CHAPTER - I

BACKGROUND OF THE CULT OF JAGANNATHA.

In tracing the background of the cult of Jagannatha, it is necessary to give some idea about the historical geography of the land. The different parts of Orissa, the land of Jagannatha, assumed different names in different periods of the history of the country. Its coastal strip, comprising the river, Vaitarani, was known as Kalinga, which is evident from the Indian epic, Mahabharata. This ancient name, Kalinga, was also in vogue in the time of Asoka. After his conquest of Kalinga, Asoka appears to have divided it into two parts, the Northern and the Southern, the headquarters of which were located in Tosali and Samapā respectively.

From the early medieval copper plate inscriptions of the Bhauma kings of Orissa, we know that they ruled the country of Tosali comprising Korigoda, when, to the South of their territory, Kalinga extended up to the modern district of Vizagapattam, and was ruled by the early Gāgas. From the Bhauma records, we further know that the country of Tosali was divided into two parts, such as Southern and Northern Tosali, Kalinga being a part of the former.

"Odra Viṣaya", from which the present name, Orissa, was derived, formed a part of northern Tosali in the early medieval period. The Western portion of modern Orissa, roughly comprising the upper Mahanadi Valley, was known as Dānavī Kosala and it was integrated with Tosali or the coastal strip of Orissa during...
during the later part of the Somavami rule. Among these broad territorial divisions, there were also smaller ones which bore different names in different periods of the history of Orissa. The northern portion of the present day Orissa was known as Utkal and it was contiguous to Dandabhukti or the Midnapore district. The southern portion of the present districts of Ganjam and Puri was known as Koongoda. During the mediaeval period the name Kalinga again was applied to the territory situated roughly between the southern limits of Koongoda and the river Godavari. The whole of the geographical unit of Orissa became the field of origin and development of the great cult of Sri Jagannatha.

In this early stage of its developments the cult remained confined to these territorial limits though it gradually spread to the contiguous regions along with the expansion of the imperial power of the Gahgas. Our study of the history of this cult will be incomplete without a general survey of the growth and development of different religions, which ultimately led to the synthetic culture symbolised in the great institution of Purushottama-Jagannatha. A close study of the epigraphic, monumental, and literary sources of the history of Orissa reveals that, centuries before the birth of Christ, Kalinga was the cradle of various religions. Some of her children appear to have come in personal contact with the great Buddha in his life-time. The Burmese legends point out that Tapasu and Bhallika, the two merchants of Utkal, had the rare privilege of receiving the doctrine from the Lord Buddha.

Contd.
In the great religious and intellectual stir of the 6th century B.C., Kaliṅga appears to have been associated with Buddha and Mahāvira and to have played a conspicuous role in the history of India. The Jaina work, Haribhadriya Vṛitti, informs us that the king of Kaliṅga, who was a friend of Mahāvira's father, invited the prophet of Jainism (Mahāvira) for the propagation of the main tenets of Jainism in his land. The two religions, connected with Buddha and Mahāvira, received due patronage from the state of Kaliṅga under Aśoka and Kharavela respectively in the later age. The driving force of Buddhism in Kaliṅga which turned Chandāsoka into Dharmāsoka was never limited by a sectarian outlook. It impressed upon Aśoka that tolerance is the key-note of a great religious order. He repents in his rock edict No.13 "for the injury or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones, of the lot of Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas and the adherents of the other sects". It may be presumed that the great change which came over the mind of that turbulent Emperor of Magadha was not an abrupt occurrence but a gradual outcome of the teachings and influence of some learned scholars of Kaliṅga, whose principles were based on sympathy and tolerance towards people. Even the great Jaina monarch, Kharavela, whose empire extended far and wide, adopted the same age old spirit of religious tolerance. In the Hātigumpha inscription of the first century B.C. it is stated that Kharavela respected every sect, and he was the one who repaired many Deva Temples.

The history of Orissa in the post Kharavela period has not yet come to light due to the paucity of evidence. The religious condition of India, however, is known to some extent contd.
from the famous Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta of the 4th century A.D. which gives a vivid account of the imperial activities of that Gupta monarch. The Gupta were probably responsible for the popularity of Vaisnavism not only in Kalinga but also in the whole of India. The study of the inscriptions of the pre-medieval age reveals that some Gupta rulers were worshippers of Viṣṇu as Madhava. In the Apshad stone inscription of Ādityasena, it is stated that one Gupta monarch, Madhava Gupta, was a worshipper of Madhava. In the lines of 11 and 12 of that inscription, we find a verse

Vāsudeva-iva tasmāḥ-chhṛī-s(a) vana ādī-pī ṛṣa-bh-ūdā dhī-charaṇa-yugah śrī-Mādhavagupta-bhun-Mādhava īva Vikram-aika-rasa ādī-ḥ. Fleet translates it as follows: "As (the God) Mādhava, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the Goddess) Śrī, (was born) from Vāsudeva, so from him there was (a son), the illustrious Mādhavagupta, finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the attentions of the Goddess of fortune".

Mādhavagupta, who is a contemporary of Harṣavardhana, lived in the time of Saśāṅka of Karṇaḍuvarṇa. Saśāṅka was the over lord of Mādhava-varman, a king of the Śailodbhava family of Koṅgoda Maṇḍala (Orissa). In his (Mādhavavarman's) Ganjam plates, he describes himself as a subordinate king under Saśāṅka in Gupta era 300 (620 A.D.). It is thus, not improbable to say that the Mādhava cult which was popular in the kingdom of the Guptas had also its influence over the Śailodbhavas. In the Pattam plates of Pravarasena of the Vākṣṭaka dynasty, a contemporary of the Guptas of northern India, we get the following passage:

Contd.
"Mahāpuruṣa-padamūla satripayoṣyam (Pāyojani) Nārāyaṇa
Rājāvijñāpēṇa (Vijnaya) datum (datāni)"

Mirashi, while editing these plates, interprets thus the Vishnū as referred to here as the Mahāpuruṣāpāda or Mahāpuruṣapadāmūla. It proves that the donor, Pravarasena, was a worshipper of Viṣṇu (vide "R.I. Vol. 23, p. 86"—Plate I—side line 22-23)

In the Eran stone-pillar inscription of Buddha Gupta of the Gupta sambat 165 (A.D. 486) the invocation verse runs as follows:

"Jayati, Viṣṇu=chatur=bhuj=chatur=ārṇava —
vipula = salīla = paryyān̄kah = jagatahṣṭhity —
upatī=laīya (ny-ādī) heturgarudaketu.

"Victorious is the Lord, the four-armed (God Viṣṇu) whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, etc. of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuda.

A similar expression regarding the qualities of Gokarṇesvara (Śiva) is found from the epithets recorded in the śvetaka branch of the early Gaṅga kings of Kālīṅga which runs as follows:

"Om ! svasti! Se(śve) ta(ta)” kā dhī cafébā-vatās=chara-mārąguru / b/sa (śa) śānka-
sekharadharyaya (sy) thi (sthi) tynt=pati(thi)—
pralayakāraṇa ṛet=Cmahendra(cha) la śikha-
ranivāsinaḥ śrimad gokarṇe (nne) sa (śva) ra-
bhāṭṭāraśakaṇa"

From the Allahabad inscription of Samudragūpta, we understand that his expedition to the south started from Prayāga and passed through Daksīṇa Kosala, Mahākāntāra, Mahendra, and Kāurēla. He reached as far as the river Tel from which point the region Mahākāntāra extended towards the Mahendra mountain in Orissa. Immediately after crossing the country of Mahākāntāra, cont.
the Gupta monarch defeated a petty king at Kaurāla, which is identified with the present Kulēda, the headquarters of the Bhanja kings of Ghumsara in Ganjam (Orissa). He arrived at the Mahendra mountain where he liberated several petty kings captured by him. The route of his expedition to the south establishes the fact that from Allahabad (Pratiṣṭhāna) in the northern India to the Mahendra mountain in the southern Orissa (Kālīṅga) there was a high way in those days through which came not only the army of the Gupta monarch, but also the Brāhmaṇas and many high class people who performed yajñas on the banks of the Godāvari.

In the region of the Mahendra, there lived some kings of a royal dynasty, known as Māṭhara, whose rule commenced from the 4th century A.D. and acquired supreme power in that territory immediately after the expedition of Samudragupta. They were the contemporaries of the Guptas, the Pārvājakas and the Nalas of Madhyabhārata who happened to be the great promoters of Vaisnavism in the central portions of India.

