The Bhaumas ruled the country of Tosali from the first half of the 8th to the 1st half of the 10th century A.D. Their capital was situated at Guhesvara Pataka which is identified with a place not far from the modern Jajpur or the Virajā Kṣetra. The Bhaumas, towards the close of their rule, adopted Vaiṣṇavism as their state-religion. They were succeeded by the Somavamsi kings who came from Daksīna Kośala during the time of Mahāsivagupta Yajātī II. He was so noble and powerful that in his Sonepur grant he was highly praised by his court-poet. Karnāta-Lātā-Gurjēsvara-Dāhajvara, Kānōṭi-Kalāpābharana-lampataḥ, Kalinga-Kongadotkala-Kōśala-svayamvaraḥ, Prasiddha-Gauda-Rādhamāvāra-Prakarsapotchata-māruta Sitāmśu-Vamsa-Vimalamāvāra-Furnacandrāra, Svahujopārjita-Trikalingādhipati-Parama maheśvara-Sīri Mahābhavagupta-Padanudhyāta-Paranāmēta-rajāye prasēvita-Padarvinda-Yugalaḥ-Sīri Mahāsivagupta-Sīri Yayatidevah. From the Praśasti it is evident that he defeated the kings of Karnāta, Lāta, Gurjāra, Kānōṭi, Kalinga and Utkala including Gauda and Rādha. We may infer that such a powerful king who became the possessor of enormous wealth by the conquest of the aforesaid countries, might have also constructed some temples. After the extinction of the Bhaumas, their accumulated wealth must have passed on to this king, who,
being religious minded and a follower of the Brāhmanical faith, might have utilised them for the above purpose. It was almost a convention among the rulers in those days. It is possible therefore that Yayāti used a large part of this wealth for building a temple for their (Bhaumas) Vaiṣṇavite family deity just to show respect to their religious faith accepted by them at the last part of their rule. This assumption is strengthened by an information furnished by the Mādaḷā Pāṇḍi which supports the fact that Yayāti Kesāri was the king who constructed the temple of Jagannātha.

If the identity of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II with Yayāti Kesāri of the Mādaḷā-Pāṇḍi is accepted, then the tradition recorded in the text that the latter invited many Brāhmanas from Northern India for the performance of Yajña at Jajpur, his capital town may also be accepted. The Somavamśī king Yayāti Kesāri, thus, established Brāhmanism in the city which was previously a Buddhist centre. He also started the construction of the great temple of Maheśvara at Bhubanesvara in honour of his own family-god, Maheśvara. This is also recorded in the Mādaḷā-Pāṇḍi.

Although we cannot accept every description of the Mādaḷāpāṇḍi as historical truth, we cannot, reject at the same time all its records. The constructions of the temples of Lord Purusottama at Puri and Kṛṣṭīvāsa at Bhubanesvara remain as important as anything else because of their being remembered by the people for a long time. As such the tradition that credits the king Yayāti Kesāri
as the founder of the great temples of Puri and Bhubanesvara may be given a historical value. This is supported, to some extent, by the fact that Mahāśīvagupta Yayāti II’s power and greatness are described in epigraphical records and he is remarkably eulogised.

According to the Kalidindi grant of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I, who ascended the throne in 1022-23 A.D., the king did worship Śrī Puruṣottama of Śrī Dharma. This is mentioned in the invocation of his grant which runs as follows:

Śrīdhammatḥ Puruṣottamasya
mahato Nārāyanasya Prabhore
-Nābhi- paṁjkaruhād vabhava
jagataḥ srastā svayambhūn smṛtaḥ.

From this we presume that Śrīdhama or Śrīkaṭstra (Puri), where Lord Puruṣottama was installed, attracted a king like Rāja Rāja I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, who happened to be a relation of Chodaganga, the constructor of the present temple of Jagannātha. It is thus evident that Lord Puruṣottama was honoured and worshipped in Utkala long before its conquest by Chodaganga. This corroborates our theory that it was Yayāti who really began the construction of the temple of Jagannātha, but could not complete it. It was Chodaganga who did it. We may mention, in this connection, an important event as recorded in the Mādalāpāṇji. This is known as the invasion of Raktabahu that took place 146 years before the accession of Yayati. This Raktabahu is described as a Yavana who, coming with a large cargo along the sea-route, caused a great devastation at Puri. The people fled away in terror taking the image of Jagannātha for safety to Sonepur.
This terrible invasion, according to the Panji, took place just about a century and half before Yayāti Kesārī reinstated the image in its original place, and got the title of Indradyumna II. Now we have to consider two factors which we think are absolutely necessary for the determination of the authenticity of this tradition. First, we should calculate the time when this invasion exactly took place, and secondly, to identify the Yavana king Raktaśāhu who was a terror to the worshippers of Jagannātha.

The whole story of the Raktaśāhu's invasion, as recorded in the earlier manuscripts of the Madalāpānji was available to A.S. Sterling in its unmodified form. Yayāti Kesārī of this story is to be identified with Yayāti I or Yayāti II of the Somavamsī dynasty, both of whom ruled in the 10th century A.D. Even if we suppose that the invasion of Raktaśāhu is historical, it cannot be pushed back beyond the 8th century A.D. Hunter identifies Raktatáhu's invasion with the Greek invasion of Orissa, but this is not supported by the history of Orissa. R.D. Banerji considers it to be a scythian invasion and thus thinks that the so-called Puri Kushān coins that are to-be found all over Orissa were current during the scythian period. We cannot accept these two identifications of Hunter and Banerji because of the fact that the interval period between Raktaśāhu's invasion and the rule of Yayāti Kesārī has been given as only 146 years.

On the basis of these identifications, this interval will be, not 146 years but several centuries. Besides, according to the Panji, Raktaśāhu's invasion took place during the reign of Somavamsī king Sobhanadeva, and this
Somavamsi is a mistake for Bhaumavamsi according to E.C. Panigrahi. It has also been suggested by the same scholar that the invasion of Puri by the Rastrakuta king Govinda III is nothing but Raktaṭhāhu's invasion as recorded in Madalapani. But there are no definite data which would enable us to accept Panigrahi's suggestion.

So far as the name of Raktaṭhāhu is concerned it tempts us to look to the Sāhu family of Ceylon who had contacts with the kings of Kalinga, especially the Mātharas, from a very early time. It might be that the name Raktaṭhāhu was not properly pronounced by the authors of Madalapani. But our stand is that so far as the religious matters between Kalinga and Ceylon are concerned there was not only the mutual association but perhaps there developed also some hostility on religious matters. We may presume that the king belonging to the Sāhu family of Ceylon or some man from Jāvā might have attacked Puri during the 8th century A.D. It is, however, true that no proper historical record is available to us as regards the actual time of this invasion.

Although Yayāti Keśarī II might have started the construction of the temple of Puruṣottama sometime in the early part of the 10th century A.D., the work remained incomplete for some reason or other for a long time. It is true that his successors, who might have completed the temple of Kṛṣṇitvāsa (Lingarāja) at Bhubaneswar did not pay much attention to the completion of the temple of Puruṣottama at Puri (as they were Saivas). When Anantavarman
Chodaganga undertook the incomplete work of Yayati, the Prasasti writers of the Imperial Gaṅgas took pride to say much in favour of the king. The relevant verses in the Gaṅga inscription run as follows:

Pādau yasya dharāntariksamakhilam nābhistu sarvādiṣaḥ
Śrotre netrayugam ravinduyugalam mūrdhāpičha dyaurasyau
Prāśadam puruṣottamasya nrpatiḥ konāma karttum kṣyamaḥ.

Tasyetyādyanarpaipairupaksitamayam cakredhā Gangesvaraḥ

"What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a God as Purusottama? Whose feet are the three worlds, whose navel is the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and the moon, and whose head the heaven (above)? This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings was fulfilled by Gangeswara. Here is also a reference to the construction of a temple of Lakṣmī by the same monarch (cf. V.28 of the Prasasti).

We find here, for the first time, in the epigraphical records a description of Puruṣottama, the Lord of the three worlds regarding his universal nature of Visvarūpa as depicted in the Bhagavad Gītā. Of course we find before this in literature a description of Jagannātha as the Lord of the world. The first mention of Jagannātha as the manifestation of the Buddha is found in the work, 'Jhanasiddhi' of Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna, who was the founder of the Vajrayāna system of Buddhism. The author begins this work after offering his obeisance to Jagannātha Buddha.
Pranipatya Jagannātha Sarvajñamañarëvitara
Sarva Buddhamayam siddhiyāpinam Gaganopamam
Jagannātha propitiated by Indrabhūti in the beginning of his work can be identified with Jagannātha of Puri for various reasons. This is advocated by K.N. Mohapatra in the *O.H.R.J.* Vol. III, No. 1, p. 7.

From the life-history of Chodaganga it is revealed that he possessed as many as ninety-nine thousand elephants, that he ruled the country extending from the Ganges in the north as far as the Godavari in the south, that he defeated the kings of Utkala and Vengi where he erected two pillars of victory each decorated with a garland-like necklace of the goddess, Śrī, symbolising the glory of his great victory, that he conquered the country of Mandāra in Gaudā, and that he was engaged for a long time in war with the Chedis of Ratnapur. Thus he acquired a large amount of wealth which was carried, according to a popular tradition on the back of his war-elephants and was poured into a well, which was dug in the premises of the present temple of Jagannātha which is still called by the name ‘Suna kuan’ (the gold well). When the well was filled to the brim the temple work was started. According to the *Mādalapāṇī*, the *suna kuan* was excavated by Anaṅgabhīmadeva.

R.L. Mitra quotes a verse, giving the credit of the construction of the temple to Anaṅgabhīmadeva III.

Śakabde randhrasubhramshurūpanakṣetranāyake
Prasādam kārayāmaśa anaṅgabhīmena dhimātā.

It means that in the Saka year 1119 or A.D. 1197, the temple was constructed by the king Anaṅgabhīmadeva. Most probably it was copied from a traditional account found in
the Cāmpukavya "Gangavamsāmīcharitam" written by Vāsudeva Ratha of the 18th century A.D. In that kavya, there is this verse:

\[
\text{Aṅka kṣauni śaśāṅkendusamīte śakavatsare}
\]

\[
\text{Anangabhīmadevena prāsādah śrī-pateh krītah.}
\]

The same tradition got its infiltration into Madalānī, where we find it recorded that Anangabhīmadeva constructed the temple.

In the face of clear evidence from epigraphical sources regarding the construction of the temple by Chodaganga, it is surprising that Madalānī and a few other later texts transferred the credit of building the temple to Anangabhīma or Aniyāṅkabhīma III of 1211 A.D. In this connection, Pandit S.N. Rajguru says that according to the Nagari copper plate grant of Anangabhīmadeva III of 1230 A.D. a temple of Jagannātha was built at Varanasi-Kataka or the modern Cuttack by that king. Perhaps, the compiler of Madalānī confused that temple of Varanasi-Kataka with the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri (also the view of Dr. D.C. Sircar) and that the story was subsequently passed into a popular lore. We fully agree with the view of the scholars who remark that at the end of Chodaganga’s prolonged war with the Kaluchuris and Chedis and after his suppression of the rebellion which took place in the border area of his kingdom in or about 1135 A.D., he devoted his attention to the construction of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. This fact is mentioned for the first time in the Dasagoba copper plates of his grand son Rajarājadeva II (1170-1193 A.D.).
Now the question is whether Purusottama, a deity was known from a much earlier time. It is true that in many of the grants of the early medieval period issued to Brähmanas in Kalinga, Tosali, Dakṣina Kośala and other neighbouring states we do not find any reference to the deity. But Purusottama is mentioned in a copper plate grant discovered at the village of Maihar (Satna district, M.P.) situated far from the orbit of these regions. The date of this grant has been assigned by D.C. Sircar as middle of the 10th century A.D. on paleographical grounds. It contains the following verse.

