

**THE LESSER KNOWN TEMPLES OF BHUBANESWAR:
INQUIRIES IN ART, ARCHITECTURE AND PATRONAGE**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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TO

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Santosh Kumar Mallik
Santosh Kumar Mallik

System of Transliteration Table

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ॠ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	Ṛ	e	ai	o	au
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ		
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa	ca	cha	ja	jha	ña		
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न		
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	na		
प	फ	ब	भ	म	य	र	ल	व			
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma	ya	ra	la	va			
श	ष	स	ह	क्ष	य						
śa	ṣa	sa	ha	kṣa	ya						

(Aunsvara) ṁ (Visarga) ḥ (Chandrabindu) °

Abbreviations

AI	Ancient India
ASI-AR	Archaeological Survey of India- Annual Report
CII	Corpus Inscription Indicarum
EI	Epigraphia Indica
GSI	Geological Survey of India
IA	Indian Antiquary
IAR	Indian Archaeology- A Review
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IHR	Indian Historical Review
INC	Indian Numismatic Chronicles
JAIS	Journal of Ancient Indian history
JAS	Journal of Asiatic Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBORS	Journal of the Bihara and Orissa Research Society
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
JKHRS	Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society
JNAHO	Journal of the New Aspect of the History of Orissa
JORS	Journal of Orissa Research Society
JRASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRASBL	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal- Letter
MASI	Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research Journal
UHRJ	Utkal Historical Research Journal

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Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The present study endeavors to understand the emergence of lesser known temples and the issues of art, architecture and patronage in the temple tradition of Bhubaneswar in the state of Odisha. Here the main emphasis is to trace the various factors, which provided an impetus to the emergence of religious architecture. Bhubaneswar has some of the earliest extant lesser known temples dated from 6th century AD. These temples have never become a part of art historical discourses. The stylistic development and the iconographic peculiarities of the lesser known temples were not part of discussion by the pioneer scholars. The present study is an attempt to critically engage with the shortcomings in the discipline of Odisha art history. It posits a challenge to the preoccupation with stylistic and formalistic way of comprehending art history. The Wincklemannian and Hegelian way of analyzing work of art has been questioned with the emergence of Postmodernism and New Art History movement. Influenced by such brilliant interventions the study here has attempted to resolve the differences disseminated by early scholarship. Moreover, it is also an attempt to question the obsession of art historians with famous temples and their failure in undermining the importance of minor and unknown works of art. They are only restricted to the basic of documentation. As many works are confined to documentation alone thus the area of inquiry needs to be explained consisting not only the stylistic study but also other issues of inquiries like socio-economic conditions, the issues of patronage, artisans, religious aspects, role of ruling dynasties as a matter of political interventions etc.

Needless to state that such study require an elaborate discussion and as a part of modest attempt in this regard, the present work is analyzed in four chapters. These four chapters in this work indulge in the diverse aspects of art making and its social, historical and political relevance. Art making is a social activity and thus a work of art cannot be isolated from the social, economic and political forces behind it. Culture itself acted as a force controlling socio-economic transformations rather asserting on Marxian economic determinism. Henceforth an interdisciplinary approach is deployed in the present study. The non-Brahmanic interventions have been a very potential tool in the interpretative discourses but remained marginalized as voice of the

marginalized. However, with the emergence of Postmodern and Subaltern scholarship the undocumented voices of the marginalized and subaltern caste, class and community gets its own history. It has been successful in making inroads into the role of the subaltern in the making of art work. The dynastic appellations attributed by Brahamanic nationalist school of thought has been challenged with the intervention of critical findings by various scholars. Studies related to patronage, inscriptional evidences, archaeological excavations and textual sources have altered the conventional notion of art history. In order to facilitate such a profound approach the four chapters will deal with aforementioned aspects. The first chapter deals with the introductory part of the lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar and its earlier studies, some of the other issues like the previous scholarship on temple delineate the valuable contribution of previous scholars so as to understand the kind of issues that have been dealt so far with a critical perspective. The second section discusses the studies on patronage and how it forms an important area of inquiries. It discusses different frame-works as employed by the various scholars in the context of medieval India. The early historic period had altogether different nature of patronage and is exemplified in the patronage of **Buddhist** monuments; on the other hand, the medieval Odisha temple patronage and its studies have been located in the context of medieval conditions that were prevalent in Odisha. Similarly, ethnographical researches also bring out the changing nature of patronage and the involvement of communities and social groups in the maintenance and survival of religious shrines. Patronage to temple comes generally from the royal families and thus patronage in the early medieval temple has mostly been seen from the prism of royalty and nobility, however a critical review would contest such monolithic notions based on the historical records. The third section of this chapter deals with the concept of temple and its origin in past centuries. It also delineates the various meanings of the word temple mentioned in various Hindu canons. Special emphasis is given on the practice of temple building (house of gods and goddesses) in Odisha which is an ancient practice. The fourth section deals with the meaning of the lesser known temples which assert on the not acknowledged and are less famous or acclaimed temples. Their historical relevance is scarcely mentioned. An attempt has been made here to study the lesser known temple in Bhubaneswar from its architectural, sculptural and patronage perspectives.

The second chapter deals with the historic factors those are responsible for the rise of the temple town Bhubaneswar as well as temple architecture. It is divided into four sections, each one of them deals with a different theme. The first section deals with the geographical condition including geomorphology, main rivers, distributaries, tributaries, the water ways and environmental issue like climatic conditions. The second section contains the historical geography of Bhubaneswar based on the available literary text as well as inscriptional evidences. Epigraphic evidences are discussed in details that are specifically related with Bhubaneswar and its temples to evaluate the conducive factors. The changing nature of historical geography and, how the place became the important temple town through various political rules. Furthermore the role of each dynasty in the promotion of art and architecture is also mentioned. In the fourth section, the main emphasis is given to the settlement patterns, their spatial distribution and emerging patterns in the early medieval period. Moreover, a detailed study on the Brahmanical settlements is done through the epigraphical records of land grants. It states the involvement of the Brahmin community in controlling the socio-economic circumstances of that period. These settlements were also the main centers of political activity at those times.

The third chapter focuses on the issues of patronage and is titled as patronage and temple construction. Nationalist scholarship identified temples with various metaphysical manifestations. Scholars compared it with Mount Meru, Upanishadic and Vedic manifestations, etc. This practice acted as a stumbling block in understanding the role of temple as a socio-economic institution. Apart from centers of worship temples were the controlling centers of economics and royal power. The Brahmanical hegemony as a necessary condition, enforced its canons and values in Bhubaneswar art, which clearly indicate that hierarchy system like worship of god as an exclusive privilege of Brahmins and higher class were permitted to enter the *garbhagirhas* of the temple but lower caste peoples are not allowed, even in the premises of temple. Such restricted social practices also get incorporated in the architectural edifices. Such feature indeed enters in the temple building activities and become part of Brahmanical social code of conducts as a religious phenomenon. The system of hierarchy becomes reflexive when it comes to the building of temple as a site of political legitimacy through the ritualistic, religious manifestations on the other

hand there are small temples which do not become part of political interventions but adhere to the ritualistic religious manifestations. For instance the big temples like the Lingarāja or any other big temple in Bhubaneswar are direct or indirectly have grown with the support of political rulers. The lesser known temples being not part of the royalty remain secluded from the political interventions as they are part of the religious ritual practices of the non-royal Brahmanical society. Being important component of the temple activity, the way patronage shifted from the collective to royalty, it has been argued that not only the kings alone but the other rich class and *Śaivaācārya* were also involved in the temple construction projects. The *Śaivaācārya*, individual or cumulative persons played a more prominent role in the construction, installation, and maintenance of religious institutions rather than Brahmins. In case of big temples, all the donations to the religious shrines were not only exclusively for the expenditure on construction but also for maintenance purpose. At the same time, the temple becomes a social institution in the context of Brahmanical social order that benefits to Brahmin community and the ruling class of the society.

The first section articulates an historical outline about the patrons and temples in Odisha. The relation between political and cult centers is given due attention with the study of authority and patronage. The second section mentions the characteristic features of the patronage in lesser known temples. These temples are devoid of any cult deities and were gifts of individual donors. The Bhakti movements had its own impact in the emergence of these monuments. The third section pertains to sculptural representation of patronage. A large number of temples depict the donor figures in the outer wall of temples. These sculptures are representation of a royal personage or an individual. The fourth section is titled as temple and its role in socio-economic condition. It stresses on the expenditure of the monarchy, endowments to the temples, managerial skill in temple, role of temples in land management, role of temple as an employer, temples as a consumer, temples as a bank, temples and the regional development, and temples as centers of cultural activities. The fifth section titled as availability of resources for building of temples deals with the resources for temple building and its possible sources. It refers to the principal stones which have been utilized in temple making. The texture and longevity of the stones were the reasons

behind their selection. The sixth section on construction technique mentions the conventions of temple making. One of the major fallacies of the Brahmanic nationalistic school of thought is the assumption that texts are followed strictly in art making. Nationalist scholars like Coomaraswamy, Kramrisch, Sivaramamurti, et al consistently asserted on the prominence of text. They were also responsible for a metaphysical and spiritual attribution to the artist. The source of creation is thus misdirected towards Vedic and Puranic knowledge rather than focusing on the creativity and improvisation by the artist. The present work engages critically with this section regarding canons of art making and its practice. It refers to various *śilpa* texts to confirm the importance of artisan or *sthāpati* in temple making. Textual tradition in Odisha provides information's on every aspect of temple making from laying its foundation to the most complicated processes of raising a superstructure.

Chapter four titled as temples and their art and architecture of lesser known temples. It is divided into three sections. The art and architecture represents the origin and growth of a regional style or “*Kalīṅgan School of Style*” or “*Kalīṅgarīti*”. It is the only place in Odisha where three types of temple architecture are largely concentrated. All kinds of experiments, innovations, perfection as well as excellence of temple art and architecture were carried out in this place. These are discussion in the first section of this chapter.

The second section gives special attention to general features of evolution and development of temple sculpture. For the colonial scholarship Indian sculptures provided the archetype of many armed, many headed demons. Many of the earlier scholarship were thus exhausted in either condemning them as malicious or as exotic. It is with the intervention of Indian scholars like Banerjea, Gopinatha Rao, etc. this misconception was changed and a systematic study was designed. Nevertheless the preoccupations with stylistic and formalistic analysis hampered the further burgeoning of the field. Nationalist scholarship was engaged in privileging Kushan, Gupta and Chola sculptures as the epitomes of Indian art and culture and thus neglected the importance of sculptures in minor temples. Moreover they followed a Hegelian way of comprehending the work of art as the reflection of the spirit of that age and failed to understand the socio-economic, political forces behind it. Sculptures

were separated from its location and studied in isolation to formulate a unidirectional chronological nationalistic history of art. The present work discusses various features sculptures depicted in the lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar. This section is further divided into three sub-sections i.e., the ethno-aesthetics modulations of the figural art, sacrilegious or secular theme and religious themes, and evolution and development of iconographic features of the sculpture. The study is divided into an early phase and later phase. An extensive study of iconographic features of various gods and goddesses have been done in the final section which comprises of *Pārsvadevatā*, *Kārtikeya*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Pārvatī*, *Mahisāmardinī*, *Lākūlīsa*, *Natarāja*, *Ardhanārīśvara*, *Hara-Pārvatī*, Other manifestations of *Śiva*, incarnations of *Vishṇu*, Buddha and Jain images, semi divine figures, *Digapālas*, *Graha* slabs and other deities.

The third section focuses on the small temples. There are more than hundred small temples in Bhubaneswar town, out of which only twelve lesser known temples. A strenuous effort has been made to produce a detailed description of stylistic differences and development of the art and architecture of selected temples. Special emphasis on the peculiar stylistic and iconographic analysis has been done in this section. In spite of the peculiarity in the form of temple architectures, further added components and devices differentiated one phase to another. The last chapter deals with the conclusion where observations in a synoptic manner are mentioned.

CHAPTER-I

Earlier Studies and Lesser Known Temples

CHAPTER-I

EARLIER STUDIES AND LESSER KNOWN TEMPLES

Bhubaneswar, the capital city of Odisha has a long history of its (Map.4 &16) own, starting from prehistoric past dated to fifty thousand BC. This is evident by archaeological findings through exploration and excavation.¹ From third century BC onwards there are available evidences of its continuity till date. It has a long history of the temple building tradition. It consists of number of temples of different types and sizes. Some are still being worshiped and in various stages of preservation. These temples by reasons of their number, varieties, antiquity and numerous sculptures form a large corpus of data to explain and understand the various possibilities for art historical investigations. It's a matter of greatness that Bhubaneswar has five hundred temples.² The temples are in a continuous succession spreading over a long period from the sixth century to the fifteenth or sixteenth century AD³ The existing temples in various parts of the state provides enough material for the study of the development of the temple-architecture. A complete history of a temple style-its growth, culmination and decadence has been the main stay in the earliest studies.⁴

The architectural and sculptural mystics of temples of Bhubaneswar region⁵ have attracted the attention of art historians from an early date to demystify the history behind those temples. Their style, decorative motifs, and plans had been profusely studied by numerous art historians, archaeologists and other scholars, but the works of those scholars are restricted to several huge and famous temples structures that are still intact. There are numerous small and medium size of temples which are equally architectural symbols of the past and can be regarded as pioneering efforts of temple architecture on which later designs of big temples stands, now ruined, dilapidated and abandoned needs equal attentions. There are only few studies (only restricted to documentations) have done on this lesser known temples.⁶ The present work deals with the study of some of those lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar region built in the period from Śailodbhavas to Gaṅgas bearing the time

between 6th to 13th centuries AD This work largely tries to focus on the topics like factors responsible for development of temple building, patronage for the temple and general features of architecture, sculptures and iconography based on the available evidences like inscriptions, temple observation, existing literature and epigraphy. In the subsequent section an attempt has been made to understand how the studies grow from documentations to systematic studies on development of architectural style, patronage, the concept of temple as brief prelude to the discussion on lesser known temples and a brief introduction note to the lesser known temples.

1.1. Previous Scholarship on Temple

The archaeological discovery of Odisha antiquity by colonial scholar-administrators began in the early years of the nineteenth century. As it is well known, the beginning of the studies on art and architecture began with documentation in the colonial rule, the idea was more rooted in the exotic relics of past. Andrew Stirling, in 1825 for the first time referred to the antiquities of Odisha with emphasis on Puri, Bhubaneswar, Konarak and Jajpur. The text that he has produced has enrichable exoticism while writing on the Odisha temple.⁷ The great profusion of buildings in Bhubaneswar around the Liṅgarāja temple gave Stirling an impression of a ruined city as “the great Pagoda of the Liṅgarāja lifts its singular form, eminently conspicuous, both for size, loftiness and the superior style of its architecture.”⁸ The figural decoration of the Liṅgarāja temple, it became the pivotal point of his analysis of Odisha temple style⁹. According to Stirling, “The forms and character of all the principal temples at Bhubaneswar, and indeed throughout the province, being exactly similar, a more particular account of the plan and distribution of the great Pagoda will answer the purpose of a general description...About the centre, the ... tower ...or sanctuary...rises majestically to a height of one hundred and eighty feet... (the summit of which is) shaped somewhat like a turban, which forms so distinguishing a feature in the temple architecture of Odisha...”¹⁰ The use of local names for some architectural members suggests that he was aware of the existence of an indigenous nomenclature developed by the Odia architects, but his excessive dependence on the legendary accounts of Odisha past led him to a faulty conclusion. Stirling’s account of Odisha archaeology has based on three significant aspects (a) his emphasis on concentration of religious

antiquities around four places of pilgrimage, such as *Hara-Kṣetr*, the Vishnu or Purushottama *Kṣetr*, the Arka or Padma *Kṣetr* and the Vijayi or Pārvatī *Kṣetr*, (b) an illustration of an inscription at Udayagiri and (c) an account of civil construction such as bridges, forts and stone revetments”.¹¹

The next earliest valuable systematic overview of the temples of Odisha is in James Fergusson’s *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan*¹² in 1848 and *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* in 1876¹³. In both the works he has referred to the temples of Odisha. The second one devotes a chapter for the Odisha temples. A few temples of Bhubaneswar, the Sun temple of Konark, the Jagannāth temple of Puri and some antiquities of Cuttack and Jajpur are described with in this chapter. The descriptions of the monuments are proceeded by a sketchy history of Odisha based on the materials taken from the accounts of Stirling and Hunter. He has produced the sketches of the temples from the photographs, their plans, and a table showing their internal and external measurements.¹⁴ But in spite of these his study of Odisha temple-architecture is unclear and inadequate. He himself admits that it is somewhat an insufficient account of one of the complete and interesting styles of Indian architecture.¹⁵ The dates of different temples as determined by him are totally illogical. For example, he assigns all the temples except the Jagannāth temple of Puri and including that of Konark to the rule of the Keśarī or Somavaṃsī dynasty.¹⁶ According to him the date of the Parasurāmeśvara¹⁷ is AD 500 and that of Liṅgarāja is AD 637.¹⁸ In spite of such errors the works of Fergusson made substantial contributions to, the then existing knowledge about Odisha temples. At the end of the second chapter, Fergusson suggests a tentative chronology about thirty major temples¹⁹, which is based upon Sterling’s account of the history of Odisha that appeared in *Asiatic Researches* in 1825. Fergusson is at fault for accepting it. Fergusson characterizes the Odisha temple as a pure and homogeneous expression of the “Indo-Āryan” (now usually referred to as the Northern or Nāgara style)²⁰, and states that from the earliest to the latest examples.²¹

At certain points, however, he seems to realize that there are exceptions to this generalization. While discussing, for example the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, he states that its style is certainly different from the other early temples here, and more like

what find in other places outside the province.²² He specifically points at the temples of Aihole and Bādāmi. Fergusson also makes the contradictory assertion that there are *two* styles of Odisa architecture, one represented by the Paraśurāmeśvara and Mukteśvara, the other by the Liṅgarāja, which he felt to be totally indigenous. In his view the two groups constitute “sister styles”, which seem to have “at least partially different origins”.²³ He states that these two styles “ran side by side during the whole course” of development,²⁴ perhaps to rationalize his highly tentative chronology. Despite lack of refinement in Fergusson’s chronology it marks as a pioneering attempt, and it must be said that his sense of sequence was fairly accurate. A more important issue is Fergusson's insistence on the ‘purity’ of the Odisa style, for this seems to have caused subsequent scholars to ignore or gloss over the many obvious affinities between Odisa architecture and other regional expressions of the Nāgara style.

A monograph concerned solely with Odisa architecture was attempted by R. L. Mitra in his two-volume work *Antiquities of Orissa* (1875-80 AD), undertaken by order of the Government of India.²⁵ He made an attempt to survey the temples of Odisa along with her other antiquities.²⁶ He has described the temples of the major centres of the state like, Bhubaneswar, Puri, Konark and Cuttack. He took the photographs, and preparing the sketches and ground plans of the temples. But his work was not a scientific study of the temple architecture and sculptures. In his survey, he attached more importance to particulars of the places where the temples stood, the legends, festivals and the rituals associated with the temples than to their architectural and sculptural studies. He utilized the orthodox Sanskrit texts²⁷ for identifying as well as describing the importance of shrines in Odisa. The chronological positions of the temples as suggested by him, was not based on any scientific analysis of their features. In spite of several shortcomings Mitra’s work was the first major study or the temples of Odisa.

Art historically, Mitra’s discussion of Odisa architecture is far too generalized and makes no attempt at any understanding of origin and stylistic development as well as chronological sequence. The order of discussion is determined, rather, by the pilgrim’s itinerary found in the *Ekāmra Caṇḍrikā*, a late Sanskrit text (sixteenth

century AD) of Odisha origin. Mitra gives more attention to temple's settings, physical conditions and to reports connected with them, rather than to a treatment of architecture and sculpture. Mitra cites passages from several other late Odisha Sanskrit texts which relate to the legendary origins of the temples of Bhubaneswar. He apparently did not attempt to locate local craftsmen well versed in the terminology of the Odisha *Śilpaśāstras*, resulting in the lack of clarity in his analysis of temples.

On the other hand, M. M. Ganguly started working when he realized the lacuna in Mitra's work and therefore, he by consulting local craftsmen, assembled a fairly useful set of terms, which he rightly felt would help him describe various parts of the temple.²⁸ His terminology was derived from anthropological informants rather than from texts²⁹, however it lacks accuracy. His general discussion of the Odisha temple, in his work *Orissa and Her Remains* (1912), Ganguly gives a much clearer idea of its salient characteristics by using Indian terminology than using the Greek terms which was done by Mitra.

In his use of religious texts, Ganguly brings into discussion only those which were of particular relevance. In his study of the *Agni Pūrāṇa*, for example, Ganguly found that its iconographical sections, such as the one dealing with the placement and iconography of the *digapālas*, bore significant correspondence to the placement of images on the temples themselves.³⁰ By citing further textual references to various other images typically found on Odisha temples, such as *nāgas* and *nāginīs*, the *navagrahas* and the female figures, Ganguly took the first step toward detailed and fully explored iconographical studies. In dealing with the development of the temple architectures in Odisha as a historical phenomenon, his descriptions of individual temples tend to get lost in florid prose, which often goes into philosophical and aesthetic rambling. This lack of historical sensibility is seen very clearly in the following statement: "Both Muktesvara and Parasurāmeśvara are obvious departures from the established type, of which the great Liṅgarāja is a typical example."³¹ As a result of such an approach, Ganguly's subsequent attempt at dating the temples appears very unsystematic.³²

Another major treatment of Odisha temples is a chapter on “Medieval Architecture” in R. D. Banerji's two-volume *History of Orissa* (1931).³³ Banerji, makes only a few new contributions to the scholarship of Odisha temple architecture. In spite of bringing together some new archaeological material, he does not give analytical assessment of the monuments that leads to any conclusions significantly more advanced than those of his predecessors. Banerji's major contribution was his documentation of the temples at Baudh and Gandharadi.³⁴ In dealing with chronology, Banerji alters a few dates, but not the basic sequence as proposed by Ganguly.

Banerji arranges the temples into three groups, based on single criterion of the *śikharas* type.³⁵ The first group includes the Parasurāmeśvara, the ‘twin temples’ at Gandharadi, and the Mūktesvara. These four temples are grouped together solely on the grounds of the similarity of their *Śikharas*. He further observes the similarity with the Dashavatāra temple at Deogadh'.³⁶ The second group, comprising the three Siva temples at Baudh, the temples of Khiching,³⁷ and ‘certain temples at Bhubaneswar’, is based on not having the *maṇḍapas* or frontal hall. No particular date bracket is assigned to this group of temple. The third group, dated to the tenth century, includes the Liṅgarāja, Ananta-Vāsudeva and Brahmeśvara temples, and the connecting factor here being their tall *śikharas*, which ‘curve suddenly toward the end, near the *āmalaka*, and their pyramidal-roofed *maṇḍapas*’.³⁸

Such a limited criterion for chronology is obviously inadequate. In spite of the many pages filled with physical description of temples, Banerji brings no other evidence, such as- wall articulation, decorative motifs or the character of base mouldings, as a part of assigning chronology. There is complete disregard in his analysis for the historical contexts of the temple, their political affiliations etc.

Appearing shortly after Banerji's *History* was N. K. Bose's *Canons of Orissan Architecture* in 1932.³⁹ This work constitutes an extensive analysis of the *Bhūbanapradīpa*, a late medieval *Śilpaśāstras*. Bose does not give a translation of the entire text, nor even a complete critical edition (which could have been done, since there were several manuscripts at his disposal). Instead, he has arranged the material according to specific topics, such as classifications of soils (upon which the temple is

to be built), auspicious ceremonies, and the classification of temple types and their constituent parts, at the same time; he doesn't follow the precise order as presented in the text itself. Bose's work sets forth what was to become for art historians the standardized set of terms for the various parts of the Odisha temple. It also presents the text's analysis of the systems of proportions for various temple types, which can be applied to the study of individual monuments.

The works discussed to above now (except for Bose's study and the parts of Ganguly's book which deal with iconography) have considered the Odisha temple from the point of view such as ground plan, architectural construction technique and use of materials. A totally different approach was taken by Stella Kramrisch in two articles published in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, one in 1934 and the other in 1947,⁴⁰ focusing primarily on the visual properties of the temples. In her analysis Kramrisch minutely describes the various parts of selected monuments, how they work together to produce a cohesive artistic statement, and discusses the nature of the Odisha temple's stylistic development through several centuries.

Kramrisch being formalist combined the formalistic and metaphysics in her analysis of temples. Kramrisch does not confine with the specific problem of chronology. Rather than using her various observations as criteria for a chronological sequence, she simply accepts and works within the sequence put forth by previous authors.⁴¹ Further, Kramrisch does not analyze a large body of Odisha monuments, but only selected temples, precluding even further a detailed study of stylistic development. She also discusses rather too briefly the problem of the influence of monuments from other regions and the origins of the decorative elements like scroll work and the *gavākṣa* motif.⁴² While these statements could have been developed further, they do, however, at least begin to consider a broader stylistic perspective than had been taken in any previous study.