The Māṭharas played an important role in the political history of Kālīṅga. They are believed to have established matrimonial relationship with the contemporary kings of Vāṇgi who lived in the regions of the Godāvari and Kṛṣṇa and performed Āsvamedha sacrifice with the help of the newly migrated Brāhmaṇas of northern India.

The Māṭhara kings used the royal title of Sakala-Kālīṅgāchālpati and Pitrādmudhāyāta. In a copper-plate inscription of Saktivarman of this dynasty, we find that he was a devout worshipper of the God, Nārāyaṇa. The kingdom of the Māṭhara kings roughly extended from Chilka lake in the north to Simhāchalam in the south.

cont.
The Mātharas ruled in Kalinga prior to the migration of the Gaṅgas during the 4th or 5th century A.D. Their capital was known as Simhapur according to their inscriptions. From the Ceylonese chronicles we come to know that one Siṃhabāhu migrated from Kalinga and established a kingdom there after whom there was close association between the royal families of Ceylon and Kalinga. We have already stated that the Mātharas embraced Bhāgevatism and became the worshipper of God Nārāyaṇa but from the Ceylonese records it is apparent that they followed also Buddhism. Any way one peculiarity which we should not overlook is the aboriginal influence of the Sāvaras or the Pulindas on the religious sphere of Kalinga and Ceylon. Mr. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshit in his paper on "South India and Ceylon" writes: "there is still a village near Ratnapur (in Ceylon) named Havaragama, probably Sāvaragrama, which reminds us one of a Sāvara settlement. The Sāvaras and the Pulindas were forest tribes and in south India according to the Mārkandeya Purāṇa while this may point out to a migration of these tribes from South India, the Mahāvamsa explains the origin of the Pulindas as raisiing out of the two children of Vijaya by Yakṣīṇī Kubeneś. It sounds to reason to take that the Veddas of modern Ceylon are akin to these ancient tribes of Sāvaras and Pulindas of South India."

These Pulindas, according to him, worshipped two gods namely Puradeva whose other name is Vyādha Deva, and the other Murugan. The terms Puradeva and Vyādha Deva, according to Sanskrit,
mean$ the deity which is named Puruṣa Deva and which was worshipped by Vyādhas or Kirātas originally. Regarding the 2nd deity, namely, Murugan, the origin of which is according to Dikshitar, is from the cult of the Nāgas. He describes it as follows:

"If we turn to the page of Tirumurugāṟṟupadai in honour of Murugan, we see that this god is propitiated by the sacrifices of fowls, goats and toddy drink. The worship is done by the mystic finger signs (vide Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 144). It may be presumed that the dominant Murugan cult became blended with Serpent cult of the Nāgas, so much so that we associate the Serpent with Murugan cult now-a-days. Need it be said that the Murugan cult was a distinct contribution of South India to Ceylon."

Regarding the association of Śīhápura of Kaliṅga and the Śāhu family of Ceylon it is known from the Silappadhikāram and Manimekhalai that 30 years after ruling the island of Śīhala the king Viḷḷaḷ died leaving no issue, but he expressed at the time of his death, that his brother Sumitta should succeed him, who had become a king of Śīhala of Kaliṅga. So according to the wish of Viḷḷaḷ Sumitta sent his son, Pāṇḍu Vāsudeva, to Lanka where he received the royal honour and became the king. He married a daughter of the king of Kosala who was a disciple of the Lord Buddha (vide the Mahāvamsa chapters).

From the above accounts of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. what we infer is that the royal contact of the families of Śīhapur in Kaliṅga resulted at the matrimonial influence of religion on each side through the agency of some aboriginal contd.
tribes who previously worshipped their own god in both the countries. (Vide Silap, preface 1, 47 XXIII preface II-138-140. Mani XXVI, II-PP.15-17)

The kingdom of the Māṭharas roughly extended from the Chilka lake in the north to Simāchalam in the south. This is supported by the fact that their grants have been discovered in the districts of Śrīkākulam in Andhra, and Ganjam in Orissa. From the study of some copper-plate inscriptions of these kings, we further learn that one Prabhaṣijanavarman was a worshipper of Nārāyaṇa (Bhagavatasyām Nārāyaṇa Pādānāhsvat) and that the two kings of the same family viz. Nanda Prabhaṣijanavarman and Chandavarman were Paramābhāṣavatās. The use of these epithets is very significant for the study of the early history of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. It is evident that, for the first time, Vaiṣṇavism was patronised in Kalinga by the Māṭharas who also used the titles of Paramādvaita. According to scholars, the expression, "Deivatam Devatānāma", in the Viṣṇu Sahasranāma possibly shows that the epithet Deivatam is a Vaiṣṇavite term.

The main parts of the territory of the Māṭharas extended all around the Mahendra mountain, where they might have installed their family deity, as the Gaṅgas who immediately succeeded them did. As a matter of fact, we notice a small temple at the top of the Mahendra mountain which, from archaeological point of view, belongs to the earliest age of temple architecture in Orissa, Plate No.1. This temple, having a new type of architectural form, is complete only with seven huge cut pieces of stone, and apparently belongs to the Gupta period. A similar miniature temple, made out of only nine cut stones, is also found on the top of a hill at the village of Jagamanda, near cont.
Gunupur in the Koraput district (Orissa). It is interesting to note here that a small inscription was found on that temple; in it we read the name of Dharmakīrti, possibly the same Dharmakīrti, a Buddhist monk of Kaliṅga, who defeated Kumārilabhaṭṭa. It is, therefore, possible that the said temple was built sometime before the time of Dharmakīrti. We have thus enough reason to believe that the temple on the Mahendra mountain was constructed in or before the time of the Māṭhara rulers of Kaliṅga, who were Bhāgavatas. They might have worshipped the image of Viṣṇu in the shape of Mādava or Nārāyaṇa in that temple, although there is now installed a Linga instead of a Vaiṣṇavite image. The question arises, whether Nārāyaṇa or Mādava, the popular god of Kaliṅga of the Māṭhara period, was installed on the top of the hill as the family deity of the said kings, or it was a subsidiary god worshipped in some part of the plain in its vicinity. We would like to point out that, in the time of the Māṭharas, the Mahendra mountain had become an important seat of religion. This is proved by some copper-plate inscriptions which record that it was an abode of the Siddhas, the Sādhakas and the tapasvins, "prasiddha-Siddhata-ēpasādhyusita-kandarodari-Mahendra-giriśikha-śekharasya- surāsura-guṇaśakala tribhuvana-mahāprasada-nirmanāka-sutra- dhārasya-bhagavate Gokarna-svaminah". So the top of the Mahendra was not an uninhabited tract, covered with jungles, but a place frequented by yogis and tapasvins and also visited by pilgrims on their way to religious places.

contd.
In the Mahābhārata, Vana-Parva, (Ch.114), we find that the Pāṇḍavas, on their way to Kāliṅga, arrived at the river Vaitāraṇī where they took their sacred bath. Their guide the sage Lomāsa, advised them to climb on a vedi, which in the days of yore, was formed by Bhūdevi, at the request of the sage Kāḍyāpa. Lomāsa asked Yudhīṣṭhira to climb upon the vedi to be blessed and to acquire the divine prowess. The Pāṇḍavas, accordingly climbed on the vedi after they took a sacred bath in the sea and went to the Mahendra to take rest during the night. Some scholars interpret that the vedi mentioned in the Mahābhārata may be identified with Puri or the Nilachala. Unfortunately, we do not have any trace of a hill in the neighbourhood of Puri or on its sea-shore. From the descriptions of the Mahābhārata, we have to search for the said vedi which must have been on the mountain or near the mountain, close to the sea-shore and was considered as a sacred place. Which place in Kāliṅga does fit in with this description if it is not the Mahendra mountain?

It will not be out of place to point out here that actually there are three dilapidated temples on the Mahendra which bear the names of Yudhīṣṭhira, Bhīma and Kuntī Plate (35). According to the local tradition, these temples were constructed by the Pāṇḍavas when they visited this locality. The tradition seems to have been current even as early as the time of Chodagaṅga (1078-1148 A.D.), in whose copper plate inscriptions there is a verse describing that five brothers of the Gaṅga dynasty, namely Kāmārṇava, Dāṇārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasimha and Vajrāhasta came to the Mahendra region where, like the five Pāṇḍavas, they worshipped the God Gokarṇa-svāmin. As the court poet of the contd.
of the time of Gādāgānda (the 12th century A.D.) metaphorically described the pilgrimage of the first Gāngā princes of Kaliṅga in times of that of the Pāṇḍava brothers, it is quite apparent that the said tradition was not unknown to him.