Samudra majjanāṃśumodresu Purusottamam

Drstvā tāvantēke bhuyah purāgaechatyayam śisuh

The last stanza of this section (verse 35) puts the following words in Brahaspati's mouth. "Verily, this child will again come back to you as a result of being drowned in (the waters of) the sea after having seen Purusottama in the Odra country". The reference here is to the God Purusottama Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa.

The above epigraphical record shows that Purusottama of Odradesa was so famous that it attracted many people from Madhyapadesa. There is possibly a much earlier reference to Purusottama (Jagannātha?) in the Kailan copper-plate of Sridhārana Raṣṭa, the chief of Samatā (S.E. Bengal). The chief who was a parama Vaishnava mentions Bhagavan Purusottama, the creator, preservor and destroyer. The record has been dated by Sircar in the second half of the seventh century A.D. But as there is no reference to Odra in it, one may not be quite sure about its identity with Purusottama.
Jagannātha of Puri (it may simply designate Viśnu).

But the Bārhaspatya Sūtram of about the same period undoubtedly refers to the Puruṣottama Kṣetra of Puri. We are tempted to quote here some of the lines from the said Kailan copper plate grant to elucidate our point. The relevant verse runs as follows.

"Viditamastu vo nirupamagnagunaghāalini
Jagadudayasthitinirdha vividha prapancadhāmani
vibudhasattamā śatamakha śatrusatanavyaśāna
vilasitāyatan Dhagavati Puruṣottame paramayā
vinivesitāsaśraddhaya "

It means "with due respect and devotion to Lord Puruṣottama having accomplished with all virtues who can not be compared with any one since none possesses all these qualities (virtues) responsible for the creation, protection and destruction of the universe always engaged in subduing the enemies of Indra". I am indebted to Dr. D.C. Sircar for these two references - Maihar and Kailan copper plate inscriptions.

The Bārhaspatyasūtram which mentions the Puruṣottama Kṣetra among other sacred Vaiṣṇava kṣetras gives the exact distance of the same from the famous place Svāraka (Dvārakadī Puruṣottama śālagrāmanta saptasata yojana). From Dvāraka as far as Puruṣottama and the śālagrām is a distance of seven hundred yojanas. Dr. F.W. Thomas has attributed these sūtras to the sixth or seventh century A.D.

In the plates of Dandi Mahādevi who lived in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. it is mentioned that she donated some lands in favour of Bhaṭṭaputra Puruṣottama.
of Kasyapa Gotra. She also granted the village known as Rasambha in Kôngadamandala. This Rasambha has been identified with modern Rambha of the Puri district by Pandit Vinayaka Mishra. Another name of a poet called Bhatta Purusottama is also found in the Brahmesvara temple inscription at Bhubaneswar which was inscribed in the third regnal year of Udyota-Kesari of the 11th century A.D. But the earliest inscription so far known to us in this family where the donee's name is recorded as Purusottama is the Neulpur plate of Subhakaradeva I who was a Paramasaugata, but who granted lands in favour of as many as one hundred Brahmanas. In the long list of the grantees mentioned in the inscription there are four persons bearing the name of Purusottama, three persons bearing the name of Balabhadra, and one person of the name Baladhara. Since the said copper plate is attributed to the later part of the 8th century A.D., we have every reason to believe that Purusottama and Balabhadra were popular deities of this locality, after whom a brāhmaṇa father named his son as Purusottama or Balabhadra. It is, therefore, clear that towards the later part of the 7th century A.D., the deities of Purusottama and Balabhadra were popular, and as we have stated before, they were probably installed in a sacred place on the sea-shore.

To corroborate the above statement we now turn our attention to ancient Sanskrit Literature and other works. In the Sanskrit drama "Anargharāghava" of Murāri the Prastāvana verse is devoted to Puruṣottama. It is stated that the drama was dedicated to the god Puruṣottama during the sacred occasion of his car festival. According to Dr. S.K.De and S.N.Dasgupta, the drama was written some
time towards the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Therefore, the epigraphical record of naming some Brahmans as Purusottama or Balabhadra is endorsed by the above-mentioned literary evidence. The drama not only refers to the deity Purusottama but also to his Car Festival.

Nândyante Sūtradhārah : - Alamātivistarena.
Bho bho Lavanoda - velā - vanāli tamālataru
kandalasya tribhuvanamauli-mandana-mahānīlamanēḥ
Kamalā-kuca-kalasa-keli-kastūrikā-patránkurasya
Bhagavataḥ Purusottamasya yātrāyām upasthāniyā
sabhāsadaḥ.

In another Sanskrit drama known as "Prabodhacandrodaya" written by Kṛṣṇa Miśra, the court-poet of the Chandella king Kīrtivarman (1041-1070), mention is made of the Devāyatana of the God Purusottama. It is no other God than Purusottama-Jagannātha of Puri, and the word devāyatana as referred to in this drama, suggests that a temple of Purusottama was existing before a new temple was started by Yayāti and later on completed by Chodaganga. The exact position, however, of that old temple situated on the sea-shore cannot be ascertained.

Besides this, mention of Jagannātha is also made in Tantric works of the 10th & 11th centuries. Thus in Rudrayāmala, a Tantric work, we find a reference to Jagannātha. The date of this Tantra has not yet been finally fixed by the scholars; yet the date of another Tantric work, viz. Brahmayāmala in which the aforesaid Tantra, Rudrayāmala, is mentioned, has become known to us.
This Brahmayamala, the manuscript of which has been preserved in the Darbar Library of Nepal, was copied out in 1052 A.D. So the Tantric work, Rudrayamala, must have been written some years before 1052 A.D. and as such it may tentatively be assigned to a period from 950 to 1000 A.D., and as it is earlier than Brahmayamala it must have been compiled some time before 950 A.D. This date for Rudrayamala is corroborated from the fact that a portion of it was commented upon by Mahāmaheśvarāchārya Abhinaba Gupta, who lived in the later half of the 10th century A.D. The glory of Jagannātha is described at two places in this famous Tantric work.

The "Tantrayamala" and the "Kālikā Purāṇa" also describe the Dārurūpi Jagannātha as the presiding deity of the Puruṣottama Kṣetra in Utkala. Kālikā Purāṇa goes as far as to say that Jagannātha is the supreme deity of Udra Desa.

(a) Bhārata cokaledeśe bhūsvarge Puruṣottama
Dārurūpi Jagannāthah bhaktānāmabhayapradah.

(b) Jagannātham odreṣam ca prapūjayet.

The partially published Pujaripali Inscription of one Gopāla Deva of the Naga family gives a list of holy places, in this list we find the name of Puruṣottama.

This inscription has been attributed to the eleventh century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. In the Boramdeo temple there is another inscription of the reign of Gopāla Deva bearing a date in the Kalachuri era 840 (1088 A.D.) This is perhaps one of the earlier references to Purusottama Ksetra in the epigraphical records so far discovered according to Pandit K.N. Mohapatra.
But as we have already said, it is in the Kalian copper plate grant of Śrīdhārana Rāta we get the earliest reference to Purusottama. The Kalidindi grant also refers to Śrīkāśāma as well as Purusottama (1031 A.D.).

In Satananda's Ṛṣirāja we find that the author, son of Saṅkara and Sarasvatī, was a resident of Puri and finished this work in Kaliyuga year 4100 or 1100 A.D. at this sacred place of Purusottama.

The next references to Purusottama Kṣetra are to be found in the Nagpur stone inscription of the rulers of Malvā of the Vikramayear 1161 or 1104 A.D.

Kṛtya Kalpataru, a text on Dharma śāstra of 1110 A.D., also mentions the Purusottama Dhāma.

While discussing the Govindapur Stone inscription of the poet Gāṅgādhara, Kṛṣṇhorn says that Manoratha, the father of Gāṅgādhara, came on pilgrimage to Pūruṣottama in Circa 1120 A.D. All these literary and historical evidences show that the Dhāma or Śrīkṣetra with the God Purusottama was well-known in Pre-Gaṅga period and even much earlier.

After arriving at the conclusion that the deities Purusottama and Balaśadra were worshipped sometime before the 7th century A.D., we have little doubt that they were regarded as the Rastradāvataś of Koṅgoda and Tōsallā which were, by that time, taken up by the Bhaumas, who, towards the later part of their rule, embraced Vaiṣṇavism. At the same time, the Vajrayāna School of Buddhism was quite popular in this tract because a large number of Buddhist images have been discovered here. Moreover, the existence
of one "64 Yoginī-Pithā" at Hirāpur near Bhubaneswar and the other at Surāḍā in Ganjam district (Orissa) and the third at Rāṇipura Jhariā at Bolangir district gives a clear evidence of the prevalence of the Tantric form of religion in this part of Orissa. The Vārahī temple at Chāurasī near Kākatpur (Puri district) and the Vaitala Deula at Bhubaneswar—apart from the old Virajā temple at Jāipur in Cuttack district, further substantiate this fact. The Vajrayānists used to worship different gods and goddesses some of which were from the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. So we may infer that it was the time when attempt was made as to the assimilation between Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism. The Bhaumakaras were mainly responsible for the introduction of this idea probably to maintain peace and tranquility in their kingdom. There, they were perturbed by the influence of Saivism and the religious campaign started by Śaṅkaraśārya. Towards the end of the reigning period of Subhakara II, who was a Paramasaugata, many Brāhmans assembled in his court to whom he granted lands liberally.

About this time, a new title, Paramavaīṣṇava, was introduced in the Bhaumakara dynasty and Subhakara's mother, Tribhuvana Mahādevī, used that title. It is curious to note, in this connection, that a stone sculpture of about the 8th or 9th century A.D. depicts the scene of three images on a bullock cart and being dragged by people. The said sculpture is now preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar. These three images on the bullock cart may be taken to be three gods, having been worshipped by the Bhaumas who were the sovereign rulers of that period and who had embraced
Buddhism. It is probable that as the spiritual preceptors of the Bhaumas interpreted these rastra-devatas, Purusottama and Balabhadra together with the goddess Śāmbhesvari, as the gods and goddesses derived from the Buddhist pantheon, the Brāhmans in their part, took these deities as the Trimūrti in accordance with the descriptions of the Bhagavata Purāṇa as Kṛṣṇa, Balarama and Subhadra. Their association with the divine cakra is well represented in a passage found in the copper-plate grant of Nettabhanja-deva. In that inscription we come across the following passage.

"Purusottamacakrarratiṣṭhāvan"

Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, who edited this inscription, suggested that the deity might have been installed in the kingdom of the Bhañas and worshipped as their own family deity. It is also supported from the inscription of Śatrubhanja of the 48 Bhauma era 198 (934 A.D.) where Śatrubhanja is described as granting lands on the occasion of a Vaiṣṇava ceremony, the Utthāna Dwādasī, (Viṣṇu rising from sleep). It is a clear indication that the Bhañas embraced Vaiṣṇavism of the Śrī Sampradāya (sect) which was popular in South India and Kalinga. From all these accounts we conclude that Vaiṣṇavism developed through the mingling of the Buddhist Tantric Cult, and the Śrī Cult was associated with the symbolised images of Purusottama, Balabhadra and Subhadra.

We shall now turn our attention to the time of Chodaganga who built the temple at Puri some time after 1112 A.D. This was immediately after the amalgamation of the kingdom of the Somavamśi kings with Kalinga. For the first time he used the title of Paramavaīṣṇava in 1118 A.D.
The epithet Paramamahesvara as ascribed to him, was used by his ancestors ever since they established their kingdom in Kalinga after the Mātharas. It proves that the Gaghas were originally the believers of Śaivism till the time of Chodaganga who embraced Vaisnavism as well as Śaivism. His capital was at Mukhalingam (Kalinganagara) where he ruled up to 1111 A.D. or 1112 A.D. Afterwards he shifted his capital to a place near the modern Cuttack and ruled from there till 1147 A.D. It was during this period that Vaisnavism was taking a new shape in Kalinga.

