

# Ideology, Rituals And The Odia Identity Through Lord Jagannath

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## Abstract

The Jagannath religion revolves around the worship of Lord Jagannath, who is largely considered a Vaishnavite deity, especially linked with Lord Krishna (an avatar of Vishnu). Transcending the religious boundaries, the Jagannath cult has evolved, comprising elements from various branches of Brahminic tantric tradition and even incorporates heterodox Buddhist and aboriginal religious practices. Both Brahmanical influence as well as tribal elements are present considerably in the Jagannath cult, signifying integration of both 'great tradition' and 'little tradition'.<sup>i</sup> As a result, the ideologies which are associated with the Jagannath cult have developed into an inclusive ideology that is relevant to individuals from varieties of backgrounds, social classes and cultural groups. Over the centuries, the Jagannath cult has rooted itself into the very essence of the cultural and linguistic identity of the Odia people. The Jagannath Cult has instilled a sense of pride among the Odia people by shaping their regional identity, symbolizing unity and inclusivity. The cult of Jagannath is so deeply embedded in Odia identity that Jagannath and Odisha are often considered synonymous with each other. Central to the worship of Lord Jagannath are a variety of intricate and symbolically rich ceremonies central to Lord Jagannath's worship, embodying the spirit of devotion and community involvement.

**Keywords:** Syncretism, Ideology, Ritual, State Formation, Legitimacy and Odia identity.

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## I. Introduction

The emergence of the cult of Jagannath as one of the most important sects in Odisha occurred during the period of the Eastern Gangas and reached at its zenith during the kingship of Suryavamshi Gajapati kings.<sup>ii</sup> However, as the *Madalapanji*<sup>iii</sup> and other traditions suggests, Puri became the centre of Lord Jagannath during the *Somavamshi*<sup>iv</sup> dynasty, when Yayati built a small temple at Puri to enshrine the wooden icon of Jagannath.<sup>v</sup> The patronization of the Jagannath cult is done by the third kings of Eastern Ganga dynasty, Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva, of Ganga dynasty in 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>vi</sup> He built a temple for the three deities associated with the Jagannath Cult at Puri which got widely recognized as '*Shreekshetra*'<sup>vii</sup> or 'holy land'. Puri is therefore recognized as one of the four holiest pilgrimage sites of India. This building of a Vaishnavite temple by a Shaivite king shows the growing popularity of the Cult of Jagannath and its political implications. The conversion of his epithets from *Paramamahesvara*<sup>viii</sup> to *Paramavaishnava*<sup>ix</sup> also signifies the same.<sup>x</sup> This patronization helped the Ganga king in sanctifying and consolidating his power in Odisha, as well as promoting the cult as a central element of Odia culture and religion.<sup>xi</sup>

Later Ganga king Anangabhimadeva III started the practice of proclaiming Lord Jagannath as the sovereign ruler of the empire and ruled the state as the Deputy/*Routa* of the Lord.<sup>xii</sup> He did it to sought religious authority over the state by creating a sense of solidarity and shared purpose among his subjects. Further in order to instil loyalty among the subjects, he proclaimed that his reign had divine protection particularly in the face of external threats, such as Turko-Afghan invasion. This policy of Anangabhimadeva III was followed by the later Gangas and the *Suryavamshi Gajapatis*. The *Suryavamshi Gajapati*<sup>xiii</sup> dynasty, which was founded by Kapilendra Deva continued the patronization of this cult with great devotion and enthusiasm. During the *Ganga*<sup>xiv</sup> and *Suryavamsi* periods, the kingship became closely linked with the Jagannath cult, with rulers using the deity's name to legitimize their actions, thereby making the cult a primary source of their authority.