The Sailodbhava kings of Koṅgoda regarded the Mahendra mountain as a sacred seat of their progenitor. From the prāṣastis of the Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Sailodbavas of Koṅgoda, who started their rule after the decline of the Māṭharas, it appears that the former regarded Gokarṇesāvara as their family God, while the later regarded Svayambhū as the creator of their family. This god bearing the names of Gokarṇesāvara and Svayambhū was possibly installed on the top of the Mahendra Mountain.

The kings of Kaliṅga including their neighbouring kings of Dākṣiṇa Kosāla or Maha Kosāla and Vengi, namely the Šora-bhupuriyaṁ the Pāṇḍus and the Viṣṇukundins respectively, adopted Bhāgavatism as their state religion. This fact is known from epithets recorded in their respective inscriptions. In the inscription of Hastivarman of the early Gāṅga dynasty of Gāṅga era 79, corresponding to either A.D. 577 or 705, mention is made of his granting a village in the district of Varaṇa Varttani in Kaliṅga in favour of the God Viṣṇu who is described as the Bhāgavate santānrvasāṁvina -

Santāsāmopagitaṁ - santalokaikamāthā - raṇabhitodeva - bhidhanvya - Nārāyanā. 

Inspite of the fact that Hastivarman styled himself as Paramamēsāvāna and claimed to be a devout worshipper of Gokarṇesāvara (Śiva) he gave charters in favour of the god Nārāyan; this proves cont.
that there was no conflict between the Bhāgavatas and the Māheśvaras in the 6th or 7th century A.D. or at least before Śaṅkaraśāṃkara propagated his Siddhānta of Advaitavāda.

Contemporary with the Mātharas in the western regions of Orissa, the Nalas were ruling over a portion of Daksīṇa Kosala—comprising the modern Koraput district of Orissa and Bastar and Nāgpur in Madhyābharat. In the Podgadh stone-inscription of Skandaśāṃkara, son of Bhavadatta of the Nala family, mention is made that he installed a foot-print of the Lord Viṣṇu in a place called Puṣkari. In that grant, the first verse of the Prasasti is in the praise of Hari. He is described as one who "was victorious, is victorious and will be victorious" (Harinā Jīvā Jayatī Jeyatā samastu). A similar expression is also made in the Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma as Viśvajñātā. In the sixth line of the said inscription there is a passage known as 'Puruseśvarapuram' which may be explained as Puruṣa denoting Hari or Viṣṇu.

In the age of the Guptas and that of the Pusyabhūtis, we get evidence of the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in the kingdoms of Daksīṇa Kosala, Vengi and Kaliṅga. The Gupta age was characterized by the evolution of Neo-Brahmanism and Vaiṣṇavism in the countries which came into their fold in the south. In Daksīṇa Kosala there flourished a king in the time of Hasti Varman of Kaliṅga whose name as Mahāśiva Tīvarādeva. His father, Nanna-deva, was a feudatory chief under one Mahāsudeva of
Sarabhapura. According to the Rājim and Baloda plates, Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva used the glorious title of "Sakala Kṣaśādhiniśātī" and he was a devout worshipper of Viśnu having the epithet of Paramavaiśnavā. These grants of Tīvaradeva of the Pāṇḍu dynasty were issued from Sirpur. Nannadeva's father, Indravala, as is mentioned in an inscription of Sirpur (discovered by Beglar and referred to by Cunningham in 1884) was a son of Udayana, who belonged to the Śaśāra lineage. This king, Udayana, is said to have been captured and released by a Pallava king named Pallavamalla Nandivarman. If Udayana of the Sirpur inscription is identical with the Śaśāra king of the same name of the time of the aforesaid king Nandivarman, then we have to presume that another Śaśāra king named Śaśarāditya, who is said to have been defeated by Kāmārṇava, the first Gaṅga king, on the top of the Mahendra, might have had some relation with the Udayana and also with the Pāṇḍuvamśi kings of Dakṣina Kosala. Pulindasena, a leader of the Kaliṅga-Janatā and a devout worshipper of the god Svayambhū, might also be linked with the same Śaśāra-lineage, whose successor is taken by the court-poets of the Sailodbhava kings as belonging to the Kṣaṭriya race by the name Sailodbhava.

In the Rājim mahātva, it is stated that the Mahānandī river bore the name of Utpalesvarai; the course of the river below the junction is still known as the Cāitrotpala. Richard Jenkins, as stated by Cunningham, discovered this Mahātva some fifty years before 1881. It is further known that the temple of Rājīvalocana Rājim is surrounded by a group of temples dedicated to Varāha, Narasimha, Badarinātha, Vāmana and Jagannātha including Rājesvāra and Dāneśvāra, two
Siva-temples. We, thus conclude that the Pāṇḍu-Vamsi kings, from the time of Tīvra-deva onwards, used to worship Viṣṇu in his various forms. We have already stated that the Pāṇḍu vamsi kings were probably of the Saṅkara lineage whose association with the origin of Jagannātha is gathered from traditional accounts. Cunningham assigns these temples to about the 5th century A.D. on archaeological and stylistic considerations. So our conclusion regarding the original Saṅkara kings of this locality, as well as of the Mahendrā region, where the founders of the Gāṅga dynasty of Kalinga defeated one Saṅkara king, named Saṅkarāditya, is well established.

Under the patronage of the rulers of Daksīṇa Kosala who embraced Brahmanism, the Buddhists and other sects were equally enjoying the privilege which the Brahmans used to receive. The Mallar plates of Mahāsivagupta reveals that fourteen Ārya Bhiksus lived in a Buddhist Vihāra at a place known as Tāradamsaka. This vihāra was formerly established by one Alakā, wife of Kīradeva. The Bhiksus of this monastery were granted a village called Kailaśapura in Tāradamsaka-Bhoga by Mahāsivagupta who used the title of Paramamahēśvara. The inscription further states that these fourteen Ārya-bhiksus were granted charters on the advice of one Bhāskarāvarman, who was a maternal uncle of the king. There was a king named Bhāskarāvarman, who lived in the century of Prāgjyotīśa (Assam) in the 7th century A.D. For want of evidence we are not able to identify the Bhāskarāvarman of this record with the king of the same name who lived in Prāgjyotīśa. But regarding the cont.
influence of Buddhism of Assam over Daksīṇa-Kosala and Kalinga we may trace that it was possible only after the migration of the Bhauma-Kara king to Orissa in the first half of the 8th century A.D.

The Buddhistic sculptures found in different places of Madhyabhārat, including Satarīnārāyaṇa, have features which indicate the Buddhistic influence on this land before Vaisnavism got established in that region. The name, Satarīnārāyaṇa suggests that it was dominated by the Sātaraśas, an aboriginal tribe of the locality. The name, therefore, seems to have attained religious importance before the advent of the Pāṇḍus and the Ārābhpurians. No epigraphical evidence is available to establish the existence of any king in that locality who embraced Buddhism; but we are sure from the records of the Chinese pilgrim, Huen-meng, that this part of India was under the influence of the great Buddhist monk, Nagarjuna, who lived in South Kosala in a Buddhist monastery. He was highly regarded by the Buddhists for having acquired some supernatural powers. Huen-meng says that the king of South Kosala was "a kṣatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence". This writing reveals that a kṣatriya chief of that country who was a follower of the Varnāśrama dharma was also a patron of Buddhism. We may, therefore, assume that some powerful Buddhist monks, like Nagarjuna, tried to popularise their doctrine in this tract, and most probably they could secure cont.
followers from the lower ranks of the contemporary society. It is no wonder that the Satavas extended their support to the Buddhistic faith.