In the south, at about this time, the philosophy of Visista-dvaitavāda was being propagated by the Śrī-Vaisnava teachers like Rāmānuja and others. Chodaganga having close connections with Cholas and Chālukyas of the south naturally felt inclined to the South Indian Śrī-Vaisnavism and his ministers and advisers also influenced him in this direction. He was thus a follower of Śaivism before his conquest of Utkala, and towards the latter part of his reign he adopted Vaisnavism. We may refer in this connection, a stone inscription of the Gartesvara temple in the village of Algum of the Puri district. It records that a brahmin named Kāmāndi was, as Disampati, attached to some religious institution and he used both the titles of Paramamahesvara and Paramavaisnava like Chodaganga and made some endowments in favour of the Lord Gartesvara in 1136 A.D. He belonged to the Chola country and was an inhabitant of a village named Kādambara. That was the time when Rāmānuja's philosophy threw a new light on the religious history of Vaisnavism.
During that period of resurrection, a king like Chodaganga did not fail to devote his wealth and time in the popularisation of the teachings of these philosophers of South India. This attempt of propagating the Neo-Vaisnavism in Orissa resulted in the worship of the Vaisnavite deities in the Buddhist Tantric way with an admixture of the Brähmanical ritualism. The details regarding the fundamentals of these different systems of Vaisnavism will be discussed in the chapter on theology.

Chodaganga, as a monarch and a patron of religion, saved Utkal from heterogenous and conflicting theories relating to the worship of this God, Purusottama, who happened to be an object of contest between the Śramanas and Brähmanas. He fully realised that for his country a fresh danger became imminent in the form of a Muslim invasion from the north-eastern region. He thus created some harmony between the Buddhists and the Brähmanas in the greater interest of the country. Perhaps his stern administration with equal emphasis on religion and politics made Orissa such a strong country that it could not be captured for a consecutive period of three hundred years. He was not only a popular king among the Hindus, but was also regarded as a mighty ruler by the Buddhist kings of Ceylon. The Mahāvamsa gives us a description of his visit to Ceylon and also some matrimonial alliance between the Buddhist kings of Ceylon and the royal family of Kalinga. His son, Kāmārṇava, is said to have visited Ceylon. The friendship of the Ganga kings of Orissa with the Buddhist kings of Ceylon was possible because of some religious understanding between...
the Buddhists and the Hindus.

Chodaganga's son, Kāmārṇava, was anointed as Yuvarāja during the life-time of his father in Saka 1064 at the temple of Sarvalokākānātha, i.e., Jagannātha. The relevant verse of the Ganga Inscription runs as follows:

Viśvaśudra pramitaśakāśām bāh prāptakālaśedineśe
Cāpastena grhaudhe tālavitiripuśu prākṣayam prājaśtu.
Asmin mūrdhābhisikte na puratanaśe sarvalokākānāthe
Śrīmat kāmārṇaveseṣa-jagatyabhavādīdam tattādānanda-pūrṇam.

If this Sarvalokākānātha is the same as Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri, we can then infer that in the year 1142 A.D. the deities were installed in the temple which was constructed by Kāmārṇava's father, Chodaganga. Thus we may conclude that the present temple of Jagannātha at Puri which might have been started by Yayāti II in the middle of the 10th century A.D., remained incomplete or partially completed up to about 1113 A.D., when Chodaganga took up the work and completed it sometime before 1142 A.D., so that his son could be anointed as Yuvarāja in that sacred place.

After the completion of the temple, Puri attained religious importance throughout India. A king of Pundravardhana (Bengal) named Bhojavarmadeva records in one of his grants, the greatness of the divine Lord Puruṣottama in this manner:

Itīyam gunagāthābhīstūṣṭa vah Puruṣottamaḥ
Majjyanniva vāg Brahma-maya-nanda-mahodadhau.

Majumdar gives the following reading of the verse:

"By such eulogistic verses Puruṣottama was extolled by him, making him plunge into the great ocean, namely that of bliss, emanating from Brahman who is the same as speech."
By completing the construction of the present temple of Jagannātha, Chodaganga served two purposes - religious and political. He won the heart of the people of Kalinga by constructing the temple for their Rāstradevatās, the work which remained neglected by the previous rulers. He also invited religious perceptors and reformers from the South through whom he conducted a great reorientation for the religious activities of this locality. It is quite probable that during this time the Brāhmanas and the Buddhists of north-eastern India, troubled by the Muslim invaders, preferred to take shelter in this land. We may also assume that Orissa, which was not so much over-run by the Muslims like Cauda and Rādha, became the abode of shelter for the unfortunate refugees from these places. In the eyes of the Hindus and the Buddhists of that period, Puri attained therefore, the status of Jerusalem in Eastern India. So innumerable literary works in praise of Purusottama Dhāma and Jagannātha were composed, and Puri came to be considered in literature, as one of the four important Dhāmas (Holy places) of India located in its four extreme corners. The epithet natha signifies Jagannātha at Puri (East India), Rāmanātha in the extreme south of Indian Peninsula, Dwārkaṇātha in Gujarat and Badrīnātha on the Himalayas. By this also Puri assumed greater importance over other places.

Towards the end of the 12th century A.D., the political condition of northern and eastern India was suddenly changed due to Mohammedan invasions. At the first the Mohammedans entered into India as raiders and towards the
beginning of the 13th century they appeared as conquerors. One Iktiaruddin Baktayar Khilizi penetrated into the heart of Gauda, and established his supremacy there. That was the period when the Brāhmanical religion had to face a great crisis and confusion prevailed not only in Gauda and Magadha, but also in some regions beyond the Vindhya range of mountains as hinted in the Chateswara inscriptions of the time of Anangabhīmadeva III. Many refugees, especially the Hindus, took shelter under the protection of the Gajapati kings of Orissa. Chodaganga's grand-son, Rāja Rāja III, was one of the kings of the Imperial Gangas who strongly defended the first Mohammedan invasion from Bengal. From the Mohammedan historians we learn that the Seron brothers once attempted to raid the northern parts of Orissa, but this attempt was frustrated by Rāja Raja III. It is further known from inscriptive evidence that Rāja Raja engaged himself to suppress the Chedis who were troubling the imperial Gangas since the time of Chodaganga. He also successfully annihilated the armies of the Mohammedans with the help of his able and strong commanders, viz. Viṣṇu and Monkana Chomanātha.

After Rāja-Rāja III, the Mohammedan aggression however, did not cease. This time the Mohammedans have had a very strong army from Gauda to fight against the king of Utkal, but Aniaṅkabhīma III, who was a shrewd and strong monarch, did not allow them even to begin their march from the fort of Lakṣmīnāvati, while his son Narasinha I took an aggressive policy to capture that fort of Lakṣmīnanavati through his own army headed by his brother-in-law, Parmārdeva. This time the Mohammedans were such overpowered
that their court-historians could not but admit this fact in a somewhat mild tone. Thereafter, a lull fell in for some time which enabled the Ganga Prince Anangabhāmadeva III to devote his attention for the reorganisation of the temple of Jagannātha. Probably, this is the reason why in the Mādalāpāṇī he is regarded as the builder of the temple of Jagannātha. From his Nagari copper-plate inscription we learn that he built a temple of Jagannātha in the city of Vārānasi Kātaka. After this he might have devoted his time in reorganising the temple administration at Puri, the fact which has been elaborately described in Mādalāpāṇī.

So far as our knowledge goes, it was this king who regarded Purusottama as the real Emperor, himself being his representative. Therefore, in some of his inscriptions in the Pātaleśvarā temple at Puri, the Śrāhī year of Puruṣottama is given instead of his own. Being misled by this, some scholars concluded that Puruṣottama was the second name of Aniyaṅkabhāmadeva. His successors continued the same practice of using the Śrāhī year of Puruṣottama. So, it is quite clear that the king Aniyaṅkabhāma III regarded the deity Puruṣottama as the supreme lord and protector of his countries Kalinga and Utkala. Our theory about Puruṣottama-Jagannātha as the Rāstradevatā is well established by this practice of some of the rulers of Utkala. He reigned from 1211–1212 A.D. to 1238–39 A.D. During this period, a Muslim king named Ghiyasuddin Iwaz, invaded Jajanagar. According to the Tabakat-i-Nasiri, Ghiyasuddin used to collect some tribute from the kings of Jajanagar, Bengal, Kāmarup and Trihut. But from epigraphical sources we come to know that
the Ganga kings took some aggressive action against the Muslim (Yavana) kings of Bengal. Thus, the above statement, as given in the Tabakat-i-Nasiri, is not reliable because though Ghiyasuddin invaded Orissa twice, i.e. in 1211 and 1224 A.D., Rājarāja III and his son Anangabhīma Deva II claimed that they defeated the kings of Laks̲manavati several times.

Like Chodagangā, he also used the title of Paramavaśī, Paramamāheśvara and Paramabhattāraka. Further, he used some new titles like Durgāputra, Śrī Purusottampatputra and Rudraputra. These titles supply some clue to our theory regarding the installation of the three deities at different places in early medieval age in Orissa. Unless we hold that these three presiding deities of Puri were regarded as the family gods and goddesses, viz. Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā (Sakti), it is not possible to explain the expression, made in a stone inscription of Draksāram in the east Godavari district where the above new titles of Anangabhīma III have been used (S.I.I., Vol.IV, No.1329, p.467). The above-mentioned inscription was made in 8th Srahi or the Anka year of Aniyānabhināmadeva II and its date is equivalent to 1229 A.D.

He (Anangabhīma III) being a devout worshipper of Purusottama, Durgā and Balabhadra, probably used to offer his puja before these deities for which he constructed another temple in his capital town at Vārānasī-kataka or Abhinava Vārānasī. This town is identified with the modern Cuttack and is situated at a distance of about 57 miles from Puri.
The worship of Purusottama along with Balabhadra and Subhadra by the king and his successors gave rise to a separate cult afterwards.

So far as the Imperial Ganges of Orissa are concerned Aniyanka Abhima III intensified the worship of Jagannatha in Orissa more than the previous kings. We, however, learn from the epigraphical records of some Bhanja kings that Sri Vaisnavism was accepted by them. Purusottama including his main weapon cakra or chakranarayana, was also adopted from about this time, which is evident from the Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhanjadeva. We will discuss this aspect in the chapter on theology. It will suffice here to suggest that the cult of Purusottama was not limited to the precincts of the coastal districts of Orissa, but spread over to a vast area.

According to the Madalapanji, Anangabhimadeva established the temple-administration in a very systematic way. He prescribed for the first time 36 type of duties to the sevaka known as the chatisanivogo. This system of niyogas was perhaps in vogue in the Royal palaces of Orissa.

The Pana-system which was created in his time is almost parallel to the Missionary organisation of the 19th century during the British regime. The main function of the pandas was not only to preach religion among the people, but also to render diplomatic service to the state as well as the king. Besides, the economic development of the temple thrived through the agency of this organisation. The pandas and their servants performed a double role. They assisted the
king by secretly gathering information about the movement of the enemies, while they spared no pain to attract pilgrims to visit Śrīksetra. During this time many rituals including the famous car festival and Netrodhava were performed with great pomp and grandeur, and the offering to the deities in the form of mahāprasāda was placed for sale to the pilgrims in grand scale.