During the early centuries of Muslim rule, several attacks were made, and damage was inflicted upon the religious centre of Puri.<sup>xv</sup> However, after the Mughal occupation of Odisha in 1578, the popularity of the Jagannath cult strengthened, and it remained significant. Under the Mughals, the cult was even patronized to promote pilgrimage to Puri. The Muslim rulers elevated the *Gajapati* kings of Khurda as the custodian of the Jagannath Temple in Puri. When in 1751, the Marathas captured Odisha, they sought to gain popular support through the Jagannath cult. Additionally, they systematized the collection of pilgrim taxes, establishing proper

temple administration for this purpose. During both the Muslim and Maratha periods, the Gajapati kings of Khurda continued to oversee the pilgrimage site of Puri. The Bhakti saint Chaitanya Mahaprabhu<sup>xvi</sup>, in the 16th century, further contributed to the popularity of Lord Jagannath beyond the borders of Odisha.

The British established control over Odisha in 1803 and took special care to not disturb the religious traditions prevailed in Odisha. They took over the management of the Puri Jagannath Temple. They continued to implement the same *Pilgrim tax* system on Puri Jagannath Temple as prevailed from the time of Marathas.<sup>xvii</sup> The cult became more popular all over India under their administration and their religious policy. The Christian missionaries criticized this activity of the British Government, condemning the Jagannath Cult for causing countless deaths during the Car Festival every year. The self-immolation practice prevalent during the Ratha Yatra, was used by zealous missionaries like Claudius Buchanan and James Peggs to degrade the Jagannatha faith and propagate their religion.<sup>xviii</sup> However, they could not inflict any impact on the popularity of Jagannath Cult and it kept thriving and growing under the British.

## II. Ideology Of Jagannath Cult

The theological and philosophical principles on which the ideology of Jagannath cult is rooted on shows a blend of wide spectrum of religious traditions of India. It does not follow the philosophies of one specific religious sect, rather the Cult of Jagannath display fusion of many religious traditions. The Jagannath cult itself is a synthesis of many religious faiths in one, giving it a flexible and integrated outlook. The ideology integrates in itself the elements of religious sects such as Vaishnavism, Saivism, Shaktism of the Hindu religion, also of tribal faiths, Buddhism, Jainism and Islamism. This has made the Jagannath cult popular among people from all walks of life. The ideology of this cult revolves around the concept of unity, equality, compassion, and acceptance. This inclusive aspect of Jagannath tradition is the defining feature of the cult of Jagannath. This being the central ideology behind this cult, it transcends the social boundaries that exists in the name of caste distinctions.

The Lord Jagannath, the head deity of the triad of Jagannath cult is believed to be the manifestation of Lord Vishnu. The influence of Bhagavata cult can be traced back to 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D, the time of Samudragupta's expedition to the Sothern states. The kings of *Mathara*<sup>xix</sup> dynasty and Early *Gangas* of Odisha had seen being influenced by Bhagavatism and adopting the cult of Narayana.<sup>xx</sup> The *Narayana* cult was later popularized as the *Madhava* cult during 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> c,<sup>xxi</sup> from the time *Sailodbhavas*<sup>xxii</sup>, who were mainly Saivite, but some kings were also Vaishnavites.<sup>xxiii</sup> During that period, Shankaracharya's visit to Puri was a significant event, as it revived Vaishnavism in Odisha.<sup>xxiv</sup> According to some scholars, the popularity of Vaishnavism in Odisha can be attributed to Ramanuja. He visited Puri in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. during the time of Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva, who constructed a stone Jagannatha Temple at Puri later in that period.<sup>xxv</sup>

The Krishna cult made notable impact on the Jagannatha cult in the twelfth and thirteen centuries. We come across many images in the Puri Jagannatha Temple connected with the life of Krishna.<sup>xxvi</sup> Jagannath of the triad of deities is identified with Lord Krishna; and Balabhadra and Shubhadra as Balarama and Shubhadra of the Mahabharata epic by Sage Vyasa. The Odia *Mahabharata* by Sarala Das corroborated with this fact and suggested Vaishnavite as well as tribal origin of this cult. Many religious literatures also identify Jagannatha as Lord Purushottama, Krishna was also known as Purushottama according to *Vishnudharma*<sup>xxvii</sup> <sup>xxviii</sup>