The major contribution of Kramrisch's article that invokes both the visual dynamism and metaphysical profundity of the temples. However, no previous description of Odisha temples architecture had been so fully concerned with its visual concepts. Stalla Kramrisch's *Indian Sculpture* (1933) was an important land mark in

studying the stylistic development of Indian sculpture.⁴³ She formulated three periods of art these are-ancient, classical, and medieval. According to her opinion, the Odisha temple sculptures are the outcome of 'the school of Kalinga (Bhubaneswar, Puri, Konarka and Baudh, etc.)',⁴⁴ as a continuation classical phase to the emergence of medieval sculpture.⁴⁵ The period in her writings was more influenced by Wincklemans period of periodisation in European art.⁴⁶ Her explanation on the stylistic aspects of Indian sculpture had an affinity with the Hegelian idea of art; according to which art express the innermost spirit of the people.⁴⁷ Nevertheless the lesser known temples does not became part of her writing as her focus was on major developments to explain in the smallest possible units.

Percy Brown's *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu* (1942) was the first comprehensive study of Indian architecture based on stylistic variations. Its main focus is on those aspects of the history of the Hindu temple that neglected by pioneer scholars, that is chronology, stylistic development and interregional influences.⁴⁸ The chapter on Odisha is a concise survey of the major monuments, yet it is substantial enough to convey a clear impression of the broad stylistic development of the temples.

One of Brown's the most important suggestions is that certain outside influences played a role in the development of the Odisha temple. He points specifically to the early Chalukyan monuments at Aihole, which is an impact upon the earliest phases of temple architecture in Odisha.⁴⁹ Brown's chronology, while improving upon earlier ones, lacks, however, conceptual clarity⁵⁰. The temples are grouped into three different periods: early (750-900 AD), middle (900-1100 AD), and later (1100-1250 AD). These groupings, however, fail to reflect accurately the conceptual phases within the development of the Odisha temple. For example, the Mukteśvara (ca. 975 AD) is grouped together with the Liṅgarāja (ca. 1000 AD), the Brahmeśvara (1075 AD), and the Jagannātha temple, Puri (ca. 1100 AD). Brown includes within the later period the Rājārānī, and the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and assigned them to 1100-1200 AD Brown thus group's temples together, quite arbitrarily. Further, he does not take into account several important monuments which could have conveyed more clearly the idea of a 'middle period', such as the temples at

Baudh and Gandharadi, documented by Banerji, and the Gaurī temple at Bhubaneswar.

Another survey of the temples of Odisa, by S. K. Sarasvati, appeared in 1953.⁵¹ The article elucidates Brown's essay. It gives more thorough description of the general form of the Odisa temple and its various parts, and is more clear and illuminating than any such description preceding it. The survey, however, is very selective, and like Brown's, neglects several temples that would shed more light on the development of the mature Odisa temple form. In its general disconcert with chronology, Sarasvati's essay is less historical than Brown's. Neither scholar presents information on the cultural background against which the temples were not produced, nor are they concerned with symbolic meaning or iconography.

Sarasvati's views differ from Brown's on the important question of the role of external influence. Sarasvati is of the opinion that the Odisa temple is indeed a pure reflection of the 'original archetype' of the Nāgara or Northern style. He theorizes that the prominent *sikhara-clusters* of the Rājārānī are not a product of Central Indian influence, but rather, originated in Odisa, developing logically from the rounding of the *karṇa* and *bhadra* projections, seen in an early stage on the Mukteśvara temple.⁵² Sarasvati, however, does not attempt to prove his ideas by presenting a detailed argument.

The first comprehensive study of Odisa architecture was published by K. C. Panigrahi in 1961, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*.⁵³ This study surpasses all previous writings on Odisa architecture. It is not merely a descriptive inventory account, but attempts to place the monuments within their historical context. For the first time a carefully considered chronology for the temples of Bhubaneswar is proposed. In addition to the detailed discussions on the temples, it also provides many factual information's concerning iconography, religious and political history. While often not relevant to the argument at hand, this information cannot be found elsewhere, and so Panigrahi's work has become an indispensable study on Odisa art.⁵⁴

The sources upon which Panigrahi depends most heavily in formulating his chronology are the inscriptions found on few temples. He also gives attention to various historical sources, which help to associate particular temples with specific dynasties and their rulers. Panigrahi's emphasis on paleographic sources was instrumental in clarifying several misconceptions about the entire chronological development of Odisha architecture. Panigrahi's account of the Brahmeśvara temple's dedicatory inscription, which contains an extensive genealogy of the Somavaṃśīś dynasty, as well as based on other sources, clarified the role of this dynasty as the major cultural patron during the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁵⁵ It may be observed that Banerji had completely ignored this major aspect. Panigrahi concludes his arguments on chronology by placing the temples into several cognate groups, formed on the basis of epigraphic evidence, focused around the Parasurāmeśvara, Vaitāl Deula, Brahmeśvara, and Ananta-Vāsudeva.⁵⁶ Panigrahi limits his approach further by generally excluding temples outside of Bhubaneswar from discussion, and by neglecting some of the more unassuming, yet art historically important temples within that city.

Debala Mitra's *Bhubaneswar*,⁵⁷ one of many site guides published by the Archaeological Survey of India, provides a highly condensed summary of Panigrahi's findings, along with concise, yet thorough general descriptions of the major temples. It is condensed, easily readable, and carefully organized. However, Mitra's work serves as a useful reference book. The first part consists of general chapters on historical background, basic architectural characteristics, important sculptural motifs, and iconography. The second part contains brief descriptions of the temples, formed into two large groups, early and late.

After the gap of thirty years, the study of Odisha *Śīlpaśāstras* began by N. K. Bose was again taken up by Alice Boner and Pandit Sadasiva Ratha Sarma, whose critical edition and translation of the *Śīlpaśāstra* was published in 1966.⁵⁸ The *Śīlpaśāstra* was hailed as a landmark discovery of unparalleled importance to the study of Indian temple architecture.⁵⁹ The text was thought to be most remarkable for its uniqueness, for no other known text gives such a detailed description of a specific type of temple. The *Śīlpaśāstra* is almost exclusively concerned with a detailed,

technical description of the *vimānamālinī* temple type, in which almost every aspect is identical with the Varāhi temple at Chaurāsi. In addition, it contains iconographical descriptions of prominent images and motifs on Odisa temples, for example Śiva dancing (here called Natāmbara, ‘clothed in dance’), gurus with disciples, female figures (here called *alasa kanyās*, ‘indolent-maidens’), and the *sūkañasa*, *Caṇḍrasāla* (here called *vajra-mastaka*).

Boner was highly praised by critics for her scholarly presentation of the text. From the accuracy of the translation, to the insightful introduction, through notes, detailed glossary and correlation of photographs of actual monuments with relevant textual passages, her work was cited as an exemplary piece of scholarship. Alice Boner, again in collaboration with S. R. Sarma, brought out another elaborate publication based on the study of newly discovered palm-leaf manuscripts, *New Light on the Sun Temple of Konarka*.⁶⁰ It has been established by K. S. Behera that the manuscripts used in this study date to the twentieth century, not to the seventeenth, as stated in their colophons.

There are, however, serious questions regarding the authenticity of the *Śīlpaparakāśa*. According to D.R. Das, the language seems to be very late, mainly in regard to the Odia elements, which are not thought to have been developed by the twelfth century. It was further pointed by Kramrisch in a book review that the drawing of human figures and architectural elements and elevations in one of the palm-leaf manuscript, ‘seem to presuppose exposure to Western drawing.’⁶¹

Vidya Dehejia’s *Early Stone Temples of Orissa* (1979) is a history of Odisa architecture from the period ca. 600-1000, and discusses the earliest known examples through those in the early mature style, the latter exemplified by the Mukteśvara.⁶² A brief introduction to the historical and religious background of the period is followed by a general presentation of the basic components of the typical Odisa temple, and a survey of the various types of sculptural imagery found on its walls. The following chapters group the temples into three broad categories or phases: i) Formative (with two sub-divisions), ii) Transitional, and iii) Culminative. The final chapter puts forth speculations on the origins of the Hindu temple in Orissa, and assigns dates to the

three formulated periods; 650-750 AD, 700-850 AD and 830-950 AD respectively.⁶³ Dehejia's discussion of many issues—such as iconography and historical and religious background is simply too brief to add significantly to the present body of knowledge. Even in her discussion of the three chronological phases, mainly repeated in the Panigrahi's⁶⁴ work. The proposed three periods that are given dates and monuments within the groups are not arranged in specific sequence. For instance the Varāhi temple at Chaurasī, is the first temple discussed in chapter six in transitional phase, yet is described as advance transitional. Thus, in terms of the problems of chronology and stylistic sequence, Dehejia only repeats the findings of previous scholars.

An extremely ambitious study of Odisa's architecture was realized in 1985-87 with the publication of Thomas Donaldson's *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*.⁶⁵ This massive three-volume work, with over 4,500 illustrations, is virtually the only one of its kind in the field of Indian art a detailed, encyclopedic catalogue of almost every surviving Odisa Temple and detached sculpture dating from the sixth to the fifteenth century AD. The first two volumes are essentially a survey of Odisa temples, arranged in a chronological sequence largely based on the earlier work of Panigrahi. The third volume primarily concerns sculpture, and as such is a unique and valuable reference to almost every image-type and motif occurring in Odisa sculpture.

Donaldson has also written on the symbolic aspects of Odisa sculpture. He has generally concluded that the most prominent imagery on the temple—the '*vajra-mastaka*',⁶⁶ scroll work, and above all, the various erotic images primarily served a propitious-apotropaic function.⁶⁷ Donaldson has demonstrated through cross-cultural comparisons and scattered textual references certain validity to his theory, especially with regard to erotic imagery. His approach is located in the stylistic frame-work. His earlier article on the decorative programme of the *rekhā* temples of Odisa appeared in the "*Sidelights on to History and Culture of Orissa*". He has also published several research articles on the different aspect of the Odisa temples. His *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa* is the most comprehensive and detail study of the Odisa temples in terms of the architectural styles and morphology of decorative motifs. It is indeed a microscopic study but confined to major as well as lesser known temples in Odisa but

these lesser known temples in Bhubaneswar do not figure in his analysis. He has covered the entire period from the formative stage to the disintegration a long period indeed. He has made certain changes in the terminology prepared by N.K. Bose.

The trend of documentation continued further, this is evident in the works of Ramesh Prasad Mohapatra,⁶⁸ B.K. Ratha,⁶⁹ Walter Smith⁷⁰ focussed on numerous aspects of Mukteśvara temples and linked some of the pictorial representation with the royalty. Ashoka Natha Parida in 1999 traces the temple evolution till the end of eleventh century AD. It has been shown that Odisha temple possessed inherent strength to develop on its own independent of external influence. Further, previously accepted dates of the temples have been re-examined from different angles. In the recent time in painstaking work of Sadasiba Pradhan⁷¹ and his team from Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology Department of Utkal University in Bhubaneswar is doing the new method of documentation which is published in 2009, and entitled “The Lesser Known Monuments of Bhubaneswar”. This works not only focus is on the temples but also covers all monuments of Bhubaneswar region right from prehistory to the end of twentieth century AD. He has made photographic documentation, dating through stylistic and architectural development of temples, plan drawing, measurement of location with GPRS positioning of the monument, thus used advance methods of documentation. It is indeed advancement on the earlier documentation.

Thus it is evident from the above brief review of literature that no systematic study has been undertaken on the lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar. As many works are confined to documentation alone thus the area of inquiry needs to be explained consisting not only the stylistic study but also other issues of inquiries like socio-economic conditions, the issues of patronage, artisans, religious aspects, role of ruling dynasties as a matter of political interventions etc., The construction of big temples was patronized by kings or royals but emergence of lesser known temple was totally patronized by local people and rich class of the society. Thus these ‘lesser known temples’ have tremendous scope to study the extrinsic and intrinsic factors in its formulations.

1.2. Review of Studies on Patronage

Religious patronages in the early medieval period as a subject of research continue to be dominated by scholars working on state formation, and their arguments are derived from epigraphic and inscriptional records. Based on the data provided by inscriptions, it is generally argued that the royalty was responsible for the construction of temples.

R.S. Sharma⁷², the leading scholar of the 'feudalism' debate described the post-Gupta period as an era of social crisis (*Kali age*) and decline of urban centers, trade and metallic currency. The argument of Sharma that Guptas' rule is called as 'Gupta empire' is not acceptable because Guptas' ruled over a limited area mainly the Northern India and Central India. It may be observed that the political dynasties like the Mauryas were much more powerful and had much larger territory under ruled their country. It was much larger than the Guptas and is a fit case to be termed as an 'Empire'. So the statement of Sharma is totaling arbitrary. Guptas are supporter of the Brahminism and they extended support to Brahmins in every field such as land donation and prestigious place in society. The Gupta hegemony was not restricted to their limited territory but this system spread all over feudatory's state also. This period was also marked by larger scale land donation to Brahmans, religious institutions and secular donors. The land was donated with various immunities (*partikarā*). According to R.S. Sharma this resulted in the fragmentation and disintegration of the central authority in one hand, and creation of landed intermediary in the other. This initiated local state formation in both old and newly settled areas. The newly created ruling class patronized the Brahmins and religious institutions in order to legitimize their rule and these also provided the much needed ideological support to the newly created states.⁷³ Furthermore, Sharma has presented a materialistic view of religious transformation of the period under review. He argued that cult of *Bhakti* was a reflection of the complete dependence of the tenants or semi-serfs on the land lords.⁷⁴ This in turn manifested itself in the *parichyadātā* shrine (i.e., main shrine is surrounded by four subsidiaries shrines in four cardinal directions) indicating general social differentiation in which landed magnates were graded in a system of sub-infeudation.⁷⁵ Besides, religious construction and production of idols were possible only because of surpluses agricultural production.⁷⁶

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D. N. Jha⁷⁷ is another exponent of the feudal model. While supporting the concept of Indian 'feudalism', he disagrees with the notion of decline of foreign trade as a factor of feudal development. Jha emphasized, on the concept of the *Kaliyuga*, indicating sharp class antagonisms in ancient Indian society. Devangana Desai⁷⁸, while agreeing with the feudal dimension of early medieval patronage, also talks about its changing nature from early historic to medieval period. According to Desai, the ancient religious art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Karle, Kanheri, Junar, Amaravati and Nagarujankonda etc., were patronized mainly by the merchant and commercial class, artisans, and craft guilds as well as group of families. But with the multiplication of feudal chiefs and crystallization of feudalism, the nature of patronage also changed. The art of the period from C. AD 650 to 1300 was supported mainly by kings of different territory ruled by princes, feudatories, military chiefs, etc., who alone could own and donate land to religious institutions. While she agrees that religious merit accrued from temple building activity, nevertheless she also views it as satisfying the exaggerated ego; and appetite for fame and glory of the aristocratic and royal families of the period who competed with each other in building large and magnificent temples.

Diametrically opposed to the 'Feudal' model is the frame work of 'Integrative' process of state formation. The profounder of this frame work has highlighted the integrative role of Brahmins and religious institution. H. Kulke in his monumental work on the political structure of early medieval and medieval Odisha, in general and on the cult of Jagannāth, in particular, put forward the theory of the 'integrative' model.⁷⁹ He also holds the view that the post-Gupta period was an era of intensive state formation. This has mainly taken place in those areas of ancient state formation. But unlike the 'feudal' model, he argued that the overwhelming majority of the early medieval states emerged from a process of continuous agrarian expansion and political integration.⁸⁰

The land donation to Brahmins and religious institutions played a seminal role in the shift from chiefdom to imperial kingdom. The Brahmins were instrumental in the vertical as well as the horizontal legitimation of the king's authority. Kulke argued that Brahmins, because of their ritual specialization and monopoly over *Śāstra* text,



knowledge of state, administration and political economy bestowed royalty upon the king. This was done through the creation of genealogy (*vaṁśa*) and by vesting Hindu paraphernalia on the ruler. Similarly, their knowledge based about agriculture, seasons, iron technology, etc., led to the expansion of agriculture and spread of Brahmanic culture in the peripheral zones. In the peripheral zone the Brahmins played a crucial role in the acculturation of tribal people through cult appropriation or the inclusion of the autochthonous tribal or local deity in to the Brahmanical pantheon and through the construction of hitherto unknown temple architecture.⁸¹ Kulke asserts that “the Brahmins of the court circle together with those Brahmins who had been settled in the outer areas had tremendous influence upon the ‘inner colonization’ of nuclear areas and maintenance of (Hindu) law and (royal) order. Furthermore, it was mainly due to their influence that these areas were gradually integrated in to all Indian spheres of Sanskrit learning and hitherto unknown temple architecture both indispensable paraphernalia of future Hindu kingship.”⁸²

Kulke also emphasized royal patronage to religious institutions, which he called ‘The Royal Temple Policy’, as an instrument of legitimization of the king’s authority. The construction of new imperial temples within the core region of the kingdom was one of the ritual measures undertaken by king to counter balance the centrifugal forces of the regional kingdom. He pointed out that the king constructed new monumental temples, which exceeded in height, which was never achieved again. Though the constructions of these temples were Anantavarman Chodagaṅga Dev, the Rājā tried to create a new and centralized ritual structure focused on the new state, its temples and its royal cult.⁸³

A. Eschman⁸⁴ in her study on the cult of Jagannāth reiterates the position taken by Kulke. According to her, in the incorporation of tribal and folk religion into Hinduism was a gradual process widely prevalent in the post Buddhist time and such practices became frequent and intense in the medieval times because of two reasons. Firstly, the development of the *bhakti* cult, and secondly, the emergence of new institutions like temple, which became an agent of Hindustan. Royal patronage to such institutions became vital.

Similarly, Upinder Singh's⁸⁵ study on Odisha also suggests an integrative role of Brahmins and religious institutions, she points out that large scale land donation to Brahmins was the prime factor which made possible the transition to statehood and political integration of the kingdom. The period of the formation and proliferation of kingdom all over Odisha was period of royal grants to Brahmins and religious institutions, a phenomenon that seems to have had more than casual connection. Between the fourth and the mid twelfth century, Brahmins, Brahmins settlements and to a lesser extent royally endowed temple establishments had an important integrative function, political as well as cultural.⁸⁶

But after a thorough analysis of Odisha inscriptions date between c. 300 to 1147 AD she advocates an altogether different argument regarding the nature of religious endowments. Taking the small number of royal grants in favor of temples, she suggests that intensive temple building activities that occurred in Odisha from the sixth century onwards and the patronage of these temples was not a royal preserve, but perhaps the result of the activities of the elite group such as merchants, military chiefs and nobles.⁸⁷ The organization of temple worship and liturgy became elaborate and impressive enough for kings to seek to enhance their status by identifying themselves closely with temple establishment. Further, the timing of royal temple building and patronage was also influenced by competition with political rivals as indicated by the fact that the building of the Purusottama Jagannātha temple by Anangavarman Chodagaṅga in the mid-twelfth century seems to have been king's challenge to the monumental Brhadeśvara temple at Tanjore built by Cola rivals.⁸⁸

Vidya Dehejia⁸⁹ has also presented a similar argument. In her study the early stone of Odisha, she suggest that royal patronage was not the reason for the evolutions of the Odisha temple, which displays a continuous development of a strong architectural tradition apparently not affected by politics fluctuations. She further advocates that patronage was no doubt crucial to the building and maintenance of the temple, but this patronage may have come for the most part not from the king but the nobility and wealthy classes.

B.D. Chattopadhyaya⁹⁰ also adheres to the view of the integrative nature of land donation to Brahmins and religious institutions. He points out that state formation among the Rājput and in general, was invariably linked with the practice of grants of land of Brahmins, temples, Buddhist monasteries (*vihāras*) and Brahmanical monasteries (*mathas*). Such grants, which is reinforced the nexus between the royal power and sacred authority; were undoubtedly on the increase in the early medieval period. Royal power, usually having obscure origin required legitimacy, which it procured by extending worldly patronage to the higher caste Brahmins *varana*. The priestly caste monopolized sacred knowledge and sacred centers, and in turn, assigned respectable ancestry to the new kings. He also talks about different sub-groups like Kāyastha, Merchants, and goldsmiths etc. as important patrons of temples.

Michale D. Wills⁹¹ studied on early medieval religious patronage in north India also suggested a similar view. He argued that temple was a complex institution consisting of one or more gods and number of social groups who managed the temples property and controlled worship. Making a gift to a temple or more correctly to god in temple was seen as a meritorious act in which all could participate according to their means. Gifts were made by all sorts of people but most commonly by the ruling nobility.

Cynthia Talbot⁹² in her study of the Kāktīya, albeit based on inscriptional data, argued for alternative motive of religious gifting. She pointed out that temple endowment was a replacement of other types of religious observance for the dead such as the *srādha* funerary ceremony. According to her, love and reverence for a deceased relative was a compelling motivation for religious gifting. Anxiety over the welfare of a loved one and fear of what lay beyond this worldly existence were hence among the greatest impetus for temple patronage.⁹³ She asserted that temple patronage was means of acquiring religious merit and social prestige and influence. This possibly led to greater control over economic resources including labor. It could provide an entry into the social circle outside one's kinship or occupational networks, access to property, and labor beyond one's immediate command. Economic rights and privileges already possessed might have been granted through endowment.⁹⁴

In recent years some attempt has also been made to ascertain the nature of religious transformation and patronage from a different source. Vijaya Nath's⁹⁵ work is an attempt in this direction. In her research, she has used Purāṇic texts and anthropological data to trace the process of acculturation. She pointed out that the *Purāṇs* were special category of sacred literature written in a well thought out plan by the Brahmanical ideology to research out and acculturate the aboriginal groups to acquired land and to avert a social crisis that emerged from Brahmanical encroachment in the tribal world as well as due to the proselytizing activities of the Jaina and Būddhist religious orders. Regarding the modes of acculturation she talked about the decline of market economy, pressure on land, local state formation, large scale land donation, migration of Brahmins from the core to peripheral regions etc., which is similar to other writings on the early medieval period.

Besides the above discussed early medieval centric research, patronage has also been studied from a larger historical perspective of a wider time span. Barbara Stoler Miller's⁹⁶ edited book *The Power of Art, Patronage in Indian Culture* is a useful contribution in this regard. This book is a collection of articles covering a time span from ancient to colonial period. The essays in this volume are grouped in to four broad divisions corresponding to dominant modes of patronage. These are Buddhist and Brahmanical modes of patronage, Islamic patronage under Mughal rule, and modern transformation of the patronage style under the influence of British rule. In the introductory note Miller and Eaton have rightly pointed out literary and historical evidence of individual royal patronage in India is sufficiently prominent but that is other modes of patronage where there are vital markers of changing social patrons. Examples of nobles, merchants and village patrons flourish throughout Indian history as powerful means through which individual families, guilds, or whole village, bind are to religious, ideological and dynastic purpose.⁹⁷ Romila Thapar⁹⁸ and Dehejia's⁹⁹ contribution towards understanding the patronage in early historical period is very significant.

However, in the same book patronage in the Gupta and post-Gupta period are perceived from a different perspective. Miller and Eaton¹⁰⁰ point out that collective patronage by groups of lay people remained prominent during the period of Kūsāna

rule. In contrast, in the Gupta period Hindu kings and their courtiers emerged as the most notable patrons of art and literature. Since these kings were ritually and ideologically dependent on Brahmin priests, the pattern of courtly patronage during this period may be called Brahminic. This view is also reflected in the writings of Devangana Desai¹⁰¹ who holds the view that patronage arose from the need of upwardly mobile social groups to legitimize their acquisition of social or political power. She has specially cited the example of the Chaṇḍella dynasty's patronage to the shrines at Khajurāho.

The use of ethnological data is another important aspect of the study of patronage. The lack of historical sources and creations of new research design prompted scholars to visualize the notion of patronage from different historical perspective. A project titled, "Continuities of Community Patronage and Pilgrimage Temples in Western India" is undertaken by a group of scholars to ascertain the construction, maintenance and continuation of religious shrines and the nature of patronage through documentation of living traditions. This project finally took the shape of a monograph titled, *Ethnology and personhood, Notes from the field*. Meister¹⁰² in his paper clearly mentions that art historians too often speak of the temple as if built by the king, but they are all built for communities as ritual instruments, the use of which changes. One important function of the temples is to web individuals and communities into a complicated and inconsistent social fabric through time. They survive because communities make use of them in reciprocal relationship of self preservation, quite removed from the agenda of historical conservation. He further argues that "a temple is not simply a structure of one period or even one community. It moves through time, collecting social lighting and recourses. It must be repositioned constantly to survive. If it serves one king it may die with that king let each tell its long story: both temples and communities they serve continually redefine their pasts and renegotiate the present".

