

A Reassessment of the Origin of the Jagannath Cult of Puri

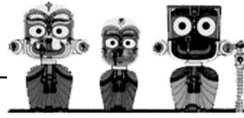
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The origin of the Jagannatha cult of Puri is shrouded in mystery. Although it is one of the widely researched areas in the cultural history of Odisha, a clear and unambiguous picture of the genesis of the cult continues to elude us. This is largely so because the sources which provide information about the cult are either mythical or fragmentary in nature. These sources include religious texts and inscriptions. The inscriptions, by their very nature, do not give us any chronological picture. Religious texts on the other hand contain valuable pieces of historical information, but the historical consciousness found in them differ from the ways in which history is understood by us today. Scholars have subjected the existing evidence to extensive scrutiny as a result of which our knowledge of the beginnings of the cult has considerably advanced in recent decades. But the possibility of producing a historically valid account of it continues to remain remote. In this paper, an attempt is made to put forward a new interpretation by taking up the sources for reassessment.

It is interesting to note that most scholars working on the origin of the Jagannatha cult have focused on epigraphic sources, iconography, ethnography, Sanskrit sources like Murari's *Anargharaghava*, and Odia sources like *Madala Panji*, *Deula Tola*, *Rajabhoga* and *Sarala*

Dasa's Mahabharata, besides taking recourse to rich speculations. Several other sources have also been consulted. However, it is surprising that an early account of the origin of the cult, recorded in the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' of the Sanskrit *Skanda Purana*, has not been given the importance it deserves. This work, apparently written in the fourteenth century, is often mentioned in passing. Sometimes, bits and pieces of information from it are cited to corroborate an argument. But the work has not been taken up for critical scrutiny in a way it really deserves. The work is important not for the information it provides, which is often highly unreliable. It is significant because it helps us to develop a reasonable perspective on the origin of the Jagannatha cult.

There is a school of thought which traces the origin of the Jagannatha cult to Buddhism. Harekrushna Mahtab is an advocate of this view.¹ Similar views were held by nineteenth century European scholars like W.W. Hunter, Alexander Cunningham and Monier-Williams.² Rajendralal Mitra also upheld the Buddhist origin theory.³ This theory has now been challenged. It has recently been argued that the origin of the Jagannatha cult cannot be traced to Buddhism although the cult was subjected to profound Buddhist ethical influence at a later date.⁴ For this reason, the



Buddhist origin theory is kept out of the scope of the present discussion.

The *Madala Panji*, which is the most important temple-chronicle of Puri, credits the Eastern Ganga king Anangabhima with the construction of the existing Jagannatha temple in Puri. The chronicle, which is preserved in the Puri temple as a sacred document of its history, also states that it was Anangabhima who instituted the thirty-six services or *niyogas* in the temple. The king mentioned here is Anangabhima II. But other sources confirm that the ruler who was really important in the temple's history was Anangabhima III. According to historians, Anangabhima III ruled from 1211 to 1238 AD.⁵ The *Madala Panji* might have mistaken Anangabhima II for his grandson of the same name. But there are also other difficulties with this chronicle. The Dasgoba copperplate inscription of Anangabhima's father Rajaraja III states that the Puri temple was built by the latter's grandfather Anantavarman Chodaganga, who ruled for over seven decades from 1076 to 1147 AD.⁶ This affirms that it was not Anangabhima III but Anantavarman who built the existing temple. One reason for the error in the *Madala Panji* may be that it was a chronicle composed a long time after the construction of the temple. The text dates back only to the seventeenth century. By this time, the historical memory of the temple's construction might have faded away. Legends and tell-tales might have replaced historical facts. But this is not a very convincing answer. Anangabhima III appears to have played a decisive role in the history of the Puri temple, which is why the *Madala Panji* has placed him in such high esteem, going to the extent of calling him the builder of the temple. What was this historical role played by Anangabhima? This question has been persuasively answered by Anncharlott Eschmann, Herman Kulke and Gaya Charan Tripathi.⁷

Anangabhima was of course not the original founder of the temple. The *Madala Panji* attributes the establishment of the temple to the Somavamsi king Yayati Kesari. Anangabhima is only credited in the chronicle with the construction of the existing temple. H. von Stietencron identifies this ruler with Yayati I.⁸ This is endorsed by Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi.⁹ Historians date the rule of Yayati I to the period 922-955.¹⁰ This is one part of the story.