The credit for this wonderful organisation goes to Anangabhīma Deva III. This king is popularly known as Anangabhīm Deva III but in inscriptions he is styled as Aniyānkhabhīma III. This king might have also completed some structures attached to the main shrine which were left incomplete during the time of Chodaganga. If, in this connection, we give any credence to the Mādalāpanji for its statement that in the 15th regnal year of the king Aniyānkhabhīma III, the 10th tithi, of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, Thursday, was the precise date of consecration of the temple and the installation of the deities in it, then we have to suggest that he might have also made some additional improvements in the main temple, namely, the Jagamohan as well as some adjoining parts. The date which is given above corresponds to the 1st March, Thursday 1235 A.D. According to Swami Kānu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris (Vol.IV, p.72) this consecration ceremony took place at about the mid-day when the 10th tithi ended and the 11th tithi of Ekādāṣi commenced. According to the above work, the 10th tithi ended at about 11.30 A.M. on that day. So the statement as found in Mādalāpanji can not be rejected so far as the date of the construction of the additional part of the temple is concerned. He also granted some villages in favour of the deity and the Brāhmaṇas who
settled in the districts of Puri and Cuttack.

Nowhere in the main temple of Purusottama we find the trace of any inscription relating to charities of the Imperial Gangas, as it was not the Hindu convention of that time. Thus the Imperial Gangas did not leave any trace of their Dharmakirti in temples built by them. But in the case of other temples which were not built by them, the above restriction was not followed. Therefore, in the temple of Krittivasa of Lingaraja at Bhuwaneswar we get inscriptions bearing the names of Chodaganga and some of his successors. Similarly there are records of the time of Chodaganga and Aniyakhabhimma III inscribed on the temples of Nrisingha and Patalesvara respectively, which are within the precincts of the Jagannatha temple at Puri. In the Narasimha temple, the inscription on its gate discloses that in the 58th anka year or Saha of Chodaganga (A.D.1132), some akhanda-dipa or 'perpetual lamps' were endowded in the Purusottama-Dhama in favour of the deity by the grant of a village called Mala. This village (Mala) may be identified with the modern Malud, a small island in the Chilika lake. He was not only an accomplished ruler but also a great administrator and a staunch follower of Vaisnavism. He anticipated trouble from the Mohammedan conquerors of Bengal, while he found that on the west and the south the kingdom was surrounded by Hindu kings, namely, the Chalukyas and the Chedis. So, he made a proclamation declaring that the countries of Kalinga and Utkal, which extended from the Hooghly in the east upto the Godavari in the south, were donated to and left under the protection of the Supreme Lord of the universe,
PuruṣottamaJagannātha. Thereafter, he used the Śrāhi in the name of Puruṣottama instead of using his own. He acted as the representative or deputy of the divine Lord in the affairs of running the day-to-day administration of the kingdom. This pious declaration created a tremendous impact on the minds of many Hindu kings, previously hostile to the Gangas. A popular belief of the Hindu kings was that the God's kingdom, Kalinga and Utkal, were invincible and divinely protected. This religious belief acted as a psychological strength in the protection of the country from the southern and western quarters, while the eastern side remained open to aggression. There lived the Muslim kings of Gauda. This side was well defended by the concentration of the entire royal force of Utkal and Kalinga.

From epigraphical sources we know that Anangabhīma Deva inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chedis of Tumhāna through one of his commandants called Visnu. The Prāṣasti writer describes Viṣṇu, the commandant, as none but Lord Visnu himself who threatened the Chedi king (Śiśupāla) by appearing on all his sides. Here the commandant, Viṣṇu, became a terror to the Chedi king of Tumhāna at war. The relevant verse runs as follows:

\[ \text{Vindhyādreradhi śimabhīmatatīnīkujantaṭeambhonidheh} \]
\[ \text{Viṣṇu visnu rasāvitibhramavasācevediśah paśyataḥ} \]
\[ \text{Yogābhīṣapariśramena nātathā vaikāhānāsānāmidam} \]
\[ \text{Viśvam viṣnumayam yathāparinatam tuḥmānāpṛthvīpateh.} \]

This suggests that the Gajapati kings of Orissa and their prāṣasti writers propagated the idea that the Lord Viṣṇu used to take an active part even in the battle field whenever any danger threatened the country. This impression
however, made the Hindu world believe that the country of Utkala was under the direct control of the divine Lord Visnu, alias Purusottam, and as such, this could not be invaded but respected and protected from aggression. Apparently it formed a bulwark for the political integration of the country.

Towards the close of the 13th century A.D., in the time of Narasimha II (1278-1309 A.D.), a great poet and philosopher named Narahari Tirtha came to Kalinga and lived at Šrīkūrma Kṣetra which was a centre of Vaisnavism in Kalinga. He lived there as the preceptor of the king of Utkal. According to the tradition he had to run the administration of Kalinga on behalf of the minor king of Orissa (Narasimhadeva) who subsequently became his disciple. In one of the inscriptions of Šrīkūrma of the Saka year 1215 (A.D. 1293), Narahari Tirtha's name is recorded. He propagated the Mādhva system of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa as directed by his guru Ānandatīrtha. Bhāndarkar says that Naraharitīrtha was sent to Jagannātha to bring the original idols of Rāma and Sītā. From the above mentioned inscription of Šrīkūrma, we learn that he constructed a temple there and installed the image of Yogānanda Narasimha in the year 1281 A.D. The temple of Šrīkūrma was considered as not only a seat of Vaiṣṇavism, but also as the Gurupītha of the Ganga kings of Utkala. The Ārāñakas of this temple are the followers of the Rāmānuja School of Vaiṣṇavism.

Anāṅgabhīma III's daughter, Cāndrikā, who married Paramārdi Deva of the Haihaya dynasty, constructed the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhubanesvaram in commemoration of her
hero-husband who ended his life in a war against the Muslim kings of Gauda. In that temple she installed the images of Hali, Krishna and another Goddess Ekānāma, whose names are found in the inscriptions of Anant Vāsudeva temple. After Anangabhīma III, the history of Orissa was glorified by his successors, Narasimha I and Bhāru I, who also devoted their wealth and energy towards the construction of temples. The former built the temple of Konark or the Sun-God.

Narasimhadeva I, ascended the throne in 1238 A.D. He not only successfully protected the country from the Muslim aggression, but also took aggressive policy against the Mahāmedans by penetrating into the hearts of Gauda. In the copper-plate inscriptions of the imperial Gangas we get the following verse extolling his glory:

Rādhāvarendra yavani-nayānanjanāṣru
Pūrena dūravinivesita kālimāṣrīh
Tadvipralambha-karunādbutaniśtarangā
Ganāpi nūna-gajāṇa yamunādhunābhūt.

It means that the white river Ganga was blackened by the wash of the collyrium from the eyes of the yavanis or the wives of the yavanas of Rādhā and Varendra when their husbands were killed in the war-field by the king Narasimha I.

From the Muslim history, namely the Tabakat-i-Nasiri, it is found that in the time of Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, the Raī of Jajnagar (Orissa) attacked Laksnavati or the capital of Bengal in H.642 (A.D.1245). It was this king who constructed the Sun-temple at Konarka as previously stated by us. He preserved the icon of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra in his temple as Durga, Siva and Jagannātha. The worship of Durga with Madhava is a unique feature in Orissan Vaisnavism.
During this time the necessity of assimilation of three
cults Śaiva, Sākta and Vaisnava was felt intensely.

The next battle with the Mohammedans took place in
the time of Bhanudeva II (1308-1328 A.D.), when Ghiyasuddin
sent his son Ulugh Khan to attack Telingana in 1321 A.D.
While returning from the south he attacked Jajnagar in 1323 A.D.
and took away forty elephants from there. After him his
grand-son, Bhanu III, is said to have defeated a mighty king
like Firoze Tughlak of Delhi through his general Choda II.
In the *Panchādhāralā inscription*, we get the following verse
regarding Orissa's help to the Muslim king of Pāndua of
Bengal when he was attacked by Firoze, the king of Delhi. It
is interesting to note here that the Pandās of the Jagannātha
temple were the source of strength to the Gajapati kings of
Orissa in their struggle with the Muslim kings of Bengal.
They played an important part in this respect owing to their
well-organised espionage activities, and they supplied
useful information to their chiefs about the movement of
the troops of Firoze and others. They went to various
parts of India ostensibly as messengers of Jagannātha, and
at the same time spied on the activities of the enemies.
This worked well for a time, but treachery and rivalry among
the Hindus destroyed their enterprise as a result when
Firoze invaded for the second time he became successful.
One Bāli Patra of Jajnagar made himself over to the enemy.
This has been described in detail in the *Pancādhāralā inscription*.

The stable position and the sovereignty of Orissa
were greatly affected by this king of trecherous activities
of some officers under Bhanu III. The Muslims, at last, got
an opportunity to enter into the very heart of Orissa to destroy Hindu Gods and the temples. Several leaves in the Madalapāñjī contain nothing but the stories of raids by yavanās on the temple of Jagannātha. On these occasions the deities were removed to secure places. The struggle between the Hindus and the Mohammedans continued at least up to the time of the Mahrattas who established their rule in Orissa in the 18th century A.D. This country had witnessed many ups and downs of history, but the images of Jagannātha, Subhadra and Balabhadra and the lofty temple faced all atrocities and thereby survived.

The last king of the Gajapati dynasty is Nisanka Bhānu IV, who, according to Chandrakā Nātika of Kaviraj Visvanātha, the well-known author of the Śāhitya Darpana, defeated the king of Gauda in or about 14th century A.D. The verse of the above drama is quoted below. -

Aechanne gharmadhāmini prakharahayakhura
ksunaprthvirajobhir
Kṣipte naksatralakṣe nabhasi karikarodbhūta
Gangā payobhir
Jyotsnābhiḥ kīrtticandre dhavalayati
jagajjaitrayātravakāse
Gauda ksmāpāla laksmirvāraçayadacirādeva
yasābhīṣāram

The meaning of the verse runs thus. -

The military expedition was organised without delay by Lakṣmi of the king Bhānu IV against the king of Gauda. On this occasion of his conquest the solar region (or the Sun) was concealed by the particles of dust which were stirred by the hooves of the swiftly moving steeds; the sky was cast with myriads of stars as it were and by the jets of water of the Ganges thrown upon by the trunks of the elephants;
and, the world was brightened up by the moonlight of king's fame. Most probably he defeated the king Jalaluddin, who, originally a Hindu, embraced Islam and caused harassment to his Hindu subjects.

After Bhanu IV, the Imperial Ganga dynasty of Orissa became extinct and Kapileśwara of the Sūrya-VamŚ dynasty ascended the throne. He was a powerful monarch who protected the Brāhminical religion in all possible ways and marched his armies as far as to Bengal. He claims to have defeated the contemporary Muslim king of Delhi while protecting the interests of the South Indian Hindus who were ruthlessly persecuted and harassed by the Bāhāmani Sultans. In the Gopinathpur temple inscriptions of Kapileśwara, we get this description of his achievements. He is said to have defeated the kings of Karnāṭaka, Lāta, Gauda etc. and crushed the pride of the king of Delhi. This runs as follows.