After the Matharas of Kalinga in the country of Kongoda lying to the east of Dakshina Kosala and contiguous to Kalinga there lived the Sailodbhavas as said before. Their kingdom was surrounded by the Chilka Lake. From their inscriptions we know that they used the title of Paramamahesvara and performed the Vedic rituals like Asvamedha and Vajapeya. In the Banpur Plate of Madhyamaraja there is a verse which throws light on the religious condition of Kongoda. His predecessor, Madhavaraja, is described, in his Khurdap plates, as a follower of Saivism while he compared himself with God Chakradhara or Bhagavan Mādhava. This is an important fact for our consideration regarding the religious belief of the kings of Kalinga, the name of Bhagavan Mādhava having been used as a synonym for Chakradhara (Viṣṇu).

It is necessary to point out that the insignia of Chakra was recognised even from the time of Aśoka when the symbol of Dharma Chakra was introduced. In some Pāli texts the Anguttara Nikāya and Mahāsangārāṇa Sutta, we find that an emperor should possess seven precious things, one of which is the Chakra Ratna. According to the popular tradition of Orissa, the God Nīlamādhava is associated with the God Purusottama. It indicates the importance of the God Chakradhara-Mādhava referred to in the Khurda plates.

From the Buguda Plates, we know that one Pulindasena, who was a leader of the Kalinga-Janata, worshipped the God Swayambhū on the top of the Mahenura whereupon he received a boon that cont.
a stalwart youth would come out of a rock after splitting it. He was named Sailodbhava, after which name the family was designated. We have already stated that the Sataras predominated the country of Dakṣiṇa Kosala before the advent of the Pāṇduvāṃśi kings there. Similarly, they (the Sataras) dominated Kalinga, centering round the Mahendra Mountain, before the Sailodbhavas came into prominence. Like the religious centre of Dakṣiṇa Kosala at Savarīnārāyaṇa, the Mahendra region was also considered to be another such centre which originally belonged to the Pulindas or the Sataras. We have further stated that the importance of the Mahendra was recognised, even in the time of the Māṭharas, who lived there before the Sailodbhavas and the Ganges. From the study of the religious history of this locality we may conclude that the conditions in the countries of Dakṣiṇa Kosala and Kōṅgoda were almost equal and interlinked through the agency of the aboriginal tribes, namely the Sataras.

From the family history of the Sailodbhavas, we understand that Mādhavarāja who was a subordinate king under Saśāṅka in A.D. 620, suddenly attained the status of Saklakalingādhipati at the time of issuing his Khurda plates. But after a few years he and his successors ceased using the glorious title, "the Lord of all Kaliṅga". It proves that the country of Kaliṅga was captured by the Ganges, sometime about the first half of the 7th century A.D. Here it is not improbable for us to assume that the Rastradevata they used to worship on the Mahendra...
first under the name of Swyambhu and thereafter under that of Cakradhara Mādhava was not overlooked by them.

Now, if an original God possibly made of wood, was installed on the Mahendra mountain and worshipped by the Pulindas or the aboriginal Sataras under some name according to their language, and if that was taken as the divine lord of the country of Kalinga, it is presumable that the Mātharas who were Bhāgavatas devoted to the God Nārāyaṇa might have worshipped the former according to their faith in the name of Nārāyaṇa or Puruṣottama Nārāyaṇa.

The Buddhists during the Sailodbhava period seem to have embraced Saivism and adopted Linga worship when they tried to assimilate the emblem of Siva as identical with and inseparable to their Lord Buddha. That being the notion, they inscribed their own sacred verse namely "Yā-Jaṁ-Dharma hetu pravāla hetur asya tathāgatah" on a Lingam. One such Lingam was discovered from the district of Balasore (Vide GHRJ. Vol.I, pp.271-73 ff.)

Similar Siva worship by the Buddhist king of Java is an important fact to consider the synthesis of Buddhism with Saivism as well as Vaishnavism. In this connection we refer to an important inscription of Erlangga from Penanggungen (Surabaya of Java of Saka year 963) where the invocation verses are inscribed as follows:

Śvasti ! Triśhiras guṇairupeto nrūmāvidhāne -
sthitān tatā pralaya - Agunā iti yah prasiddhastasmaidhā
tre namassatatata - aganī-tavikramagurunā Praṇ -
amyamā-saṣuraṇā Śadā!

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cont.
Verse I:—Hail, May honour be always given to the creator who in his creation and preservation is endowed with all the three qualities (guna) but is without any (guna) at the time of destruction.

Verse II:—Honour be also to Him who is well-known in the world as Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) and who is at all times saluted by the Lord of the Devas (i.e. Indra) who is great on account of his immense prowess.

Verse III:—Honour to Śiva who (in bounty) surpasses the wish giving tree, who though called sthānu (lit. motionless) moves with great speed and who through his qualities satisfies the desire of the living beings.

In another inscription of the same island found at Kelurak which was incised in Śaka 704 i.e. 782 A.D. we find that the Buddhist god Mañjuśrī whose symbolic feature corresponds to the two rounded eyes and the mouth of the present image of Jagannātha as depicted in that inscription is described to be the assimilation of three gods namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara who are responsible for the creation, preservation and the destruction of the world. The relevant verse in that inscription runs as follows:

"Ayam sa vajradhrk Śrīmān Brahmā Viṣṇumahēśvarah—Sarvadevamaya svāmi mañjuvāgiti giyate"
Our reference to the above epigraphical quotations of Java relating to the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. proves that a similar conception of religious precept prevailed among the Buddhists of that island who borrowed the ideas from the Mahāyānists of the coastal tracts of Kālīṅga and also by the Brāhminical sects who worshipped the god Viṣṇu in the time of Budhagupta in the 5th century A.D. giving him the qualities of svāasti, stāti, pralaya i.e. creation, preservation and destruction, and the Mahēśvaragroup who attributed the same for the god Śiva during the śvetāka Gaṅga period i.e. the 9th century A.D. It proves how the original idea of worshipping the rāṣṭradēvatā of a kingdom with these supernatural powers of creation, preservation and destruction, had influenced the Buddhists which spread throughout the world of Mahāyānists in India and eastern archipelago.

The same deity was perhaps earlier named by the Mātharas as Nārāyaṇa, by the Gaṅgas as Gokarnēśwara and by the Śailodbhavas as Svayāmbhu. After the Śailodbhavas, the Śaivite kings, namely the Gaṅgas, probably called the same deity as Gokarnēśwara in the form of a Śiva who, according to them, was responsible for the prosperity of the royal State. Although an unknown primitive God was worshipped by the followers of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva according to their faith, they did not dare to change the iconographic feature of the deity, which would have created confusion in the minds of the aboriginal tribe which formed an important part of militia of these countries for their safety. If any
image corresponding to the peculiar image-type of Jagannātha could be found in the Šatara country noted above, we could have unhesitatingly suggested that the former was the prototype of the latter. But in the absence of any such image, we have to seek for some other data for explaining the form of the three peculiar images comprising Purusottama Jagannātha now enshrined in the temple of Puri.

There existed from an unknown time a practice in Orissa, that a God or Goddess should be installed in each family in each village and in each town or fort named as the grāhadevata, grāmdevata, Nāgaradevata and durgadevata respectively. These Gods or Goddesses were expected to protect a family, a village, a town or a fort from all sorts of calamities. Similarly, in the case of each country there was a Rāstradevata who was to guard the safety of the country. This peculiar custom did not only influence the people of high castes but also the local aboriginal tribes, and that practice is still in vogue among them. There is, however, a clue to determine the existence of a Rāstradevata in Dakaṅkoseśa at Saṅgarinārāyaṇa and another in Kalinga at the Mahendra; they were taken as the family Gods of the royal families of these kingdoms. This idea of Rāstradevata, who was supposed to protect the kingdom where he was worshipped, is known to us from the Buddhist Jātakas of the 5th or 6th century A.D. For example, in the Culla Kalinga Jātaka, it is stated that once there was a war between the kings of Kalinga and Asvaka, and their Rāstradevatās in the shapes of two bulls, black and white, fought each other. \(^6\)
In between Daksīṇa Kosāla and Kaliṅga there was an extensive forest-kingdom which was known as Mahākāntāra in the time of Samudragupta. That country was under the possession of a royal family, the members of which are described as "Stambhēśvarī Pādabhakta" or the devout worshippers at the feet of Goddess Stambhēśvarī. The country was subsequently known as Gondrama.