John E. Cort¹⁰³ in his study on four important temples of western India also holds similar views. He argues that the study of the medieval Indian temple has been largely the study of structures created, endowed, and sustained through royal patronage as a sign of royal prestige, political aspiration and its evolution. But the

study of four temples exhibits an importantly different pattern. According by Cort “the nature of their original construction and endowment, they have survived for a thousand years not due to exclusively royal support, but largely due to the support and devotion of specific connection between castes and the deities enthroned in these temples, which could explain both the continuing importance of these temples and even their very survival.”¹⁰⁴

After a detailed analysis of each and every aspect of the four temples he suggests, “Temple can be studied as site of contestation over financial assets, spiritual assets, and cultural assets. To the one time visitor, a temple will usually appear to be a fixed entity with a clearly defined identity. But when viewed over a time, the identities of the temple and deity enthroned in the temple are tied to the identities of any arrangement of people who are connected to the temple as patrons, builders, renovators, owners, trustees, ritual specialists, and devotees, descendants, neighboring inhabitants, government representative and pilgrims. The relationship among these people, the temple, and the deity will fluctuate, as different people advanced various claims to proprietary in relation to the temple and or the deity. The one time visitor comes away with the impression that the temple is a solid, continuing presence. To an architectural historian the temple appears to be far more fluid, as the physical structure is renovated, rebuilt and reconfigured repeatedly over the centuries. In a similar manner, to a social historian, the temple also appears to be far more fluid over time, as it is one node in an ever shifting array of social groupings and identities”.¹⁰⁵

James Preston’s¹⁰⁶ case study on the Caṇḍī temple at Cuttack (Odisha) suggests a similar view. According to him the patronage of the shrines was not only changing but also ever increasing in nature. Earlier it was a small neighborhood temple made of clay but over a short span of time period, it changed in to a well built permanent ritual structure.¹⁰⁷ Similarly during this period there are three contestant parties who claim their legitimate rights to the control and management of the temple, and accordingly they have designed the temple legends to serve their interests¹⁰⁸ in the issue of patronage, while he agreed with its association with royalty in the past, its decline over the period of time did not affect the worship of mother goddess. Instead the worship continued to flourish, but with new patrons and different form. The new

patrons are those segments of Indian society mostly rich merchants and the educated elite, who have inherited power and influence in the vacuum left by the fall of the feudal princes.¹⁰⁹

The above historiography discussion on patronage has revealed the multi-faceted and multi-dimensional nature of the subject. There is no unanimity among scholars and no theory has a universal application. Empirical research on different time span has brought out diverse trends in the nature of patronage. Scholars working on Buddhist patronage highlight the role played by trader, guilds, lay worshippers and the community. For this they use different sources like seals, sealing's, votive *stūpas*, donatives inscription tablets and normative literatures. Similarly, ethnographical researches also bring out the changing nature of patronage and the involvement of communities and social groups in the maintenance and survival of religious shrines. But patronage in the early medieval temple has mostly been seen from the prism of royalty and nobility. The undimensional approach arose due to ideological leanings, use of conventional methods and over emphasis on inscriptional sources. In the third chapter following two sections about patronage has been discussed from a critical use of inscriptional data, and the extant temple remains at Bhubaneswar.

1.3. Concept of Temple

The concept of temples may have been originated past centuries with the idea of god in a human form. Such a form required acceptable habitation, a shelter and thus resulted in structural edifices. In very early period such a shrine might have been made of wood, thatch, or bamboo, but it soon became a sanctum of stone. The stone sanctum was known as the *garbhagriha* literally womb house, and it was a small room often square, with completely plain walls and single narrow doorway in front. The outer walls of sanctum were often decorated with figural sculptures relating to the god within. According to Stella Kramrisch "*Vimān*, is name of the main temple building as synonymous with *Prasād*. These two are the most significant words for temple.¹¹⁰ The temple is the seat and dwelling of god, according to the majority of the names. The *Prasāda* has widest application¹¹¹. Other words for the temple with a wide currency and generally employed are; *Devagrham*, *Devagrha*, (house of god);

Devāyatanam, *Devālaya*, *Devakūlam*¹¹² meaning seat or residence of god; *Mandirama*, *Bhubanam*, *Sthānam*¹¹³, *Sthāna* meaning waiting or abiding place, dwelling, respectively, *Kirtanam*, *Harmyana* (from ‘hr’, to take) a palatial building, and *Vihāra* (also from ‘hr’, to take asunder, *vihāra*; to construct). A seat and house of god is the temple by most of its names. The names *Caitya* and *Kṣetra*, however, the Hindu temple has inherited from the piled up sacred monument and from the sacred ground in the place of which it was to arise”.¹¹⁴ In the *Vastū-Sāstra*, the synonyms are listed and throw some light on the multiple origins of the Hindu temple¹¹⁵. The *Samarāṅgasūtradhara*¹¹⁶ also gives synonymous for the names to the place for god.

In the beginning in popular religion Hindu temple evolved from the remotest antiquity was just a platform open to sky with some kind of aniconic representation or symbol of the deity which could more accurately be named a ‘shrine’.¹¹⁷ There were two kinds of worship: one through mantra, were such the other a simple popular form of offering flowers, water, sweets, perfume and lighting of lamp.¹¹⁸ There were such shrines to the Earth Goddess *Prithivī Devī* or *Mahīmātā* or *Mātā Devī*¹¹⁹ to the *Yakṣa*, *Naga*¹²⁰ and *Vrikṣa Devatās*. The earliest platforms (*thāna*, *chaurā*) were dedicated to *Yakṣas*.¹²¹ However, the *Yakṣa* shrines were preceded by *Nāga* shrines or platforms, the platform shrine was a very ancient tradition. The evolution was reached when railing were provided round the platform, first of bamboo and wood, and later of stone. Earlier these were of moderate size, but later on in monumental form like the railings at *Nagari* and at *Barhut*, *Sanchi*, *Mathura* and *Amarvati*.

The practices of building houses for gods and goddess is very old in *Odisha*. According to the *Hātīgūmphā* inscription *Mahāmeghavāhana Aīra Khāravela* repaired *savadevāyatana*¹²² (*sava-devāyatana-sansakāra-kārako*) that is means all *devayatana* or ‘repairer of all shrines of gods’. This postulates the existence of several Brahmanical shrines long before *Khāravela*’s accession to the throne in the 1st century AD, thus those shrines required renovation. Goddess *Prāṇadevati* referred to in the *Bhadra* inscription¹²³ of 3rd century AD must have been properly enshrined and worshipped. A shrine was built for the image of *Natarāja* by *Mahārājā Śatrūbhaṅja* of the *Asanapāta* inscription¹²⁴ in the 4th century AD *Hsuan Tsāng* who visited *Odisha* in AD 639 came across several *Deva* temples in different parts of the state. It is likely

that temples were constructed in Odisha during the Gupta period. The temples seen by the Chinese pilgrim in the 7th century AD might have been constructed in the 5th-6th century AD. The early Gaṅga rulers of Kāliṅga were devoted to Gokarṇeśvara Śīva on the Mahendra Mountain. In the Ponnūtūrū copper plates inscription of the Ganga ruler Mahārājā Sāmaṅṭavarma, find the earliest reference prior to the date of the issued of the Ponnūtūrū plate's¹²⁵ itself. This presupposes the existence of the temple of Gokarṇeśvara prior to the date of the Ponnūtūrū plates AD 560. The architectural and sculptural fragments found at Bhubaneswar (Śikharacaṇḍī temple at Patia¹²⁶) and in Jajpur district were once formed parts of the temples which are no longer in existence. Very likely those temples belonged to the earlier period.¹²⁷ K.C. Panigrahi has tried to prove that the original shrine of Virajā at Jajpur, located at short distance from the present temple, belongs to the Gupta period.¹²⁸

1.4. Meaning of the Lesser Known Temples

Meanings of the lesser known temple such as these are valuable but these are not acknowledged and these are not famous or acclaimed. These remain are unknown or lesser known, some in ruins, others rebuilt beyond recognition, many more scattered up and down the Bhubaneswar area (Plan Drawing. 6 & 7). They attracted neither any archaeologist or art historian nor even any common traveler. These temples are prosperous in the architectural scheme and are profusely decorated with good imagery but never became part of any discourses. Those scholars who are working in the temple architecture of Odisha, have only paid at most attention to the better conserved big temples like Parśurāmeśvara, Vaitāla, Mukteśvara, Liṅgarāja, Rājārānī, Brahmeśvara and Megheśvara. All these temples are under the protection of Archaeological Survey of India and Odisha State Archaeology. However in the present work, the focus shall be the lesser known small temples and not the big temples that are mentioned in the discussion. The lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar city are not only in bad state of preservations but also do not become part of the temple architectures studies. An attempt has been made here to study the lesser known temples from its architectural, sculptural and patronage perspectives. The emergence of lesser known temple in Bhubaneswar has the social importance and become a necessity in a specific locality. They are well associated with major temple like

Liṅgarāja for social, ritual and practices. The other likely reason for their emergence is for ritualistic proposes of the common people. They are easy to access and these are building by some local rich and merchant class people for the religious proposes as a part of *śāstric* tradition. Thus it becomes important to study various background factors for the emergence of lesser known temples, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Endnotes and References

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- ¹ . R.N. Dash, “Pre and Proto History”, H.C. Das, Eds. *et al* “The Cultural Heritage of Khurda”, State Level Vayasakabi Fakira Mohan Smruti Sansad, Bhubaneswar, 2003, pp. 107-114, and see also R.N. Dash, “Odisara Sanksipta Prak-Itihasa”(Odia), Kedarathana Gavesana Prtisthan, Bhubaneswar, 1994, and see also R.N. Dash, Bhubaneswar Aitiha: Prak O Pratna Aitihāsika Kala (Odia), in Ekamra Kshetra, Part-I (Eds.) by B.M. Mohanty, Utkal Pathak Sansad, Cuttack, 1994, D.K. Chakravarti, 1999, India: An Archaeological History, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 239-240.
- ² . M.M. Gangly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, London & Calcutta- Thacker Spink & Co, 1912, p. 273. “There are some five hundred temples scattered here and it is impossible to describe them within a small of this book.....” p.273.
- ³ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 3.
- ⁴ . A.N. Parida, *Early Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 1.
- ⁵ . The orthodox texts like *Ṣvarṇādri Mahodaya*, *Ekāmra Caṇḍīrkā*, define the area as extending from the Khaṇḍachala (Khaṇḍagiri) on the west to the temple of Vahiraṅgeśvara situated at the top of the Dhauligiri on the south. (The *Ṣvarṇādri Mahodaya*, chapter- I.), and see also R.L. Mitra, *The Antiquities Of Orissa*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1984 (Reprint), pp. 99-108, and see also K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 1-2.
- ⁶ . R. P. Mahapatra, *Archaeology in Orissa (Sites and Monuments)*, 2 Vols. Delhi, 1986, B.K. Ratha, *The Forgotten Monuments of Orissa*, 3 Vols., New Delhi, 1996.
- ⁷ . D.K. Chakravarti, *A History of Indian Archaeology- From the Beginning to 1947*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, p.26.
- ⁸ . Andrew Stirling, *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical Orissa proper, or Cuttack*. Asiatic Research, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 306. Also see “Chronology and History”, *A History of Orissa* Ed.*et al* Nabin Kumar Sahu, in Chapter VI, 2nd Vol, Calcutta, 1956. pp. 110-285. (Rare Reprints by Munisram Monoharalal Publication New Delhi, 2003 and 2006).
- ⁹ . Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977, pp. 168-170. See also D.K. Chakravarti, *A History of Indian Archaeology- From the Beginning to 1947*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, p.26.
- ¹⁰ . Andrew Stirling, *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical Orissa proper, or Cuttack*. Asiatic Research, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 308. Also see “Chronology and History”, *A History of Orissa* Ed.*et al* Nabin Kumar Sahu, in Chapter VI, 2nd Vol, Calcutta, 1956. pp. 110-285.
- ¹¹ . Dipak Ranjan Das, *Temple of Orissa: The Study of Sub-Style*, Delhi, 1982, (Chapter-IV,

Approaches to the history of Orissa Temple Architecture.) pp. 42-57. See also Kishore Kumar Basa "Problems and Perspectives on Archaeology of Orissa, India". Occasional Paper 4, D.S.A. Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, 1994.

¹² . James Fergusson, *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan*, Londdon, 1848.

¹³ . James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876). An earlier account, though hardly to be described as systematic or art historical is found in A. Sterling, "An Account, Geographical; Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack (Part III; Religion, Antiquities, Temple and Civil Architecture)", *Asiatic Researches*, 15 (1825), pp. 305-38 (especially pp. 305-16). Here the general environs of Bhubaneswar are described, with brief appreciatory comments upon the Liṅgarāja temple, which Sterling felt to be". . . the finēst monument of antiquity which die province contains and likewise indisputably the most ancient" (p. 310). Although Sterling is generally enthusiastic about the aesthetic quality of Indian architecture, his essay is more interesting for its description of the neglected state of Bhubaneswar and its temples in die early 19th century than for any sort of art historical insights.

A later document of the temples of Bhubaneswar, documenting the pre-restoration condition of some of the temples is M. H. Arnot, *Report with Photographs of the Repairs Executed to some of the Principle Temples at Bhubaneswar and Caves in the Khandagiri and Udaygiri Hills, Orissa, India, between 1898 and 1903* (London, 1903). Arnot includes some interesting "before and after" views of the key temples, but these are far too few and unsystematic (the comparative shots are always taken from very different viewpoints, and only two plates are included for each temple), to be of more than basic use in determining how much the temples may have suffered from overzealous restoration. Arnot assures us, however, that an "attempt has been made simply to restore, with reworking of damaged sculptural elements being kept to a minimum" (where they do exist the results are disastrous enough). The text is perhaps more valuable than the photographs as a document of restoration, stating exactly the previous condition of the temple, the causes of dilapidation (usually uneven land settlement and growth of trees), and what measures were taken to correct the situation.

¹⁴ . Ibid., p. 436.

¹⁵ . Ibid., p. 535.

¹⁶ . Ibid., pp. 416-417.

¹⁷ . Ibid., p. 417.

¹⁸ . Ibid.,

¹⁹ . Fergusson gives the following rough chronology for the principal temples of Orissa: 500-600, Paraśurāmeśvara, Mukteśvara; 600-700, Sarī Deul, Maitri Serai, Ananta-Vāsudeva, Liṅgarāja (657, based on the legends recorded by Sterling); 700-850, Vaital Deul, Markaṇḍayesvara at Puri, Brahmesvara; 873, Sun Temple at Konarka; 900-1000, Kedareśvara, Rājārānī; 1105, Natamaṇḍira of the Lingaraja; 1198, Jagannātha temple at Puri. A second edition of Fergusson's *History* appeared in 1910, revised and edited by Juries Burgess. Burgess expanded and revised Fergusson's chronology, later dates to the Liṅgarāja and Ananta-Vāsudeva temples. Burgess's revised chronology is as follows: 650-900, Paraśurāmeśvara, Sisīreśvara, Kapālīnī, Uttareśvara, Someśvara at Mukhaliṅgam; 900-1000, Sari Deul, Mukteśvara, Liṅgarāja, Kedareśvara, Siddheśvara, Bhagavati, Someśvara, Brahmesvara, Mukhaliṅgeśvara at Mukhaliṅgam, Virajā and Varanātha at Jajpur, Markaṇḍayesvara at Puri; 11th century, Rāmeśvara, Yameśvara, Maitreśvara, Jagannātha at Puri, Megheśvara; 13th century, Ananta-Vāsudeva, Sun Temple at Koṅārka, Natamaṇḍira of the Liṅgarāja, Vishṇu at Mādhav (Cuttack district),

Gopīnāth at Remuṇā (Balesore).

²⁰ . Ibid., p. 414.

²¹ . Ibid., p. 435.

²² . Ibid., p. 417.

²³ . Ibid, p. 425.

²⁴ . Ibid,.

²⁵ . R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, 2 Vols. Calcutta, 1875-80, (Reprint) Calcutta, 1961.

²⁶ . Ibid,.

²⁷ . The orthodox Sanskrit text are *Ṣvarnādri Mahodaya* and *Ekāmra Caṇḍirkā*, has mention about the cultural history Bhubaneswar and the mention about “*tīrṭha*” and *Astayatana Kṣetra* in this location.

²⁸ . “The students of Indian history and literature are well aware of the difficulties the author has to labor under; he cannot but stick to Indian terms which invariably connote more or less than what their English equivalents do. There are many terms, again, which do not admit of being expressed by English terms at all” (M.M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her remains*, Calcutta, 1912, p. viii).

²⁹ . M.M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her remains*, Calcutta, 1912. pp. 170-74.

³⁰ . Ibid,.

³¹ . Ibid., p. 307.

³² . Ganguly’s dates for the major temples in Bhubaneswar: Paraśurāmeśvara, 5th or 6th century; Mukteśvara, 6th or 7th century; Liṅgarāja, early 9th century; Ananta-Vāsudeva, 12th century (Ganguly, *Orissa*, p. 273). While the sequence is accurate, the proposed intervals between the monuments obviously show little consideration of the notion of architectural development through time.

³³ . R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, vol. 2. Calcutta, 1930, pp. 333-83.

³⁴ . R. D. Banerji, “Antiquities of the Baudh State”, *Journal of Bengal Orissa Research Society*, 5 (1929), pp. 64-86.

³⁵ . R.D. Banerji, *Orissa*, vol. 2, p. 374.

³⁶ . Ibid, p. 336.

³⁷ . See R. P. Chandra, “Note on the Ancient Monuments of Mayurbhanj”, *Journal of Bengal Orissa Research Society*, 13 (1927), pp. 131-36.

³⁸ . R.D. Banerji, *Orissa*, vol. 2, p. 357.

³⁹ . N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta, 1932.

⁴⁰ . Stella Kramrisch, “Kaliṅga Temples”, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 2. No. 1 (1934), pp. 43-60; and “The Walls of Orissan Temples”, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 15 (1947), pp. 178-96.

⁴¹ . Kramrisch uses the chronology put forth in R. P. Chanda, "The Lingaraja or Great Temple of Bhubaneswar", *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1922-24, pp. 119-22: Paraśurāmeśvara, c. 750; Rājārānī, 1100-1175; Liṅgarāja, ca. 1000; Brahmeśvara, late 11th century. Chanda's short article is primarily of a descriptive nature. He bases his dates on readings (after Banerji), of the inscriptions on the Paraśurāmeśvara and Brahmeśvara temples.

⁴² . Stella Kramrisch, "The Walls of Orissan Temples", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 15, (1947) p. 178. "New elements . . . were assimilated from the more western branches of the tradition as practiced in die Central Provinces and Central India." The origin of scroll work and die creeper motif are briefly traced from their nomadic Aryan origins to their transformation in Gupta art and finally to their diffusion in Orissa (*Walls*, pp. 192-93).

⁴³ . Yashadatta Somaji Alone, *Forms and Patronage in Early Buddhist Art and Architecture: A Study of Early Western Indian Buddhist Caves*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (JNU), and see also Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1933.

⁴⁴ . Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1933. pp. 112-113. (112-116)

⁴⁵ . *Ibid.*, p.113, (112-116)

⁴⁶ . Yashadatta Somaji Alone, *Forms and Patronage in Early Buddhist Art and Architecture: A Study of Early Western Indian Buddhist Caves*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (JNU), and see also Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1933., and see also Indian reprint of "Indian sculpture" Foreword by Kapila Vastayana, New Delhi, 1981., pp. XV-XX.

⁴⁷ . *Ibid.*,

⁴⁸ . Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods*, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 7th reprint, 1976). The first edition was published in 1942.

⁴⁹ . Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 101. Yet, strangely, a logical conclusion of a date of ca. 650 for the Paraśurāmeśvara is not reached in making these comparisons.

⁵⁰ . *Ibid.*, p. 102; Early Period (ca. 750-900), Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāla Deūla, Uttareśvara, Iśvareśvara, Satrugheśvara, Bharateśvara, Lakṣmaneśvara; Middle Period (ca. 900-1100), Mukteśvara (ca. 975), Liṅgarāja (ca. 1000), Brahmeśvara (ca. 1070), Rāmeśvara (1075), Jagannātha, Puri (ca. 1100); Later Period (ca. 1100-1250), Ananta-Vāsudeva, Siddheśvara, Kedareśvara, Yameśvara, Megheśvara. Sāri Deul, Someśvara, Rājārānī, Sun temple, Koṅārka (ca. 1250).

⁵¹ . S. K. Sarasvati, "Temples of Orissa", *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. 1. No. 4, 1953, pp. 233-53. The same essential essay appears in *History and Culture of Indian People*, (R.C. Mazumdar. ed. *History and Culture of Indian People*, Bombay, 1951-69) vol. 4, pp. 530-56.

⁵² . S.K. Sarasvati, "Temples of Orissa", *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. 1. No. 4, 1953, pp. 240- 244.

⁵³ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961.

⁵⁴ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, and see in particular, Chapter 8, "Chronology of the Cult Images: Development of Hindu Iconography" (pp. 124-45), and Chapter 10, "A Short Political and Cultural History of Bhubaneswar" (pp. 177-262).

⁵⁵ . K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1981. Pp. 66-89.

- ⁵⁶ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961., Chapter 9 (pp. 146-76): Satrugnesvara, ca. 575; Parasuramesvara and its group, ca. 650; Vaital Deul, Śisireśvara and their group, ca. 700-900; Mukteśvara, 966; Brahmeśvara and its group, ca. 1075-1176: Megheśvara, Ananta-Vāsudeva and their group, ca. 1195-1425.
- ⁵⁷ . Debala Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, 7th ed., New Delhi, 1977. (1st ed., 1958).
- ⁵⁸ . Alice Boner and Sadasiva Ratha Sarma, trans., *Śilpa Prakāśa: Medieval Orissan Sanskrit Text on Temple Architecture* (Leiden, 1966).
- ⁵⁹ . For reviews of the *Śilpa Prakāśa* see H. G., *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 88., No. 2 (June 1968), pp. 381-82; S. Kramrisch, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 27. No. 2, (Feb. 1968), pp. 408-09; J. R. Marr, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 31., No. 2 (1968), p. 406.
- ⁶⁰ . Stella Kramrisch, review of *Śilpa Prakāśa*, p. 409.
- ⁶¹ . Kramrisch, rev. of *Silpa Praksa*, p.409.
- ⁶² . V. Dehejia, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979.
- ⁶³ . Dehejia deals with inscriptions in Chapter 8 (pp. 154-72), but not in a way having relevance to the chronology of the temples. Rather, she presents the development of the Odia script.
- ⁶⁴ . Formative phase (650-750); Group A- Bhabānī-Śankara, Parśurāmeśvara, Satrughaneśvara group, Svarnajaleswar, Taleśvar, Pascimeswar at Kulao, Madhukeswar at Mukhalingam, Runis at Jajpur, Iswarsvara at Paikapada, Amangai and Jaina temple at Subei; Group B- Markendeyśvara, Sisreśvara, Vaital Deul, Monastery at Ratnagiri, Bhringeswar temple at Bajrokot, Simhanātha temple at Barambha, Siva temple at Borogram. The following temples, while discussed in Chapter 5, “Formative Phase”, are listed as “transitional” in the conclusion; Manikesvar temples at Sukleśvara, Śiva temple at Mohanagiri. Transitional Phase (700-850); Varāhi temple at Chaurāsi, Trītheśvara, Temples at Gandharadi, temple at Baidynatah and Charda, temples at Jogamuṇḍa and Paikapada Potaleśvar temple, Shrine at Sarapali. Clumination Phase (830-950); Muktesvar, Gauri temple, Kīncakeswari at Khiching, Pancayatana temple at Ganeswarapur, three temples at Baudh.
- ⁶⁵ . T. E. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, Leiden, E.J, Brill, Vol. I. 1985, Vol. II. 1986, Vol. III., 1987., For reviews see M. Meister, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, 46.2 (1987), pp. 428-30 (for vol. 1); and W. Smith, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, 47.4 (1988), pp. 916-17 (for vols 2, 3).
- ⁶⁶ . In all his writings, Donaldson uses the terms found in Bose, *Canons*, and Boner, *Śilpa Prakāśa*.
- ⁶⁷ . See T. Donaldson, “Propitious-Apotropaic Eroticism in the Art of Orissa”, *Atributes Asia*, Vol. 37. No. 1/2 (1975), pp. 75-100.
- ⁶⁸ . R. P. Mahapatra, *Archaeology in Orissa (Sites and Monuments)*, 2 Vols. Delhi, 1986.
- ⁶⁹ . B.K. Ratha, *The Forgotten Monuments of Orissa*, 3 Vols. New Delhi, 1996.
- ⁷⁰ . Walter Smith, *The Muktesvara Temple in Bhubaneswar*, Delhi, 1994.
- ⁷¹ . Sadsib Pradhana, *The Lesser Known Monuments of Bhubaneswar*, (Bhubaneswar INTACH Chapter), Bhubaneswar, 2009.