Karnāṭaka Lāta simhakalavara vijayī
dvāravatītā mālavadhvamsasīlaṁ
Janghālo Gauḍamarddī bhramararvaranrpmahā
dvāstādilindra gārvah

Kapileśwara's inscriptions in the temple of Jagannātha show that the king treated the deity as the Supreme Lord of Orissa and himself as His representative. He used to bring to the notice of his Lord important facts relating to the administration of the kingdom. In his 35th regnal year he prayed to Lord Jagannātha that he may be permitted to punish some of his Sāmantas or subordinate chiefs for their rebellious activities. This is recorded in an inscription on the left side of the door-frame of the temple-gate. From this we conclude that he regarded the
Lord Jagannātha as the supreme ruler of the country. In another inscription he says, "Oh Lord Jagannātha! thou knewest everything of mine both external and internal. Whatever precious things I have, I will bestow on the Brāhmans as much as I can. He, on whom, thou pleasest to bestow this land, is mine". It shows that even for granting charities he used to take permission from God Jagannātha. Not only in the affairs of administration, but also in political matters the king Kapilāvara looked up to Lord Jagannātha for all kinds of inspirations. In another inscription of the same place we notice the following proclamation which he made before the God:

"Ajña veli heflā āmara odēsā rājye yete rājā mula, savuhen rājānku hete prati ye āpana sadācere thive, Anārta āge ha rahive. Rājāna en hite vratīya. Rājā vāhārakari tāhāra sarvāsva hari" (Oriya language)

It means that all the kings living in the kingdom of Orissa should work for the good of the (paramount) sovereign; should be virtuous by avoiding the evil path. If they act badly towards the sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their properties will be confiscated. This type of proclamation through inscription, before a deity in a temple is quite unique in the history of India.

He was not only a powerful king but also a great patron of literature and religion. A drama named Paramārtha Vijaya was composed in his name. Pandit K. N. Mohapatra, attributes this drama to 1458 A.D. Further, Pandit Mohapatra states that the victory over the Bohamani forces at Devarkonda
in 1458 A.D. is a unique achievement for Kapilendra Deva, which made him the undisputed master of the whole of Telengana. This drama was written in commemoration of his great victory over the Muslim forces of the Deccan. At about 1458 A.D. he rose to the zenith of his power and prosperity. In this drama, Parasarāma vijaya, the deities of the Jagannātha temple are highly spoken of. The relevant verse runs as follows:

Rāmam Śrī Puruṣottamam Bhagvatīmasmin Subhadramatathā
Ratnālam-krārādhirājītatanum bhaktyāyamasthāpayat
Bhaktosyām tritayam navamtrijagati cintāmani-nām trayam
Prāsade ca samudgakā vinihitam kim madhyama viṣṭape

Here the deities are described as cintamoni, the wish-giving jewels. It signifies as if the temple is a casket in which the deities, as jewels are preserved.

From the above mentioned drama we further know that even in the 15th century A.D. the goddess Subhadra was treated as Bhagavatī Durgā. These deities were installed by the king in a temple constructed by one Gopināth Mohāpatra who was a minister of Kapileśvardeva, who fought successfully on behalf of his king against Gauda and other countries. In commemoration of his victory over Gauda he constructed a temple in his village which was named after him and which village is in the district of Cuttack. He also constructed another temple called Gundichabadi in the same village. At present these structures have disappeared and no trace of the same is left. The drama is said to have been staged in the temple of Jagannātha. Its five invocation verses are dedicated to four gods and one goddess; namely - 1. Viṣṇu, 2. Puruṣottama, 3. Rukmiṇī, 4. Śrīkṛṣṇa and 5. Śiva. It proves that he was not only a Vaisnava but also an admirer of Śiva. The fourth
Invocation verse also leads us to conclude that the Radha cult was not in his time popular in Orissa. We are tempted here to show how the powerful king, Kapileśwara is compared in this drama with the great epic hero, Parasūrāma, who wiped out the turbulent ksatriyas from the world.

"Nisāpakaḥ pāṅkamagnākhiladharaṇītaloddhārabhūbhārasamghah
Svacchandaṃ mleccha-vṛndam prati-jagatikalera-jayabhāgye
api kalki
Bhāsavadvama-avatamsaḥ śri jaga-dahipateṇa Nīlisailādhinātha
Syādeḥ syādodhradeṣe samajani Kapilendrabhidhāno
narendrah"

The meaning of the verse is given as follows:

It means that when the world was sinking down under mud and when a civilisation was completely vanishing through the atrocities of the mlechhas, then, the king Kapilendra Deva appeared on the scene and saved the world. He saved his country Udra, and acted like the Kalki and the boar-incarnations of Visnu.

He is the first known king who recorded some gifts to the Lord Jagannātha and had some stone inscriptions on the door-frame of the "garbhagrha" in the temple. Kapilendra was thus privileged to record his activities in the shape of inscriptions in the temple. But the Gaṇga kings, in this respect, were not so privileged. In this Jagannātha temple inscriptions Kapilendra Deva used the title Navakoti Karnāta Kalavargēśvara in his family. This title assumed by the Sūryamsi Gajapatis, appears, for the first time, in the Veligalani plates of Kapilendra dated Samvat 1380 (A.D.1458).

This is according to Dr. R. Subramanyam.
According to the Madala Pani, Kapileswaradeva constructed the compound wall of the outer premises of the temple in his 15th regnal year. It also says that the king requested the divine Lord Jagannatha to order him for the selection of his successor, whereupon the Lord advised him in a dream to consecrate his illegitimate son, Purusottama, as the Yuvaraja (heir-apparent). This enraged the legitimate sons of the king. The story goes that they threw spears from a certain distance aiming at Purusottama, but their aims failed. It proved that the Lord Purusottama protected the yuvaraja Purusottama. Thereafter, the eighteen legitimate sons of the king left the capital and went to the south in search of kingdoms. Whatever truth there might be in this tradition, the general belief was probably that whenever a king had any difficulty in the affairs of administration or in any other matter, he used to pray for the mercy of the great Lord Jagannatha for their solution. According to the Pani, the Lord Jagannatha used to give, in every case, his verdict in dreams to those kings who sought for his judgment. This belief satisfied the public and the chieftains (Khandapata or the Samantas) and they had to accept this as final order of the supreme Lord Jagannatha. Thus a complete harmony and tranquility prevailed in the country through people's belief in the Lord Jagannatha.

After Kapileswara, Purusottama Deva ascended the throne. He was a great devotee of the Lord Jagannatha. It was believed that he was born in the royal family out of His mercy and was named after the Lord. People regarded him as the sole representative of the God Purusottama for which he was described as equal to the God in the following manner.
Svayam Purusottamopi Purusottamanayah
Svayam Purusottamatanoyopi Purusottamanjanakah
Svayam Purusottomajanakopi Purusottama Sevakah

These lines describe that the name Purusottama was used by several kings. This name was favoured by many kings because of their love and respect for the Lord.

Purusottamadeva is known as Durgavarakaraputra. This shows that he was a follower of Pañca devata. He came to the throne in A.D. 1467, and lavishly endowed charities in the shape of jewellery and land for the daily worship of the Lord Jagannātha. This is known to us from his inscriptions in the temple of the Jagannātha. In one of those inscriptions he (Purusottama) says, "I advise the kings of Orissa that as long as this world survives, you, the kings as well as others are to make gifts to the Brahmins with all respect and devotion. Brahmins will perform the vaiṣṇas and will not deceive anyone. Whoever will violate this advice will become a rebel against Jagannātha. He is to be considered a great sinner. A great sin is equal, in effect, to all the sins. Let all bear this in mind and work and work and work".

His confidence in the Lord Jagannātha was so deep-rooted that he proclaimed that disloyalty to Jagannātha should be taken as one of the Mahāpātakas, probably in addition to the pancha-Mahāpātakas, described in the Dharma Śāstras. It explains how he nourished a great belief and devotion in his mind towards the Lord. He was not only a worshipper and a patron of gods and the Brahmins, but also a renowned hero. He conquered many countries in southern
India and extended his empire as far as Rameswaram. A pillar of victory was caused to be erected by him near Vidyānagara (Vijayanagara). One of the copper-plate inscriptions of his son Pratāprudradeva contains a reference of it. This pillar caused terror in the minds of his rivals and probably it checked them in their aggression against the Gajapati kings.

A popular story, as recorded in the Madalāpanji, discloses that he conquered Kāṇchī and married Padmavati, the daughter of the king of Kāṇchī. The story goes to say that once the king of Kāṇchī while visiting Puri during the Car Festival, found the king of Orissa sweeping the precincts of the chariot. He despised the Orissan king for this menial work, and returned to his own kingdom without paying respect to the Lord Puruṣottama. The matter was duly reported to the king Puruṣottama, who grew wild and employed a huge army to march to Kāṇchī. He was defeated first, but in his next attempt he was helped by Lord Balabhadra and Jagannātha. The gods rode on two black and white horses in order to assist the king. The soldiers, coming to know this, fought with great enthusiasm. The story of this expedition is depicted on the walls of the Jagannātha temple (Plate 83). The episode as depicted in the plates found in Gundica temple and in Śrīkūrma temple regarding the divine participation in the battle field demoralised the enemy, and the kingdom of Kāṇchī was easily captured. The king Puruṣottama, not only brought the princess Padmāvatī as a captive, but also brought the deity of Ganesa from there who was the presiding god of Kāṇchī. This image of Ganesa, according to a popular tradition, was installed in the Jagannātha temple and is known as Bhanda Ganesa. Dr. R.
Subramanyam has tried to show the authenticity of this tradition with great care. The belief that the Lord Jagannātha and Balabhadrā always helped the kings of Orissa became so strong among the Hindus that they began to consider the kings and the Lord with all sympathy and respect. According to Dr. Subramanyam, the Kāncī Kāverī expedition of Purusottama took place in A.D. 1476-77 and it was directed against the Salva Narsimha who was then ruling over Kaṅcī. The idol of Sākhigopāl was actually carried away from Rajmahendry. This tradition is still current, and the pilgrims who come from far and near show great respect to the Gajapati kings before they enter the temple for darsāna.

Purusottamadeva was a great patron of poets and smrīti-writers. During his time, a Sanskrit work named the Abhinava Gitagovinda, was composed which, according to a local tradition, was recited along with the Gitagovinda of the renowned poet Jayadeva, in the temple of Jagannātha. It was said to have been opposed by some conservative disciples of the deity. The story goes that a few verses of the Abhinava Gitagovinda were inserted into the main Gitagovinda for the purpose of recitation. According to some this was due to the instructions of the God Jagannātha in a dream to the king.

The Oriya literature including Sanskrit kavyas and dramas thrived under the patronage of his father in whose time the first Oriya Mahābhārata was written by Sudramuni Sāralā Dasa. During this time several writers and poets came to prominence who were responsible for the foundation of a new type of literature of Orissa propagating the Bhakti cult of Vaisnavism. After Purusottama, his son Pratāparudra Deva,
ascended the throne. It was he who was responsible for the wide prevalence of Vaisnavism in Orissa. During his reign Caitanya visited the country with a band of his followers. According to Dr. R. Subramanyam Caitanya came to reside at Puri in February-March A.D. 1509 and Kasi Misra was his host. Orissa proved very receptive to his teachings. He converted many. The first to be converted was Vasudeva Sarva-Bhauma, the great Navya Nyaya scholar, patronised by the Gajapati Prataparudradeva. Then Caitanya travelled to the south and met Ramananda on the banks of the Godavari in June 1509. They had long discussions. Ramananda was a Governor under Prataparudra and was a reputed scholar and a religious man. The Caitanya Charitamrita gives us a long account of a dialogue between them, when at the command of the master, Ramananda narrated the various stages of Bhakti (Gajapatis of Orissa, p.169). Prataparudra Deva embraced the new form of Vaisnavism, and its doctrine was incorporated in the Cult of Purusottama. The vedic Brahmins of this country, failed to oppose this neo-vaisnavism although they had, at first, no real sympathy for it. The interplay of different systems of Vaisnavism and Tantricism then existing in this part of the country, actually transformed the Cult of Bhakti as an eclectic form of Vaisnavism. This reform gave enough scope to the followers of Caitanya to mould the literature accordingly. The Pañcha Sakha (the five associates) of Caitanya played an important part in this matter and preached this new religion in such a way that every corner in Orissa was influenced by it and the literature, nay, the social life of Orissa came completely under its spell.
The poet, Jayadeva, who lived long before Caitanya with his Gitagovinda won the admiration of not only the people, but also of the Gajapati king, Prataparudradeva. According to one of his inscriptions in the Jagannatha temple, it was strictly ordered not to sing any other song before the deities except the Gitagovinda. M.N. Chakravarti, while editing this inscription translates it as follows:

"On Wednesday the 10th tithi of kakadā, bright half in the 9th anka of the warrior, the elephant Lord, the king over Gauda and ninety millions of Karnata, and Kalabarga, the mighty Prataprudra Deva Maharaja orders: Dancing will be performed thus at the Bhoga time of the elder thakur Balarama and Gitagovinda Thakur i.e. Jagannatha. This dancing will be held from the end of the evening dhūpa upto the time of Baidasinger (bed time) dhūpa. The batch (of dancing girls) of Bara Thakur, the fixed female dancers of Kapileswara thakur, the old batch, the Telanga batch, all will learn no other song than Gitagovinda of Bara Thakur. They will not sing any other song. No other kind of dancing should be performed before the god. Besides the dancing, there are four Vaisnava singers: they will only sing Gitagovinda. Hearing in one tone from them, those who are ignorant will learn the Gitagovinda song; they should not learn any other song. That Superintendent who knowingly, allows other songs to be sung, and other dancings to be performed, rebels against Jagannatha" (J.A.S.B. Vol. LXII, 1898, pp. 96-97).