The origin of the iconographic form of Lord Jagannatha can be traced to tribal origin. The oral traditions, tells us that originally Lord Jagannath was worshiped by the *Savara*<sup>xxix</sup> tribal community in the form of *Nilamadhava*<sup>xxx</sup> in the South Kosala region.<sup>xxxi</sup> Today also the *Savaras* can be seen worshiping the wooden deity *Nilamadhava*. In many parts of Odisha, different tribes, mainly *Savaras* and *Khonds*<sup>xxxii</sup> worship numerous goddess whose iconographic forms are represented by wooden posts or pillars, such as goddess *Stambheswari* and *Khambeswari*.<sup>xxxiii</sup> In the coastal belts of Odisha, the goddess *Mangala* is worshiped in wooden pillar form. These tribal deities share iconographic resemblances with the *Jagannath*, *Balabhadra* and *Shubhadra*. The association of this cult with the worship of wooden goddesses also represent the presence of *Shakta* features in the Cult of Jagannath. The presence of goddess *Shubhadra* itself signify the *Shakta* influence in this cult which is also supplemented by *Skanda Purana*. The worship of goddess *Vimala*<sup>xxxiv</sup> and presence of *Saptamatruka*<sup>xxxv</sup> inside temple indicate prevalence of strong influence of Shaktism. The link between the Cult of Jagannatha and Saivism established based on the similarities between the iconographic form of *Ekapada Bhairava*<sup>xxxvi</sup>, a fierce form of Shiva, and the icon of Lord Jagannatha.<sup>xxxvii</sup> Some theories suggest that these similarities are the evidence of *Saivite* roots of cult of Jagannath. Another theory that contrasts this theory, recognizes the deity *Balabhadra* of the trinity as *Shiva* because of the resemblance of his *Sankarsana Balaram*<sup>xxxviii</sup> with *Ekapada Bhairava*.<sup>xxxix</sup> Some tantrik texts refers to maa *Vimala* of the Jagannath Temple as *Shakti* and Jagannatha as *Bhairava*. It refers to *Saiva* and *Shakta* association.

The believe in transmigration of soul as a consequence of *Karma* is of Jaina origin and the Buddhist belief of *Nirvana*. The Kalpa Vrksa written by Nilakantha Das<sup>xl</sup> tells us about the non-Vedic rituals connected with this cult and opines that the origin of the Jagannatha Cult is from Jainism.<sup>xli</sup> According to his perception, the Jagannatha trinity are the symbolic form of the Jaina '*triratnas*'; *Samyak Darshana*, *Samyak Jnana* and *Samyak*

*Charita*.<sup>xlii</sup> Some scholars opines that the *Nilamadhava* is the famous Kalinga Jina of history, the same *Jinasana* we found references in Hatigumpha inscription of King Kharavela<sup>xliii xliv</sup>

Odisha has long been one of the important centres of Buddhism. It is obvious that the religious syncretism of Buddhism with the Jagannatha Cult had happened over the years, as evident from many sources. The *Uddiyana* King, Indrabhuti of 8<sup>th</sup> c. AD, mentioned as the author of the *Jnanasiddhi*, has referred to Lord Jagannatha as Buddha.<sup>xlv</sup> Jayadeva in his *Geetha Govindam*<sup>xlvi</sup> has mentioned that Buddha was one of the incarnations of Vishnu, and Buddha was Jagannatha in his previous birth.<sup>xlvii</sup> Buddhist influence on the *Madhava* cult dates back to the *Bhaumakara*<sup>xlviii</sup> dynasty, a period marked by the syncretisation of Vaishnavite and Buddhist traditions.<sup>xlix</sup> Western scholar, General Cunningham advocates that the three deities of the triad represent Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars believe that the tooth relic of Lord Buddha is preserved inside the image of Jagannath. W. W. Hunter has drawn some similarities between the Chariot Festival of Jagannath and the tooth relic festival of Lord Buddha.<sup>li</sup> Jagannatha Das in his *Daru Brahma Gita* states that in order to take on the form of Buddha, the Lord relinquished his hands and legs.