A copper plate inscription discovered from Terāsīṅgā (Kalāhāndī district) discloses that about the 4th or 5th century A.D. there was a king named Tuśṭikāra of that locality, who was a worshipper of Stambhēśvarī. This deity is called Bhagavatī in the said Copper-Plate grant. Since the shape of the Goddess Stambhēśvarī resembles a wooden pillar, corresponding to a Sāvara image installed in every Sāvara village, we may infer that originally a Goddess, installed in the country of Gondrama inhabited by the aboriginal tribe was subsequently worshipped by king Tuśṭikāra and after him by the Śulkis and the Bhaṭjas of Gondrama and Khāṭjālinamandalarespectively. The Goddess possessed the Sanskritised name Stambeḥswārī by the Brāhmaṇas. While discussing the Hindol plate of Kulastambha, Dr. D.C. Sarkar says, "Stambhēśvarī was the family deity of the Śulkis of Orissa". According to him the representation of the Goddess was probably made out on a Stambha indicating a Śivalīṅga. But according to S.N. Rājguru, it is an aboriginal Goddess which was subsequently taken by the Brāhmaṇas. In this connection Rājguru cont.
says, "In every village of these hill tribes we find one or two wooden pillars, small in size, and worshipped by villagers in ceremonial occasions". It is, therefore, probable that these pillar deities were named "Stambheśvarī" by the Sanskrit knowing Pañcits who are mainly responsible for Aryanising these aboriginal deities. The Tantrayāna, which is called "Śaṭarī Vidyā" is nothing but a transformation of the religion of the Śavaras in such context. This is a glaring example of a dogmatic belief in mysticism mingled with primitive superstitions. The human sacrifice which was prevalent among these hill-tribes was adopted in old days by the Aryans who assimilated this system into their religion in the name of Naramedha. All these together give an idea how the so-called Hindu religion became an admixture of heterogenous cults embodying the precepts of different tribes in different times. In the Kālīkē-Purīṇa we come across the name of the Śavaras as the worshippers of the Goddess Kālī. Pargiter has rightly observed, "The Aryans met with religious practice and belief among the people whom they ruled over or came into lasting contact with and have assimilated among them gradually, thus modifying their own religion to a certain extent".

Like the history of the God Nārāyaṇa or Svyāmbrū in South Orissa (Kalinga) and that of the Goddess Stambheśvari in West Orissa (Gondrama) the history of another contemporary god in the Central and eastern parts of Orissa (Tosali) may be traced with the help of two copper-plate Inscriptions of about the 6th or 7th century A.D., the Kanās plate of Lokavigraha and the Olasing Plate of Bhānu or Bhānuvardhana. That God is called by the name Maninagesvara and, probably, he was installed on
the modern Maināka or Manināga mountain in Ranapur of the Puri District. Not far from Kanis and Olsingh where these copper plates were discovered, there is a mountain called Manināga in the ex-State Garjat of Ranpur on which there is a temple of Manināga. At present, the presiding deity is not traceable, and in his place a small image of a Goddess is worshipped; but it is quite significant to note here that the Goddess is still worshipped by the Khonds who belong to a section of the aboriginal tribes of Orissa. The worship of the Nāga is said to have originated among the aboriginal tribes, and in the Brahmanical age it was accepted by the Hindus as Baladeva, an incarnation of Sesa or Ananta Nāga. The Nāga-cult attained popularity throughout India from a very early time, and the deity Baladeva was worshipped not merely as a demi-god but as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa.

In North Orissa, there is a place called Remuna in the Balasore district, where a single image of Baladeva is still worshipped as the incarnation of the Sesa or Ananta Nāga. In that district, at the mouth of the Suvarnarekha, the temple of Manināga still exists. So it can be presumed that in the country of Tosali the image of Manināga was the popular Rāṣṭradvātā which in course of time came to be regarded as Baladeva. It is not improbable that after the downfall of the Śailodbhavas, when the countries of Koṅgoda and Tosala were ruled over by the Bhauma-Karas, the Gods namely Puruṣottama and Balabhadra and the goddess Stambheśwari might have been worshipped as the Rāṣṭradvātās in the newly created kingdom. This seems to have been one of the main factors in the evolution of the image type of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha which comprised three separate icons namely those of Jagannātha,
We should now to discuss briefly the religious outlook of the Sataras. According to a popular tradition of the Sataras, two brothers, named Rama and Bhima, came to the top of the Mahendra Mountain where they settled and occupied the entire range of mountains extending as far as the Vindhyas in Central India. Like many other tribal races the Sataras have a peculiar conception about their religion. They worship a large number of gods and demigods for the welfare of their country, their profession and their families. In each item of social activities, they believe that some supernatural power is responsible for their good or evil. This idea induces them to absorb all gods associated with different cults into their own pantheon. The Sataras are not only accustomed to accept all Gods and Goddesses but also worship them in their own way in crude forms. For example, in Sitabinji of the Keonjhar district (Orissa), they worship Sita in the form of a stone image in cave, thinking that, that was the place where Lava and Kusa were born. We may further cite that the Linga of Madhukeswar at Mukhalingam was discovered by the Sataras, and that deity was subsequently taken over by the Brahmans in the time of the Ganges.

Originally the Sataras spread over a wide region. But, when the Brahmans migrated to these regions, they found that these Sataras used to worship several gods and goddesses when they called in their language "Kitung". The new settlers,
the Brahmanas did not disturb their practice and did not like to replace their own gods to injure the aboriginal sentiment; but, on the other hand, they themselves tried to worship them by Sanskritising their names as in the case of the goddess Stambheswari and Swayambhū. It is not out of place to mention here that the term "Swayambhū" was not only used by the Brahmanical priests for Śiva or Brahmā but also by the Jaina gurus for the Tirthankaras. We have already stated that the land of the Saṅgaras extended from the foot of the Mahendra as far as the Vindhyā mountains within which Śavarindrayana is situated (vide map). In this connection the following observation made by Rev. J. Long during his visit to Orissa in January, 1858, may be quoted: 72 show that the Buddhism so noted in its regard for enlightening the masses and opposing caste, was for ages predominant all through Orissa both among rulers and people, though Orissa be now the garden of the Hinduism and Jagannātha its Jerusalem. Even Jagannāthaitself stands on the sight of a Buddhist temple and contained the celebrated tooth of Buddha, which was kept there till the 4th century A.D.; ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ When it was carried for a short period to Patna the ancient Palibothra then the capital of North India, it was soon after brought back to Puri, but on an invasion of the country, it was conveyed in A.D. 311 by a king's daughter concealed in her hair to Ceylon, which was then becoming a place of refuge to the Buddhists from the Brahmin's rage. Prinsep, Lassen and Burnouf have established from the evidence of inscription on pillars and rocks etc. that Buddhism was the State religion of India from the days of Asoka 3 centuries B.C. to

cont.
to the 4th century A.D. while the Chinese traveller Fa-Hsien & Huen-Tsang give us information of its prevalence up to the 7th century A.D."

Long has rightly observed that "there are various points besides this, in connection with Jagannātha, which seem to indicate that it was an eclectic system selecting from different sects and incorporating all; thus though Jagannātha gives much ascendancy to the Vaiṣṇavas, yet the Pāṇḍāhas at Jagannāthāall belong to the Śākta sect of the Sivites, they do not, however, practise those horrible obsences observed by the same sect of Śantipur."

The theory applied in the case of Swayamābhū of the Mahendra is also applicable to certain images of central India at Sirpur having the same iconographic features. The following view of Cunningham may be quoted here in connection with the image of Savari Harayana. He attempted to attribute to it the features of Buddha: "The figure inside is said to be of black stone about 3 feet high, it represents a two armed and two-legged seated human figure. The legs crossed, one hand resting on the thigh, the other below the chest held horizontally. The statue is said to be precisely that at Rajim known as Rajiivalochana, like it, is clearly Buddhist resembling the great statue of Buddha at Rajjhana and about the same also in height; they are, however, full statues and not altar reliefs."

At the extremity of the Colonnade built in front of the temple, is a statue said to be of Garuḍa. I could not see this or examine it, there is also a statue of Hanumān. To the cont.
right of the entrance of the temple is a loose pilaster with a sculptured figure similar to the pilasters described at Sirpur; this female figure is now known as the statue of Savari. The legend is that here Savari worshipped Rama, and as a boon asked that her name should precede his; hence the name of the place Savarinārāyana (shortened to Sevarinārāyana) which was also later named as Savarīpur. (1) 72

This place is within a distance of about 3 miles from the confluence of the River Jonk and the Mahānādī. This is the religious seat of the Pandus which is popularly known as Savarinārāyana. According to a traditional account, it is the place where Ramaçandra on his way to south met Savari who worshipped him with ripe mangoes. So the image of Nārāyana being associated with the name, Savari, has been worshipped there. It is situated on the left bank of the Mahānādī below its junction with the Jonk river; it was a very important place of pilgrimage. According to Cunningham, it is "a well known place for pilgrimage and being on the route to Puri from Central India, always contains a number of pilgrims enroute." (2) 74.