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- ⁷² . R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965, see also 1974, *Indian Feudalism Retouched*, ICHR, Vol. 1. (No. 2), pp. 320-330.
- ⁷³ . R.S. Sharma, *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study of Feudalism*, Kolakota, 2001, p. 237.
- ⁷⁴ . *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ⁷⁵ . *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- ⁷⁶ . *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ⁷⁷ . D.N. Jha, (Ed.), *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, New Delhi, 1987, and see also (Ed.), *The Feudal Orders*, New Delhi, 2000.
- ⁷⁸ . Devangana Desai, 'Art Under Feudalism in India' (c. AD 500-1300), in D.N. Jha (Ed.), *The Feudal Order State and Ideology in Early Medieval India*, New Delhi, pp. 487-496.
- ⁷⁹ . A. Eshmann, H. Kulke, G.C. Tripathy, (Ed.), *The Cult of Jagannatha and Regional Tradition of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1978.
- ⁸⁰ . H. Kulke, 'Early State Formation and Royal Legitimation in Late Ancient Orissa', in M.N. Das (Ed.), *Sidelights of History and Culture of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1977, pp. 104-114.
- ⁸¹ . H. Kulke, 'The Early and Imperial Kingdom: A Presented Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India ' in H. Kulke (Ed.) *The Slaves in India, 1000-1700 AD*, New Delhi, pp. 233-63.
- ⁸² . H. Kulke, 'Royal Temple and Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdom'. In H. Kulke (Ed.), *King and Cults: State Formation and Legitimizations in India and South East Asia*, New Delhi, P. 3.
- ⁸³ . *Ibid.*, pp. 1-16 also see, 'Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdom', in A. Eschmann, et al. (Ed.), *The Cult of Jagannatha*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 125-137.
- ⁸⁴ . A. Eschmann, 'Hindusation of Tribal Deities in Orissa: The Sakata and Saiva Typology', in A. Eschmann, et al. (Eds.), *The Cult of Jagannth*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 79-97.
- ⁸⁵ . Upinder Singh, *Kings, Brahmans and Temples in Orissa, An Epigraphic Study AD 300-1147*, New Delhi, 1994.
- ⁸⁶ . *Ibid.*, pp. 291-292.
- ⁸⁷ . *Ibid.*, pp. 295-296.
- ⁸⁸ . *Ibid.*,
- ⁸⁹ . Vidya Dehejia, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979.
- ⁹⁰ . B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Historiography, History and Religious Centers in Early Medieval North India, Circa., AD 700-1200*, in V.N. Desai and Mason (Eds.), *Gods, Guardians and Lovers, Temples Sculptures from North India, AD 700-1200*, New York, 1993, pp. 35-47, also see, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, New Delhi, 1994.
- ⁹¹ . M.D. Wills, *Religious and Royal Patronage in North India*, in V.N. Desai and D. Masan, (Eds.), 1993, *Ibid.*, pp.49-64.

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- ⁹² . C. Tallbot, *Pre-Colonial India in Practice; Society, Religion and Identity in Medieval Andhra*, New Delhi, 2001.
- ⁹³ . *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.
- ⁹⁴ . *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- ⁹⁵ . V. Nath, *Purāṇa and Acculturation, A Historic-Anthropological Perspective*, New Delhi, 2001.
- ⁹⁶ . B.S. Miller, *The Power of Art, patronage in India Culture*, Delhi, 1992.
- ⁹⁷ . B.S. Miller and R. Eaton, 'Introduction', *The Power of Art, patronage in India Culture*, in B.S. Miller (Ed.), *Ibid.*, p. 2., Delhi, 1992
- ⁹⁸ . Romila Thapar, 'Patronage and Community', *The Power of Art, patronage in India Culture*, in B.S. Miller (Ed.), *Ibid.*, pp. 19-34, Delhi, 1992
- ⁹⁹ . Vidya Dehejia, 'The Collective and Popular Basis of Early Buddhist Patronage', *Scared Monuments, 100BC- AD 250*, in B.S. Miller (Ed.), *Ibid.*, pp. 435-445.
- ¹⁰⁰ . B.S. Miller and R. Eaton, 'Introduction' *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
- ¹⁰¹ . Devagana Desai, 'The Patronage of the Lakshmana Temple at Khajuraho', 1992, in B.S. Miller (Ed.), *Ibid.*, pp. 78-84.
- ¹⁰² . M.W. Meister, 'Ethnography, Art History, and the Life of Temples' in M.W. Meister (ed.), *Ethnography and Personhood, Notes from the Field*, Jaipur, pp. 17-45.
- ¹⁰³ . John E. Cort, 'Patronage, Authority, Prosperity Rights, and History: Communities and Pilgrimage Temples in Western India', 2000, in M.W. Meister (ed.), *Ibid.*, pp. 165-191, also see, John E. Cort, 'Communities, Temples, Identities Art Histories and Social Histories in Western India', *Ibid.*, pp. 100-128.
- ¹⁰⁴ . *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁰⁵ . *Ibid.*, p. 184.
- ¹⁰⁶ . J.J. Preston, *Cult of the Goddesses- Social and Religious Changes in Hindu Temple*, 1980, New Delhi, pp. 22-47.
- ¹⁰⁷ . *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ¹⁰⁸ . *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.
- ¹⁰⁹ . *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- ¹¹⁰ . Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu temple*, Vol. I. New Delhi, 1976, p. 134-135, see also foot note. 17 in this volume p. 134.
- ¹¹¹ . *Praśāda*, in the sense of scared monument or scared building is referred to in ancient texts and inscriptions: 'Sanhayāna Sutra', XVI. 18. 13-17: *Prasadas* on all sides of the Ahavaniya fire. Patanjali, 'Mahābhāṣya', II. 2. 34: *Prasada* of Dhanapati, Rama and Kesava. The testimony of the Sruta Sutras and Grhya Sutras is assigned to the Mauryan age (3rd century BC), the date of Patanjali is about 200 BC, See also foot note. 18, Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu temple*, Vol. I. New Delhi, 1976, P. 135.

¹¹² . 'Manu Smṛti', IX. 280 (Devatagara); 'Grhya Sūtras', 'Sāṅkhayāna', II. 12. 6, etc.; 'Pancatantra', Book. I.; 'Śāila devagraha' (a stone temple), Mora well inscription, Epigraphy Indica, XXIV., p. 194. Devakulam, Bhasa's 'Pratimanataka', III; Ep. Ind., XXI. P. 81 (Gupta Inscription), is a small shrine, of 'Temple, Door, Throne, etc.' by Stella Kramrisch, JISOA. Vol. X. p. 210 ff., see also foot note. 23 Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, Vol. I., New Delhi, 1976, p. 137.

¹¹³ . Mathura Inscription, Ep. Ind., I. p. 390, No. 18; 'Indian Antiquity', XXXIII, p. 102 No. 13; also Ep. Ind., Vol. p. 202; IX., p. 240; JASB. Vol. XCII. part I. p. 130. Sthāna, (Brahmasthanā; Mahābhārta III. 84. 103); 'Mahāsthāna', Ep. Ind., XXIV. p. 210., see also foot note. 24 Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, Vol. I. New Delhi, 1976., p. 137.

¹¹⁴ . Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, Vol. I. New Delhi, 1976, pp. 131-138. And see also O.C. Ganguly, Indian Architecture, Calcutta, 1928. An over view of that book: - He has described about concept of temple "Primitive Architecture- the thatched period, from the absence of any kind of architecture relics of the Vedic period, it is generally concluded that architecture during this early period of Āraṇyaka culture was in a very primitive State. At any rate, architectural attempts of the period must have been carried out in such impartment materials as earth or stucco, bamboo or timber. There is no doubt that before stone came into use, timber or bamboo was the only medium for architecture. And in India, as elsewhere, the 'wooden period' preceded the 'stone', in architectural history". There after he has emphasis on 'altars and sacrificial halls' and 'cave architecture'. He has produced some evidence of ancient literature for *Devāyatana*, "In Indian Epic Literature, there are numerous reference to 'abode of Gods' in the scene of shrine, or temple of god (*Devāyatana*), but it is impossible to say with certainty to what period of history they belong, and what was their shape or form. In Rāmāyana, 'the white washed portals of god's temples' and even 'the blessed abode of Vishnu' are allude to. The Mahābhārta is also full of similar reference, of uncertain chronological value. Of special importance are various picturesque descriptions of *sabhas*, or assembly-hall or palaces. One made for the Pāṇḍavas was said to have been inspired by the models of architecture near the Mainaka hill, north of Kailāsa. The famous 'lac-pavilion' (Yatu-griha), specially designed for temporary purpose in flimsy materials, cannot be taken as a common or typical example for the period pictured in the Epic. A remarkable assembly-hall or palace (*sabhā*) for the Pāṇḍavas is said to have been built by Maya Danava, the reputed author of the principles of architecture, recorded in the Maya Śilpa Śāstra. Old Pali literature also bristles with allusions to temples or relic-shrines (*Chaitya*), assembly halls (*sabhā*) and palaces (*Prasāda*). Of special significance are the reference to Kutagara (peaked huts), a primitive temple hut with curvilinear roof, of which some representations may be seen on the reliefs from Bharhut (fig. 9, in O.C. Ganguly's 'Indian Architecture', p. 8). Some of the reliefs at Sanchi and Bharhut offer examples of old Buddhist, or perhaps pre-Buddhistic house and places which are referred to through in the Jatakas. Pali literature frequently refers to the 'science of architecture', that is, Vattu-vijja (vastu-vidya)." - Quoted from O. C. Ganguly's, Indian Architecture, pp. 5-8.

¹¹⁵ . The Sasbahu Temple (Gawalior) is called Hari- sadanam, Sadanam of Visnu, in the inscription of Mahapala (AD 1093), 'Indian Antiquity', vol. XV, p. 33; see also foot note. 29 Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, Vol. I. New Delhi, 1976, p. 139.

¹¹⁶ . Such as: *Deva-dhisnya* (a seat), *Surasthana* (an establishment), *Caitya* (it is a scared monument which is piled up like the Vedic Agni (citi) (in Buddhist and Jaina it is place for worship)), *Arca-grha* (it is the house of the constructed image), *Devata-ayatana* and *Vibuhha-agara* (a house of god- *deva*, *sura*, *vibudha*); and see also see also foot note. 29, 30 Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, Vol. I. New Delhi, 1976, pp. 137-139.

¹¹⁷ . A.K. Ghosh & H.P. Ray, (Eds.) *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. I, ICHAR, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 261-278. At Nagar we have the full-fledged Vishṇu platform with a high stone railing around it. This structure has square platform and square railing. In the three inscriptions of the second century BC in Brahmi script, it is named Nārāyaṇa Vatāka ('Enclosure of Nārāyaṇa'). (See also, pp. 154-155)

¹¹⁸ . Ibid, Lamp are find at Nagar for details see pp. 125, 148, 150, 153, 154, 181-182, 341. The temple structure also found at Nagar, these features are one is of stone and other is brick. Another site is Mandor, besides traces of one single house at Sambhara. (See also, pp. 154-155)

¹¹⁹ . The term mother goddess or *mātā*, *mātār-devī*, is widely applicable to variety of female figures symbolizing birth and fertility. These evidence from Upper Paleolithic bone-harpoon from the Belan Valley, Chalcolithic cultures of the Pre-Harappa Zhob, Quetta, Kulli and the Harappa Indus valley that the earliest female figurines of the subcontinent are found. Very few figurines akin to the mother goddess have been found in the post-Harappa village settlements of various parts of India between c. 1750 and 600 BC Clay Female figures have been reported from Chirand, Pd I A, Neolithic and various Chalcolithic sites of sites in India specific in Deccan. Most of headless or Lajia gauri (*uttāna-pāda*) figures are find out at Inamgaon, Nevasa, Bilawali and Oripur. The various type of female figure similar with Mauryan Terracota (arch formed by the legs of this figurine is an important stylistic features) at Mathura, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have not yielded mother goddess figurines belonging to the period earlier than 1st century BC (For Details see also A.K. Ghosh & H.P. Ray, (Eds.) *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. I, ICHAR, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 266-268.)

¹²⁰ . A.K. Ghosh & H.P. Ray, *op. cit*, p. 141. (Early *Nāga* cult particularly prevalent in Bihar.)

¹²¹ . See also Yaksha-sadam in the Rigveda 4.3.13; and see also A.K. Coomarswamy, *Yaksas*, New Delhi, 1998. pp. 2-8.

¹²² . See Hatigumpha Inscription, Line 17., and see also A.N. Parida, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1199, p. 22.

¹²³ . *op.cit*,

¹²⁴ . T. Watters, *On Yuan Chang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 193, 196 & 198., *op.cit*,

¹²⁵ . EI, Vol. XXVII, PP. 216-220., *op.cit*

¹²⁶ . Śikharaçaṇḍī Temple (or Laxmana Caṇḍī (6th-7th centuryAD) is located on the top of the hillock beyond KIIT University. The enshrined deity is an eight armed Mahisāsūramardinī. This temple and image is the earliest evidence of enshrined at Bhubaneswar and this place is noticed the broder of the Bhubaneswar region. It is a temple of recent construction but the enshrining deity belongs to an earlier period, which may be assigned to the earliest group (5th-6th century AD) of the image. The deity is so named on account of its location on the *sikhara* (top) of the hillock. Caṇḍī is another form of Durgā. Hence it is known as Śikhara Caṇḍī. The old deity is in a new structure, which is made of building materials of the earlier shrine. Stylistically the deity may be assigned to the 5th-6th century AD, see also S.Pradhan, *the Lesser Known Monuments of Bhubaneswar*, Bhubaneswar, 2009, pp. 291-292.

¹²⁷ . K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1981, pp. 370-371.

¹²⁸ . Ibid.,

CHAPTER-II

Background

CHAPTER-II

BACKGROUND

The second chapter deals with the background of this study. For a comprehensive analysis this chapter has divided into four sections, each one of them deals with a different theme. The first section deals with the geographical condition including geomorphology, main rivers, distributaries, tributaries, the water ways and environmental issue like climatic conditions. The second section contains the historical geography which will be discussed totally through available literary text as well as inscriptional evidences. The dynastic history of Bhubaneswar region which starts from Asoka Maurya to Ganga and Gajapati dynasty will be discussed in the third section. In fourth section, the main emphasis is given to settlement patterns, their spatial distribution and emerging patterns in the early medieval period.

2.1. Physical Geography

The monuments and the archaeological sites are spread in a vast area in the various localities and mauzas of modern Bhubaneswar city. “*Bhuvaneśvara*” is one of the epithets of the *Liṅga* now called *Liṅgarāja* enshrined in the biggest temple of the place.¹ The name Bhubaneswar is also referred in the old revenue records of the locality.² Thus the place derived its name from the presiding deity of the area. As a revenue mauza Bhubaneswar covers almost the whole area known as Old Town.³ In the revenue map it is bounded by the villages, namely: Rampur and Bargarh on the north, Mahabhoisan and Nuagaon on the east, Kakuraghài, Haripurpatna, Kapileswar and Kapilprasad on the south; Kapilprasad, Bhimpur and Siripur on the west. But the ancient Bhubaneswar extended in a much wider area as witnessed by the location of Brahmeśvara temple.⁴

An inscription originally attached to this temple speaks about the locality of the temple which is *Ekāmra*, the other name of Bhubaneswar⁵. The development of modern city as a new State-capital was enacted in 1948. The urban local body of Bhubaneswar first constituted as a notified area committee on 1st February 1948 under ‘Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act 1922’.⁶ Thereafter it becomes ‘Notified Area

Council on 1st October 1952' under the 'Orissa Municipal Act 1950'.⁷ It covers 28 villages or rather mauzas which are revenue units. These mauzas are Purba Bargada, Pachhim Bargada, Bhubaneswar, Kapileswar, Haripurpatna, Lakshmisagar, Lakshmisagarpatna, Bhimpur, Rampur, Bomikhal, Govindprasad, Kalraput, Sunderpada, Kapilprasad, Pokhripur, Barna, Nayapalli, Barmunda, Jagamara, Jharpada, Charbatia, Nuagaon, Garhgopinathprasad, Pandara, Garkan, Chandrasekharpur and Damna.⁸ Later it was constituted into a Municipality on 14th April 1979 by Govt. Notification No. SPL. Com. 10/78-11360 dated 29th March 1979 under the same Act. The whole area is now organized and distributed in 42 units with a proper layout. The mauza Bhubaneswar, which has been known as such for many centuries, has given the name to the modern township.⁹

The above area of Bhubaneswar covers almost all the ancient sites and settlements to be dealt with in this work. But, a few most important sites lay beyond the limits of Municipal area. These ancient sites are located at Basuaghai, Sisupala, Mahabhoisan, and Dhauli which are contiguous Mauzas to the Municipal area.¹⁰ In the rapid growth and expansion of the city these Mauzas no more lay outside of Bhubaneswar urban area and notionally those are accepted as part and partial of Bhubaneswar.¹¹

On the other hand traditional extent of Bhubaneswar, as quoted in *Purāṇas* and other orthodox Sanskrit literature, has more certain boundary marks. According to *Brahmapurāṇa* the sacred land of *Ekāmra* extended up to two and half *yojana* on each cardinal direction from the temple of *Svayāmbhu-Krīttivāsas*.¹² The measurement of *yojana* is seldom used in mythical expressions; however, in established Sanskrit Lexicons like *Sabdakalpadruma*, *yojana* is referred to as equal to four *kosa*.¹³ One *kosa* is equal to two miles. Thus *Ekāmra* extended up to twenty miles from each cardinal direction from Liṅgarāja temple. The *Svārṇddri Mahodaya*,¹⁴ an orthodox text of late medieval period, speaks of the extent of Bhubaneswar as three *yojana* on each cardinal direction from the deity Liṅgarāja.¹⁵ The text further intimates the area of sacred and meritorious land and five *kosa* and mentions the landmarks determining the limits on each cardinal direction;¹⁶ thus, the extent of Bhubaneswar is fixed in the area lying between *Khandchala* (Udayagiri- Khandagiri hill) on the west and

Kuṇḍalesvara temple (at village Tankapani) on the east; and goddess *Varhīm (Bhalha)* on the north and Vahiraṅgeśvara temple (at Dhauli hill) on the south, *Ekāmra Chandrikā* also confirms this.¹⁷

The doubt of the old expressions of distance measurements is obvious from the above varying statements; yet the landmarks referred to permanent nature and provide a certain defined boundary of the traditional extent of Bhubaneswar.¹⁸

2.1.1 Geomorphology

Geomorphologically, the whole area of Bhubaneswar is located in two distinct landforms; viz. (i) Laterite tract and (ii) Alluvial plains. Besides, there are isolated hill-spurs of Udayagiri-Khandagiri on the west and of Dhauli on the south (Map.15 & 16).

(i) The Laterite Tract

It is higher on the west and slopes towards the east. Gangua,¹⁹ a local streamlet demarcates it from the alluvial plains. It is eroded at many places and has an undulated surface. The local water courses draining the rain-water of vast Laterite stretches towards alluvial plains ultimately reach to river Daya.²⁰ The age long water-flow cut deep the land surface and resulted in the formation of large lakes. Due to simultaneous silting and human activities these lakes (water courses) either turned into marshes or paddy fields or leveled for roads and buildings. Out of three watercourses two are shown as proposed lakes in the map of Bhubaneswar published in *Puri District Gazetteer*,²¹ though in the subsequent town planning map, these are marked as green belts. For reference call these water courses as Lake-1, Lake-2 and Lake-3²² (Map.16).

Lake-1: This is the most important water-course which lay on the southern part of modern Bhubaneswar and flows in the modern Bhubaneswar area in most of its length. Beginning near the modern Ganganagar locality in the west, this lake in its original form extended up to the area lying on the north of Liṅgarāja temple and further flowing towards north-east in the shape of a narrow streamlet.²³ It is known as

Gangua, in its later part as another longer stream is also called Gangua, therefore refer to the former as the Shorter Gangua.²⁴ A careful study and observation of the original contours and course of this lake reveals that the present Bindusagar lake was originally a part of this lake which was separated from this by creating a *bandh* (embankment).²⁵ This separation would have taken place before 6th or 7th century AD as witnessed by the temple of Uttareśvara which stands on the bank of this lake; the temple is datable to circa 7th-8th century AD²⁶ That also notice that the area clinging to Liṅgarāja temple is a raised one, and steeply sloping in all directions (only in western portion it is less sloping), but the inner courtyard is in lower level. These contours witness that an extensive earthen ramp was created during the construction of Liṅgarāja temple.²⁷

A half buried temple, having *ākāśaliṅga* in its pinnacle, in front of the new market building in Old town and another half-buried temple standing near opposite to the main gate of Liṅgarāja temple; and the existence of *Sahasraliṅga* tank in front of Liṅgarāja temple (hidden behind a series of shops mostly in market complex) confirms that the original ground level was much lower than that of the set one.²⁸ Therefore, it is probable that once the water of Lake-1 was touching the *Svayambhūliṅga* the presiding deity.²⁹ Since, for references that *Ekāmraliṅga* or *Svayambhūliṅga* was located on the banks of river *Gaṇḍhavatī* or *Gaṇḍhasiṅḍhu*; and the flow of Lake-1 after Kédāra-Gaurī area is also called Gangua a corruption of *Gaṇḍhavatī*, therefore, it can be said that Lake-1 was the so called *Gaṇḍhavatī* or *Gaṇḍhasiṅḍhu* of the *Purāṇas* and inscriptions which served a major water source for the religious settlement of *Ekāmra-Bhubaneswar* and is also liable for many perennial springs.³⁰ It is interesting to note that we get the reference of further channelization of *Gaṇḍhasiṅḍhu* by Chodaganga.³¹ It appears that subsequent to the rise of ground level due to the reasons mentioned earlier water of Lake-1 started spreading towards the east where already existed several temples; namely: Kotitūrtheśvara, Svarṇajaleśvara and Taleśvara etc.³² This water, creating swamps and floods during rainy seasons, would have disturbed those temples. Therefore, a channel was dug to guide the water flow properly which also made available vast stretches of dry land for the construction of other temples.

At present Lake-1 starts from Ganganagar and runs towards east with mild southward bend along the area lying on the northern periphery of airport and reaches the railway line where it takes southward turn and widens, then reaches the *Badadāṇḍa* road, here it is turned into almost shallow swamps and called *Asurakiāri* (the field of demons)³³ (Map.16) As, during the Cart-festival (*ratha-yatra*) of Lord Liṅgarāja the wheels of the vehicles used to plunge in the swamps (due to settling down of the earthen road built upon it); and such incidents were taken as the mischief of demons, therefore, this area was believed as the field of demons (the demons are pacified when the car reaches in this area by offerings).³⁴

After this point the lake runs for a short distance touching a little piece of land on the road which bifurcates from Bindusagar (Bindusagar is linked with this lake by a culvert), then it flows in zigzag way for a little distance passing through the areas lying behind Ananta Vāsudeva temple and running towards the east; again it creates vast swamps behind O.R.T. Garage (this area is now full of modern constructions).³⁵ The lake further takes the shape of a stream and enters the alluvial plains after crossing the Puri road. Here, it flows about 4 kilometers parallel to major Gangua stream and ultimately unites with the latter (Map.16).

Lake-2: It takes its origin near Nuapalli village and runs in eastward direction via Satyanagar where it is called as 'Lake'. After some distance the water of the lake becomes invisible³⁶ (Map.16).

Lake-3: This Lake lies on the northernmost fringe of Bhubaneswar. It is though longest but narrow water course in west-east direction which originates in far west near Jokalandi mauza passing via Vanivihar area and terminates behind Capital Water Works³⁷ (Map.16).

The soil profile of laterite area is very thin and is totally nil at some places, therefore the land is unfit for crop-cultivation. However, heavy rainfall throughout the year and high humidity in atmosphere help lush forest growth in this area³⁸. The porosity of the laterite bed causes the water percolation in greater quantity which raises the subsoil water-level. The raised water-level is also conducive for the growth of *ficus* as well as scrub-plants in laterite area. This underground water gives rise to

many perennial springs; the famous one is called Kedāra-Gaurī.³⁹ The hard and high laterite areas usually lay barren and locally called '*tangi*'.⁴⁰ These lands served as good quarries of laterite slabs for building purposes. As a building material, laterite is used since very early period. It is used as main building material in civil and religious edifices of ancient times at Bhubaneswar, e.g. at Sisupalgarh-fortification and in temples and tanks.