The Afghan occupation of Odisha laid the foundation for Muslim rule in Odisha in 1568. Jagannatha emerged as a key symbol of unity among the Odias during this period of a divided and fragmented Odisha. The Raja of Khurda, Ramachandra Deva II, who had converted to Islam, was still allowed to perform ritualistic services to Lord Jagannatha, demonstrating the Hindu-Muslim syncretic tradition.<sup>lii</sup> The 17th-century Muslim poet, Sal Beg, composed a large number of devotional songs called *Bhajans* dedicated to Lord Jagannatha.<sup>liii</sup> His poems are still an integral element in performing the temple rites to this day. The *Orissa Kohinoor Press Panjika*, authored by a Muslim scholar, Aminul Islam, has been accepted in the Jagannath Temple of Puri for calculating auspicious times based on astrological phenomenon for conducting rituals.<sup>liv</sup>

### III. Rituals Associated With Jagannath And Cult

The different rituals observed in the Jagannatha Temple uphold preservation of the distinct traditional knowledge, oral traditions and ritual practices of the people of the State. It also has a significant influence of the practices of different tribal communities of Odisha like Saura, Gond, Kondh, Santal and many others. The rituals of Jagannath Temple falls into three categories such as the daily rituals, the occasional rituals and the festive rituals. The daily rituals are observed daily on a routine basis. The periodical *Nitis* are observed on occurrence of some specific occasions like, *Ekadasi*, *Sankranti*, *Amabasya*, on eclipses and *Nakhatras* etc. Lastly there are various festivals observed during the year such as the *Snana Yatra*, the *Ratha Yatra*, the *Chandana Yatra*, *Jhulan Yatra* etc.

The rituals that are associated with Lord Jagannatha, notably in Puri, have weaved together the spiritual, social and cultural dimensions of Odisha in a very complex manner. The core of these practices is a devotional centre, *Tirtha*, that attracts millions of devotees each year. The *Ratha Yatra* (Chariot Festival), the *Bahuda Yatra* (reverse car festival), *Snana Yatra* (Bathing Festival) and *Nabakalevara* ceremony (re-embodiment ceremony) are of the prominent ceremonies with profound spiritual and cultural significance, which we are going to discuss elaborately in this segment. The *Bhoga* (daily food offerings) and the *Mahaprasada* (consecrated food) distribution reflects the social harmony existing in the temple grounds. The rituals do not only represent the ceremonial aspect of the cult, but also reflects the philosophical aspects of the Cult of Jagannath. The Gajapati King leads the rituals at important occasions as the ceremonial head, which demonstrates the political implications of the Jagannath tradition.

The *Chariot festival* is a periodical festival that is observed every year in Puri, the seat of Jagannatha, and in the nooks and corners of Odisha. This festival is an important festival with high ritualistic significance. This festival is celebrated globally now a days with much enthusiasm by the Vaishnavites in accordance with the scriptural prescription. Millions of devotee rush to *Shreekshestra* during this festival from all over the world. In this ceremony, the three deities were taken out of the temple, their adobe, and placed in *Ratha* or *Chariot* of the respective idols. First the wooden pillar of *Sudarsana*<sup>lv</sup> was taken out of the temple. Gradually Jagannath, Balabhadra and Shubhadra are taken out by the priests or *servitors* with a slow rocking gait, which is called *Pahandi*.<sup>lvi</sup> These chariots were dragged by devotees with the help of thick ropes, to the separate garden temple of Mata *Gundicha*<sup>lvii</sup>. The chariots were taken to the *Gundicha* temple with a grand procession. After seven days the idols were brought back to their adobe in a separate ceremony, called *Bahuda Yatra*.<sup>lviii</sup> The chariots in which the journey takes place were massive structures made with neem wood and decorated with carvings of ritualistic importance. This ritual has great significance, as non-Hindus are prohibited entry to the Jagannatha Temple, the three deities are taken out of it annually for the seekers irrespective of caste, creed, community and class. It reflects the egalitarian ideology of this cult.