The age to which the sculptures and monuments of this locality belong is an important period for integration of different religions, viz. Buddhism, Śaivism, and Vaishnavism.

We need not imagine that the place assumed an importance suddenly in the time of the Pāṇḍuvamsī kings of Kośala. We have to trace out the sanctity of the locality from a more remote antiquity with the help of some relics of Buddha and Jaina images, found there. Although we get no trace of the existence of any Jain or Buddhist king in that locality, we know that
know that some Buddhist monks (as has been pointed out previously) like Nāgarjuna, lived in that area.

Actually, remnants of these religions are traceable in the vicinity of Savarīpur or Sirpur, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśi kings, who were styled as Sakalakośalādhinātī. Immediately after Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva, his successor Mahāśivagupta Bālavṛjuna praised his family God Narasimha, who is taken by the praśasti-writer as Puruṣottama, for he starts with the mārgalāčcharana "Om Namo Puruṣottamāya".

When we refer to the Buddhist literature, we find that some aboriginal gods and goddesses have been taken by the Mahāyānists into their panthee. According to Tārānātha, Mahāsiddha Savarī was an important monk who converted the minister and the king of Orissa and one Maitra or Maitragupta who afterwards lived in Nālandā. The goddess Parpa-Savari is highly regarded in the Mahāyāna School. It is a clear evidence that the Savarās of Dakṣīna Kośala, Kaliṅga and Kōngoda were closely associated not only with the Brāhmans but also with the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

The Savarās also have taken into their pantheon some Brāhmanical Gods and Goddesses along with the Lord Jagannātha. They worship their God in the name of Kitung who are ten in number and regarded as brothers. Their names are Bhīma, Rāma, Hodepuli, Peda, Rungjung, Tumerma, Garsada, Jaganta, Mutta, and Teata. The Savara tribe as a whole according to the present tradition has been classified into seven sections out...
out of which one is known as Jara Sahara. This class of
Sawaras mostly live in the confluence of the Indravati and
Savari in the Western part of Orissa. A family of the Jara
Sawara tribe known as Raju or the king of the tribe. Their
family deity is Nilamadhava whom they used to worship in their
own primitive and crude way. A place called Darkonda situated
on the borders of the modern Andhra and Madhyabhārat is their
religious centre where the said Nīla Madhava is installed.
To reach Darkanda one has to proceed from Narens Pattam Road
railway station by bus to Chintapalli and from there to
Sarapapalam village and then to Krishnadevapet which is
about two miles from Darkonda. The name Darkonda we presume,
is a synonym of Dwarkanda or the hill which was formally
gateway between Kalinga and Dakhinakosala.

The deity of Nilmadhava is four armed having
all the four attributes of Viṣṇu. Further the Rajus used to
(Oriya)
go Nilamadhava of Kantillo as their centre of religion which
they consider to be pious land of their family. There are
number of Mādhaba images found in different parts of Orissa
known as Nilai Madhaba Lalit-Mādhava, Ganga-Mādhava, Sabari Mādhava,
and Mudgala Mādhava etc. It appears that there are fourteen
Mādhava pithas in Orissa. The reason is, that Nilamadhaba is
the previous form of the present Jagannāthaworshiped in
Nilachala. The ancient name of Jagannāthawhich is still in vogue
in Savara villages in Orissa is "Jaganaelo" made of wood. The
name of the deity in the Savara Languages is Sonām and the
continues...
the images have the name of Kitum. Of all Kitum Jaganaelo is the highest and greatest, and he is called the Lord of all the Lords and the Lord of the universe according to Sataras.

The Buddhist influence on the Sataras was not only confined to the southern and western portions of Orissa, but it was also present in its north-eastern portions. In about the 5th or 6th century A.D., the present districts of Balasore and Keonjhar happened to be the seats of the Mahayânists who used to worship their gods and goddesses in association with the Sataras. For example, in Sitabinj (Keonjhar District) there are some monuments of that period where the Sataras figure as the main priests. In course of time, the Brâhmans associated with them, and the former installed some Saivite images like those of Mukhalingam, Ganesa, and Kârtikeya. In the district of Balasore, where the Suvarnarekha falls into the sea, there existed some Buddhist Viharas, and a large number of the Mahayânists belonged to the ârya-bhiksu-sangha. This fact is known to us from a recently discovered copper-plate inscription of the time of Maharaja Gopâchandra, who granted his consent to one Acâryuta, a subordinate king of his, to donate some lands in favour of the ârya Sangha for establishing a Vihâra, and for worshipping the God Avalokiteswara. 79

There existed mutual understanding between the Brâhmans and the Buddhist Sramanas. Most probably, that understanding continued in this country from the time of Âsoka. But towards the beginning of the first half of the 7th century A.D., there prevailed a political and religious contest between
between the groups of rulers headed by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, who was a Buddhist on one side, and Saṁka of Karṇāsuvarṇa on the other who was a Hindu. That is the time when Hiuen-Tsang visited this land and when Harṣa extended his support to the University of Nalanda a popular seat of learning. His rival Saṁka attempted to spread the Brāhmaṇical religion in the eastern or the north-eastern portions of India so that according to a Buddhist literary work, entitled the *Aryamaṇḍūrīṃulakalpa* Saṁka is to be condemned as a notorious iconoclast while, in the *Ekāmrapurāṇa* and the *Kapila Sambhūta* of the Brāhmaṇa he is to be praised for his great achievement relating to the establishment of Saivism in Ekāmra-Ksetra.

Towards the end of the medieval age the rivalry between the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇs perhaps took a definite shape. We presume that their difference started long before Saṁka when the Guptas brought Orissa under their control. The Bhāskaresvāra temple at Bhubaneswar had a Buddhist lion capital which was discovered from the precincts of that temple, and which is now an exhibit in the Orissa State Museum; it bears some inscriptions of the 5th century A.D. It gives a clear indication that in the later part of the Gupta age, an attempt was made to destroy some Buddhist monasteries to be replaced by some Śaiva temples. The result was that many Buddhist images were set up in the Hindu temples; this fact can still be noticed in different places of Orissa. The students of iconography are, however, in difficulty in identifying and fixing the exact period of such hybrid images.
The Midnapore Plates of Somadatta and Subhakirti reveal the religious outlook of the people of this country in the time of Śaśāṅka. The relevant passage from the said inscriptions is quoted below:

"Viṣṇo| Potāgrabhikṣyeṣeṣa Kaśāṅbhavitā Sādhyaśām
Sesā seshu ātrodhyāmāṇaḥ māndyaśāmaḥ Śākūrī
Vrāṣṭa Gangaḥ pṛthīya Kālmsāṁ Śri Śaśāṅke Vaiśekha Mahipatī
Cāpturjaladhmānām.

Dr. R.C. Majumdar translates the above verse as follows:

"While the illustrious Śaśāṅka is protecting the earth, whose girdle is formed by the four oceans, whose sins are washed by the Ganges fallen from the head of the enemy of the Cupid, i.e. Śiva, whose great body is placed in the infinite hoods of the Sesa and who was agitated when Viṣṇu (in the form of a bear) cast his snout (to raise her).