From this inscription we know that at the time of Prataparudra Deva there lived four classes of Vaisnavas who performed Namasankirtan during the time of Varasininghar in the temple, while four batches of dancers and musicians performed.
dance and music. These four Vaisnavas essentially represented four sampradāyas (sects) of the Vaisnavas then prevalent at Puri. Till today we find four classes of Vaisnavas performing their duties in the main temple as "Rāmānuja Panthī", "Visnuśwami Panthī", "Mādva Panthī" and "Gaudiya Panthī".

It further leads us to assume that Caitanya began to exercise his influence on Prataparudradeva from 1500 A.D., which corresponds to the 4th aṅka (regnal year) of the king. But in some texts it has been said that Caitanya came to Orissa in or about 1509-1510 A.D. So the difference of ten years needs further investigation in order to fix the precise date of Caitanya's visit to Orissa.

One important fact which can not be over-looked here is the introduction of the practice of reciting Gitagovinda before the deities in the main temple, and the sacrament nature of the song composed by the poet Jayadeva. Most probably Gitagovinda was considered to be a work of a very high standard, and it was perhaps the reason that all Vaisnavas began to immensely respect it. According to Nimbārka, Vallabhāchārya, Śrī Caitanya and many other Vaisnava Ācāryas, Rādhā and Kṛishṇa conception was a sort of dualism referring to the Bhakta and Bhagavān i.e. the devotee and the god, and nothing else.

A great personality like Jagannātha Dāsawas was born during this time. He composed the Oriya Bhāgavata to propagate the liberal Vaisnavism among the people. The style which he adopted was so simple and the philosophy which he explained through his work was so universally accepted throughout Orissa that it was daily recited and worshipped
in each house. Even at present it is still recited in almost all villages of Orissa. All these facts lead us to the conclusion that the Lord Jagannatha was taken as the central figure. He was the main pivot of that particular form of Orissan Vaisnavism. This Vaisnavism is of the bhakti school as against the Sudha^akti of Gdu^iya type.

We get the imperial accounts of the Suryavamsi Gajapati kings from the literary sources of Orissa. The Bhakti Bhagavata Mahakavyam was written by Bebahartu Mahapatra Kavi^Dindima Rajaraj^Rajguru Jibadeva Acharya in the 16th century A.D. and is said to have been composed in the military camp of Prataparudra Deva in his 17th regnal year.

Kapilendra Deva gave charities to Brähmans and bestowed jewellery in the name of Jagannatha obtaining huge wealth through the conquest of many countries. After ruling for 32 years he expired on the banks of the Krishna. His son, Purusottama succeeded him. Because of his remarkable leadership and nobility the people used to regard him as the incarnation of the god Purusottama. He, like the god Visnu, satisfied both the goddesses of wealth (Laksâmi) and learning (Sarasâvatî).

One of the inscriptions in the Lingarâja temple at Bhubaneswar of the 10th slave of Râghaba Deva (1163-64 A.D.) records the name of one Jayadeva Sadhu Pradhan who lived at Kûrma Pâtaka (present Srikûrmam). In this inscription Jayadeva stands as a witness for a purchase made in the temple of Krittvâsa of a village named Bâheגkâhanda from a merchant of Dâsapur. Pandit S.N.Rajguru, in editing this inscription (Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol.III, Part II, p.294) suggests that the name Sadhu PradhânaJayadeva may be the
same as the great poet Jayadeva, the author of the Gitagovinda.
He was living in Śrīkūrīmam which was a religious centre of
Vaiśnavism of the Rāmānuja order. The head of the temple
was, for a long time, the guru of Gaṅga kings of Orissa.
This suggestion may be accepted. Although no further
evidence is available at present, still we can not overlook
the point that the poet, Jayadeva, lived in 1163-64 A.D.
which corresponds to the 10th anka year of Rāghava Deva of
Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa. According to the Antariṅga plate
(E.I. Vol.XIX, pp.43-44), the Śrī Vaiśnavism was prevalent
in Orissa from the time of Jaya Bhāja, son of Raya Bhāja.
It shows that the Śrī-sect of Vaiśnavism was popular in
Orissa before Rāmānuja. The date of the plate corresponds
to 11th century A.D. and since the importance of Śrīkūrīmam
began to rise from the time of Choḍagaṅga as well as his
father, it appears that the poet Jayadeva lived at Śrī Kūrīmam
and was influenced by the Vaiśnavism of that locality. Here
another poet, Kavikarnapura also lived. It is not out of
place to mention here the writings of a poet named Umāpati,
who composed the praśastī section of two inscriptions, the
Amareswarā (Boni village in Śrīkākulam district) and the
other Ananta Vāsudeva (Bhubaneswar) temple inscriptions.
The dates of these two temple inscriptions are 1271 and
1278 A.D. respectively. The study of the language of their
praśastis reminds us of the language of the Gitagovinda.
It is not improbable that Umāpati was influenced by Jayadeva.
So we can safely fix Jayadeva's date sometime before the
12th century A.D. - he thus having lived during the time
of Choḍagaṅga's sons. From this we get the name of Kavi
Udayana as the first commentator of the Gitagovinda.
commentary is popularly known as the *Bhāvaḥbhīṣṭavini*. Udayana seems to have been the *Praṣastī*-writer of the Meghesvara temple inscription at Bhubaneswara dated 1182 A.D. and also of the Sobhanesvara temple inscription of Śrī Vaidyanātha (mentioned before). From these accounts it is easy for us to say that he was living before the 3rd part of the 12th century A.D.

According to the *Mādalapāṇji*, Kavi Narasingha gave permission for the recitation of the Gitagovinda for the first time in the temple of Jagannātha. (*Mādalapāṇji*, p.37, Prachi Edition), Kavi Narasingha, according to the Ganga inscriptions, is Narasingha II who ruled from 1278-1309 A.D.

Jayadeva is the first known poet in Orissa who introduced the Rādhā cult in literature. Prior to him we seldom get evidence regarding the worship of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā. As a matter of fact, Kṛṣṇa assumed a vital part with Lord Viṣṇu who underwent as many as ten incarnations such as Matsya, Kurma and so on. Kṛṣṇa is not, according to the Vaisnavas, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, as he is considered equal to the god, Viṣṇu. During this time the Vaisnavas of Orissa, while accepting this view, added one more god to their pantheon, namely, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (*Plate 4*). This image of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa has four arms, holding Śankha-cakra and mūrali together. It is an image considered in the transitional period. One beautiful image of this god is now preserved in the State museum at Bhubaneswar and another is still worshipped at Jagannāth-Ballava Naṭha at Puri. This was perhaps made before Jayadeva, otherwise Kṛṣṇa would have been shown with his consort Rādhā, by his side. We shall discuss this aspect in detail elsewhere. Our main object in pointing
out Jayadeva's concept of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult in his Gītāgovinda is for the sake of determining the time when the old system of Vaisnavism became merged into Neo-Vaisnavism.

Jayadeva, in his invocation in Gītāgovinda, addressed all the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu while describing the Lord Kṛṣṇa as Jagadīśa-Hare. It means that he associated Hari with Jagadīśa who is responsible for these incarnations.

The word Jagadīśa literally means Jagannātha. The same title was given to Buddha by Indrabhūti in his Ānāsādhipati. The choice of the word "Jagannātha" by Indrabhūti and that of the word "Jagadīśa" by Jayadeva are not of accidental coincidence. This gives a clear idea regarding the conception of Jagadīśa and Jagannātha. Thus Jagadīśa or Jagannātha is compared with Hari by Jayadeva while the former associated the same with the Buddha. Perhaps Jagannātha, the presiding deity of Orissa, came, from that time onwards, to be considered an Ayatāra of the Buddha.

Jayadeva, according to the Lingarāja temple inscription, appears to have been identical with the poet Jayadeva. The village of his birth, Kenduli, may be identified with a village named Kandalibada in the Śrīkūṭalam district which was donated by an early Ganga king named Devendra Varman of the 398 Ganga era in favour of some Brāhmans of the Bhāradyagotra. Unfortunately we do not know the gotra of Jayadeva. Śrīkūṭalam and particularly Śrīkūrmam happened to have been the places of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas where, according to tradition, the poets Vilwamangal & Kavikarnapura lived. Not far from Śrīkūrmam was a centre of Mahayāna Buddhists at Salihundam on the bank of the
Vamsadhara river in the Koraput district of Orissa. A large number of Mahāyāna Buddhist monuments have been found there, and they belong to the 9th or 10th century A.D., some even to an earlier period. Most probably, the various modifications which ultimately reoriented the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa might have taken place in that area during the time of Chodaganga's conquest of Utkal and the construction of the temple of Purusottama.

That Śrīkūrma was the "Gurupīṭha" of the imperial Ganges for a long time is proved from the visit of Narahari Tīrtha in the time of Narasimha Deva as said before. He was sent to Orissa for the propagation of the religion of Madhva Sampradāya, and he exercised great influence not only in the religious sphere but also in the political field of Kaliṅga or Utkala. Śrīkūrma was such an important seat of the religion of the Śrīvaishnavas that it is not improbable to suggest that many rituals and systems peculiar to that locality were introduced in the temple of Jagannātha. The terminology used in the temple administration also leads us to the same conclusion. For instance, the Devadāsi system was formerly introduced in the temple of Śrīkūrma during the time of Vajrahasta, grand-father of Chodaganga. Regarding the terminologies, we particularly emphasise the word "Kudū" referring to the earthen pot filled with cooked rice for the purpose of Bhogam in the temple. This is a clear derivation from the word "Kudu" in Dravidian language which means boiled rice. Similarly the word "Koilīvaṭikuntha" which is the name of a particular part of the temple is also a Dravidian term, according to which "Koil" means "temple", so also the word "Tera". These terms
would not have been adopted in the strictly conservative atmosphere of a temple like that of Jagannātha if the customs associated with these words had not been borrowed from some religious institutions where the Dravidian people had a strong hold. Therefore our suggestion about the claim of Śrīkūrma Kṣetra as the place of Vaiṣṇavite modifications as well as Jayadeva’s place of residence should be accepted.