The observance of *Snana Yatra* is done every year in the month of *Jyestha Purnima* (June), also called as *Deva Snana Purnima*. This festival which is observed for one day is of great ceremonial importance. On the morning of the prescribed day, the *Daitas* (the tribal priests) take out the deities in their elephant attire and carry them to the bathing platform, *Markandeshwar* Tank by procession.<sup>lix</sup> The images are placed on lofty platforms so

that it can be seen by the onlookers. The idols were drenched by continuous pouring of water until they became colourless. The images are then taken to the main enshrine and placed in the corridor linking the inner and outer sanctum. Then the deities go on resting phase for thirteen days of *Anasara*<sup>lx</sup>. During this period, the temple is kept close. After the thirteenth day, the deities were coated with sacred pastes and paints. After the painting is over in the fourteenth day, on the fifteenth day the *Anasara* period got over and the temple is opened for the devotees again.<sup>lxi</sup> On this day, three priests paint the pupils of eyes of the three deities, which is called *Netra utsava*.<sup>lxii</sup>

The *Navakalevara* festival performed in the Cult of Jagannatha involves the ritualistic reincarnation of the triad of deities: *Jagannatha*, *Balabhadra* and *Shubhadra* and *Sudarsana*.<sup>lxiii</sup> This festival symbolizes periodical demise of physical body and rebirth after the transmigration of soul, representing the cycle of life and death. The term *Navakalevara* is derived from two wards; '*Nava*' and '*Kalevara*', here '*Nava*' means '*new*' and '*Kalevara*' means '*body*'. This festival is generally performed at an interval of *one yuga* or every 12 years.<sup>lxiv</sup> The *Brahma Padartha*<sup>lxv</sup> is transformed from the old wooden bodies into newly carved images from Neem wood and the old images were buried in the ground. The rituals associated with this practice are performed in great secrecy and care.

Nevertheless, it is seen that the frequency of this ceremony depends on the durability and deterioration of the wooden images. If only a partial renovation is necessary, then *Shreeangphitaa*<sup>lxvi</sup> is performed,<sup>lxvii</sup> in which the seven layer of coatings composing sandal pastes, camphor and musk; and clothing was replaced by new coatings and new silk *Gitagovinda cloths*<sup>lxviii</sup> of *twelfth hath* (twelfth hand) length.<sup>lxix</sup> These coatings and clothings make the idol afresh and preserve it for longer period of time. These two rituals are very important as Jagannath, who is also regarded as '*Daru Brahma*' manifested in the form of wooden image. So, the periodical transmigration of soul to a new body is necessary to preserve the Gods iconographic form. These rituals follow the philosophy that says that death is inevitable and body may deteriorate but the soul is indestructible.

The *Bhoga* is prepared for the trinity deities on the daily basis in the temple. There are huge landed endowments, made by the wealthy and aristocratic class dating back to the beginning of Jagannatha cult, for the daily procurement of this *Prasada*.<sup>lxx</sup> The prepared *Bhoga* is first presented to the deities, which they eat with their eyes. After that the '*leftovers*', regarded as *Mahaprasada* by his devotees distributed among the priests, high aristocrats and the *Bhaktas*.<sup>lxxi</sup> It is said that, whoever eats the *Mahaprasada* shall be blessed and becomes the children of the lord. Som, the sacred food or *Mahaprasada* is offered to people of all castes in equal footing without discrimination in the temple grounds every day. This notion breaks the caste barriers and everyone became equal in front of the lord as his children. This shows that Lord Jagannath embraces all and do not discriminate among his devotees.<sup>lxxii</sup>