(ii) The Alluvial Plains

The alluvial plains of the east are formed by local drainage as well as by major rivers; namely: Kuakhai, Kushbhadra, Daya and Bhargavi.⁴¹ This is a fertile agricultural belt and would have served as an important source of food-supply to the human-settlements in the past which flourished in the neighboring areas. This alluvial land forms the part of well-known long strip of coastal plains of Odisha.⁴²

(iii) The Hill Spurs

The hill-spurs of Udayagiri-Khandagiri lay on the western zone of Bhubaneswar. These are the sedimentary formations of Upper Gondwana phase.⁴³ The highest contour is 210 feet at peak called '*devasābha*' located in the western side hill i.e. Khandagiri.⁴⁴ These hills served as shelter for Jaina monks and were honeycombed with beautiful rock-excavations under the patronage of king Kharavela.⁴⁵ The coarse-grained sand stone of these hills was used in the temples of Bhubaneswar. On the other hand the Dhuli hills, lying extreme south of Bhubaneswar on the western bank of river Daya, are volcanic formations of Archian's Age.⁴⁶ These are composed of upheaved breccias with quartz rock intermixed.⁴⁷ The rock is now termed as Khondalite. The hill bears most significant relics of the past i.e. a set of fourteen-rock-edicts of Asoka.⁴⁸

(iv) Main Rivers, Distributaries and Tributaries⁴⁹

The principal rivers which flow in the neighborhood of Bhubaneswar are the Kuakhai, the Bhargavi, the Kushbhadra and the Daya. These rivers also served as the main waterways for inland trade and public transport⁵⁰ (Map.3).

The **Kuakhai**⁵¹: The River Kuakhai is an offshoot of the river Kathazori and it takes off near a point located opposite to Cuttack. After flowing in south-south-easterly direction for 19.2 km. it throws off Kushbhadra then travels nearly due south (along the eastern periphery of greater Bhubaneswar area) about 11.2 km. until it reaches village Sardeipur where it divides into two big branches, the Daya to the west and the Bhargavi to the east.⁵²

The **Kushabhadra**: This River leaves the river Kuakhai at Baliana and flows in south-easterly direction for some 64 km. till it enters the Bay of Bengal near the shrine of Ramachandi (9 km. from Konark).⁵³ Near the mouth of this river traces of a port town of medieval period are discovered in a recent excavation⁵⁴.

The **Daya**⁵⁵: This river as already stated, takes off from the Kuakhai, runs to the south for about 12.8 km. then makes a sharp turn towards west, after that it continues its course southward for the rest of its length emptying itself into the north-eastern corner of the Chilika lake some 60 km. from its off take from river Kuakhai.⁵⁶

The **Bhargavi**: This River is 91 km. in its total length. After takeoff from river Kuakhai it follows a circuitous course and empties itself into the outfall of the river Daya breaking into numerous branches.⁵⁷

The **Gangua**⁵⁸: This is a local stream which has two main sources; and both are called Gangua, i.e., (1) major Gangua and (2) shorter Gangua. The shorter Gangua has already been discussed while describing the Lake-1.⁵⁹ The major Gangua has its source in the hilly tract to the west of Mancheswar, some 9.6 km. north of Sisupalgarh. From Sisupalgarh it flows further 11.2 km. in south-south-west-south direction and joins the river Daya. The shorter Gangua stream which initially flows in the east-south orientation near Kedāra-Gaurī becomes fully south oriented after covering a distance of one kilometer or more, turn almost in right angle towards west and runs the same distance in that direction.⁶⁰ Here, it encircles the localities of Bhuasuni and Kapilesvar, then again turns southwards where it meets the major Gangua, here both the courses run almost parallel.⁶¹ It is a noteworthy point that whereas the shorter Gangua inspired the rise of *Ekāmra-Bhubaneswar*, the major

Gangua was exploited by the occupants of the fortified settlement of Sisupalgarh mauza.⁶²

(v) Rivers as Waterways⁶³

For a major part of the year, the Kushbhadra, the Bhargavi and the Daya serve the purpose of navigation. The Kushbhadra dries up in its upper reaches but in its lower part country-boats are to be seen throughout the year.⁶⁴ The Daya and the Bhargavi are navigable up to the month of January. These two rivers get merged in Chilika lake (actually it is a part of the sea), in their respective mouths. Up to a distance of 10 miles (16 km.) stream they are navigable even in hot dry weather. Traders from the Ganjam district with their heavy load of bamboos and other commodities come by way of the Ganjam canal to Chilika and then catch these rivers.⁶⁵

These waterways would have served as the means of trade traffic in the ancient days also. The existence of port town in the mouth of river Kushbhadra in the medieval period suggests that inland trade centers and cities were linked with maritime settlements by this river.⁶⁶ It may be possible that in ancient times the river had a good level of water in its whole length. Similarly, the Bhargavi and the Daya would have linked some ports on Chilika.⁶⁷ Some recent archaeological excavations at the village Manikpatna, located on the banks of Lake Chilika, revealed the trade links of this erstwhile port town with the West-Asia.⁶⁸ The much earlier excavations at Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar also yielded similar evidences of maritime trade with the West-Asia.⁶⁹ Therefore, it is guessed that the port-town of Manikpatna was connected with the fort-city of Sisupalgarh by the way of river Daya and Bhargavi which are the offshoots of river Kathjori flowing near Sisupalgarh⁷⁰ (Map.3).

(vi) Climatic Conditions

Bhubaneswar is situated at an altitude of 45 meters above the mean sea level. It has a bracing climate with maximum and minimum temperature of 31.0°C and 16.0°C during winter and 42.0°C and 30.0°C during summer respectively.⁷¹ The average rainfall in a year is 152.4 cm⁷². Apart from the usual rains of monsoon season, Bhubaneswar also receives heavy downpours from pre and post-monsoon cyclones.⁷³

From April to August the prevailing wind is from south and south-west and from September to March it is from North and North-West. The velocity of the wind is maximum in summer.⁷⁴ The nearness to sea maintains a high percentage of humidity in the air. The plentiful availability of water and lush-green vegetation are important features of natural environment of Bhubaneswar.⁷⁵

The climate of Bhubaneswar is pleasing due to sea breezes coming across the verdant delta from south; on the other hand the forest-cladded hilly surrounding towards extreme north and a beautiful and charming panorama to the city.⁷⁶ Here, about 15 km. from Bhubaneswar, an extensive landscape has been developed in the zoological park and the botanical gardens. This place, now known as Nandanakana, had been the natural abode of various wild animals since remote past.⁷⁷ There are big natural lakes at Nandanakanana and Sarangagarh (there is a fort belonging to the period of the rulers of the Gaṅga dynasty). A nearby forest known as Chhandaka is the natural habitat of wild elephants; the State Government of Odisha has developed a sanctuary for elephants here.⁷⁸ Besides, ruins of a fort of the Gaṅga period have been also noticed here amidst the forest-clad hills. Unlike the Nandankanana area this forest is dry and devoid of any natural water-reservoir. The scrub-forest and bamboo-bushes in this area are highly susceptible for wild heat during summers due to particular topography and the climate of the area.⁷⁹

The original topography of Bhubaneswar area is rapidly changing due to fast urbanization, growth in population, various kinds of land use in industrial development and other allied factors.⁸⁰ However, there has been little change in the climatic conditions of this locality during the last two thousand years⁸¹.

2.2. Historical Geography

In early medieval period, Bhubaneswar emerged as the major centre for Śaivism and was known through various names, such as *Ekāmra*, *Ekāmra Kānana*, *Ekāmra Kṣetra*, *Svamakuta*, *Svachala*, etc. The earliest epigraphic evidence about *Ekāmra* is to be found in the Gupta year 280 (AD 600).⁸² The inscription belonging to the Vighraha dynasty mentions a *matha* of *Maṇināgeśvarabhattacharya* of *Ekāmbaka*, which evidently represents *Ekāmraka* or *Ekāmra*. This seems to suggest that *Ekāmra*, as the

ancient name of Bhubaneswar, was already known by that name during the 6th and 7th century AD.⁸³ There is inscriptional evidence that a ruler named Santikardeva presumably a feudatory Bhaumakar, came to *Ekāmra* on pilgrimage and at the bank of Bindusagara donated land to a Brahmana in his own territory of Yamagartta Mandala⁸⁴ which proves that Bhubaneswar also came to attract attention as a centre of pilgrimage.

The temple inscription of Brahmeśvara at Bhubaneswar belonging to 11th century mentions the erection of Brahmeśvara temple at Ekāmra-Siddhartha.⁸⁵ In the 13th century *Ekāmra* was the well known name of the temple town. A commemorative inscription of Ananta Vāsudeva temple records that the said temple was built by Candrikadevi, sister of Narasimha-I of the Eastern Ganga dynasty in the Śaka year 1200 (AD 1278).⁸⁶ According to the inscription, the temple was built on the bank of Bindusagra at Ekāmra. The inscription mentions that the presiding deity of the Kṣetra was called Kṛttivāsa and the temple is said to have been located near the *Gaṇḍhasiṅḍhu*, which represents, a variant of *Gaṇḍhavati*, identical with the small river called Gangua. In early medieval inscriptions, the presiding deity of the *Ekāmra Kṣetra* is called *Kṛttivāsa* or *Kīrttivāsa*.⁸⁷ Hence, the place was also called *Kīrttivāsa Kataka*, as mentioned in the inscriptions of Suryvaṃśīś Gajapati king Purusottamadeva.⁸⁸ It is not known clearly, when the name Bhubaneswar was given to this holy city. An inscription of Liṅgarāja temple of the time of Virocoda (12th century) mentions the presiding deity as Tribhuvanadhiśvara.⁸⁹

It appears that subsequently the name Bhubaneswar became more popular than *Kīrttivāsa*. In the Odia inscription of the time of Purusottamadeva, the presiding deity is mentioned as Bhubaneśvaradeva or Bhubaneśvara or Bhubaneśvara Liṅga.⁹⁰ *Sudra Muni* Saralā Das (15th century AD), the composer of Odia Mahābhārta, mentions Bhubaneswar *tīrtha* in the *Vana Parava* in the context of killing of two demons Kīrtti and Vasa at *Ekāṃbaravana (Ekāmrvana)*.⁹¹ It seems that in the course of centuries the city, named after deity Bhubaneswar, came to be known as Bhubaneswar. Bhubaneswar the name of the sacred city had already become popular by the 17th century AD. This is suggested by 17th century Sanskrit text, called *Satpancasaddesavibhaga*,⁹² which forms a part of the *Saktisaṅgama Tantra*. The

work, among others, mentions the name of Bhubaneswar as a territory adjoining Aṅga and Gauda. Bhubaneswar thus had become popular although *Ekāmra Kṣetra* as the name of the temple town was not altogether replaced.⁹³ Bhubaneswar, at least the temple town, evokes the glory of the *Ekāmra Kṣetra*, which was not completely to be rediscovered, but remains a living heritage displayed through its temples and other antiquarian remains.⁹⁴

Many Sanskrit texts provide evidence about the sanctity of the Ekāmra Kṣetra. The *Maṣṭya Puraṇa*⁹⁵ refers to *Ekāmra* and its chief goddess Kīrtimati. She could be goddess Pārvatī, who is described in the *Ekāmra Puraṇa* as Kīrttirupā.⁹⁶ The *Brahma Puraṇa*,⁹⁷ however, provides an interesting detail about its territorial extent, temples, garden, houses, streets and beautiful women.⁹⁸ The area of *Ekāmra Kṣetra* comprises of two-and-half *yojanas*. The *Kṣetra* is said to have evolved from a single mango tree. Its presiding deity is mentioned as Kīrttivāsa.⁹⁹ The *Puraṇa* mentions the sacred tank Bindusagar, *kapila tīrtha*, and the *Śivaliṅga* called Bhaskareśvara. This excellent *Kṣetra*, containing one croer *Śivaliṅga*, is considered as sacred as Varanasi. The devotee, who sees the presiding *Śivaliṅga* of *Kṣetra*, Devī Pārvatī, Ganacanda, Kārtikeya, Gaṇeśa, Vrīṣabha and Kalpadruma, attains *Śivaloka*.¹⁰⁰

The *Śiva Puraṇa*,¹⁰¹ which refers to numerous *Śivaliṅga* of India, mentions Kīrttivāseśvara, Kedaresa and Bhubanesa. Kīrttivāseśvara, evidently, belongs to Varanasi, but Bhubanesa is no other than the presiding *Śivaliṅga* of *Ekāmra Kṣetra*. The *Śiva Puraṇa*¹⁰² specifically mentions Bhubaneswar in the land of Purusottama as the bestowers of *Siddhi*. The *Śiva Puraṇa*¹⁰³ (*Uttara khaṇḍa*), which consists of forty-five chapters, devotes nearly five chapters to describe the greatness of *Ekāmra Kṣetra* and Liṅgarāja-Trihubaneśvara.¹⁰⁴ In course of time the *Ekāmra Kṣetra* became a major centre of Śaivism and attracted many pilgrims. Several *Sthala Māhatmyas* were written to describe its sanctity.¹⁰⁵ Among such works *Ekāmra Puraṇa*,¹⁰⁶ *Ekāmra Caṇḍrika*¹⁰⁷ and *Svārṇadri Mahodaya*¹⁰⁸ deserve special mention. These texts describe in detail the temples, the legends around them, sacred tanks and the notable festivals taking place in Bhubaneswar.¹⁰⁹ These orthodox texts mention several shrines inside the Liṅgarāja and many temples compound. These texts cannot be

precisely dated, but they contain good deal of traditional accounts of much earlier period than their actual date of composition.¹¹⁰ The textual analysis of these above mentioned three texts, suggests the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* is possibly the earliest and it was followed by *Svārṇadrī Mahodaya* and *Ekāmra Caṇḍrika* is apparently later than the *Śiva Purāṇa (Uttara Khaṇḍa)*. R.C. Hazra¹¹¹ believed that the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* was composed between AD 950 and AD 1150. But K.C. Panigrahi¹¹² on the basis of reference to Ananta Vāsudeva Temple (AD 1278) places the text in the 13th century AD.¹¹³

The *Ekāmra Purāṇa*¹¹⁴ mentions the Māhatmya of Kapilesvara, the construction of which is attributed to Suryavaṁśīś king Kapilendradeva (AD 1435-1467). This would suggest that the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, or at least the chapter on *Kapileśvara Māhatmya*, belonged to the 15th century. The text refers to *Kapila Saṁhitā* suggesting further a later date than accepted by R.C. Hazra and K.C. Panigrahi.¹¹⁵ The *Svārṇadrī Mahodaya* quotes identical verses from the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, while there are identical verses in the *Svārṇadrī Mahodaya* and *Ekāmra Caṇḍrikā*. These *Sthala Māhatmyas* collectively throw a good deal of light on the religious and cultural milieu of the *Ekāmra Kṣetra* and its numerous temples.¹¹⁶ These works may be dated between the 13th and 15th century. The *Kapila Saṁhitā*¹¹⁷ is another important Sanskrit text, which describes the four important religious centers of Odisha dedicated to Krisna, Arka, Parvati and Hara. These centres are Puri, for the worship of Krisna-Jagannatha; Konarak for the worship of Surya; Viraja (Jajpur) for the worship of Devi and Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) for worship of Siva.¹¹⁸ The section devoted to *Ekāmra Kṣetra* throw light on the notable temples and festivals of Bhubaneswar.

The text provides evidence that in the 15th -16th centuries, Bhubaneswar was vibrant centre of pilgrimage. The *Tīrtha Cintamani*¹¹⁹ of Vacaspti Misra (15th century AD) includes *Ekāmra Kṣetra* as an important centre of pilgrimage and quotes verses from the Brahm Purāṇa to prove its sanctity.¹²⁰ The *Odia Mahābhārta*¹²¹ of Sarala Das (*Sudra Kabi/Muni*) (15th century AD) refers to the legends about Kīrtti and Vāsa and mentions several temples, such as Ekāmbaranātha, Kedareśvara, Mukteśvara,

Sukhmeśvara, Yameśvara and others.¹²² Sarala Das mentions that *Ekāmrvana* had fifty-two crores of Sivaliṅgas and most excellent of them was the Liṅgarāja.

Apart from being an important Śaiva centre, Bhubaneswar was also a notable *Śākta Pītha*.¹²³ Several tantric texts, such as *Jnanarnava Tantra*, *Brhannila Tantra*, etc. mentioned that *Ekāmra* was a leading *Śākta Pītha*.¹²⁴ The chief goddess of *Ekāmra* is called Kīrtimati according to the *Pranatosani Tantra*¹²⁵, *Mastyā Pūraṇa*¹²⁶ and *Devī Bhāgabata Pūraṇa*¹²⁷ while *Tantrasara* mentions Bhagavaha as the chief goddess of Ekamra Kṣetra. The *Siva Purana*¹²⁸ (*Uttaraa Khanda*) mentions four *Pīthas* in the Kṣetra, such as *Bhava Pītha*, dedicated to Kedara and Gauri; *Mahamasana Pītha* with Uttareśvara and Uttareśvari; *Śiva Pītha* inside the Liṅgarāja temple, before Gopālīnī and under the Kalpavrkṣa; and *Brhat Pītha* where Vaidyanātha is present.¹²⁹

The orthodox texts on the *Ekāmra Kṣetra*, such as *Ekāmra Pūraṇa*, *Ekāmra Caṅḍrikā* and *Svārṇadrī Mahodayā* help us to recognize Bhubaneswar from the point of view of the tradition.¹³⁰ The sacred geography of the *Kṣetra* along with its temples is very clear on the basis of these texts. *Ekāmra Kṣetra* is considered to be circular¹³¹ (Mandalakara) and one *Kosa* in area. Another concept associated with the *Kṣetra* is its division into eight *āyatanas*,¹³² (Plan Drawing. 5) possibly following the *astamurti* or the eight forms of Śiva-Tribhuvaneśvara.¹³³ The term *āyatana* denotes a place, abode, a sanctuary, etc.¹³⁴ In describing the *āyatanas*, the Śivaliṅgas are mentioned along with their distance from each other and their direction. The concept of *āyatanas* is found in all the above mentioned three texts. In some temples, as in the *Svārṇadrī Mahodayā*, there is apparent confusion and overlapping of the names of Liṅgas. In the narration of the eight *āyatanas*, the *Ekāmra Caṅḍrikā* has been followed as it is later than *Svārṇadrī Mahodayā*.¹³⁵ The first *āyatana* of *Ekāmra Kṣetra* included Bindusagra, Ananta Vasūdeva, Devīpādaharā, Trītheśvara and Tribhuvaneśvara.¹³⁶

The second *āyatana* contains Mitreśvara, Varuṇeśvara, Īsāneśvara, Yameśvars, and *tīrthas*, such as Papānāsana kuṇḍa.¹³⁷ The third *āyatana* included Ganga-Yamuna *tīrthas* and Śivaliṅga called Gaṅgesvara.¹³⁸ The fourth *āyatana* contains several Śivaliṅgas, such as Kotiśvara, Śvarṇajaleśvara, Śuparnajalaeśvara, Śiddheśvara, Mukteśvara, Kedreśvara, Rudraliṅga, Maruteśvara, Daityeśvara and Indreśvara.¹³⁹

The *tīrthas* associated with the Śivaliṅgas are Kotitīrtha, Śiddhakuṇḍa and Gaurīkuṇḍa¹⁴⁰. The fifth *āyatana* contains the shrines of Brahmeśvara, Gokaṛṇeśvara, Utpaleśvara, Amrtakeśvara, Madyameśvara and Jatileśvara, besides the Brahmākuṇḍa.¹⁴¹ The sixth *āyatana* contains *Liṅgas*, such as Megheśvara along with Meghakuṇḍa, Bhaskareśvara and its associated Kuṇḍas and kapālamoccana Śiva.¹⁴² The seventh *āyatana* has *Śivaliṅgas*, such as Alabukeśvara with Alabu tīrtha, Uttareśvara and Bhimeśvara.¹⁴³ The eighth *āyatana* Ekāmra Kṣetra contains Rameśvara along with Rama Kuṇḍa, Śīteśvara, Hanumādīśvara, Lavaneśvara, Bhartaesvara, Lakṣmaneśvara, Satrugheśvara, Gosāhasreśvara and Pāradareśvara.¹⁴⁴

In the *Ekāmra Kṣetra*, there are eight *tīrthas*.¹⁴⁵ These are *Biṇḍu tīrtha*, *Pāpanasinī kuṇḍa*, *Gaṅga-Yamunā tīrtha*, *Koti tīrtha*, *Brahama kuṇḍa*, *Megha tīrtha* and *Rama kuṇḍa*. Of these eight tirthas Bindusara is the most excellent.¹⁴⁶ Taking bath in the *Biṇḍu tīrtha*, a devotee should visit Purusottama (Anata Vāsudeva), Devīpādahāra, and Trībhubaneśvara. The orthodox texts elaborately mention the legends and the sanctity of *Biṇḍu tīrtha*. Taking bath in *Pāpanasinī kuṇḍa*, the devotees visit Mitreśvar and Varuṇeśvara.¹⁴⁷ The twin *tīrthas* of Gaṅga and Yamunā are associated with Gaṅgesvara. The *kotī tīrtha* is associated with Kotisvara; Brahmā *kuṇḍa* with Brahmeśvara; Megh *tīrtha* with Megheśvara; and Rama *kuṇḍa* (now called Asokajhara) with Ramesvara.¹⁴⁸ The *Śiva Puraṇa (Uttara Khaṇḍa)* while mentioning the eight *tīrthas* actually names seven *tīrthas* and omits *Alabutirtha*,¹⁴⁹ which is mentioned in the *Ekāmra Caṇḍrikā*. The *Alabu-tīrtha* is in the vicinity of Alabukeśvara. The orthodox texts locate eight *Caṇḍis* in the *Kṣetra*. The *Svārṇadrī Mahodayā*¹⁵⁰ and *Ekāmra Caṇḍrika*¹⁵¹ refer to these eight *Caṇḍis*; they are Ramāyanaī, Kapālinī, Mohinī, Vindhyāgā or Vindhyavāsinī, Aṁbikā, Dvāravāsinī, Uttareśvari and Gaurī. *Caṇḍikas* are placed on the four sides of the Bindusagara (Bindusara). On the western side Aṁbikā, in the east Davaravāsinī; on the southern bank are Mohinī and Vindhyāgā; while on the northern side Uttareśvarī and Gaurī.¹⁵²

The textual evidence about the sanctity of *Ekāmra Kṣetra* and its numerous temples are amply corroborated by archaeological evidence at Bhubaneswar. Dr. K.C. Panigrahi first made an exhaustive study of the archaeological remains at Bhubaneswar.¹⁵³ His study was based on the available sources, such as the extant

temples, detached sculptures, architectural fragments, inscriptions, Sanskrit texts on Bhubaneswar and the *Mādalā Pāñjī*.¹⁵⁴ His study on the basis of epigraphic records and typological study of temples assigned the temples of Bhubaneswar to different periods. The dynastic division of temples in the context of political history of Odisa, though convenient, is not always conclusive. The temples, on the basis of the development of their architectural and decorative programmed may be assigned approximately to two different centuries. Starting with Satrugheśvara in the 6th century, the temple building tradition reached its climax with the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple in the 11th century and it continued as late as the 15th century, when the Kapileśvara temple was built. Many of the temples still retain the traditional names mentioned in the Sanskrit texts, such as *Ekāmra Puraṇa*, *Ekāmra Caṇḍrīkā*, etc. which were in the nature of pilgrims guides. For the followers of Śaivism, *Ekāmra Kṣetra* is not a mere piece of land studded with numerous Śivaliṅgas, but city of homage to Śiva.¹⁵⁵

The tradition of religious tolerance is attested by vestiges of diverse sects at Bhubaneswar. As early as 1st century AD Kharavela, a devout Jina, in the Hatigumpha inscription has specially mentioned that he privileged all religious sects and repaired the shrines of all the deities.¹⁵⁶ Jainism flourished at Bhubaneswar in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri areas.¹⁵⁷ On the basis of the Hatigumpha inscription, it is claimed that Mahavira preached his religion in this centre. The caves at Khandagiri and Udayagiri belong 1st century AD, while the image of Trīthankaras was carved there in the 11th century AD, when Bhubaneswar had already become a major centre of Śaivism. In the Mukteśvara and Nāgeśvara temple (10th century AD), small figures of Trīthankaras are found on its low enclosure wall.¹⁵⁸ Though, pioneer scholars believe that Buddhist influence came to Kalinga after the conquest by Asoka in 261 BC. But the prominent textual references cannot be ignored regarding the emergence of Buddhism in Odisa. Buddhism existed in Kalinga or Utkala before Aśoka. The early *Vinaya Pitaka*, the *Nikayas* and the *Jātakas* refer about two merchants,¹⁵⁹ Tapassu and Bhallika, who received the first sermons of Buddha at Gaya and these merchants, have been referred as the inhabitants of Utkala.¹⁶⁰ After receiving the sermons from the Buddha, the merchants offered some rice cake and honey to the Buddha.¹⁶¹ Therefore, Buddha also gave them some *Nakha* (Nails) and *Kesha* (Hair) as the

evidence of disciple and the relationship of that incident.¹⁶² Two on the commemoration that incident they built two *Stupas* known as *Keshastupa* and *Nakhastupa* in the region of Utkala.¹⁶³ But unfortunately these two *Stupas* are not existing. Its where about is difficult to make out in Odisha.¹⁶⁴ It is likely that those were instrumental to propagate Buddhism in Odisha.

