Goudiya.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sunagesswami Matha.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Naga</td>
<td>Ramanandi.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Peda Matha</td>
<td>Angila.</td>
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<td>Cuttacki Matha.</td>
<td>Visistādvyāta.</td>
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<td>Ramananda.</td>
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<td>Ramanandi.</td>
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<td>Mahapravujikey Baitaka</td>
<td>Ballavakula.</td>
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<td>Mahasiria Matha.</td>
<td>Visistādvyāta.</td>
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<td>18th century</td>
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<td>Community. Ramanandi</td>
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<td>Khaki akhada.</td>
<td>Khaki Panchāyata.</td>
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<td>Sal Beg</td>
<td>Godwa Medwa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hati Akhada.</td>
<td>Pancha Ramanandi.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Bagha Akhada.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nirbani Akhada.</td>
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<td>Nāmehi Akhada.</td>
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<td>Nima Akhada.</td>
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<td>Patia Rani Matha.</td>
<td>Godwa Madwa.</td>
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<td>Pipalayana</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Riba Chatra.</td>
<td>Khairata.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Name of the Matha.</td>
<td>Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>18th century</td>
<td>Vania Chatra.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rani Matha.</td>
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<td>Khajuria Matha.</td>
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<td>Hati Gurudeb Matha.</td>
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<td>Uttara Parswa Matha.</td>
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<td>Surangi Matha.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Falahari Matha.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rani Matha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lunia Chewdhury.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jagat Mahan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jayapur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chikiti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bada Tarala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sana Tarala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jiara Swami</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th century</td>
<td>Patara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jangapita Matha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dampara Matha.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naladīa Matha.</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Sidha Matha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kanasa</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Krupa Samudra</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terani Chatra Matha.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bisakha Matha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bada Matha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jena Matha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is very fascinating to note that among all the places of pilgrimage throughout India, Puri is conspicuous for its having innumerable Mathas. But all of them are not of same type; they may, however, be classified into four groups in the following manner.


**Ashram type**: Mathas of this category are generally named after the great Rishis of ancient India. There are four Mathas of this type situated in the four corners of the town. They are like Bhṛgu Ashram, Angira Asram etc.
Rajangila type: Mathas of this type are established under royal patronage and they are many in number.

Individual and Sectarian type:

Mathas falling in this category are established either by eminent individuals or by well-known sects of India. They are (i) Advaita Matha or Sankar Matha; (ii) Visistadvita Matha or Ramanuja Matha; (iii) Dvaita Matha or Madhva Matha; (iv) Dvitatadvita Matha; (v) Acintya Veda Veda Matha or Goudiya Matha; and (vi) Atidadi Matha or Oddissi Matha. They are as many Mathas at Puri as there are philosophical sects in India. Even at Puri many Mathas of other religions have been existing from very remote past. Nanak Matha and Kabir Matha are non-Hindu Mathas, existing side by side with many Hindu Mathas. Like Jagannatha Dharma (religion), the place of Jagannatha has also attracted different religionists of India to establish their Mathas in this sacred city. It is needless to say that almost all the Mathas at Puri have connections with the temple of Jagannatha.

Caste-Group Matha:

This type of Mathas is established by different castes of people having religio-social function in the main temple.
We have already discussed elsewhere that the Lord Jagannath has been conceived as an Emperor and the temple itself is His Imperial abode. The kings who were ruling over the State of Orissa from long past were considering themselves and being considered by others as the servants of the Great Lord. The same paraphernalia, as is found in a royal household, is also discernible in the temple of Jagannatha with much splendour and magnificence. The daily items of Bhogas offered to the deity are many and varied and they are offered to the Lord with royal dignity and ceremonial purity. Although they are commonly known as Chahan Bhoga (56 items of Bhogas) there are actually eighty-five items prepared daily for the deity. As the emperors in ancient times were used to taking varieties of choicest dishes, so also arrangement has been made in the temple for the deity whom the king regards as an Emperor. Even in ancient and medieval India, we do not come across such varieties of dishes in anybody's Court except in the Court of Akbar. In an article 'The Diet of the Great Moghuls' published in *Islamic Culture*, 1959 there is a mention of 100 dishes usually served in Akbar's Court. Perhaps the idea of having so many dishes for a single soul, might have impressed the Muslims or Akbar himself to provide the royal kitchen with various kinds of dishes prepared by different cooks. The kitchen of Jagannatha is so big that it can provide food for one lakh of people at a time. The unique feature of this food is that it is very tasteful in spite of its being cooked without the addition of much spices. The art of cooking perhaps, is taken from Vedic period in which we get the names of various dishes though the items were a few compared to the medieval age. Throughout India nowhere else such paraphernalia is observed in respect of cooking and offering so
many kinds of Bhogas. We are now giving below a list of Bhogas offered to the Lord Jagannath.

List of clothes in the immediate use of the idols taken on the 18th September, 1813.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dassee Putnee</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manee Bundee</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnee Khundee</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauree of silk</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk Fetah</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numabebe</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khendee (Numabebe)</td>
<td>34²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saree</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetah</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chenkaband Khendee</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Fetah</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharuttee Khendee</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antguree Khendee</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marhattee Saree</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antagurree Saree</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saarees of different countries</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marhattee Dhetea</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa Dhetea</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhetea and chaddurs of different countries</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanch dhetees of different countries</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silken dhetees</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benaresy depata</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-De Sauree</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jurree Assawnee Arnee</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuppurdeee of different kinds</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuppurdeee of Pattoeeka</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk Lenga</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*By yielding of clothes and ornaments returned here in accordance with the laws made by the British Government.
( xxix )

Jurree Seerpench  -  8
Chuddurs of different kinds.  -  29
Remnants of cloths  -  24
Duknee Dhetee & Chudders  -  6 (cotton)
   -de- Saree  -  10 (-de-)
Dacca Cloth (cotton)  -  1
Pugrees of different kinds (cotton)  -  23
Daputtas of different kinds (cotton)  -  37
Dhotee (cotton)  -  19
Saree (-de-)  -  7
Fetah (-de-)  -  4
Wettere (-de-)  -  10
Coba buggee chool phoeta
   Head cloth (cotton)  -  2
Sree Kupra coarse cloth  -  24
Kantch Dhottee of different kinds.
Remnants  -  5
Pulung Pash  -  15
Keesnarjun chal Deer skin  -  1

Another enclosure from Collector, Cuttack's letter
13th December, 1813, p.210, Vol.II.

Jewels belonging to the Daity (Gold)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khund</td>
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<td>Sword</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shield</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuttar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhannoo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurree ornament for the wrist</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nappeer ornament for the feet</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jutt ornament for the hair</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geejur khunee ornament for the wrist</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobe ornament for the ear</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rings</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabba hurrea tassels</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ospeee ornaments for the forehead</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudden Mallee Necklace</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geol kuntee Mallee Necklace</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checha kuntee malee Necklace</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habereee mallee Necklace</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirga malee Necklace</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahun Malee Necklace</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surseen kuntee malee Necklace</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paun pattree kuntee Necklace</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geongree malee Necklace</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuhud bartee - silver quiver</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above list shows that the dresses and ornaments were endowed to the deities by people from different countries.