#### **IV. Odia Identity Through Lord Jagannath**

The Cult of Jagannatha is inextricably linked to the history, sociocultural unity and traditional values of the people of Odisha. The worship of Jagannatha reflects the essence of ethnic identity. In Indian philosophy, where religion is seen as the gateway to the ultimate reality.<sup>lxxiii</sup> The metaphysical aspect of religion helps us in understanding the 'Self' and acts as a connecting link between individual and cosmic identities; of which the Jagannatha cult is a good example of, which exhibit the merge of the Self with the universe. The consciousness of the Odia identity by the people of Odisha is originally a European phenomenon, which fostered among the people after the propagation of Western ideas into the country during the colonial period. However, the self-consciousness manifested itself into the Odia people from the early period in the form of religious and ritualistic identity with the help of the Jagannath Cult. But it was in such a basic level that the shared common experiences were not recognized properly. The wide popularity of Jagannatha in the land of Odisha induced a sense of pride and belongingness to the lord and to the land to which he belongs.

The present name of '*Odisha*' is derived from the word '*Odra*', in this way, the people inhabiting this region were known as '*Odia*'. The earliest mention of the word *Odra* can be traced back to 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and have repeated numerous times in the ancient secular and religious texts.<sup>lxxiv</sup> Nevertheless, the first evidence of the Odia identity was found from the Jagannatha temple inscription of Kapilendra Deva, dated back to 1443. The inscription has mention of '*Odisha Rajya*' which refers to the territories he ruled.<sup>lxxv</sup> This use of the term in such way signifies the genesis of Odisha as a well-established geographical unit of that time. The contemporary Odia writer Sarala Das of 15<sup>th</sup> c. has linked the death of Sri Krishna with the birth of the cult of Lord Jagannatha in Puri. Through this regionalization of Mahabharata and linking the origin of Lord Jagannatha to Odisha, he made Odisha the hallowed land. The *Panchasakhas*<sup>lxxvi</sup>, who were among the firsts of Odia poets, following the path of Sarala Das, celebrated Lord Jagannatha not only as the supreme being, but also as the essence of every Odias' cultural and spiritual identity. The Odia consciousness did not develop out of the geographic limits, but out of recognition as the follower of Jagannath. Sarala's Mahabharata, Balarama's Ramayana, Jagannath's Bhagavata and Achyutananda's Harivamsa are the literatures that reflects on religious experience of the Odia people and its contribution towards the development of a common experience and perception.<sup>lxxvii</sup> The cult of Jagannath is described as a unique cultural synthesis of Aryan and pre-Aryan traditions, which reflects the diverse social fabric

of Odisha.<sup>lxxviii</sup> This synthesis appropriated many tribal elements, the Buddhist as well as Jaina features transcending the caste features of Odia society along with the mainstream Aryan culture to contribute to a regional identity within the Indian subcontinent. Despite occasional outbursts of communal antagonism, this syncretic culture of Lord Jagannath has been successful in keeping the Odia identity intact and ensuring the peaceful coexistence of its population. In the Medieval period, the cult constituting the core of the religious, cultural, and political traditions of Odisha had helped the ruling power in State expansion into tribal territories as well as extracting the loyalty of the aboriginal groups. Under the influence of the cult, Hinduism in Odisha has been transformed into a confluence of diverse cults and sects rather than being a monolithic discourse and practice.<sup>lxxix</sup> Since its inception, Jagannath has been seen as a legitimising agency for the rulers of Odisha. The Mughals, the Marathas, the East India Company and even the leaders of Odisha unification movement as well as the contemporary political leadership have sought legitimacy by acknowledging the supra-temporal authority of Lord Jagannath at least notionally.<sup>lxxx</sup> Hence the Jagannath Dharma is not just a religious belief rather a social, cultural as well as political ideology that has bonded the Odias emotionally, culturally and regionally across the world fostering the unique Odia identity.