K.C. Panigrahi believes that the Raktavahu invasion of Puri, which is mentioned in the *Madala Panji*, refers to the military campaign of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III (r. 798-814). Based on this assumption, he argues that the Puri temple was already in existence in the eighth century.¹¹ This offers another angle to the antiquity of the Puri temple.

Even if we disregard the story of Yayati and Raktavahu, inscriptional sources confirm that the temple existed in the mid eleventh century. The inscriptions have been examined exhaustively by Kulke.¹² It is worthwhile to briefly discuss the inscriptions even at the risk of reproducing the historical developments traced by Kulke, as it can provide us with a perspective for further discussion.

The Kalidindi grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Rajaraja Narendra refers to Sridhama as the abode of Purushottama, who is called the Great Narayana.¹³ Sridhama is another name of Puri. The evidence of the Kalidindi grant is corroborated by the Nagpur inscription of the Paramara king Lakshma, in which the king is compared with Purushottama through the poetic device of *double entente* or *slesa*.¹⁴ This inscription is dated 1104 AD.

Some scholars believe that the Jagannatha cult was tribal in its origin. Eschmann makes the following observation :



The Jagannatha cult is of tribal origin. The legend of the Puri temple, the Indradyumna legend, narrates that the deity was originally worshipped by the aboriginal *Sabara* chief Visvavasu in the woods, and only later on miraculously appeared in Puri. Accordingly, the Jagannatha figures still display what seems to be a “tribal look”. The wooden figures may be called “crude” and certainly differ considerably from the images worshipped in other great Hindu temples which correspond exactly to the described iconographical canons.¹⁵

All early inscriptions refer to the deity of Puri as Purushottama. The first known identification of the deity as Jagannatha comes from the Srikurmam inscription of Bhanudeva II, which is dated to 1309 AD.¹⁶ The earlier name occurs as Purushottama not only in inscriptions but also in literary works like Murari’s Sanskrit play *Anargharaghava*. Here is Murari’s testimony:

O ye spectators who have assembled on the occasion of the Yatra of Purushottama, the exalted one, who is like a new sprout of the dark *tamala* tree growing in the forest in form of the strand of the salt-ocean, who is a big blue sapphire which decorates the head of the three worlds and who sports with Kamala by drawing patterns with musk on her pitcher-like breasts.¹⁷

It is clear from this description that the deities at Puri were Purushottama and his consort Kamala (Lakshmi). There is no reference to the trinity in this text. The scenario continues to be the same in the abovementioned Dasgoba copperplate inscription, which is dated 1198 AD. As already noted, this inscription credits Anantavarman with the construction of the temple. The temple is dedicated to Purushottama and his wife Lakshmi. The trinity is absent even in this record.

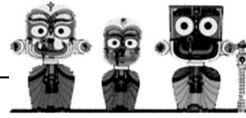
What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a God as Purushottama, whose feet are the earth, whose navel the entire sky,

whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and moon and whose head the heaven above? This task which has been hitherto neglected by previous kings, was fulfilled by the lord of the Gangas.... The ocean is the birth-place of Lakshmi, so thinking, in his father-in-law’s house Vishnu lodged with some shame though he got full adoration. Thus ashamed, Purushottama was glad to get his new house; and Lakshmi too, gladly preferred living in her husband’s new house to living in her father’s house.¹⁸