A few years after the death of Śaśāṅka, the Chinese traveller Huen-Tsang, visited the land of Kongoda - the present Puri and Ganjam districts where he noticed one hundred Deva temples and about ten thousand Tīrthikas. It reminds us of the existence of certain Yogi's and munis (sages) in the forest tracts of Kongoda who, by performance of different types of physical hardships as described in the Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja of the Sailodbhava dynasty, were attempting to attain salvation. Here the court poet makes a comparison between the difficult practice of austerities of the said siddhas and yogīs of the forest-area and performance of yajña by a king like Madhyamarāja in his abode. According to him (the court-poet), the latter is an easier process of getting salvation than the former. It shows that the court poet..."
...met indirectly condemns the yogis and siddhas of the said inscription and supports the action of Madhyamarāja. Therefore our conclusion should be that the Brāhmans of that age tried to ignore the yogic practice of the Buddhist monks and Jaina Sadhakas. 86

Towards the close of the 7th century A.D., Kongoda was ruled by Dharmarāja, whose queen Kalyāṇadevi donated lands to a Guru named Ekajaṭa Prabhuddacāndra, a disciple of Darhadācārya Nāsicāndra. From these names we believe that he was either a Jaina or a Buddhist. It is not out of place to point out here that a large number of Buddhist images, made of different metals, have recently been excavated from the banks of the river Sāliā (Sālimā) at Banpur (Puri district) which are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswara. These images belong to the school of the Tantric Buddhism of the Vajrayāna sect. It is interesting to note that Banpur is an important seat of Tantrism for the goddess Bhagavatī, who is supposed to have been worshipped by the Brāhmans when the assimilation of the Buddhist Vajrayāna or Tantrayāna and the Brahmanical Tantrism took place.

The metal images of the Banpur heard belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. This is the time when the kingdom of Kongoda was usurped by the Bhaua-kara kings who embraced Buddhism. It is quite probable that the difference between the Brahmanas and Śramanas which appeared in the time of the...
of the Railodbhavas disappeared after the Bhaumas came into prominence. There was an attempt to create harmony in the religious sphere of this country by assimilation of the Pantheon of the Buddhist Tantrism with that of the Brāhmanical Saktism. We cannot definitely establish the historical importance of Puri on archaeological and epigraphical grounds before the 7th century A.D. The temple architecture, as well as some of the celebrated monuments of the locality, cannot be deemed anterior to that period. It is strange that although there are references of Purusottama in the earlier Purāṇas, we have so far not been able to come across any epigraphical records pertaining to Purusottama before the 7th century A.D. There is no mention of even the name Nilāchala or Nilagiri in inscriptions prior to the 7th century A.D.

A reference can justifiably be made here to a commonly prevalent notion that the temple of Jagannātha is on a mountain and therefore it is called Nilādri, Nilāchala or Nilagiri. But neither the temple is situated on a mountain nor is there any mountain in the vicinity of Puri. The temple is really situated on a sand hill and is called Nilagiri (Blue mountain) only on grounds of analogy. For example the Lingarājatemple at Bhubaneswara is called Svarānādri or Svaranagiri though this temple too is not a mountain. Most probably it is called so as because Kailās—the abode of Śiva has several name as Hemakūta Svarnakūta or Svaragiri etc. and one of the names has been chosen for Lingarājatemple. So it may be presumed that the name Nilagiri was adopted for Jagannātha temple because the name Svarnādri was also used for the Lingarājatemple. It may be probable that because of the lofty structure of the temple of Jagannātha it came to be metaphorically compared with a hill or giri, from which it assumed the name "Nilagiri". And, as for the local tradition, there did actually exist a sand-hill. cont.
The Bhūmas adopted Buddhism and established their capital in Viranţiñagara or the present Jaipur in the Cuttack District. They had no malice against other religions of their kingdom. Not far from their capital there is a family god of their own called Guheswara which was installed in a town named Guheswarapataka. The temple of Viraja in Jaipur or Viranţiñagā Nagara was quite popular in their regime when the Tāntric cult was prevalent. We light upon the names of Purusottama and Baibhadra in the Copper-Plate inscriptions of Subhākaradeva I of this dynasty. This aspect of the topic will be further discussed in the next chapter. It is quite probable that the God Nīlamadhava alias Purusottama was worshipped as a popular God by the Buddhist Bhauimakaras, and it is they who marked the insignia of the Lord Buddha in that image adopting some rites and festivals borrowed from the Buddhistic ritualism. For example the Car Festival which is an important and significant feature relating to the Lord Purusottama might have partly originated from the Buddhistic influence.

Now the question is whether the name Purusottama was adopted in the kingdom of Bhauimas some time in or after the 8th century A.D., or the said name was already in use in Kalinga in the Ganga regime. In this connection we may refer to a copper-plate inscription of Devendravarman of the Ganga era 308 where we get the name of a village granted by him on the top of the Mahendra mountain as Purujavana or Purusavana. It is not improbable that the name Purujavana or Purusavana existed during the Ganges. D. B. Ch. Chhabra who edited the grant has not discussed the topography of Purujavana or the forest (vana) where Purusa or the idol (Viṣṇu) was installed.
or Purusavana of the inscription was changed later on into Purusottama. The god Nilamadhava alias Purusottama was adored not only by the Brahmanas and the Buddhists but also by the Jains who accepted him as a Tirthankara in their Pantheon which is referred to in the Abhidhānachintamani of Hemachandra.88

The Bhaumas ruled the country for about two hundred years beginning from the first half of the 8th century A.D. until the dynasty became extinct, and the Somavamsi kings of Daksina Kosala succeeded them. These Bhaumas who used the titles Paramasaugata and Paramatathagata later on styled themselves as Paramamāheśvara and Paramavaishnava. It is a clear indication that they changed their religion within a century of their rule, i.e. in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. This is the precise time when the popularity of Purusottama and Baladeva is known from the epigraphical sources namely the Neulpur grant of Subhārkara Deva II, where these names occur.89

It will now be necessary to refer to the political and religious development that took place during the Bhaumakara supremacy in Orissa. These kings are supposed to have migrated from Assam area, where a branch of their dynasty existed from earlier times. In Orissa they introduced their Samvat; it has been proved on the basis of astronomical calculations that this Samvat was started from 736 A.D.89 So there is little doubt that some time close to that date, the Sailodbhavas of Kongoda...
disappeared from the History of Orissa and their kingdom was merged in Daṣṇa Ṭoṣali. The Sālodbhavas had not only experienced trouble from the West or from the country of Daṣṇa Kosāla from the time of Tivaradeva, they were also troubled by the Gangas in the south as well as the Bhāumas in the North.

After Tribhuvana mahādevī, the mother of Subhākara-Deva II, two other queens lived in this family, named Dharma and Dandi. They ruled the country up to the Bhauma sambat 180 (A.D.916) whereafter the family became extinct. These last two queens are described as Paramavaiṣnavī. According to the Hindola Plate of Subhākara-Deva of Bhauymakara family, the donor Subhākara the son of Santikara and grand son of Paramasuugata Subhākara I granted a village named Naddile in Uttar Ṭoṣali at the request of one Pulindarāja for the worship of the god Baidyanātha. It proves that in the 9th century A.D. the Pulindas of Ṭoṣali used to worship Brahmanical deities like the Baidyanātha with the permission of a Buddhist king. When the Bhauymakaras and the Gangas were powerful in Ṭoṣali and Kaliṅga respectively, there lived the Somavamsī kings in Daṣṇa Kosāla the capital of which was at Suvarnapur or the modern Sonepur in Balangir district of Orissa. These kings extended their kingdom from the district of Sambalpur in the north-east as far as Kalahandi and Koraput in the south. Within this tract, several subordinate chiefs ruled under them. A popular tradition in Orissa reveals that one Yayātikesarī revived Brahmanism in Orissa by getting Brahmans from northern India and by performing yajñas on the

cont.
banks of the Vaitarani at Viraja-ksetra. This traditional account is corroborated by epigraphical records where we get information regarding the migration of Brahmanas from places like Sravasti, Hastipada, and Takkari. Due to migration of the Brahmanas, Saturi-Narayana, the composite family deity of the Punduvamsi kings of Mahakosala, came to be known as Purusottama-Hrsimha in the Somavamsi period.

The worship of the god Chakradhara Madhava, mentioned earlier in this chapter, started in Kongoda at least before the 7th century A.D., when a Sailodbhava king, named Madhavavarman, compared himself with the Bhagavan Chakradhara. It is presumable that while transferring the capital of Daksina Kosala from Sirpur to Suvarnapura, the Somavamsi kings should have sought for a place with physical features similar to those of their previous capital. It is interesting to note that as per archaeological and stylistic considerations the temple of Nilamadhava at Gandharadi near Sonapur was constructed long before the present Jagannath temple of Puri. Therefore, we may infer that the incorporation of the deities of some aboriginal tribes in Orissa was accomplished from two different directions namely (1) the Mahendra region of Kalinga and (2) Sawarinarayana of Daksina Kosala.