## V. Conclusion

The Jagannath cult is a syncretic cult assimilating different features from mainstream religion such as Jainism, Buddhism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism as well as absorbing the tribal cults and beliefs from the periphery. This accommodation of different cultural beliefs into its fold has made it a universal religion. This universal approach to humanity of the Jagannath cult helped the Medieval rulers in the process of state formation and expansion. Not only the cult helped the rulers in achieving their political objective but also instilled fear, loyalty and faith among the people towards their ruler. By declaring Lord Jagannath as the ruler and the king as mere *Sevakas*<sup>lxxxi</sup>, the Medieval rulers declared themselves as representatives of the Lord and ruling on his behalf and under his guidance. This declaration helped them in securing legitimacy to their rule in far flung areas as well as conquering and ruling over new territories. The ideology and rituals associated with the cult is an embodiment of the cultural beliefs of the people of the State. Through this process, the Jagannath cult has not only been able to strengthen Hinduism rather it has contributed to the growth of an unique cultural identity of the Odia people.

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- [24] <sup>xxiv</sup> Mahalik, N. (2008). Jagannath, The Lord Of Universe: His Origin And Evolution. Odisha Review, 63.
- [25] <sup>xxv</sup> Das, B. (1978). Development Of Radha-Krishna Cult In Orissa. Proceedings Of The Indian History Congress, 39, 540.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/44139393>
- [26] <sup>xxvi</sup> Ibid.
- [27] <sup>xxvii</sup> Vishnudharma Is A Sanskrit Manuscript Of 3rd Century AD.
- [28] <sup>xxviii</sup> Ibid, 75.
- [29] <sup>xxix</sup> Savaras Are One Of The Aboriginal Tribes Of Odisha Out Of Its 62 Recognized Tribes.
- [30] <sup>xxx</sup> Nilamadhava Is Derived From Two Words; 'Nilā' And 'Madhava', Meaning 'Blue Madhava'. Madhava Is Known To Be A Form Of Vishnu.
- [31] <sup>xxxi</sup> Mishra, K. Ch. (2000). Religious Syncretism And The Jagannath Cult In Orissa. Proceedings Of The Indian History Congress, 61, 148. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44148090>
- [32] <sup>xxxii</sup> Khonds Are One Of The Indigenous Tribal Communities Of India Found Mainly In The Eastern Belts.
- [33] <sup>xxxiii</sup> Mishra, K. Ch. (2000). Religious Syncretism And The Jagannath Cult In Orissa. Proceedings Of The Indian History Congress, 61, 150. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44148090>
- [34] <sup>xxxiv</sup> Maa Vimala Is One Of The Most Ritualistically Important Deity To Whom A Small Temple Is Dedicated To Inside The Temple Courtyard.
- [35] <sup>xxxv</sup> Sapta-Matrika Or The Seven-Mother Goddesses Are Popular In Tantrik Shaktism. According To The Puranas, Matrikas Are Many Forms Of Shaktis And Goddesses Of The Battlefield. An Image Of Saptamatrika Is Found Near The Markandeswara Tank Inside Puri Jagannatha Temple.
- [36] <sup>xxxvi</sup> The Ekapada Bhairava Represent The Destructive Form Of Shiva, Standing In One Leg.
- [37] <sup>xxxvii</sup> Mishra, K. Ch. (2000). Religious Syncretism And The Jagannath Cult In Orissa. Proceedings Of The Indian History Congress, 61, 148. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44148090>
- [38] <sup>xxxviii</sup> Shankarshan Balarama Is The Elder Brother Of Lord Krishna. He Is Always Depicted Holding A Wooden Plough.
- [39] <sup>xxxix</sup> Mishra, K. Ch. (2000). Religious Syncretism And The Jagannath Cult In Orissa. Proceedings Of The Indian History Congress, 61, 149. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44148090>