The situation begins to alter during the reign of Anangabhima III. In the Draksharama inscription, dated 1216, he is hailed as Purushottamaputra, Rudraputra and Durgaputra.¹⁹ This might have been his first attempt to constitute the trinity. Kulke writes that the three deities represent Purushottama of Puri, Lingaraja of Bhubaneswar and Durga-Viraja of Jajpur respectively.²⁰ He then takes note of a series of shrines which occur in 1230 and 1231 AD:

In an inscription at Bhubaneswar, dated 9.1.1230, King Anangabhima is praised only as the son of Purushottama; Durga and Rudra are no longer mentioned. On 23.2.1230, after taking a ritual bath in the Mahanadi, he donated land to Purushottama and his priests. Shortly afterwards, on 20.3.1230, his wife donated valuable presents to the God Allalanatha in far-off Kanchipuram, and announced that her royal husband was the son of God Purushottama and that he ruled under His divine order (*adesa*). Two months later, on 14.5.1230, king Anangabhima undertook a pilgrimage to Purushottama Kshetra and again donated land to the God and to a priest. In the same year a new Purushottama temple was constructed in his new capital Cuttack which he proudly called *Abhinava Varanasi*. On 4.1.1231 he held a *darshana* of Lord Purushottama at the Cuttack temple and again donated tax-free land to the God and his priests.²¹

However, it is the Patalesvara temple inscription of Puri, dated 1237, which makes a real difference. In this inscription, we come across



the first reference to the trinity as known today. It mentions Hali (Balabhadra), Chakri (Krishna or Purushottama) and Subhadra.²² Forty-one years later, in 1278, Anangabhimā's daughter Chandrikadevi built the Ananta Vasudeva temple in Bhubaneswar. The donative inscription of this temple states that it was dedicated to Baladeva (Balabhadra), Krishna and Subhadra.²³

It can be inferred on the basis of the history traced above that it was Anangabhimā III who transformed the Purushottama-Lakshmi temple of Puri into a temple of the trinity. Kulke has therefore stated that Anangabhimā was the veritable founder of the "worship of Jagannatha in its present form", i.e., in the form of a trinity.²⁴ According to him, "It was perhaps this tremendous impact of Anangabhimā on the Jagannatha cult which, according to the Temple Chronicles of Puri, caused him to be identified as builder of the Jagannatha temple in Puri."²⁵

This discussion throws light on the significant role played by Anangabhimā III in the history of the Jagannatha cult, causing him to be revered by the *Madala Panji* as the builder of the temple. But it does not offer us any clue on the antecedent development of the cult. This problem has been examined extensively by Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi. They conclude that the cult arose from an aboriginal practice of wooden pillar worship known in Orissa.²⁶ The interface of the cult of a wooden pillar God (now called Jagannatha) from coastal Orissa with the cult of a wooden pillar Goddess (perhaps Stambhesvari), probably from western Orissa, led to the rise of a new cult. This cult was subsequently influenced by Saivism, Saktism and other tantric forms of Hinduism, but the strongest influence came from Vaishnavism. Eventually, the two pillar deities came to be reinterpreted within the framework of the Hindu pantheon as Narasimha

and Lakshmi and were apparently worshipped as Lakshmi-Narasimha. This was possible because the ferocious form of the tribal wooden pillar God could easily be associated iconographically with Narasimha, who represents wrath and fury. Around 900 AD or so, Narasimha came to be identified as Purushottama. This appears to be a result of the cultural influence of the Somavamsi rulers. The Somavamsis came from the upper Mahanadi valley. The first known epigraphic reference, equating Narasimha and Purushottama, comes from this region. It is found in an inscription dated 800 AD from Sirpur in Chhattisgarh.²⁷ In the third quarter of the ninth century, an inscription from Gaya states that Purushottama appears as Narasimha.²⁸ Again, in 953 AD, an inscription from Khajuraho speaks of Purushasimha.²⁹ Eschmann feels that "Purushasimha" invokes "Purusha" and "Purushottama".³⁰ Whether or not we agree with her, the Sirpur and Gaya inscriptions indicate that a new religious tradition identifying Purushottama with Narasimha was arising in parts of east-central India in the ninth and tenth century. Although this tradition did not gain roots in those parts, the Somavamsis who hailed from this region, seem to have introduced it in Puri. The deity was worshipped as Purushottama in the Puri temple till the end of the thirteenth century. Yet, memories of Narasimha remained at least up to the sixteenth century. But the trinity had already come into existence in the thirteenth century. The chief deity was equated with Krishna. From about the fourteenth century, the name Jagannatha came into common use.³¹