After Pratāprudra Deva, his minister Govinda Vidyādharā, ascended the throne. He issued some grants in the temple of Simhāchalam. M.M. Chakravarti ascribed an inscription in the Jagannātha temple of Puri to the same king, but subsequently it was proved by Pandit S.N. Rajguru that it belonged to Chakrapratapa, son of Govinda Vidyadhara. In this inscription the following passage is found.

"Jagamohana mandape Śrī Jagannātha chaṭhure janaele - Bho Jagannātha, toha padmapāda dekhi ṛṣivā yivāre vina savuthi narka - vinjha udayagiri- saripariyante svadesi paradesi yatrimanankanara danaprati Gadajatara rājāmana x x x x Palana karive. Ye ekathā anyathā karai se Śrī Jagannāthakau droha karai. Svahaste Brahmanā- līlī badhakarapāpa." kari

Chakravarti translates the passage as follows: - "Pratapadeva Maharaja, in the porch and before Lord Jagannātha thus made known (His prayer) Oh Jagannātha, without going and coming to see your lotus feet all appear as hell. The gifts of pilgrims (of places) up to Vindhyā and Udayagiri mountains, whether native or foreigner (rest illegible). The kings of Garjat will obey. He who violates this order rebels against Jagannātha and gets sin of killing
It shows how the kings of Orissa used to respect the Lord Jagannātha even at the time of discharging their duties as rulers and also proclaiming their verdicts on subordinate chiefs as well as temple-officers.

During Govinda Vidyadhara's reign, one Raghubhanāja Chhotarāya, rebelled against him as stated in the Madalā Pāṇḍi. At that time he was engaged in fighting with the Muslim ruler of Golkunda. While returning from there he endowed some charities on the temple of Simhachalam in or about A.D. 1537 together with a charity during one of his śukla years in between 3 and 8, (A.D. 1535-39). According to Muslim accounts quoted by Sewell, Quliqutb Shah of Golkunda raided Orissa and defeated the Gajapati king at Rajahmundry.

It was a crucial period in the history of Orissa and her independence was threatened not only from the north-east and north by the Muslim rulers of Bengal and Delhi, but also from the South by the kings of Golkunda. But, fortunately, a very able king like Mukundadeva, came to the throne who could not only resist all these attacks but himself proceeded almost to the heart of Bengal.

After Pratāparudra's defeat in the hands of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, the king of Vijayanagar, some time after A.D. 1513, the political power of Orissa began to disintegrate. His sons, who were weak, were easily overthrown by Mukundadeva who came from the south and belonged to the family of the Eastern Chālukyas. So, he was popularly known as the Telegā Mukunda. Although political uncertainty prevailed in Orissa during his regime due to frequent raids of the Mohammedans from Bengal, yet he had utmost devotion
to Lord Jagannātha for his mercy to face the crisis during his reign. He came to the throne in 1559 and ruled up to 1568 A.D. He was a great king and a great warrior, for which he was accepted as one of the friends of Akbar, the Moghul Emperor of Delhi.

According to the Madala Pañji, he proceeded in his 10th regnal year up to the banks of the Ganges (Hugli) and fought a successful battle with the Mohammedans of Gauda. Some of his feudatory chiefs, however, particularly one Ramachandra Bhañja, started a rebellion against him. This time, the Mohammedans, taking advantage of the situation, penetrated deep into the heart of Orissa. At this time the king was absent from the capital. So a moment of confusion and anarchy prevailed and a renegade Muslim soldier, named Kalapāhada, occupied the royal fort of Bārabati in Cuttack, and indulged into iconoclastic activities throughout the country. He raided the temple of Jagannātha at Puri and the deities had to be hidden in some secret place for safety.

During the short period of his reign, Mukunda Deva established some Brahmin āsanas in his name, and endowed charities to the deities of Jagannātha, Śrīkūrma, and Simhachalam. Here his inscriptions can be seen.

According to an inscription in the temple of Drāksārāma in the east Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh, which was engraved in his 10th year, he endowed numerous pearls measuring to the weight of his own body to Brāhmanas together with the sixteen Mahādanas or great-charities. After his victory in Gauda he returned to the capital where he lavishly endowed charities and established Brāhmana agraharas. These were implemented before the Lord Jagannātha at Sri Purusottama Ksetra with a view to increasing religious
virtues in favour of his parents and himself. He was the last independent king of Orissa and his activities against the Mohammedans of Bengal was of so dynamic nature that the Muslim kings became hostile against Orissa. And Kalapahada undertook an extensive campaign of a large scale destruction of the temples and deities of the Hindus. It is said that he removed the images from the Jagannatha temple and put them into fire. This act was perpetrated soon after the death of Mukunda Deva by Raja Ramachandra Bhanja, a treacherous Raja of Keonjhar.

After the death of Mukunda Deva, his sons were ousted by Ramachandra Deva, who belonged to a Sudra clan according to Sir jagatstone inscription of his time. It is stated that Mukunda Deva's sons appealed to Akbar for the restoration of his inheritance, whereupon Raja Mansingh was sent to Orissa to settle the dispute between Ramachandra Deva and the heirs of Mukunda Deva. Mansingh visited Puri when the Chandan Yatra (festival) was going on. Man Singh, when approached by the Sevakas of Jagannatha temple to decide on the rightful claimant to the throne of Orissa, gave his decision in favour of Ramachandra Deva who was then declared as the king of the country. Ramachandra was a great warrior and also a devout worshipper of Jagannatha, for which reason he was compared with the god Murari in the Mukunda-Vijayi Ganitadarsa or Svarapaddhati, a book written in the time of Mukunda Deva II. From his inscription of Kasiari it is known that he ascended the throne of Orissa in 1568 A.D. (Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XXII, 1945, p.87 ff.) The Kosalananda Mahakavya also states that Ramachandra Deva saved Orissa from sinking into the ocean.
The Madalapanji says that in the 9th year of Rama Chandra Deva he brought the Brahma or the essential part of the deity from the fort of Kujanga, and then he performed Vanayaga ceremony at Khurda when the images were again made. In his 11th year in the 18th day of Kakada corresponding to the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Sravana, the deity Purusottama was reinstalled on the Ratnasimhasana of the main temple at Puri. It is further stated that the Brahma was brought by one Bisar Mohanty Pura Naik. The above combination of astronomical dates corresponds to the 17th July 1575 A.D., according to Sri Kedaranath Mohapatra. But while comparing with the Indian ephemeris of Swami Kannupillai, Vol.V, p.353, it is Sravana Sukha Dasami and not Navami. This slight discrepancy may, however, be ignored. For the enactment of these meritorious deeds, i.e., reinstallation of the principal image in the temple which had remained vacant since the atrocities perpetrated by Kalapahada and his Muslim followers, the king Rama Chandra Deva was given the title Abhinava Indradyumna, or the new Indradyumna, etc. This is recorded in a Sanskrit drama named Sri krishna Bhakta Bachchaliya charitam.

Chand Kavi, an Oriya poet, in one of his unpublished manuscripts now preserved in the State Museum of Orissa describes him as "Navadina yatra se Jagannivase Niladrip rave se Rama mana ullase x x x Abhinava Indradyumna Avatara, yuge yuge rahile kirti vistara. Rama sandranarapati durlabh kirtithee; aanda-bhane-thapara roke-gatiye".

Another poet named Haladhara Misjira who wrote a
Kāvyā of the name of Basanta-chava Mahākavyam described him as the new incarnation of Indradyumna. There, it is said that at the instruction of Viṣṇu, the king Rāmacandra, took the possession of the Lord's Dārubrahma in a box and installed Him in the blue mountain or the main temple. By this he assumed the title of new Indradyumna. This title it seems was borne by one of his successors Virakīshore Deva after him. In his time Saktism was very popular in Orissa. So a book named Durgoṭṭṭhava Chāndrika was written at that time. It is also stated there that Rāmacandra Deva was a devout worshipper of Ambika or Durgā.

During his time Orissa completely lost its independence and the administration passed into the hands of the Moghuls. So far as the north Orissa is concerned it was under the Sultan of Bahamani and it was extended to the south of the Chilika lake. In such circumstances the kings of Bhoi dynasty of Orissa came to have only a limited jurisdiction and a limited source of income. Due to their prestige and position among the Hindus they were called as Thākura Rājā of Orissa. The pilgrims who came from far and near for 'darsana' (vision of the deity) used to visit the king first before entering the temple. As a matter of fact the Thākura Rājā of Khurda happened to be the sole custodian of the temple from the time of Akbar. Mansingh being a Hindu and a devout worshipper of Jagannātha was deputed by Akbar to come to the help of the distressed Hindus who were subjected to the atrocious deeds of Kalāpāhāḍa. Thus a sort of compromise was effected and the prestige and the position of the Raja in the religious sphere remained as before.
After Râmacandra Deva, the next important persons associated with the Jagannâtha temple are Virakshore Deva and his queen-mother. They made many improvements in the temple, for instance, they not only constructed the Bhoga Mandapa and Snâna Mandapa, but also remodelled the Ratnavedi (Madalâpanji). According to some inscriptions also the Bhoga Mandapa and the Ratna simghasana (the main pedestal of the images) were constructed during that time; but according to Madalâpanji Virakshore Deva's grand-mother is said to have constructed the Nirmâlya mandapa which was named as Kanaka mandapa and the Dolamandapa. His chief queen (Pattamahâdevâ) incurred the expenses for plastering the entire temple. The Raja repaired the gumota or the upper part of the Gopura of the northern gate and the steps of the Snana vedi. He also endowed variety of materials for the rituals of the deities.

The temple during the Marhatta rule:

According to the Mughal-Marhatta treaty concluded between the Nawab Aliverdi Khan of Bengal and Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur, Orissa came under the Marhatta domination during the time of Virakshore Deva (1737-1793 A.D.) He accepted the suzerainty of the Marhattas like other chiefs of Orissa. The temple of Jagannâtha got some relief during the Marhatta regime from the distress, desecration and depredation of nearly 200 years of the Muslim rule. The Marhattas themselves were staunch Hindus and devotees of Jagannâtha. They left his temple undisturbed, encouraged his worship, got the ceremonies and festivals properly observed and introduced new kinds of oblations. They provided annual grants from the state revenue endowed in 1755 in the form
of an estate known as Satais Hazari Mahal, yielding an annual income of Rs.27,000/- for the maintenance of the temple. They also made grants of land for some of the Mathas of Puri. They used to make good the deficit between the income and expenditure of the temple. The Marhattas also built some new temples and structures inside the temple of Jagannatha. They brought the stones from the broken temple of Konarka and built the Bhog mandapa of Jagannatha, and set the triangular stone pieces brought from Konarka on the outer compound wall of the temple. They also brought the Aruna pillar from Konarka, and placed it in front of the Puri temple.