- [40] <sup>xl</sup> Nilakantha Das Is A Prominent Odia Writer And Scholar Of 20<sup>th</sup> Century.
- [41] <sup>xli</sup> Mishra, K. Ch. (2000). Religious Syncretism And The Jagannath Cult In Orissa. Proceedings Of The Indian History Congress, 61, 148. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44148090>
- [42] <sup>xlii</sup> Mohapatra, G., & Samantaray, S. (2017). From Inner Peace To World Peace: Jagannath Consciousness In The Literature Of Odisha. Rupkatha Journal On Interdisciplinary Studies In Humanities, 9(4), 173.
- [43] <sup>xliii</sup> King Kharavela Belongs To The Chedi Or What Is Referred In The Hatigumpha Inscription As Mahameghavahana Dynasty. He Ruled During 1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE.
- [44] <sup>xliv</sup> Mahalik, N. (2008). Jagannath, The Lord Of Universe: His Origin And Evolution. Odisha Review, 63.
- [45] <sup>xlvi</sup> Ibid.
- [46] <sup>xlvii</sup> Geetha Govindam Was Composed In 12<sup>th</sup> Century By Jayadeva, Which Contains The Description Of Love Relationship Between Radha-Krishna.
- [47] <sup>xlviii</sup> Mishra, K. Ch. (2000). Religious Syncretism And The Jagannath Cult In Orissa. Proceedings Of The Indian History Congress, 61, 148. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44148090>
- [48] <sup>xlviii</sup> They Ruled Odisha Between 8<sup>th</sup> To 10 C. A.D.
- [49] <sup>xlix</sup> Mahalik, N. (2008). Jagannath, The Lord Of Universe: His Origin And Evolution. Odisha Review, 63.
- [50] <sup>i</sup> Mohapatra, G., & Samantaray, S. (2017). From Inner Peace To World Peace: Jagannath Consciousness In The Literature Of Odisha. Rupkatha Journal On Interdisciplinary Studies In Humanities, 9(4), 174.
- [51] <sup>ii</sup> Mohapatra, G., & Samantaray, S. (2017). From Inner Peace To World Peace: Jagannath Consciousness In The Literature Of Odisha. Rupkatha Journal On Interdisciplinary Studies In Humanities, 9(4), 174.
- [52] <sup>iii</sup> Kanungo, P. (2014). Shift From Syncretism To Communalism. Economic And Political Weekly, 49(14), 49.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24479383>
- [53] <sup>liii</sup> Ibid.
- [54] <sup>liiv</sup> Ibid.
- [55] <sup>lv</sup> Sudarsana Is The Name Of The Chakra Of The Lord Jagannatha Is Depicted Iconographically As A Wooden Post And Is Enshrined Along With The Jagannatha Trinity In Puri.
- [56] <sup>lvi</sup> Dash, K. C. (1996). A Study Of The Origin Of Ratha Yātrā In The Puruṣottama Kṣetra. East And West, 46(1/2), 118.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/29757257>
- [57] <sup>lvii</sup> Mata Gundicha Is The Aunt Of The Three Main Deities Linked To Jagannatha Cult.
- [58] <sup>lviii</sup> Ghosh, U. (2018). Chariots Of The Gods: The Many Histories Of Jagannath, "Juggernaut," And The Rathayatra In The Nineteenth Century. History Of Religions, 58(1), 66. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26548191>
- [59] <sup>lix</sup> Dash, K. C. (1996). A Study Of The Origin Of Ratha Yātrā In The Puruṣottama Kṣetra. East And West, 46(1/2), 117.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/29757257>
- [60] <sup>lx</sup> After The Bathing Festival, The Three Deities Fall Sick And For Fifteen Days They Stay Away From View Of The Public.
- [61] <sup>lxi</sup> Dash, K. C. (1996). A Study Of The Origin Of Ratha Yātrā In The Puruṣottama Kṣetra. East And West, 46(1/2), 118.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/29757257>
- [62] <sup>lxii</sup> Ibid.
- [63] <sup>lxiii</sup> Hacker, K. F. (1997). Dressing Lord Jagannātha In Silk: Cloth, Clothes, And Status. RES: Anthropology And Aesthetics, 32, 118.  
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