This historical outline traced by Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi could have been further elaborated had they paid greater attention to the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' of the *Skanda Purana*. This work has to be examined with caution as a great part of it is mythical in nature.



But its importance can hardly be undermined. The legends narrated in the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' can be assessed with care and discretion. This can help us to extract a number of historically important suggestions from it.

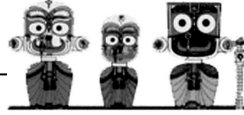
It is believed that when Anantavarman decided to build a new temple at Puri in the twelfth century, the existing temple built in the tenth century by Yayati I was in a dilapidated condition.³² But this is not borne out by any evidence. The *Anargharaghava*, which is datable to the eleventh or early twelfth century, does not speak of the temple in decay. No such indications are found in the Kalidindi inscription of the mid eleventh century and the Nagpur inscription of 1104. The renovation of the temple by Anantavarman might have been the result of the temple's glory and popularity rather than being an outcome of its decadence. We have to therefore set aside the belief that the temple was in poor shape in the beginning of the twelfth century.

Another widely held belief is that the original temple was built by Yayati I.³³ This view is based on the *Madala Panji*. But the *Madala Panji* is not older than the seventeenth century. None of the earlier sources, including literary works and inscriptions, refer to Yayati as the builder of the original temple. It is here that the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya', which is older than the *Madala Panji* by at least three centuries, gives us a totally different picture. The legend is also very different in this account.

According to the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya', there was already a temple in Puri in the Kritayuga, which was later rebuilt by a king called Indradyumna. Puri was then known as Purushottama or Purushottamakshetra.³⁴ The temple stood on a hill, known as the Blue Hill.³⁵ The original image in the temple was of

Vasudeva,³⁶ who was also called Madhava.³⁷ This image was made of blue stone,³⁸ apparently blackish-blue chlorite. The blue stone image is mentioned more than once in the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya'.³⁹ The colour of the stone might have inspired the name Nilamadhava by which the deity is identified on a number of occasion in the work.⁴⁰

The 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' story of the construction of the new temple in Puri may be summarized as follows. Indradyumna is the king of Avanti in Malava. Once, he desires to learn about the place where the Lord Jagannatha can be seen with the mortal eyes. A Brahmin pilgrim informs him about Puri and the greatness of the place and its deity. The Lord of Puri is worshipped by the Sabara tribe who live in Sabara Dipaka, close to the shrine. The pilgrim urges the king to visit Puri and offers to send his brother Vidyapati to make preparations for the royal entourage. Accordingly, Vidyapati reaches Puri, meets Visvvasu, the chief of the Sabaras, and expresses his desire to see the deity. Visvvasu is worried because the presence of the deity (whom he identifies as Janardana) was guarded as a secret by the tribe. He believed that any outsider visiting the shrine to have a *darshan* of the deity will bring doom to the tribe. At the same time he was also unwilling to refuse, because he felt that Vidyapati, being a Brahmin, would curse him and his tribe, which would again be disastrous. He finally decides to take Vidyapati to the deity on the Blue Hill. Vidyapati is overjoyed to have a *darshan* of the Lord. But after his return from the shrine, he is told by Visvvasu that he was privileged to have a glimpse of the God and that king Indradyumna will not be fortunate enough to see the God as the blue stone image will vanish under the sands before his arrival. This was apparently a promise made by the Lord following a request by Yama, the God of death. Visvvasu's