The Raja of Khurda was a representative of the Marhatta Government and his authority in the temple was very limited. The Marhattas retained pilgrim tax which was yielding nearly 9 lakhs of rupees annually. Thus in the words of Hunter, the pilgrims were made to pay for the state liberality to their god. It appears from the correspondences made by the Collector of Jagannatha with one Secretary to the Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack regarding complaints against the Parharees of the temple, there were three Parichas, viz. Sewajee Pandit, Jagannath Rajguru and Amna Pandit, whose sole duty was to take care of the interior management of the temple. Any complaints against them were made to Ekadee Pandit at Cuttack who decided upon them finally. This shows that the Marhatta Government appointed three Pandits to run the day-to-day administration of the temple and the final authority was Ekadee Pandit at Cuttack who was controlling the affairs of the temple through these three Pandits.
The Temple during the British Rule:

In 1803 the British occupied Orissa. The English army under Colonel Harcourt took possession of the Puri town and the temple of Jagannatha without any opposition. This was on the 18th of September, 1803. Lord Wellesley had issued instructions to Col. Campbell, the Officer Commanding the British troops in Orissa, that on his arrival at Puri, he should take every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda and to the religious prejudices of the Brähmins and the pilgrims. He should also assure the priests that they would not be required to pay any other revenue or tribute to the British Government which they were paying to the Marhattas and they would be duly protected in the exercise of their religious duties. At the same time he was not required to contract any engagement with the priests which might limit the power of the British Government to make "such arrangement in respect of the shrine as might be necessary in future". When the British army entered Puri, they took the temple under British protection and some Hindu Sepoys were left in charge of it. Puri district Gazetteer records that during the first few years, the British followed the system of the temple-administration in the way of the Marhattas. It also appears that they used to make up the difference between the receipt and the expenditure of the temple directly. "The total average income per year from various sources taking into consideration the total amount received during six years, prior to the report was Rs. 31,884-12 annas and 13 gandhas, and the average expenses per year was Rs. 65,995-4 as -9 gandhas."
From the very beginning of management a Paricha was kept in charge of the management of the temple, and in 1805 the Collector was authorised to receive applications from the Paricha in connection with the administration of the temple. Meanwhile the Christian Missionaries bitterly criticised the Government for their connection with the temple of Jagannātha. The Government, therefore, decided to give up the thorough supervision of the idolatrous rites in the temple. By the Regulation IV of 1806 the Superintendence was transferred to an assembly of 3 Pandits nominated by the Collector of Pilgrim taxes and appointed by the Government. The pilgrim tax, which was temporarily suspended in 1803 was reimposed in 1808 and a Collector of Pilgrim tax was appointed by the Government. For the purpose of levying pilgrim tax a classification of pilgrims into three classes was made. Under the British administration the temple annually contributed to the State revenue an amount varying from half to one lakh of rupees.

By the Regulation IV of 1809, the Assembly of Pandits was abolished and management of the temple was transferred to the Raja of Khurda. He was taken as hereditary Superintendent. But the Raja was not granted supreme authority, and therefore, was only assisted by three principal servants of the temple. Raja Mukunda Deva II of Khurda who was taken prisoner due to a rebellion in 1804, was entrusted with the management of the temple after his release. It was made a condition that the Government grant of Rs. 55,000 should be spent on the maintenance of the temple. He was also granted a "Malikana" of Rs. 2,333 per month and ordered to stay at Puri. During the superintendentship of
his son, Rāmachandra Deva (1817-54), the site of the Raja Nahar (Palace) was shifted from Balisahi to Baḍadanda.

The Pilgrim Tax yielding a net amount of £5955 was considered by the East India Company as a State sanction to idolatry. The Company, therefore, abolished the Pilgrim Tax and vested the Rāja of Puri with full authority in regard to the management of the temple and its properties by Act - X of 1840. The temple authorities were forbidden to impose any restriction on the pilgrims for admission into the temple. "The right of free admission and free worship became a recognised privilege of the general body of the pilgrims". Though the Government gave up all connections with the temple, yet having respect for the pledges made in regard to the protection of the temple, it did not interfere with the previous grants, and moreover continued to make an annual payment of Rs.53,000 towards the expenditure of the temple.

In 1843, the Sataisi Hazari Mahal, yielding an annual rental of Rs.17,420 having been made over to the Rāja, the annual grant was reduced to Rs.35,735. In 1845, it was further reduced to Rs.23,321, because of some grants to the Raja of Berar. In 1856, the above amount was further reduced to Rs.7,000 to meet the expenses of a police establishment towards the protection of the pilgrims. But subsequently the Government decided to pay Rs.6,804 to the Superintendent who would make his own arrangements for the maintenance of peace and order inside the temple. In 1858, the Government decided to discontinue these payments and to transfer to the Rāja the Ekrajat Mahal in lieu of these payments. The Rāja was to possess the transferred lands as jamindar or trustee.
hereditarily". In 1863, certain lands yielding equivalent amount was transferred to the Raja. As provided in the deeds of transfer, the Government thereafter ceased to have any connection with the management of the temple.

Meanwhile on the death of Raja Virakishore Deva, the management of the temple fell on his widow Suryamani Pattamahadei during the minority of her adopted son, Dibyason Deva. This was a period of growing mismanagement, and the situation faced a crisis in 1878 when Raja Dibyason was convicted on a charge of murder and was sentenced to transportation for life. This created a very anomalous position in-as-much as under Act - X of 1840 the superintendence of the temple was vested in the Raja even after his transportation and there was no provision in the act for any succession to the post of Superintendent. In 1884, on the application of Suryomani Pattamahadei, the grand mother and guardian of the minor Mukunda Deva, the title of Raja was conferred on the prince. It was thought that the said title was necessary to enable him to be the Sevaka Raja of the Jagannatha temple®. In order to honour the public interest and to ensure better management of the temple, the Government instituted a suit in 1885 for a declaration that the office of the Superintendent was vacant and that new trustees should be appointed and a scheme of management should be worked-out. The suit was hotly contested and the cry that religion was in danger was raised in the press. During the pendency of appeal preferred by Suryomani in the High Court of Calcutta there was a compromise in 1888 which, inter alia, provided that during the minority of the Raja his grand-mother would manage the affairs as his
As Rājā Mukunda Deva, after the attainment of his maturity, took little interest in the affairs of the temple, so mis-management continued there for some time. In the circumstances the Superintendent was compelled to appoint a Government Officer as Manager. Accordingly in 1902, Rai Bahadur Rajakishor Dās, Deputy Magistrate became the first Manager of the temple. Rājā Mukunda Deva had adopted Ramachandra Deva from the Raj family of Bamra State, but subsequently repudiated his adoption. Thereupon Ramachandra Deva filed a suit for declaration of his adoption and obtained a decree in his favour which was confirmed by the Patna High Court. On the death of Rājā Mukunda Deva, Rāma Chandra Deva took charge of the temple as the Superintendent. The present Rājā is the son and successor of Rājā Rāma Chandra Deva. After the passing of the Temple Act of 1952 by the Orissa State Assembly, the temple is now being managed by a Board of Trustees in which the present Rājā Virakishora Deva is a member.
REFERENCES

1. Dynastic History of Northern India, p.413.

2. Dr. K.C. Panigrahi and some other scholars suggest that he is to be taken as Yayati I. Chronology of the Bhaum-Karas and the Somavamśis of Orissa, p.2.
Dr. D.C. Sarkar seems to suggest that He is Yayati the III - Struggle for Empire, Vol.IV & V, p.209.


5. Ibid p.5 and Jaganāth Kāvyaṭ in Sanskrit, p.2 (unpublished MSS.)


23. Dr. D.C. Sircar also maintains the view. 


26A. I.H.Q. Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41.

26B. The Barhaspatyasutram, Ch. III, p. 20, Sutras 119 & 120.


27. Dynasties of medieval Orissa, p. 18.


29. On palaeographic ground it can be referred to the 8th century A.D. says Dr. H.C. Ray in his D.H.H.I., p. 414 ff.

30. E.I. Vol. XV, No. I, pp. 1-6. Dr. R.D. Banerjee attributes the date of this grant of the 8th century A.D.

31. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, p. 449 Dr. R.D. Banerjee attributes the date of this grant of the 8th century A.D. by Dr. Dasgupta and S.K. De.


34. Report on the Search of Sanskrit manuscript (1906-1911) by M.H.P. Satrap, p. 3.


43. O.H.R.J. Vol. III, p. 16 and Orissa and her remains, p. 403.

45. There is another 64 Yoginipltha at Rambpur Jharial of Balangir District of Orissa.


47. The depiction of these three symbols or figures may also be interpreted as three pieces of logs (Dāru) taken on the bullock cart or they may be described in the Madalapanji, the three images taken by the temple priests to a secured place at Sonepur where the Āvana King, Raktabhū invaded Puri 146 years before the reign of Sajāti Kesārī.


49. In the copper plate inscription of Prabhanjan Varman of the Mathara dynasty (6th century A.D.) we find that he granted lands to Brahmans on the occasion of Kartika Sukla Dwādasi which is the Uthān Dwādasi - (Visnu rising from sleep) - Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol.I.


51. One Prolāchārī was appointed in the temple of Mukhalirigam as religious Superintendent for recording the charities made to the temple. The inscription is dated Saka 1030 or 1108 A.D. in the time of Chodaganga - Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol.III, Part I, p.56. The title Aghārī is generally used by the priests of the Śrīvaishnava Section.

52. E.I. Vol.XXIX, pp.44-47.


55. Mahāvamśa, Ch.59, V.46.

56. Ibid., Ch.90, Verses 32-33.


58. We like to invite the attention of the readers to a passage found in the Narsingpalli plates of Hastivarman where a donation was made to the God Nārāyaṇa who is addressed as Saptalokākālnātha - Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol.II, p.15.

59. H.G.M's Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol.III, p.20. The word Vaṭk-brāhma being a synonym of Nādabrāhma may be taken as Omkar which was then considered as a symbol of God Puruṣottama.
The temple which was constructed by Anangabhima Deva III according to his Nagari Plates is not existing today. We believe that it was demolished by the Muslims when they captured the town towards the 16th century A.D. Most probably the temple was located near the present Tulsipur area of Cuttack town which is still known as Dewal-Sahi or the temple street.

The worship of Rama by the Ganga kings of Kalinga is proved by their family god Ramasvami who was installed in their dwelling place. The remnant of this old system is still prevalent in the Raj family of Paralakhimundi (Ganjam District) which is descended from the Gangas. In almost all earlier temples we find the true images of Rama and Sita. This shows that Rama Cult was popular in Orissa in earlier times.
90. The Ist Ankaś of the Chandrakāśa Nāṭikā, Prastāvānā sloka, p.2. Edited by S.N. Rajguru and Sarbesvarā Das. Published by the Orissa State Museum.

91. For other details regarding Jalāluddin, please see R.C. Majumdar’s History of Bengal. Dr. D.R. Subramanyam’s The Suryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa, pp.34-35. According to Subramanyam his first attack was against the rulers of Bengal - His book p.35.


94. Ibid.


96. Verse XIX of the drama Parasura Nāṭakam.

97. Ibid, verse IV.


99. Madalapani, p.44.

100. Ibid, pp.48-49.


103. Madala Panji, pp.50-51.

104. From iconographical studies we should put this Ganesh in the Tantric Pantheism as the tip of its trunk touches a female organ which was only akin to the Tantric cult.

105. According to Dr. R.Subramanyara the Kanchi-Kaveri expedition expenditure of Purusottama took place in 1476 A.D. The Surya Vamsi Gajapatis of Orissa, p.85.


107. Ibid.

107A. The Suryavamsi Gajapatis of Orissa, p.169.

107B. Bhakti Bhagavata Mahakavyam last canto verses Nos.11-12.


107E. E.I. Vol.XIX, p.43-44.


The passage "Gita Govinda Selankale" is to be explained. The word "Selau" is decidedly borrowed from the Telugu language which means permitting. The editor of the Madalapanji has wrongly interpreted the word "Selankale" for Suvadele i.e. introduced or began.


113. Historical Inscriptions of South India, p.248.


116. Kosalānanda Mahākāvyam, Ch.XVII (unpublished) - Preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.


122. History of Puri by Brijkoshore Ghose 1848.

123. Reports of the Special Officer under Shri Jagannatha Temple Act, p.15.


125. Report of the Special Officer under Shri Jagannatha Temple Act, p.15.

126. K.S.Mishra’s UtkalāItihasa, p.284.


130. Puri by C.M.Acharya, p.34.

131. Orissa and its Evangelists 1815, p.69 and W.J.Lawries - Orissa the garden of superstition and Idolatry.


133. Reports of the Special Officer under Shri Jagannatha Temple Act, p.20.


135. Ibid.