The Mahanadi or Chitrotpala flowed through the regions of the early Pundu-vamsi kings of Sirpur in Daksina Kosala with its group of temples at Rajim and Sawarinarayana, and
and through the newly developed Suvarnapura of the Somavamsi kings, it also drained the districts of Puri and Cuttack. Perhaps it can be suggested that civilisation progressed through the course of this river to the coastal regions of Orissa from the far-away hinter land of Madhya Bharata. We get a number of temples dedicated to Visnu under the name of Mādhava on the lower course of the said river. The temples at Gandharādi and Kontile are two examples for our consideration of the Mādhava cult, which, later on, spread to the coastal district of Puri under the names of Lalita, Mādhava, Mādhava niśanī, Mādhava etc. We get an inscription from the temple of Śobhanaśvara at Nilalimādhav where it is written that there lived a Nagavamsī king named Vidyānātha. He built the said temple in a place called Bhujangamapuri. It is possible that a branch of the Nagavamsi kings of Chakrakota of Central India might have come to the coastal tracts of Orissa along with the Somavamsi kings who captured the country after the decline of the Bhaumakara kings. The god Nilamadhava, which according to tradition was worshipped by the Śāvara chief Viswavasu, was ultimately transformed into Purusottama Jagannātha. This assimilation of Nilamadhava with Purusottama-Jagannātha appears to have been a remarkable feature of Orissan Vaisnavism. That the iconographic complex of Jagannātha constituted various elements taken from Brahmmanism, Buddhism, and non-Aryan cults has been demonstrated in the previous sections of this chapter.

There is every probability that the God Nārāyana was installed on the Mahendra Mountain where he was worshipped cont.
by the Matharas for a long time. There might have been also, prior to this period, some unknown god worshipped by Sataras on this same mountain. Now when the Matharas came, they overpowered the Sataras, and it is not unlikely that they on receipt of the deity worshipped by the Sataras, Aryanised the same and began to worship it at the same place. Next came the Gangas and the deity was similarly worshipped by them in the name of Gokarnesvara because of their faith in Saivism. The same deity began to be worshipped as Svayambhu by the Sailodbhavas. Now the Sailodbhavas were the worshippers of both Siva and Vishnu. It is evident from their records. This is also corroborated by the fact that they were perhaps worshipping Chakradhara Madhava or Bhagavan Madhava as mentioned in their grant in Kongoda area in which Purusottama Ksetra is situated. Their love and respect towards the god Madhava is very often recorded in their charter, as they seem to compare themselves with Bhagavan Chakradhara although they are Saivas. This shows that they were certainly patronising the God. We are also getting another god Maqinaga alias Balabhadra in the 6th century, and a goddess namely Stambhesvari in the 4th century A.D. in Kongoda and Gondrama areas respectively. There is no evidence at our disposal to suggest anything definitely about the transference of Narayana Madhava of the Mahendragiri and Kongoda Mandalas to Puri. But the God came to be closely associated with the place and many other places in Kongada Mandala came to have shrines with the deities bearing the same names.
In this way various primitive gods came to be absorbed by the Bramhanical religion. The resultant composite God Puruṣottama and his cult assimilated many features of different sects. This is the reason why we find even to day the remnants of different ritual performances associated with a single religious system in this land. Wilkin rightly doubts whether Jagannātha had originally any connection with Lord Viṣṇu. He admits the possibility of Jagannātha's having, a local divinity of some unknown tribe whose worship was engrafted into Hinduism, and the new God when admitted into the pantheon, was regarded as another manifestation. But his view that developing concept of the god and the form of the image, it was Buddhism which played the most important part, requires some modification.

As we have already said that the heterogenous ritualistic practices in this temple lead us to divergent theories in respect of its origin. But so far as the religious development is concerned we have already considered the historical data from age to age to find out in which way the bent of mind of the people as well as the rulers worked upon the cult of Jagannātha. The cult is not derived from any particular religious system but is a combination of many religious thoughts and ideas current in this and adjoining parts of India.
References

1. Mahābhārata, III 114, 3-5 and 12 slokas.
5. For the story of Tapasu and Bhallika, see Olden Berg's Vinay Pitaka I. 3 and Anguttaranikaya, Part I, Ch.X, p.36.
7. Select Inscriptions by Dr. D.C.Sarkar, pp.35-36.
17. Sri S.N.Rajguru while editing the Gandivedha coins of Sri Nanda says that these coins belonged to the Mâthara family of Kalinga as the box-head character is found on them. According to him, the Mâthara rule extended upto the district of Balsore (Orissa) where these coins were discovered. Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol.I, part II, p.71.
18. In the Nâgarjunakonda Prakrit Inscription of Santamula II of last part of the 3rd century A.D. mention is made that he performed sacrifices like Agnistoma and Vajapeya. The kings of this dynasty were styled as Mâthariputras as they established matrimonial relationship with the Mâtharas of Kalinga (Sr. D.C.Sarkar's Select Inscriptions, Vol.I, p.229).
31. Plate No.I.
34. The Mahābhārata III 114, 17-24 slokas.
35. Plate II, Kunti Dewal on the Mohendra mountains.
44. I.A. Vol.VIII, pp.278-82.

"Asit Udayanomana nrupate Savarāṇvaya Abhūdabhīdātulya statmadindrabala tāli tātā Śrēṣṭhā Nānadevaśudārīmaṇ mahodayah"
Sirpur Inscription, No.I Plate No.XVIII, A.S.I. Vol.XVII.

47. E.I. Vol.XXIII, p.115.

"Taradamsaka Pratiṣṭhita Kiraṇeavahā皇宫aka kārīta viṃkānīvārśācaturdaśāvyabhikṣu-sahaya".


"Kecēd Vanyamrugena Sāmādhamaacarana stānstāṃsthitililaya
Kecēd dagdhamukhā sahasra kiranā navālvali prekṣākina
Kecēd valkalina stāṭhājinavaraḥ Kecēd jaṭādhārinah
Navarūpadhara stāpantimunaye dityāśdakamākṣaśinaḥ.

x x x x x x

Chitram madhyameyṛājadevagunādṛṣṭkṣṇa rajyajātprāptavān."


"Natasakala Kalingādhipatyā kālavaṭṭa kimūrtta jagatapramādāḥ Prakṛitya ca kraśkaraḥśrīdharāḥ
Bhagāvaḥ mādhava Śrēṣṭhā mādhavarājusāli ".

   Buguda Plates of Madhava Varma, No.34.

55. The aboriginal tribe of the Pulindas is mentioned in the early Brahminical literature like Satapatha Brahmana. They had a country of their own called Pulindaraj-stra as referred to in a grant of Maharaj Hastin of the Gupta era 198 or A.D.518.


57. Generally we find the wooden images are worshipped by the aboriginals - Savaras.


   Bijon Ray-Chatterjee's India and Java.

60. India and Java, pp.60-61.


65. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p.3.


69. Castes and Tribes of Central India by Russel, Vol.II,


71. Abhidhānacintāmani, p.9, Slokas 24-25 (Devakanda).
   The name Swayambhū is mentioned among the other Tīrthāṅkaras.

   notes and queries suggested by a visit to Orissa in January 1859 by Rev. J. Long.


76. Mystic Tales of Taranāth, pp.11-12.
77. In the Pag Sam Jon Zan he is described as having belonged to hill tribe called Sabaras or Huntsmen in Bengali where he met Nāgarjuna during the latter's stay in that country. Sādhanamāla - Introduction, p.XLVI.
78. Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol.VI, p.335.
79. The copper plate Inscription has been edited by S.N. Rajaguru, O.H.R.J. Vol.V, p.53.
81. Mahājusrīmālakalpaṇas quoted by Jayswal in his "Imperial History of India", p.83.
82. The Ekāmarapurāṇa, Oriya Edition by late Pandit Ratnakar Gargavātu and Kapila Samhita, Ch.XIV, p.78.
83. Dr. K.C. Pandgrahi's Archaeological remains at Bhubaneswara, p.186.
87. E.I. Vol.XXIII, p.73 and Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol.II.
88. Abhidhāna Cintamani, p.9, Sloka 25, Devakānda.
90. Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, p.79.
93. I.H.Q. Vol.XX, p.245.
96. Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol.III, Part II, p.338. The author of this inscription may be identified with the author of the temple inscription of Anantavāsudeva of Bhubaneswara who lived in the time of Narasingha I of the Imperial Ganga dynasty.