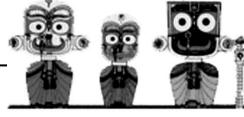
prophesy comes true. The image vanishes in the sands following a gale and the shrine becomes empty before Indradyumna reaches Puri. The king arrives at Puri along with Narada, the son of Lord Brahma. He is struck by deep sorrow at the disappearance of the image. Narada consoles him by saying that he is destined to have a glimpse of Narasimha on the Blue Hill, whose image can then be installed there. Accordingly, they visit the Blue Hill and find Narasimha in his most ferocious form. Indradyumna is awe-struck by the fury of the image. Soon, Narada installs the image of Narasimha and the worship of the image begins. Narada urges Indradyumna to perform a thousand horse sacrifices (*asvamedha*). The king obliges. Towards the end of the sacrifice, Indradyumna has a dream in which he has a glimpse of the God along with His consort Lakshmi, Lord Brahma and sages like Sanaka. Shortly after, a divine banyan tree trunk appears in the sea. This is reported to Indradyumna who obtains the counsel of Narada and brings the tree trunk to the Blue Hill. The tree trunk is installed there and worshipped. A divine voice is heard from the tree trunk, which says that a carpenter will soon appear and start carving four images of the four forms of the God and that the images will be completed in fifteen days. The voice also says that the carving will take place in a secluded chamber which is not open to mortals. Whosoever peeps into the chamber or hears the sound emanating from it are destined to be doomed. No sooner the voice is heard than a carpenter arrives there, who is none other than Lord Narayana in disguise. He carves the four images within the said period of fifteen days. The images are placed on *ratnavedi*, the throne of gems. Finally, Indradyumna builds a temple where the four images are installed.

The story continues to tell us about the construction of the great chariot, the beginning of

ratha yatra and other events. These legends are interesting, but beyond the scope of this paper.

The above story is important for several reasons. Firstly, it tells us that a temple already existed in Puri, which was rebuilt by Indradyumna. It is likely that this temple belonged to the sixth, seventh or eighth century, when temple building began in Orissa. The original temple housed a form of Vishnu known as Vasudeva or Madhava, perhaps also known as Janardana. This image was made of blackish-blue chlorite, which gave the name Nilamadhava to the deity. By the ninth or the tenth century, this temple had come into disuse, apparently because it ceased to attract the patronage from royal families and other wealthy sections of the society. It was under these circumstances that a new temple came up on the remnants of the older one.

Who built this new temple? According to the *Madala Panji*, it was Yayati I. But as we have seen, the earlier account found in the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' names Indradyumna as the builder of the temple. Is it likely that the legend was drawn from faint memories of a king who had a similar name and who had indeed built the new temple? The name which immediately comes to mind is that of the Somavamsi king Indraratha, who seems to have ruled from 1010 to 1022 AD.⁴¹ He was apparently overthrown by Rajendra Chola in his campaign at Yayatinagara (present-day Jajpur) in 1022. The name Indradyumna means "powerful like Indra". Indraratha also has a similar meaning – "a warrior like Indra". Indradyumna is stated in the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' to have been a ruler of Avanti in the west. Indraratha belonged to a family which originated in the upper Mahanadi valley which is also a western region. Somavamsi control over the region around Puri was very tenuous till the early eleventh century. The construction of the new temple might have enabled



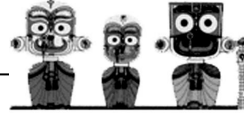
them to obtain greater access to this region. It is said in the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' that Indradyumna belonged to the solar clan and was fifth in the line, beginning from Brahma. Indraratha belonged to the lunar clan or Somavamsa, but he was also the fifth ruler of the family, preceded by Nahusha, Dharmaratha, Bhimaratha and Yayati I, the founder of the dynasty.