The other evidence is associated with *Dantapura* and tooth relics of Buddha in Odisha.¹⁶⁵ This is the time of *Mahāparinirvāna*, one of the teeth of Buddha was brought by *Khsema (Thera)* and presented to Kalinga king Brahmadatta for build a *Stupa*.¹⁶⁶ The *Danta-Stupa* was installed at the place which is known as “*Dantapura*”.¹⁶⁷ That *Dantapura place* is now very controversial; it is generally identified with Puri and the tooth relics of Buddha is fixed in the wooden made god Jagannatha form of “*Brahma*”¹⁶⁸ at the time of *Navakalevala* or embodiment of god (every last twelve years).¹⁶⁹ The place like Puri is associated with the Buddhist religion like *Sanana Prunima* (Full Moon Day in month of June for Bathing of Jagannātha) and car festival or *Ratha Yātra* are originated from the Buddhist practice.¹⁷⁰ The earliest reference of Jagannātha as the manifestation of the Buddha is found in the *Jnanasiddhi*¹⁷¹ of Indrabhuti, the founder of the Vajrayana system of Buddhism,¹⁷² who begins his work after offering his obeisance to Jagannātha Buddha.¹⁷³ The images of Buddha in temples of Bhubaneswar are generic and are depicted as ninth incarnation of the Vishṇu in sculptural panel.¹⁷⁴ As has been mentioned above in the controversial *Dantapura* is identified sometimes as Puri and sometime as Paloura¹⁷⁵ of Ganjam district near the Mahendragiri Mountain, but it’s also getting identified with Paloura in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. That place is famous as *Dantvarapukota* (fort or big place for put the *Danta* or teeth), and is also mentioned in *Dantabakragarha*¹⁷⁶ of the Mahābhārat. Though some remains are found but they are unidentified. Moreover, it appears that *Dantapura* corresponds more to Puri which is fifty km away from Bhubaneswar.

The rock cut elephant at Dhauli shows to be associated with Buddhism as this noble animal is symbolic of the birth of Buddha. Several detached railings, associated with Buddhism, have been discovered from Badagada, Bhaskaresvar temple area, Kapilaprasada, Panchagaona,¹⁷⁷ Lavangirimundia¹⁷⁸ (ruined Buddhist *Stupa* and

Stupa's structure, railings), Kurikimundia,¹⁷⁹ Aragarh.¹⁸⁰ Evidence about the continuance of Buddhism at Bhubaneswar is provided by images of Tāra, Lokanātha, Halahala Lokeśvara, etc. which may be assigned to the 11th -12th centuries AD¹⁸¹ Even though Bhubaneswar was a centre of Śaivism, evidence about the existence of Vaisnavism is known from detached sculptures of Ananta Vāsudeva (7th century AD) fixed on the eastern side of the Bindusara, the representation of Varaha in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple (7th century AD) and *avatāra* sculptures in the Mañibhadreśvara temple (10th century AD). The only major Visnu temple in *Ekāmra Kṣetra* is Ananta Vāsudeva temple. In course of time, Liṅgarāja came to represent Hari-Hara and even the *Kapila Saṁhitā* refers to *Ekāmra* as *Hariharātmaka Kṣetra*.¹⁸²

Thus, over the centuries, Bhubaneswar gives the impression of a city with diverse religious sects and traditions. Bhubaneswar in the late 6th and early 7th century witnessed the growing influence of Śaivism. The early Śaiva temples of Bhubaneswar carry representations of Lākūlīsa. This seems to suggest that temple building activities at Bhubaneswar in the 6th century were connected with the Lākūlīsa Pāśupāta sect of Śaivism and Śaivism became to be the dominant religion of the place, although the earlier religions continued in the area and existed side by side with Śaivism.

2.3. Political History

Bhubaneswar better known for its outstanding temples gained its name from the city's presiding god, Lord Śiva, called 'Tribhuvanewara', which means "the Lord of the Three Worlds".¹⁸³ In the popular abbreviated form, the deity is called 'Bhubaneswar' and after the deity, the place is called Bhubaneswar.¹⁸⁴ As an important religious centre, the temple town was famous as *Ekārama Kṣetra*.¹⁸⁵ Legends trace the sanctity of the place, when there was a single mango tree with Śivaliṅga below it. This is the religious centre of Śaivism and although changes over the centuries, Bhubaneswar continues as a living centre of pilgrimage in Odisha. The *Ekārama Kṣetra* or *Ekrama Kānana* was much more extensive than the present temple town. It extended from Khandacala (Khandagiri) on the west to Kuṇḍaleśvara on the east; from Valāhādevī on the north to Bahīrāṅgaśvara at the top of the Dhauligiri on the south. The area is believed to be circular in shape.¹⁸⁶

The early history of Bhubaneswar, prior to the emergence of *Ekārama Kṣetra*, is known from the available archaeological remains. The edicts of Aśoka at Dhuli about 8 km south of Bhubaneswar, suggest that the area was a part of the empire of the famous Mauryān emperor Asoka. The rock-cut elephant carved at Dhuli dates back to the time of Asoka. It is known from his 13th Rock Edict, which is not engraved at Dhuli but at Sahabajigad (Pakistan), that Asoka had conquered a place called Kalinga, eight years after his coronation that is about 261 BC. After conquest, Tosali became the headquarters of newly conquered province. This seems to be identical either with Dhuli or the fortified city of Sisupalagarha. Excavations of Sisupalagarha¹⁸⁷ have provided evidence that the area was in occupation from the 3rd century BC to middle of the 4th century AD. Sisupalgarha, as an early historical city, was distinguished by its systematic layout with rampart, gateways, residential buildings and watch towers. The antiquities recovered from the site indicate the level of the city life and its trade contacts. The discovery of roulated ware, roman bullae, imitation Kushana coins and an inscribed gold medallion, throw light on its unique character as a city.¹⁸⁸

The Hatigumpha Inscription¹⁸⁹ on the Udyagiri hill, about 8 km from the Liṅgarāja temple contains the detail about the activities of Kharvela, the Chedi ruler of the Mahameghavahana family Kharavela is believed to have ruled during the 1st century AD¹⁹⁰ It appears that after the decline of Maurya dynasty, the Chedi kings ruled over Kalinga and established the independent kingdom of Kalinga.¹⁹¹ During Kharavela, military campaigns were against the rulers of different parts of India.¹⁹² The Kalingan army marched towards west without caring for King Satakarni of Sātavāhana dynasty. Even the Rāstrika¹⁹³ and Bhojaka¹⁹⁴ chieftains were defeated in the west. In the south the Tamil confederacy was defeated. In the north, the Kalinga army stormed Gorthagiri and caused panic to the people of Rajagriha.¹⁹⁵ The army marched as far as the Uttarapatha (north-west) and on the way back to Kalinga defeated Brihaspatimitra, the ruler of Anga and Magadha.¹⁹⁶ Kharavela was a follower of Jainism as is evident from the excavation of caves for Jaina the ascetic in the vicinity of Bhubaneswar.

The post-Kharavela period, is associated with the rule of Andhra and Murunda on the basis of numismatics findings¹⁹⁷ but as coins change hands during commercial transactions, one has to be cautious in using coins for reconstructing political history.¹⁹⁸ After Kharvela, the history of Bhubaneswar is quite obscure. The colossal figures of Naga¹⁹⁹ and Yaksa²⁰⁰ indicate the popularity of these folk cults in Bhubaneswar. The discovery of large bell capital²⁰¹ near the Ashoka Jhara tank and lion sculpture²⁰² near Bhaskareśvara temple led scholars to believe that, there was an Aśokan pillar in Bhubaneswar of which the pillar inside the Bhaskareśvara temple formed a part. The difference of style and the quality of stone used seem to suggest that pillar may have belonged to a period later than Asoka's. Similarly, the discovery of a lion capital near Bibhisaneśvara temple seems to suggest the existence of more than one pillar imitating Asokan pillar.

The discovery of number of railing pieces in Badagada Bhaskareśvara temple area indicate the existence of Stupa enclosed by railings²⁰³; but its religious association with Buddhism or Jainism cannot be precisely determined. It is not known precisely the nature of Gupta political influence over Odisha, but it seems that in the post-Gupta period formalistic elements of soft sculptural body with integrated drapery continue to dominate to aesthetic sensibility. This is suggested by several sculptures, such as Pārvatī, Kārttikeya found in the premises of the Liṅgarāja temple and a *chatur-mukha liṅga* recovered from the sacred tank of Bhubaneswar in honor of Siva. Epigraphically records found from village Patiakilla²⁰⁴ on the suburbs of Bhubaneswar indicate that it was a part of the territorial division of Daksina Tosali²⁰⁵ during the rule of Maharaja Sambhu-Yasas of the Mana dynasty, who was a worshipper of Mahesvara.

During the 6th-7th centuries AD, Bhubaneswar seems to have formed a part of the Śailodbhava territory which comprised the areas of present Khurda, Puri and Ganjam districts.²⁰⁶ It was probably during this period that several early temples were constructed at Bhubaneswar. The Bhaumakaras ruled over coastal Odisha extending from Midnapur to Ganjam district in the 8th-9th centuries AD²⁰⁷ Their association with Bhubaneswar is suggested by the Dhauli cave inscription and the Gaṇeśa guṃphā inscription at Udayagiri.²⁰⁸ The Bhaumakara capital Guhasiva Pataka was

located in the vicinity of Viraja, identical with Jajpur in Jajpur district.²⁰⁹ Viraja and Ekāmra as centres of pilgrimage are mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Sāntikaradeva, who seems to have been a feudatory king of the Bhaumakara dynasty.²¹⁰

The Somavaṁśīś, who started their rule in Odisha with Suvarṇapura (Sonepur) as their capital, under Janmejaya-I Mahāśivagupta (AD 880-920), gradually extended their sway and controlled coastal Odisha including Bhubaneswar during the time of Yayati-I Mahāśivagupta by uniting Kosala and Utkala.²¹¹ A commemorative inscription in the Brahmesvara temple indicates that it was built by Kolavatidevi, the mother of Uddyota Kesari (Uddyota Kesari-IV Mahāśivagupta, AD 1040-1065).²¹² In the popular traditions, the Somavaṁśīś are known as the Kesari kings. The *Mādalā Pāñji*²¹³ attributes the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple to Lalāteṇḍu Kesari or Lalāta Kesari. Epigraphic records engraved in a cave at Khandagiri hill mention that a Jaina teacher, Acarya Subhacandra, a disciple of Kulacandra, visited Jaina centre of Khandagiri during the time of King Uddoyata Kesari. The age of the Somavaṁśīś at Bhubaneswar witnessed the construction of several beautiful temples, such as Mukteśvara, Rājārānī, Brahmeśvara, and the Liṅgarāja.

Bhubaneswar came under the control of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga about the beginning of the 12th century AD. The Liṅgarāja temple bears an inscription of Anantavarman Codagangadeva²¹⁴ (AD 1078-1147). The inscriptions of the Gaṅga rulers are to be found at Bhubaneswar in several temples, such as the *jagamohana* of the Lingaraja, Kedareśvara, Meghesvara and Ananta Vāsudeva. The Gaṅga rule was followed by the rule of the Suryavaṁśīś Gajapati kings. According to traditions of the *Mādalā Pāñji*, Kapilendradeva (AD 1435-1467) had his coronation at Krttīvāsa-Kataka, i.e., Bhubaneswar.²¹⁵ Inscriptions of Kapilendradeva²¹⁶ and his successor Purusottamadeva²¹⁷ (AD 1467-1497) are found on the *jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple. The Odia inscription of Purusottamadeva refers to Krttīvāsa-Kataka,²¹⁸ which probably suggests the existence of a royal camp or residence at Bhubaneswar. According to local tradition, a mound on the southwest of the Liṅgarāja temple represents the remains of a royal palace. Bhubaneswar seems to have continued as an important religious and cultural centre during the Suryavaṁśīś rule. During the reign

of Prataparudradeva (AD 1497-1540), Sri Caitanya came to Puri. He spent nearly eighteen years of his life and also died at Puri. On his way to Puri he is said to have worshipped Liṅgarāja after taking bath in the Bindusagara as he believed in the Hari-Hara cult.²¹⁹ The major biographies of Sri Caitanya, such as *Caitanya Caritamṛta*, refer to his visit to Liṅgarāja temple, but later works believe that he also possibly visited the Ananta Vāsudeva temple. Odisha lost its independence in AD 1568 and passed into the hands of the Afghan rulers of Bengal. Subsequently, Mansingh annexed Odisha to the Mughal Empire in AD 1592. In AD 1751 the Marathas controlled coastal Odisha and ruled it till AD 1803.

2.4. Settlement Pattern of Bhubaneswar

The word settlement stands for the places of human dwellings and human activities. Thus in archaeological context a settlement remain may be a house, a cattle pen, stable, posthole, fortification, moat, tanks, embankments to rivers, lakes, roads and lanes, gateways, monastery, temple furnace and workshop etc. The building materials such as timber, clay, mud-bricks and kiln-burnt bricks, dressed stone slabs and laterite blocks as well as stone rubbles, lime and other remains of mortars also are the important settlement remains. The human settlements developed variously; at some places people lived in very backward conditions while at other places people lived in highly advanced and prosperous stage. A settlement may expand in a very large area or it may be of very small shape and size. Various particular characteristics of dwellings, economy, and way of life decide the particular nature, of a settlement. On the basis of some basic traits the human dwellings have been classified in settlement-units like village, town or city and country etc.

In the present day census-operations various settlement units are categorized as hamlet, village, town, market-town, industrial-town, and city. Thus we come across the-terms like *janapada*, *mahājanapada*, *rāshtra*, *vishaya* or *vijit*, *grāma*, *ghoshā*, *nagara* and *samvāh*. In the canonical writings which are called *Śilpasāstra* or *Vāstugrantha* and are various in number, the settlement units of different type are elaborately discussed and defined on the basis of layout-planning, population and profession of inhabitants and other several considerations of theoretical and empirical nature. Thus, the terms for town as: *nagara*, *pūra*, *rājdhānī*, *pāttanā*, *dūrga*, *khetā*,

khārvata, sīvīra, senāmūkha, cherīkā, sthānīya, droṇamūkha, nīgam, matha or vihāra; and for the villages: *maṇḍūka, prastārā, bahūālīkā, parakā, chatūrmūkha, pūrvamūkha, maṅgal, viśvakarmāka, devarāta, viśvesa, kailāsa and nityamaṅgala* and others.

Bhubaneswar is full of enduring archaeological remains, majestic monuments and narrative art panels, ruins and antiquarian remains of civil and religious nature bespeaking about the human life and their settlements. Besides, the surviving cultural trends with very less degree of adulteration also provide a picture of human activities and settlements developed by the man. The richness of the material and variety of monuments specially the temples had already attracted the great scholars of India and abroad and the rich yield of research works from many pioneer scholars. The general information about Bhubaneswar common people were only aware of the awesome Kalingan war fought by Aśoka, the ruling dynasties of the Śailodbhavas, Bhaumakaras, Somavasṃśīś or Kesharis, Gaṅgas and Gajpatis and their manifestations but they were also capable of narrating the stories of the decline of Hindu kingdom by Afgan rulers of Bengal. Thus the political history had become a part of folk lore which was a mighty symbol of the preserving the past in the simplest form that may perpetuate through generations. The people depending upon the agrarian economy and small scale domestic horticulture, local trade and commerce but the temples and shrines were the greater hub of the activities of the people, and they were associating with those temples and shrines for different kinds of services.

Thus a common social set-up and the way of life were vivid to this work and all these casual observations provide an insight to peep into the past of the people through the present. For this work frequent visits to Śiṣupālgarh, Chūdaṅgarh, Gaṅgaswaragarha, Rathīpurgarha, Nijjarh, Tapaṅga, Būālīgarha, Garhakujaṅga, and Khurdāgarh the early historical fortified cities and Buddhist sites viz. Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri, Lāṅgudī, Kuruma, Dhauri, Achyūtrājpur, Arāgarh, Bānpur the rock-cut caves of Khandagiri-Udayagiri and the Old-Town area of Bhubaneswar again rethought to visualize the development of these settlements of varied nature. The village settlements of Puri, Khurda, Ganjam and Cuttack districts were far different and it is observed that some villages in the district of Puri and Khurda were

having close resemblance to the prescribed layout of the architectural canons till date. Thus, they have one long and broad road and the houses were constructed in rows on the either side of the road. Each house had a large raised platform meant for storage of the paddy underneath. It was though peculiar but a traditional storage system. The whole village was obviously visible at a glance, and the temple was located at the entering end. Such examples oriented this study towards the history of human settlements of the past and its patterns of development. Bhubaneswar, the present capital town of Odisha has exhibited the major potential by yielding the material remains and continuous human settlements in this area for more than 3000 years. The whole region provides a chronological sequence in a virtual horizontal section for the human activities in the above period.

The ramparts of Śisupālgarh bespeak of the early historical planned urban settlement and honeycombed rock-cut-caves provides the glimpses of ascetic's abodes and the Old-Town settled around the great Liṅgarāja temple representing a crystallized society with unbreakable moorings to the Svayaṁbhū Liṅgam or Lord Liṅgarāja, the presiding deity of the place and a host of temples and pious tanks making a *tīrtha* or religious settlement. The classifications available in the Indian *Vāstu* text have provided the very concept of human settlements and have been used as touch stone while identifying the ancient human settlements in Odisha and particularly at Bhubaneswar. The natural resources, geomorphology, availability of food and water and safe-dwellings are some of the basic requirements for any place to become the habitat of human beings; and Bhubaneswar provided those basic necessities. Thus, the studies in this work oriented to an inquiry in the archaeological remains and monuments; the natural settings and the role of human hand behind those manifestations, and the very reasons and circumstances for the emergence and development of the settlements in the region and their social set-ups. The settlement pattern of this work contains discussion in detail the geomorphology, climate, habitation-sites and nature of settlements, identification and corroboration of the settlements with other evidences. The political and religious background of the region is given in support of evolution of settlements and their decay. The feeding economy of different settlements, the evolution of society and its crystallization in particular forms and other aspects have been dealt with an analytical method.

Bhubaneswar (Lat. 28°15'N, Long. 85°15'E), being the capital city of the state of Odisha, is well known in the political map of India. It is situated on Howrah - Madras main railway line as well as on the National Highway-5.²²⁰ There are other State Highways and district roads connecting the city with the district headquarter Puri and other cities of Odisha and neighboring states. Besides, Bhubaneswar is also connected with the national capital New Delhi and other important cities, namely: Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad by airways and railways.²²¹ There is no doubt that Bhubaneswar is one of the most beautiful modern cities of India with well-planned habitation, market-complexes, office-buildings, educational institutions and industries.

However, it is better known for its historical past which is survived by splendid monuments and settlement remains scattered in a vast area. The place has a long-cherished history of human occupation and settlements. It has been an established *Śaivātīrtha* of far fame as is mentioned in some early *purāṇas* and the epics.²²² The traditional sanctity is well attested by a series of majestic temples and sacred lakes and tanks which had been built in various phases and periods. There also existed the leading centers of Jainism and Buddhism in the early historical Period. The political importance of this area is established by the Asokan rock-edicts, the fortified remains and the inscription of king Kharavela.²²³ Further, the traditions, the eulogies and dedicatory inscriptions relate to the king Sasanka, the rulers of various dynasties, viz. the Śailodbhava, the Bhaumakara, Somavaṁśīś, the Gaṅga, the Suryavaṁśīś and others with this place.²²⁴

The settlement-remains apart from the living monuments and localities at Bhubaneswar are scattered in a far and wide area; and are varied in nature.²²⁵ While at one habitation site and settlement appears of a citadel type at the other site it is of monastic nature.²²⁶ The distribution of numerous temples and tanks in vast laterite tract, portray a vivid picture of the greater religious sanctity and thus we notice the existence of a holy city i.e. a *tīrtha* or *kṣetra* (sacred place), the glory of which is sung in orthodox literature as well as in inscriptions.²²⁷ The rural settlements, that may be the villages of peasants or *Brahmanas* or hamlets of crafts-professionals or out-castes,

also existed in this area; some of these are referred to in the inscriptions while some are known to us by their physical presence.²²⁸

In the human habitation human beings are bound together for self maintenance and self keeping and sharing their own institution and culture.²²⁹ This human behavior is very part of human life which makes him social. Thus, a society is an integral part of all the human settlements. Therefore, in this dissertation an attempt is also made to reconstruct the picture of contemporary society from the available sources.²³⁰

2.4.1. Brahminical Settlement

From the inscriptions which constitute the main sources of information, it is possible to get a fairly adequate idea of the distribution of the Brahminical settlements in the period of present study.²³¹ The focus of-course is on Bhubaneswar's Brahminical settlements. The ruling families gave land donations to Brahmans, but as the areas under their control are quite often uncertain, and it is often difficult to establish their identifications.²³² Again, the number of land grants to the Brāhman donees is so numerous that all the places mentioned in the charters have not yet been satisfactorily identified.²³³ Generally, the Brahmans were given land grants within not more than 100 miles of their original home.²³⁴ A Brahman settlement known as an '*Agrhara*' is often mentioned in the inscription. The Brahmans who were brought from outside were given land grants both in backward areas and settled areas. Land grants were made in forest areas and settled areas under the Bhanja, the Somavaṁśīś and the Gaṅgas. Yashobhanja Deva of Khinjili Maṇḍal granted a tax free village called Patikmyana to a Brāhman with trees, creepers, thickest and forests, along with the right to fishing and catching tortoise.²³⁵ The village in question was obviously surrounded by forests. A Somavaṁśīś charter of Mahabhava Gupta- IV, who ruled over western Odisha and south Kosala in the beginning of the 10th century AD, granted two villages, which were given along with the right of killing snakes and elephants.²³⁶ Probably the areas abound in elephants, for the district in which the two villages were situated was called Airavatamaṇḍala.²³⁷

The locality was inhabited by the Savaras or Saros, noted for their knowledge of elephant and huge snakes living in holes and caves of the hills.²³⁸ In one of the

grant of the Gaṅga king Ananta Varman, donated a village that was described as practically surrounded by jungles, trees and rocks,²³⁹ which show that it was situated in a forest area. The significance of land grants in backward areas to Brahmans is not difficult to appreciate. Brāhmins, who settled in these backward areas, must have brought new lands under cultivation.²⁴⁰ The settlements of Brāhmins in these areas led to the introduction and spread of Brāhminical culture during the medieval Odisha. Also, they must have uncalculated in the aborigines a sense of loyalty to the established order and towards their ruler-patrons.²⁴¹

A remarkable features of the charters recording donation of settled areas is the fact that the donors transferred villages not only with various kinds of dues but also with *Tantuvaya* (weavers), *Saūndhika* (brewers), *Gokūta* (cowherds) and *Parkritikāh* (other subjects), as the Dhenkanāla plates of Tribhuvana Mahādevī indicates.²⁴² This practice was not only followed by the Bhaumakara rulers but also by their feudatories, the Bhanjas²⁴³ and Tuṅgas²⁴⁴ during this period. The assignment of land with weavers, brewers, cowherds, etc., suggests that these were land grants of settled areas. From the Nāgari copper plate learn that king Anaṅgabhimā Deva-III (1121-38 AD) granted a township to a Brāhmana named Śankara Chandra Sarmana, along with a number of merchants such as *Gandhika* (perfumer), *Sankhika* (dealer in conch shells), *Patakaras* (splitter of wood), *Swarnakara* (goldsmith), *Kānsika* (brazier), *Gudika* (dealer in sugar), etc. It shows that the Brahmans were given lands not only in backward areas and villages but also townships as well.²⁴⁵

The Brāhminical settlements were known as *agrāhāra* or *sāsana*. Even today there are numerous villages having the *Sāsana* suffix in different parts of Odisha. These villages were not always inhabited by Brāhmana population alone.²⁴⁶ An example of this type of settlement is provided by the Kendupatana plates²⁴⁷ of Narasimhadeva-II, dated 1295 AD, which record grant of two plots of land to Bhimadevasarman, which was given the name of Bhimanarayanapura and a number of rent-paying subjects were attached to the *Śāsana*.²⁴⁸ They were: Kumbara-Sadhu who was the grandson of the goldsmith Narayana Sadhu of the Jayapura *hatta* (market complex); Gopia who was a milkman of the Sidranaga *hatta*; *Kalo-sresthin* who was the grandson of Dradai-*sresthin*, an oilman of the Vadatala *danda*; and Devai-*sresthin*

who was the grandson of the potter Jayadeva-*sresthin* of the Sathgrama *nava-hatta* (new market).²⁴⁹ From the evidence so far cited regarding boundaries of donated lands and about the brahmanical settlements in particular several conclusions emerge.