The evidence marshaled by us does not conclusively prove that it was Indraratha who built the temple. But the argument in favour of Yayati I is equally weak. It can therefore be said that until evidence to the contrary is found, the possibility of Indraratha having built the temple at Puri must be kept open. The temple was not the original one either, as claimed by the *Madala Panji*. It was a new temple built over the remains of an existing shrine which had decayed. Anantavarman might have enlarged this new temple in the twelfth century or rebuilt it, but credit cannot go to Yayati I or Indraratha for having built the original temple. The original temple existed even before them.

Secondly, the legend points to three distinct stages in the development of the Jagannatha cult. In the first stage, a temple existed for Vasudeva or Madhava, also known as Nilamadhava. In the second stage, a temple was built for Narasimha following the decay of the earlier temple. It is likely that Narasimha shared this temple with his consort Lakshmi and was worshipped as Lakshmi-Narasimha. Subsequently, the duo came to be identified as Purushottama and Lakshmi or Kamala. In the third stage, the duo was replaced by the trinity, Jagannatha, Subhadra and Balabhadra, to which the Lord's discus was added in the form of a staff. Together with this discus, known as Sudarsana, the images were four in number. The 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' places the second and third stage in the same historical

period and associates them with Indradyumna. But historically speaking, the second stage has to be placed in the early eleventh century, while the third stage belongs to the reign of Anangabhim III in the thirteenth century, as we have seen. The existing temple at Puri was built by Anantavarman in between the second and third stage, i.e. in the early twelfth century. This did not lead to any major changes in the history of the temple, either in terms of myths and beliefs, or rituals and practices. Even in socio-cultural terms, the renovation or construction of a new temple by Anantavarman does not seem to have caused any major breaks or pioneered a new era. This may be the reason why Anantavarman is not remembered either in the *Madala Panji* or in the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya'.

Thirdly, the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' states that the original image of Nilamadhava was worshipped by the Sabaras. It is said that the image was renowned throughout the world. But this is contradicted when Visvavasu says that knowledge about the image is restricted to the Sabaras and that it was a well-guarded secret of the community. Further, although the blue stone image vanishes, we are told that an image of Narasimha was already present when Indradyumna arrived at Puri. Eschmann argues that it was easy for a tribal deity to be absorbed into the Hindu pantheon in the form of Narasimha due to the furious nature which both share. Narasimha is known to have emerged out of a pillar to kill the demon Hiranyakashipu. According to Eschmann, this "offers both the iconological and iconographical possibility to associate the symbols representing "terrible" tribal deities with the furious god".⁴² Ethnography shows that the practice of wooden pillar worship was common in Orissa. In the light of these facts, it can be stated that contrary to the legend recorded in the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya', the Sabaras



were not worshippers of Nilamadhava. They were worshippers of a wooden pillar deity of a furious nature. The image of Narasimha which Indradyumna and Narada see on the Blue Hill might have been that of this pillar deity.

In the legend, the Sabaras are held in high esteem by Vidyapati and Indradyumna. This suggests that the tribe was fairly powerful in the region, although it might not have exercised any political authority worth the name. With the advent of a new political power represented in the legend by Indradyumna, the tribe succeeded in enlisting themselves into the mainstream Hindu society by having an image of their deity installed in the form of Narasimha in the old and dilapidated temple of Nilamadhava. It was wise and expedient to do so, politically, economically as well as culturally. It was a means of gaining access to the mainstream society and economy. The image installed in the temple was of course made of stone. The replacement of the stone image by the wooden images of the trinity was a subsequent development. We do not know whether it occurred before the reign of Anangabhima III, during his reign, or later. In any case, the wooden images were in place by the fourteenth century when the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' was written. The replacement of the stone image by the wooden image represents a distinct stage in the development of the cult. But the 'Purushottamakshetra Mahatmya' does not speak about the Sabaras while narrating the story of this phase.