The Brahminical settlements were distributed mostly in the coastal plains – in Ganjam, Puri, Cuttack, Khurda and Balasore districts.²⁵⁰ These areas were also the main foci of political activity of the Gangas and Gajapatis. The Brahminical settlements were not divided from the rural settlements, but they seem to have been distributed among them. The practice of attaching various groups of people to *sāsana* led to economic dependence in these settlements.²⁵¹ Thus, the economic organization of an *sāsana* settlement may have differed from that of other settlements surrounding it. The Brahman dominated area in the Bhubaneswar till now existed that settlement is near Liṅgarāja temple vicinity that *sāsana* such as *Garābadu sāhi*, *Badu sāhi*, *Uttarabadu sāhi*, *Paṇḍā sāhi*, and *Thidī sāhi*. These settlements are installed at the last phase of Somavaṁśīś Kings, and during the Gaṅga and Gajapati period. These Brahman communities are patronized by them. In the outskirt of the Bhubaneswar area another Brahman *sāsana* such as Brahmeśvara Pātaṇā (Near Brahmeśvara temple), Laxmisagar Pātaṇā, Chīntāmaṇīśvara Śāsana, Uttaraśāsana, Jhintiśāsana, Bhiṅgarpurśāsana, Kalārāhaṅgaśāsana, and Pūbaśāsana are established during the time Bhaumakara and Somavaṁśīś reign. Some of the Brāhman settlements have been shown in the chart given at the ‘Appendices- C’ end of the chapters. The next chapter contains discussion about the temple patronage.

Endnotes and References

¹ . G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 2, and see also S.N. Rajguru, *Inscription of Orissa*, Vol. IV, Bhubaneswar, 1966, pp. 244-252.

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⁵ . S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Odisha*, Vol. IV, Bhubaneswar, 1966, pp. 244-52; see, the title “Brahmeśvara Stone Inscription of the Time of Uddyotakesri (R.Y. 18)”, this inscription informs about the construction of Brahmeśvara temple by Kolāvati, the queen-mother of Uddyotakesari in the latter’s regnal year 18. The verse-12 refers to the name of this temple as Brahmeśvara and the site of its location has been called Siddhartūrtha-Ekāmra.

⁶ . Ravi Kalia, *Bhubaneswar from a Temple Town to a Capital City*, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 1-6.

⁷ . S.N. Sarangi, *Proposed Master Plan of Bhubaneswar*, Bhubaneswar, 1988, pp. 32-36.

⁸ . N. Senapati, (e.d.), *Puri District Gazetteer*, Cuttak, 1977, p. 708.

⁹ . L.S.S.O. Malley, *Puri Gazetteer*, Calcutta, 1982, p. 40.

¹⁰ . Ibid.,

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¹² . Taranish Jha, *Brahmapurāṇam (Devanagari)*, (ed. with Hindi translation) *Hindi Sahitya Sammelana*, Prayag (Allahabad), Chapter 41: Ekamra Kshetra Mahatmya Kathanam, verse-75

¹³ . Raja Radhakantadev, (ed.), *Sabdakalpadrumah (Devanagari)*, Vol. 4, 1961, p. 62, *Yojanah-chatuh krosyarthē*.

¹⁴ . Ratnakar Gargabatu, *Svarṇddri Mahodaya*, Calcutta, 1938, Ch.I, Verses: 28-29, and see also S. Tripathy, “Ekamra-Bhubanesvara”, *Odisha Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 & 2, p. 152.

¹⁵ . P. Acharya, *Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives*, Cuttack, 1969, pp. 1-3.

¹⁶ . Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁷ . M.M. Mahapatra, *Traditional Structure and Changes in an Orissan Temple*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 8.

¹⁸ . G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 4,

¹⁹ . Refer to the heading ‘Ganguā’. The Gangua: This is a local stream which has two main sources; and both are called Gangua. These two main sources are known as (1) major Gangua and (2) shorter Gangua. The shorter Gangua has already been discussed while describing Lake-I. The major Gangua has its source in the hilly tract to the west of Mancheswar, some 9.6 km. north of Sisupalgarh. From Sisupalgarh it flows further 11.2 km. in south-south-west-south direction and joins the river Daya. The shorter Gangua stream which initially flows in east-South orientation near Kedara-Gauri becomes fully south oriented after covering a distance of one kilometer or more, turn almost in right angle towards

west and runs the same distance in that direction. Here, it encircles the localities of Bhubasuni and Kapileswar, then again turns southwards where it meets the major Gangua, here both the courses run almost parallel. It is a noteworthy point that whereas the shorter Gangua inspired the rise of *Ekamra-Bhubaneswar*, the major Gangua was exploited by the occupants of the fortified settlement of Sisupalgarh mauza. (G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, and see also the map in p. no. 65 of *Ancient India* No.5, A.S.I., New Delhi, 1949)

²⁰ . G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 5.

²¹ . See the map attached to the appendix of Bhubaneswar in the *Puri District Gazetteer*, op. cit., and see also Nilamani Senapati, and Durga Charana Kunar, *Puri District Gazetteer*, Cuttack, 1985.

²² . G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 4-5.

²³ . Ibid.,

²⁴ . See the map in p. no. 65 of *Ancient India* No.5, A.S.I., New Delhi, 1949. In this map both the streams are shown as Gangua.

²⁵ . G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 5-6.

²⁶ . Ibid.,

²⁷ . In a temple construction spiral and inclined ramps were being raised to reach conveniently In greater height, See, V. Dehijia, *Early Stone temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, figs. in p. 29, illustrating the spiral and inclined ramps for construction of temples. The biggest inclined ramp would have been made on the southern side of Liṅgarāja temple. The present land surface beginning from Liṅgarāja temple up to Keutasahi (Fisher man community those are *sudras*) seems to be the residue of that inclined ramp.

²⁸ . G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 6-7.

²⁹ . The land-surface in front of the main gate of Liṅgarāja temple is much higher than the level of courtyard of the temple. If the level of outer land is decreased to the lowermost level of courtyard the water of Lake-I may reach to this temple and further flow towards east and southward direction. Thus, it is probable that in very earlier days when the embankments to the Bindusagara were not raised the Lake-I or shorter Gangua alias river Gandhavati was flowing to very Close of the Liṅga enshrined in the temple of Liṅgarāja.

³⁰ . G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 7.

³¹ . S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Odisha*, Vol. V, pt. I, *Bhubaneswar*, 1975, pp. 211-20: Ananta Vasudeva Temple at Bhubaneswar, see verses 9 & 10.

³² . G.N. Srivastava, op. cit., p.7.

³³ . Ibid.,

³⁴ . Ibid.,

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³⁶ . Ibid., p. 8.

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- ⁴¹ . Ibid., pp. 8-9.
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- ⁴³ . Nilamani Senapati, and Durga Charana Kunar, *Puri District Gazetteer, Cuttack, 1985*; op. cit., p. 20-21.
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- ⁴⁷ . E. Hultzch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, (Inscriptions of Asoka), Varanasi, 1969*, p. xiii.
- ⁴⁸ . G.N. Srivastava, op. cit., p. 9.
- ⁴⁹ . The description of major river-courses is based on *Puri District Gazetteer*, op. cit. pp. 12-13., and see also Nilamani Senapati and Durga Charana Kunar, *Puri District Gazetteer, Cuttack, 1985*
- ⁵⁰ . G.N. Srivastava, op. cit., p. 9.
- ⁵¹ . L.S.S.O. Malley, *Puri Gazetteer, Calcutta, 1982*, pp. 38-39.
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- ⁵⁶ . G.N. Srivastava, op. cit., pp. 10-11.
- ⁵⁷ . Ibid.,
- ⁵⁸ . Bhaskara Chandra Khatai, *Dayānadi (Odia)*, pp. 209-221. Brajmohan Mohanty, (Ed. et al), *Ekāmra Khṣetra, (Bhubaneswar with Glorious tradition of 2700 years), Utkal Pathak Samsad, Cuttack, 1993 (Odia)*, see also L.S.S.O. Malley, *Puri Gazetteer, Calcutta, 1982*, pp. 38-42., and see also

“*Sivalilambruta Mahakavya*” – “this Sanskriti Kāvya description about the romance between Siva and Pārvaṭī in the bank of Gangua or Gandhasindhu or Gandhabati river and the victory over Buddhism in Bhubaneswar and periphery area by Śaivaite pantheon”. (This manuscript is strictly prohibited to public, the material collection through personnel discussion between local pandit of Old Town).

⁵⁹ . G.N. Srivastava, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

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⁶⁴ . G.N. Srivastava, op. cit., p. 11.

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¹⁶⁶ . Ibid, and see also Harihar Kanungo, “Baudha Jugare Kalingara Bhasa O’ Dharma” (Odia), in *Itihasa o’ Sansakurti (Odia)*, Eds., Bhubaneswar, 2003, pp. 7-16.

¹⁶⁷ . Harihar Kanungo, “Baudha Jugare Kalingara Bhasa O’ Dharma” (Odia), in *Itihasa o’ Sansakurti (Odia)*, Eds., Bhubaneswar, 2003, pp. 10-15.

¹⁶⁸ . Buddhist origin of Jagannātha has been suggested by some scholars like Rajendra Lal Mitra, (*The Antiquities of Odisa*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1867, (Reprinted, New Delhi, 1984), pp. 105-106.) who who believe that the image of Jagannātha contains the scared Buddha and in support of the view, the story of *Dāthavṁsa* is often cited. Jagannātha traid is often compared with Buddhist “Tri-ratna”, Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha (M.M. Ganguly, *Odisha and Her Remains*, Patna, 1987, p. 405.). In this connection it may be pointed out that the images enshrined in the temple are four but not three as supposed. Besides, there is no valid ground to think as to why there main images in the Jagannātha temple are be taken as Tri-ratna, while there are several groups of threes in the Brahmanical traditions like Brahma, Vishṇu, and Maheśvar, and Sattva, Raja and Tamas and even Rama, Lakshmana and Sita (K.C. Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 90.).

¹⁶⁹ . Manmath Nath Das, (Eds.), “Historic Monuments in in the Kshetra of Jagannātha: Some High Light” pp. 509-516, and “The Date of the Jagannātha Temple: Literary Sources Reconsidered” pp. 517-532, in *Sidelight History and Culture of Odisha*, Cuttack, 1977.

¹⁷⁰ . Satyendra Patnaik, *Brahmanical Religion in Ancient Orissa*, (From the earliest period up to 14th, cen. AD, Based on Epigraphic Evidence), New Delhi, 1987, pp. 96-98., “It is pointed out again that bathing and car festival owe their origin to Buddhist practices. But the argument put forward seems to

be a more hypothesis, because while the *Mancha-Snana* or bathing festival is performed on the full moon day of the month of *Jyestha*, the image of Buddha is bathed on *Vaishkharjima* according to Buddhist rites observed in Srilanka. Referring to the description of the car-festival is in Fa-Hiens account, W.W. Hunter Opines. "This was in the fifth century AD, but the account applies so exactly to the Car-festival at the present day that one of the most accurate of Indian observers pronounces the latter to be merely copy" (W.W. Hunter, op. cit, p. 132.). The examples of car-festival in Hindu traditions are many and even in the *Vedic* period (Atharva Veda., XX, 2, XIX) the tradition of taking the gods in the chariot was there. The car-festival of gods and goddesses is popular in South India, which probably is a Dravidian religious institution (D.C. Sircar, Studies in the Religious life of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 59, fn. 2.). Similarly car-festival is observed amongst the primitive tribes of Odisha."

¹⁷¹ . Jnanasiddhi of Indrabhuti, In as many as four verses, Ch. I, 27, 92 and Ch. V, 8 references to Jagannatha have been made.

¹⁷² . P. Jash., op. cit, p. 210.

¹⁷³ . "*Pranijaptya Jaganntham sarvajinavararchitam sarva Buddhamayam Siddhi Vyapinam gaganopam*", *Mangala Charana of Jnansiddhi* by Indrabhuti.

¹⁷⁴ . It is to be noted here in this connection that in the inner wall of the Jagannāth temple, a panel depicts all the figures of the ten incarnation of Visnu and in the place of Buddha incarnation, the image of Jagannāth is depicted. Our attention has been drawn to the fact that, "in Dhama Puja Vidhana, the findings perhaps the earliest literary reference to Jagannāth's identification with Buddha. In the ninth incarnation Hari dwelt on the sea-coast known by the name of Jagannāth". "Appearing as Buddha on the sea-coast, O Lord. Thou lookest gracefully". Thus Jagannāth is declared to be ninth incarnation of Vishnu" ('Navam Murtite Hari Jagannāth Nama Dhari Jaladhira Tire Kalia Vasa', Dharma Puja Vidhana, pp. 206-207; Quoted in Pravata Mukherjee, The History of Medieval Vaisnavism in Odisha, p. 20.). The depiction of Jagannāth, though sanctioned by the literature, yet it has nothing to do with the possible Buddhist origin of Jagannāth because during the time of the projection of the panel, Buddhism in Odisha was in its lowest ebb or outward flow of the tide. After the Bhaumakara supremacy, Buddhism gradually declined and there is no reason to believe that a dying faith could stamp its influence so much on an immensely popular cult. It may be must have mingled with the extremely popular Vaisnavite deity of the land. The theory of the Buddhist origin of Jagannāth cannot be relied upon, because, if the image of Jagannāth was originally designed to be an image of Buddha, then it would have been shaped to resemble Buddha and not something like a deformed uncouth or crude figure which instills the feelings of fear. The proto- Jagannāth deity was observed into the Brahmanical religion and identified with Krisna-Vasudeva. The images of Balarama and Subhadra had perhaps similar origins or they were designed in conformity to the shape of Jagannāth. Such a hypothesis will be more consistent than of the Buddhist Origin (Ibid. p. 17.).

¹⁷⁵ . K. S. Behera, Maritime Trade in Ancient Odisha, pp. 116-117, "Ptolemy (2nd century AD) mentions Paloura as an ancient port. It may be identified with Paloura in Ganjam district (now in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh). According to Gerini the point of departure for ships bound for Suvarnabhumi was located to the south of Paloura. The ships were evidently started from Gopalpur in Ganjam district. Dantapura mentioned in Buddhist literature is probably the same as Paloura since 'pallu' means 'danta' (tooth) and 'ur' is identical with 'pura' (city). A descendant of Asoka is said to have embarked on a ship at Dantapura and being shipwrecked he stopped his voyage and settled on the coast of the Malaya Peninsula.", Manmath Nath Das, (Eds.). In Sdelight History and Culture of Odisha, Cuttack, 1977, pp. 115-121.

¹⁷⁶ . Harihar Kanungo, “Baudha Jugare Kalingara Bhasa O’ Dharma’ (Odia), Bhubaneswar, 2003, pp. 11-12.

¹⁷⁷ . The scholar has first time noticed two numbers of votive *Stupa*, seven numbers of eroded Buddhist image and one laterite *Stupa* structure find out on the hill of Lavanagiri muṇḍiā which is buried under a ruined temple. That temple is total ruined and some temple remains find here (*āmalaka sila, navagraha* panel, 6 numbers of broken image of *nayika, bhārabāhaka*, miniature images, several broken parts of temple structure) this village is not only bearing the importance of Buddhism but also Jaina image also find out at Panchagaon village (7 km from Bhubaneswar). (S.K. Mallik, *Archaeological Vestiges of Upper Daya Valley*, M.A. Dissertation, Utkal University, 2006, pp. 50-58), and see also A. Behera, *Archaeological Remains of Daya-Bhargavi Valley*, Ph. D Thesis (Unpublished), Utkal University, 2010, pp. 1-11.

¹⁷⁸ . Ibid., and see also A. Behera, *Archaeological Remains of Daya-Bhargavi Valley*, Ph. D Thesis (Unpublished), Utkal University, 2010, pp. 1-11.

¹⁷⁹ . This place is another Buddhist site near Bhubaneswar (12 km from Bhubaneswar) is find out *Stupa*’s railing pillars, brick structure of *Stupa*’s, votive *Stupas* many more broken railing pieces and some Buddhist deties on the hill of Kurukhi Mundia. (pp. 50-56) Down the Kurkhi or Kurki hill three step cut well (*pābacha kupa*) seems to be Udayagiri step cut well (Buddhist site of Odisa) at Jajpur district but shape is half of this well. These three wells are used like water reservoir by Buddhist monk. There is find out one buried huge wall like monastery structure and it’s known as publicly Rājānara (palaces of King) and these three well known as Rānī Kūa (Kūpa/Vāpṛṇpi) or Well of Queen’s. (S.K. Mallik, op. cit., pp.73-79.), and see also A. Behera, *Archaeological Remains of Daya-Bhargavi Valley*, Ph. D Thesis (Unpublished), Utkal University, 2010, pp. 1-11.

¹⁸⁰ . T.E. Donaldson, “Bhubaneswar (Ekāmra Kṣetra): Temple Town and Cultural Centre”, *Marg*, p. 13.

¹⁸¹ . Ibid, see also K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 68-71.

¹⁸² . Ibid, and see also Kapila Saṁhitā, Chapter- 10, 7.

¹⁸³ . K.S. Behera, op. cit, pp.1-2.

¹⁸⁴ . Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ . Ekāmra Kṣetra means “Single big mango tree was covered this area or Kṣetra” Quoted from Purna Chandra Odia *Bhasakosha* and also see (E-Bhashakosha vol. I, November 2006, GPL© Srujanika, srujanika@gmail.com) and visit also <http://Bhashakosha.googlepages.com/>, and see also B. Mohanty, *Ekāmra Kṣetra*, Cuttack, 1993. (Odia)

¹⁸⁶ . Rajendra Lal Mitra, *The Antiquities of Odisa*, Vol. II, 1984, New Delhi (Reprint), p. 106.

¹⁸⁷ . B.B. Lal, “Sisupalgarh 1948: Early historic Fort in Eastern India” *Ancient India*, Bulletin of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 5, 1949, pp. 62-105.

¹⁸⁸ . Ibid, and see also K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 38.

¹⁸⁹ . B.M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscription*, Calcutta, 1932. pp. 7-30., and see also *Epigrapha Indica.*, XX, January, 1930, pp.71; see also K.P. Jayaswala, *Journal of Bihar Odisha Research Society.*, 1918 (IV), pp364f; Ibid, 1927 (XIII), pp. 221; Ibid, 1928 (XIV), pp.150f.

¹⁹⁰ . K.C. Panigrahi, "The Date of Kharavela", *Journal of Asiatic society of Bengal*, XIX, pp. 101-104, see also M.S. Pandey, "A Note on Hatigumpha Inscription" *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1964, pp.132ff.

¹⁹¹ . K.S. Behera, *op. cit*, pp. 10-15.

¹⁹² . *Ibid*, p. 15.

¹⁹³ . "In the fourth year of his regnal he undertook an expedition against the Bhojakas- the ruling chiefs of Berar, and the Rathikkas or Rastikas of the adjoining Marathi-speaking districts". Quoted from "Advanced History of India", K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and G. Srinivasachari, Madras, 1970, Chapter-VI., p. 148., see also K.P. Jayaswala, *Journal of Bihar Odisha Research Society.*, 1918 (IV), pp. 364f; *Ibid.*, 1927 (XIII), pp. 221; *Ibid.*, 1928 (XIV), pp.150f.; see also B.C. Pandey "Prachin Bhart Ka Ragnaitik tatha Sanskritika Itihasa" (Hindi), Alhabad, 2000, pp-378-379.

¹⁹⁴ . *Ibid.*,

¹⁹⁵ . K.S. Behera, *op. cit*, pp. 8-15.

¹⁹⁶ . *Ibid.*,

¹⁹⁷ . K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa, Cuttack*, 1981. pp. 39-42.

¹⁹⁸ . *Ibid.*,

¹⁹⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, Calcutta*, 1961. Fig. 2.

²⁰⁰ . *Ibid.*, Fig. 4.

²⁰¹ . *Ibid.*, Fig. 7.

²⁰² . *Ibid.*, Fig. 1.

²⁰³ . *Ibid.*, Fig. 3.

²⁰⁴ . D.C. Sircar, Ed. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 285ff.

²⁰⁵ . "The city of Tosali, which is mentioned in the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts, was the headquarters of north-eastern part of Kaliṅga during the region of Aśōka. The place probably continued to be capital of Kaliṅga during the period of the Chedi rule in the latter half century BC. Scholars are generally unanimous in identifying the place with modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in Puri district. While dealing with the problem of its identification Levi observes "the transformation of Tosali in to Dhauli is not a phonetic impossibility. The intervocalic sibilant of Sanskrit can, and in certain case must become a simple aspirate in Prakrt... if Tosali could likewise develop in to Tohali, this unintelligible name could suggest Dhauli 'the white'." In defining the boundary of the site P.C. Bagchi points out: "the boundaries of that town where probably the river on the west, the Kaūsullā-gaṅg on the east and Dhauli hill on the north or north-east. It is difficult to determine if the river has changed its course in recent times. But a study of the map shows that the main current now flows by the river Bargovi or Bhāgravi" ".—Quoted from, D.K. Ganguly, "Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa- up to the rise of the Imperial Gangas"., Calcutta, 1975.

²⁰⁶ . K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, P. 51.

²⁰⁷ . *Ibid*, and see also *JRASB*, Vol. XI (1945), pp. 1-9.

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- ²⁰⁸ . B. Mishra, *Orissa under Bhaumaka Kings*, pp. 10-11.
- ²⁰⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 231.
- ²¹⁰ . *Ibid*, and see also OHRJ, Vol. XIII, PP. 1-4.
- ²¹¹ . K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, P. 105.
- ²¹² . *Ibid*, and see also JASB, Vol.VII, 1838, PP. 557-562.
- ²¹³ . A. Mohanty, *Madala Panji, (Odia)*, Utkal University, 1940, P. 7.
- ²¹⁴ . S.N. Rajguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol.III, Part-II, Bhubaneswar, 1961-62*, P. 302.
- ²¹⁵ . A. Mohanty, *Madala Panji, (Odia)*, Utkal University, 1940, P. 43.
- ²¹⁶ . K.S. Behera, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5 and see also M.M. Chakravarti, JASB, Vol. LXII, 1893.
- ²¹⁷ . *Ibid*, and see also S. Tripathy, *Navajibana (Odia)*, No. 9, 1970, pp. 563ff.
- ²¹⁸ . K.B. Tripathy, *The Evolution of Oriya Language and Script*, 1962, pp. 293-294.
- ²¹⁹ . B.B. Majumdar, *Caitanya Cariter Upadan (Bengali)*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 354.
- ²²⁰ . G.N. Srivastava, *Ancient Settlement Pattern in Orissa*, New Delhi, p. 1.
- ²²¹ . *Ibid.*,
- ²²² . *Ibid.*,
- ²²³ . *Ibid.*,. p. 2.
- ²²⁴ . *Ibid.*,
- ²²⁵ . *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ²²⁶ . *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ²²⁷ . *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
- ²²⁸ . *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
- ²²⁹ . *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ²³⁰ . *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ²³¹ . R.S. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India, Cir. 500-1200 AD*) Delhi, 1969, pp. 1-3.
- ²³² . *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ²³³ . *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- ²³⁴ . R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- ²³⁵ . Hira Lal, *Four Bhanja Copper Plate grants, EI, Vol. XVIII, Calcutta, 1925-26*, no. 29, p. 11.

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- ²³⁶ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of Bhaumakaras and Somavamsis of Orissa*, Madras, 1961, pp. 61-63, and see also *JBORS*, XVII, 1, pp. 11, 29-49.
- ²³⁷ . *Ibid.*, pp. 370-379.
- ²³⁸ . *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.
- ²³⁹ . D.C. Sircar, *Ningondi Grant of Pravanjanavarmna*, *EI*, Vol. XXX, Delhi, 1960, pp. 112-118.
- ²⁴⁰ . *Ibid.*,
- ²⁴¹ . *Ibid.*, and see also R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 281.
- ²⁴² . D.C. Sircar, *Dhenkanal Copper Plate of Trivhubanmahadevi*, *JBORS*, Vol. II, Patna, 1929, pp. 426-427.
- ²⁴³ . D.C. Sircar, *Daspall Copper Plate Grant of Satrubhanja*, *EI*, Vol. XXIX, Delhi, 1951-52, pp. 189-194. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, P. 221.
- ²⁴⁴ . D.C. Sircar, *The Era of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, *IHQ*, XXIX, 1958, pp. 148-155, and see also "Four Tunga Grants," *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, Delhi, 1962, pp. 91-100.
- ²⁴⁵ . S.K. Panda, *Medieval Orissa-A Socio-Economic Study*, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 77-79.
- ²⁴⁶ . S.K. Panda, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.
- ²⁴⁷ . *Ibid.*, and see also *EI*, XXVIII, PP. 235-58.
- ²⁴⁸ . S.K. Panda, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- ²⁴⁹ . *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- ²⁵⁰ . *Ibid.*,
- ²⁵¹ . *Ibid.*,

CHAPTER-III

Patronage and Temple Construction

CHAPTER III

PATRONAGE AND TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION

Patronage¹ to religious institutions and Brahmans has been the main stay of the “religious process” of early medieval period. This chapter studies the issue of patronage and its role in the construction and maintenance of religious organizations in Bhubaneswar region. The discussion consists of four sections; the first section, describes writings on patronage so as to suggest an alternative perspective on the issue, second section deals with sculptural representation of patronage, third section broadly discusses the role of the temple in socio-economic condition and fourth section deals with availability of resources for building of temples and their construction technique.