There are indeed two possibilities which explain the change from the stone image to the wooden images. One is that the temple community and the Eastern Ganga state were becoming more and more accommodative by opening up the temple to a wider spectrum of the society, which in turn enhanced their power, prestige and economic prospects. This was one of the ways in

which the state tried to develop an integrative society and economy. The other possibility is that the Sabaras had gained enough strength and political influence to have a decisive say in the affairs of the temple. Both these are speculative suggestions. But this interface of a tribal belief system with the Hindu religion presents us with a unique blend of two diametrically opposite processes known to sociologists and anthropologists, viz., Sanskritization and tribalization.⁴³ By gaining access to the Hindu pantheon, the original tribal deities lost their identities and were integrated into Hinduism as Narasimha, Purushottama, the Jagannatha trinity and so on. The tribal beliefs and practices were thus Sanskritized. On the other hand, the introduction of the wooden images in the Puri temple was an instance of Hinduism absorbing tribal practices and thereby getting tribalized.

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 16. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, p. 35. Also see D.C. Sircar, “Ganga Bhanudeva II and Purushottama-Jagannatha”, *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 251-53.
 17. *Anargharaghava, anka 1, prasthavana*. Murari may be an eleventh or early twelfth century playwright. A discussion on his dates can be found in Stietencron, op. cit., p. 15-16 and in Tripathi, “On the Concept of Purusottama in the Agamas” p. 38, n. 15, in Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi (eds), op. cit., p. 31-59.
 18. The translation is from M.M. Chakravarti, “The Date of the Jagannath Temple in Puri”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 68, 1889, p. 328, also quoted in Kulke, op. cit., p. 38, n.7.
 19. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, no. 1329.
 20. Kulke, op. cit., p. 28.
 21. Ibid., p.29 (diacritical marks omitted and spellings modified accordingly). The text of the inscriptions are in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, p. 235, Vol. XXVIII, p. 235-58 and Vol. XXXI, p. 96.
 22. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, p. 202.
 23. P. Acharya, “The Commemorative Inscription of the Ananta Vasudeva Temple at Bhubaneswar”, *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1953, p. 274-88.
 24. Kulke, op. cit., p. 26 (title), 36 (diacritical marks omitted).
 25. Ibid., p. 36 (diacritical marks omitted).
 26. Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi, op. cit.
 27. *Epigraphia Indica*, XI, p. 190 ff.
 28. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXV, p. 227.
 29. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 124 ff.
 30. Eschmann, op. cit., p. 114.
 31. Ibid. See especially the summary, pp. 195-96.
 32. Stietencron, op. cit., pp. 16-20.
 33. Some scholars believe that it was Yayati II. See Stietencron, Ibid., p. 16, n. 55.
 34. *Skanda Purana*, 2.2.7.23; 2.2.7.28; 2.2.7.46; etc.
 35. “Nilagiri”, *ibid.*, 2.2.7.24; “nilasikhara”, 2.2.7.59; “nilaparvata”, 2.2.8.62; “niladri”, 2.2.9.24; 2.2.9.40; 2.2.9.43; 2.2.9.57; 2.2.10.32; 2.2.10.43; 2.2.10.44; “nilachala”, 2.2.10.64; etc. This was not a hill, but only a mound, which has since disappeared owing to many centuries of human activity.
 36. Ibid., 2.2.7.27.
 37. Ibid., 2.2.7.34; 2.2.7.47.
 38. “nilendramani”, *ibid.*, 2.2.7.26.
 39. “nilasmavarshmanah”, *ibid.*, 2.2.9.55; “nilendramani pashanamayi murtih”, *ibid.*, 2.2.7.26.
 40. Ibid., 2.2.7.98; 2.2.8.12; 2.2.9.33; 2.2.11.4; 2.2.11.5; 2.2.18.22; etc.
 41. Shastri, op. cit., p. 198.
 42. Eschmann, op. cit., p. 103.
 43. On sanskritization, see M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966. On tribalization, see S.L. Kalia, ‘Sanskritization and Tribalization’, *Bulletin of Tribal Research Institute*, Vol.2, No.4, 1959, pp. 33-43.

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