One way it deals with a review of the existing studies on patronage.² A critical examination of inscriptional data related to patronage is the theme of the chapter. In one way the Patronage has always been misunderstood as donation of land or money by the royal authority for the construction and maintenance of religious institutions and for legitimizing their own rule. On the other hand a systematic analysis of the epigraphic records of Bhubaneswar region suggests that patronage was more diverse in nature. It was not only the prerogative of the royal authority, but other social groups and individuals were also involved in it. The location of major temple sites and epigraphic data pertaining to royal participation in the temple building activities clearly show the separation of the political domain and religious practices. Early medieval patronage is a very complex issue and to understand the mechanism of patronage, one has to understand the role of the local community in temple building activities and their maintenance. Though these communities did not always donate land or huge sum of money, their participation in daily worship and their offering of ritual objects like flowers, *dīpa* (lamp), *dhūpa* (incense), *naivedya* (food grains) played a major role in the maintenance of the temple. Also, *nritya* (dance) and *vādita* (instrumental music) were two important aspects of temple worship, which were probably offered by the local communities. The long survival of the religious shrines depended on periodical repairs, restoration and proper maintenance. This need was also fulfilled by the local communities. So daily worship and maintenance of the

temple is as important as its construction and this was largely depended on the local communities who lived in and around the temple rather than on the royal patron. Subsequent discussion on patronage is to reconstruct the historical conditions and to understand pattern of patronage from a historical perspective. However, the analysis is mainly confined to the known examples and based on available evidences. It may be noted that the lesser known temples hardly bear any inscriptions mentioning their patrons, there for it doesn't become cardinal focus of discussion, instead a general conditionality is analyzed to understand the historicity and deep connection between the makers and the artisans. Despite involvement of principal agency i.e., patron, reconstruction of situation where religious authorities and artisans are involved which need to be studied more meaningfully. The lesser known temples are also from the part of this process.

3.1. Patrons and Temples: A Historical Outline

Earlier studies of art historians on the temple either dealt with correlation of *Śilpaśāstric* terminologies with architectural features or sequential placement of religious buildings. Its morphological characteristics and decorative programmers of visual narrative basically in an evolutionary trend of chronological frame work.

In the present study, focus is not on chronological studies of the monument but to study the religious conditions and it's inter-linkages with the other social dimensions. This is placed within a structural-functional network, which had earlier received only a brief examination. Thus, it will be suitable to approach the subject from the meaning it spells, the nature it projects and issues it raises. The extant of the temples, referred in inscriptions and inscriptions in temple. It may not openly reflect the networks involved in its construction, as the temple is the cumulative product of efforts of patron, artists and priests. Besides propitious motive, other vital factors are the finance and dedication of the patron, the techno-typological quickness of the artist and the astrological details. The priestly supervision of Brāhmaṇas in iconographical placements of the cult deities are from the selection of site to the dedication.

All the lesser known temples about which the studies has done are manifested in the *Nāgara* style. It maintained a distinct *Kalīṅgan* features and included few

modifications in their long history. Because of its typical geographical position, Odisha served as a cultural bridge and blending zone of various traditions and practices out of which its own style. It was formulated with originality and uniqueness. Although there are sub-regional peculiarities, there is a universal uniformity in the art treatment. The sub-regions are north, central, coastal and southern Odisha, which may be labeled as *Kalīṅgarīti*. Though the earliest extant temples in Odisha dated to 6th century AD, but an antecedent phase of temple building prior to 600 AD is evident on the basis of variety of sources, like sculptures of 3rd century B.C., epigraphical records of 1st century AD, numismatic evidence from 2nd century AD etc. The morphological identification and functional interpretation of the detached sculptures and structural member are valuable for working out the beginning of the temple. The distribution pattern of the temples in diverse topography is presented here. The references are the ecological imperatives to its structures, utilization and collection of resources.

The authority and patronage is studied here based on the distribution of inscription and royal charters to temples and deities. The relations between political and cult centres, and between increasing elaboration of architecture. The contributions of the Brāhmaṇ in legitimating of the royal authority and their role played in the development of various temple structures in Bhubaneswar. Other issues that will be emphasized the typo-technological activities of craftsmen, their religious affiliation, relation with the patron and priests and relation between communal and individual works. The temples of to 13th century AD basically centered on Brāhmaṇical deities of Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, and Śaiva faiths.

The lesser known temples are devoid of cult deities, aesthetically exuberant but form an important edifice of religious affiliations. Some temples are obliterated in dilapidated ruins. In the antecedent phase prior to 6th century AD, a parallel development of structural phase is evident from Buddhist and Jaina monuments. In the post 6th century AD, temples increased in elaboration, size and magnificence with the multiplication of vertical planes and horizontal divides. Some Buddhist and Jaina monuments with similar characteristic are included here with relation to the Brāhmaṇical pantheons. That understands their mutual adoption of the same architectural norms.

3.2. Temple and Patronage

The characteristic features of emerging of lesser known temples at Bhubaneswar are (a) the patron is generally unknown, except some inscriptions which mentions a little amount of donation for maintenance of temple as well as some other specific purposes (b) there is some dynastic and individual or cumulative cooperation to tie-up the emergence of the lesser known temples (c) some of the temples are ascribed to built by the gods or god's representative.

In other parts of India, there is evidence of patronage of art by monarch like Rajendra Chola, Yasovarmana of Chandella, etc., who constructed monuments temples for fame and religious merit. Dynastic designation to architectural specificity found in Chandela art, Pallava art, Chalukya art, Hoyasala art etc., but in Bhubaneswar region, only few cases temples have such inscriptions whereas others are attributed to the divine origin according to the *Ekāmra Pūrāna*,³ either silence is maintained or the temple is said to be constructed by divine being. The *Ekāmra Pūrāna*⁴ ascribes Brahmeśvar temple to Brahma, Bhāskareśvar to Sun, Yameśvara to Yama, Ananta Vāsūdeva to Viṣṇu, Rājṛānī or Indreśvar to Indra and lesser known temple like Mārkaṇḍeśvara Śīva temple built by sage Mārkaṇḍey and the sub-name of Śīva and his family to Śīva, Kārtikeya and Devī. But it is known from inscriptions that Brahmeśvar was built by Kolāvati, mother of Udyotakeśari and Ananta Vāsūdeva by Chaṇḍrīkā, sister of Gaṅga King Narasimha, Nārāyaṇī was built or maintenance by Atāvala (unknown king/individual in Odisha history).

The nature of patronage to the temple has been discussed on the basis of location of the temple, extent of the kingdom, sectarian affiliation of kings, location of the capital, inscriptional references to temple building and donation to deities. The earliest stone sculpture of Odisha in general and particular in Bhubaneswar dated to Aśokān period are Dhāuli elephant sculpted just above the Aśokān rock edict, Bhaskareśvar Linga, being a part of the Aśokān pillar, bell capital and remnants of lion. These sculptures do not provide any direct evidence about the type and nature of patronage initiated in period. The sculptures are not made of Chunar sandstone but local material and lacks typical Maūryān polish but their in modeling and appearance confirm to Maūryān art. Though, in typology these examples are grouped with

Maūryān art, in form, material and style, they represent indigenous tradition worked out by local artist.

In the 1st century AD at Khandagiri and Udayagiri, numbers of caves were excavated for Jaina ascetics. Though the donatives natures of data available in caves are not extensive still the donors can be divided into two broad categories.⁵ The first category includes those belonging to the ruling class Khāavela, his chief queen, king Kūdepaśīrī, Prince Vadūkha, a town judge, Bhuttī and Nākiya, the wife of Mahāmāda. The second category comprises humble individual donors, lay devotees and monks, Kūsūma a servant, monks of Dohadā.⁶ Each cave was probably a gift of separate individual. Thus caves were the outcome of patronage of royal authority and private individuals. It is referred to in the inscription that Kharavela excavated caves, repaired *Gopūram*, built victory palace, built aqueduct, and repaired all shrines god. It refers to extensive royal patronage in building activities both in religious and secular sphere. When *Śavadevāyatana* is mentioned, it indicates that many shrines were built, but none of the temples found architecturally of the period. In the inscription⁷, the adoption of exalted royal titles- *Chakradhar*, *Kalīngadhīpatī*, *Mahārājā* etc., and adoption of Sanskrit terms like *Nāgara*, *Rājasri*, *Āgamahīsī*, *Bhāratavarsa*, *Yūvarāja*, imparting *Sāstric* education in the form of *Lekha*, *Rūpa*, *Gaṇaṇā*, *Vyāvahāra*, *Vīdhī*, suggest a developed Kṣhatriya kingship with Brāhmaṇic ideology, with an extensive territory. But, the spatial location of the capital (Kaliṅganagarī is identified with Śisūpālagarh) and ritual centre (Khandagiri-Udyagiri caves), shows that both were separately located. This was probably conditioned by two factors. Firstly, the availability of the hill and secondly, as Kumari Parvata was famous as a Jaina *Kṣhetra*. But, the building of structural apsidal temple on the summit of Udyagiri, refers to deliberate selection of the place.

Bhadrak inscription of Mahārājā Gana⁸ refers that a person named Mulajapā installed three images in *Devāyatana*, on eighth regnal year of king Surasarma. The inscription is found on the lintel of ruined temple it seems that probably, Mulajapā consecrated the images as well as built the temple. When this inscription is again edited by K.C. Panigrahi⁹, he adds that a lady named Ranghalī donated three pieces of garments, one autochthonous deity, patronized or donated by a layman. It is

mentioned in the peddā-dūgam copper plates¹⁰ of Satrūdamaṇa (Damaṇa of Eraṇḍapālla) that he was the lord of Girikaliṅga with capital at Siṃhāpurā, was a devout worshipper of Damaneśvara Śiva, probably he built a temple of Śīva, of which location and architecture is yet to be traced. But, this refers to first sectarian of a king to Hindu deity in Odisha.

Āsanpāt inscription¹¹ dated to fourth century AD of Mahārājā Satrūbhaṅja of Nāga family, found below a Natrāja image, records that he built a temple, probably for Śīva. This is the first reference to the building of a temple by the king himself. Though he was the lord at Viṇḍhyātavī, the location of his temple is yet to be found. Further in the inscription, he is mentioned as *Devapūtra* indicating how the royalties legitimize the divine status. He patronized pilgrimage by making gifts of lakhs of cows at holy places at Pātalipūtra, Gayā, Krīmīllā, Dalavardhana, Pūṇḍavardhana, Gokkhāti, Khadraṅga, Tāmralipti and also in both Tosālī.¹² It refers that many places in both the Tosālī were already famed as pilgrim centres. He made gift of gold coins and made grants at various Mathas, Samakhakara Matha at Ahīchhatra, and Manībhadrā Matha at Yakṣheśvara. He built houses and monasteries for monks, of different communities like Brahmachāriṇs, Parīvrājakas, Bhīkūs and Nirgrānthas, gave alms to ascetics.¹³ He studied *Bhārata*, *Pūrāṇa*, *Itihāsa*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Samīkṣha*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Chhānda*, *Śrūti*, *Sāṃkṣhya* and Buddhist scripture.¹⁴ It refers to an established notion of kingship with the ruler patronizing the temple. But in the absence of strong kingdom and ill defined territorial expanse, this inscription remains conventional rather than a reflection of reality.

The Mātharas¹⁵, Pītrbhaktas¹⁶ and Vaśīstas¹⁷, were of Kṣhatriya clan as evident from their suffix Varman to their name, ruled from Kaliṅga region with capital at Simhapura. As referred from their charters, they adopted epithets like *Nārāyaṇaswāmī*, *Pādabhakta*, *Parama Daīvata*, *Parama Bhagavata* etc, referring to *Vaisnavite* affiliations. But it was Anaṅtaśaktivarman, in Sripuram plates,¹⁸ who adopted the title of *Paramamāheśvara*, changing his loyalty to Śīva. Māthara king Umavarman made a large number of grants in the region called Mahendra Bhoga Visaya, and worshipped a God on the summit of Mahendra known as *Swayāmbhū*.

After fall of Māthara, the Kalinga passed to the Eastern Gaṅgas who ruled from Kaliṅganagara or Mukhalīṅgam from 498 AD. All its rulers were Śaivite with *Paramamāheśvara* title except Haṣṭivarman¹⁹, who was devoted both to Gokarṇeśvara Śīva and Lord Nārāyaṇa. The Gaṅgas noticed Swayāmbhū of Mātharas on the summit of Mahendra and renamed it as Gokarṇeśvara, and accepted as tutelary deity. In the Ponnūtūrū copper plates²⁰ Sāmaṇavarman worshipped Gokarṇeśvara as *Sasānkaśekhara*, *Sacharācharagūrū*, creator, preserver of destroyer of all Universes. Probably an earlier temple there was renovated and brought to its present form with showing allegiance to gods. Eastern Gaṅgas also donated to other Gods. The Narasīmhapālī charters²¹ of Haṣṭivarman in 577 AD, was made at the request of Bhogivā Bhūdhāmānci and states that deity Nārāyaṇa was beneficiary. In the Śāntabomvali plates²² of Indravarman in 585 AD, God Rāmeśvara was donated at the request of *Tālavārādevabhogika*. In the Indian museum plates²³ of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman, the beneficiaries were deities Bhattaraka Swayāmbhūśekhara and Śrīloka Mādhava.

The Visakhapatnam plates²⁴ of Devendravanam refers deity Dharmeswara being beneficiary, in 752 AD. None of their temples have so far been found at Kaliṅganagara and the nature of patronage to temple building is unclear. Contemporary with the Mātharas, Nalas ruled over Mahakantara Kosala region (Bastar, Koraput, Raipur) in 5th century A.D, having their capital at Puskari, identified with Purika in Koraput. From their charters, it is known that they adopted Śaivite faith by worshipping both Maheśvara and Mahāśena, but none of their grants refer to the Śīva temple instead, two temples were found to be erected for Viṣṇu. The Podāgarh stone inscription²⁵ of Skandavarman in 6th century AD refers to the installation of the footprint of Viṣṇu for worship and a temple.

The Vīgrahas were ruling from South Tosālī but called their territory as Kalīṅgarastra. They adopted epithet *Paramadaīvata* which refers their Vaiṣṇavite affiliation. But the Kaṇās copper plate²⁶ dated to be Gupta year (samvat) 280 the fifth day of the month of Phālgun, when Lokavīgraha-Bhaṭṭāraka registers the donation of Urdhasranga village by royal officers of Utīda Visaya, to provide the *Balī*, *Charū*, *Sattra* at the Matha of Maṇināgeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka of Ekāmbaka and maintenance of

Brahmins of different *Gotras* with disciples at the Matha. The Datta ruler, Bhānūdatta in his Olaśiṅ plate,²⁷ donated land to deity Maṇināgeśvara Bhattāraka of Ekāmbaka and Brāhmaṇas residing there. He was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka and donated to the increase of religious merit of his overlord.

In the 7th century A.D, Śailodbhavas were ruling over the territory around the Chilīkā Lake, in the coastal region at South Tosālī, and North of Kaliṅga, known as Kaṅgoda Maṅdala the present Ganjam, Puri, Khurda, and Cuttack area. From the distribution of charters, this dynasty flourished between the river Daya and a in the coastal Odisha with Mahendragiri being the southern limit and Bhubaneswar being northern one.²⁸ The capital was known as Kangoda and according to Śālīmā plate of Madhavaraja,²⁹ was located on the bank of Salima which has been identified with the Salia River and Hiuentasang³⁰ places it near the bay. S. Tripathy³¹ locates the town at Banapur on the bank of Salia near Chilika and others locate it at Bankadagarh. Their glorious title like Paramamāheśvara indicates as a worshipper of Śīva. The Būgūdā plates³² of Madhavavarman refers to the story of their origin that in Kaliṅga, Pulindasena worshipped lord Swayāmbhū and a prince was born out of *Śīlā* or stone. Hence they were known as Śailodbhavas. Probably, they worshipped lord Swayāmbhū at Mahendra Mountain, which was a Kulagiri where Eastern Gaṅgas worshipped Lord Gokarṇeśvara as Kūladevatā.³³

Though Śaivism was favoured by Śailodbhavas, uniting Pūliṅda tribe with Kṣhatriya and accepting Mahendra as Kūlagirī, there were traces of Vaisnavism gleaned from their charters, where Vaisnavite names like Mādhava and Śrīnīvāsa,³⁴ Madhūsudana and Nārāyaṇa,³⁵ Hari³⁶ etc. are found. Not a single inscription of Śailodbhavas refers to a temple or its construction, though in this period, Śaśāṅka erected lord Trībhūbaneśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. K.C. Panigrahi³⁷ places the following temple in Śailodbhava period; Śatrughneśvara, Bharteśvara, Laxmaneśvara, Parsūrameśvara, Swarṇajaleśvara, etc. At a time when Bhubaneswar witnessed increase in number of temples, they associated with reviving Brahminism.³⁸ In the Ganjam plate of Mādhavaraja-II he is claimed to be *Parama Brāhmaṇya*. The Pūrūsottam³⁹ of Mādhavarāja-II refers that he performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and his son Madhyamarāja-I performed both *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices in Pārīkuda

plates.⁴⁰ The Pūrī plates⁴¹ of Dharmarāja-II refers that he also performed *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices. The Śāilodbhava adopted Mahendra as Kūlagīrī which was already famed by Mātharas and Eastern Gaṅgas. The temples were erected at Bhubaneswar, as it already emerged as a cult centre, where Trībhūbaneśvara temple was standing. It may be observed that none of the temple of this period is located in their capital either at Bankada or Banapur.

The Bhaumakaras were ruling from 736 A.D in Tosāla, their territory roughly included Midnāpore district of West Bengal to Ganjam district of Odisa. Some of ruling dynasties also owed allegiance to them like Eastern Gaṅgas, Sūlkīs, Naṇdas of Jayapur, Tuṅgas, two branches of Bhañjas from Khijīṅgakottā and Vanjūlvaka.⁴² The capital of the Bhaūmakaras was Gūhadevapātaka of Gūheśwarapataka, is identified with Jajpur district. The first four kings of the dynasty adopted Buddhist titles like Khsemenkaradeva as *Paramopāsakasaūgata*,⁴³ Śīvakaradeva as *Paramatathāgata*,⁴⁴ Sūbhakaradeva-I as *Paramasaūgata*,⁴⁵ Śīvakaradeva-II as *Saūgatāsraya*.⁴⁶ Though they had Buddhist affiliation, the first king ascribed to *Varnāsrāma Dharma* in the Neulpur charter. The wife of Sūbhakaradeva-I, Mahādevī Mādhavīdevī, was devoted to Śīva, probably built a temple for god Mādhaveśvara and appointed the Śaivāchārya for the daily worship of the deity.⁴⁷ She also excavated a *Vāpī* (well) and established *Hāṭṭa* (market complex) near the temple. K. C.Panigrahi,⁴⁸ places Vaitāla and Śīśīreśvara temple at Bhubaneswar in this period. Bhaumkara being Buddhist, their choice is also exemplified by the images of Buddha in Śīśīreśvara temple like *Dharmachakra Pravartana Mudrā*, *Amoghasiddhī*, Lākūlīsa images are similar with *Dharmachakra Pravartana Mudrā* of Buddha image in Vaitāla Deula which is a Śākata temple indicating the nature of preference by the royalty and non preference for the Vaisnavism such as proves the above fact. Thus, Bhubaneswar was patronized as it was famed earlier as a cult centre.

The Somavaṁśīs period is mainly significant for their patronage towards to the emergence of temples in Bhubaneswar. The five Somavaṁśīs kings are Mahābhabagūpta-I Janamejaya, Mahāśīvagupta-I Yayāti, Mahābhabagūpta-II Bhīmaratha, Mahāśīvagupta-II Dharmaratha, and Mahābhabagūpta-IV Uddyotakesari of the Somavaṁśīs dynasty were devotees of Śīva and had the epithet of

Paramamāheśavar. Opening verses of Banpur grant of the king Indraratha offers prayer to Śiva with crescent moon on his matted lock, third eye resembling the flame of fire on his forehead known as Nīlakantha. Maheśvara referred to in the Brahameśvara temple inscription of the time of the king Mahaśīvagupta Uddyotakesari is one of the participants in churning of the ocean by the gods and demons. Balijharaī and Saṅkhemeri charters of the same king refer to the head of Śiva as the home of the streams of nectar and residing place of moon.

This inscription gives us the devotion activities and the patronage for Śaīva temple by the Somavaṁśīs king for religious upliftment. As mentioned in Brahameśvara temple inscription, Kolavati, queen of Somavaṁśīs king Yayāti-II mother of Uddayta Kesari constructed a temple of Brahameśvara along with four miniature shrines at Siddhartha at Ekāmra. The temple was adorned with the golden pinnacle and some beautiful maids decorated with ornaments were also given as *Dārikā* to the temple.⁴⁹ Yayāti-I who built the temple of Mūkteśvara at Bhubaneswar in 966 AD and Yayāti-II and his son and successor Uddyota Kesari who built the great temple of Bhubaneswar i.e., Liṅgaraja. The Gaurī and Rājārānī temple construction was patronized by Indraratha or Indresvar. Although, the official faith of the Somavaṁśīs was Saivism, they were undoubtedly tolerant of all sects. The kings of this dynasty were energetic in raising the greatest Śaīva temple at Bhubaneswar besides a number of smaller ones. It is probably the members of this dynasty who erected the Gaurī temple in the Kedaresvara compound. The Jaina images were carved in the Lalāteṅdū Kesari and the Navamunī caves of the Khandagiri hill. The Somavaṁśīs are also credited by tradition with the performance of several Brāhmaṇical sacrifices and land donations. Janamejaya is credited with the performance of an *Ashamedha* sacrifice at Kataka which has been identified by Pandit B. Misra⁵⁰ with Chaudwar near modern Cuttack. Yayāti Kesari is credited with the performance of a great sacrifice to which he is said to have invited ten-thousand Brāhmaṇs from Kanyakubja. Most of the Brāhmaṇs in Odisha still trace their origin to these ten-thousand Brāhmaṇs.

These evidences of patronage by royal family and king are indicating that the Somavaṁśīs were typical followers of Brāhmaṇical religion, adhering to a family

deity of their own. They worshipped all other deities and extending toleration and patronage to all other sects.⁵¹ The sculptures of the temples, built during this period at Bhubaneswar, provide no definite clues to any special cult favored by the Somavaṁśīś on the patronage point of view.⁵² The Viṣṇu images are also rarely found in this group, but Krishna for the first time found in sculptural representation during this period. The sculpture of the child Śrī-Krūṣṇa and his parents Nanda and Yasoda appear in the Liṅgarāja, Brahmeśvara and Amūnhā temples.

The patronage of the Gaṅga rulers in Bhubaneswar temple and monument is charismatic. The direct connection of the Gaṅgas with Utkala or Oḍra or Odisha began with its conquest by Anaṅtavarma Chodagaṅgadeva in AD 1118.⁵³ There is an inscription in the Liṅgarāja temple which records the gift of a perpetual lamp during the reign of Chodagaṅgadeva in the AD 1114. So his connection with Odisha and Bhubaneswar had begun earlier than AD 1114. The date of the Kedareśvara temple is AD 1142. Chodagaṅgadeva's younger brother Rajā Pramādideva endowed some villages in same year donated a perpetual lamp to the deity of that temple. These inscriptions definitely prove his connection with Bhubaneswar and patronage to the temples of this region. Besides, certain places and monuments in and around Bhubaneswar are still associated with his name is another proof of patronage of the Gaṅgas. A huge pond (like lake) near Dhāuli bears the name Kaūśalyā Gaṅga⁵⁴ which is attributed by the *Mādalā Pāñji* to Gangeśvaradeva who is no other than Chodagaṅgadeva. A village near Dhāuli is also known as Gangeśvarapur. A local tradition current in Bhubaneswar credits Lakṣmidevi represented as the wife of Chodagaṅgadeva, with the excavation of a large tank that still exists under the name Lakṣmi-sagar at Laxmisagar village⁵⁵ in the Bhubaneswar.

In Bhubaneswar, there were three such commemorative inscriptions about patronage in the temples of Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara and Ananta Vāsūdeva. The absence of commemorative inscriptions in the temples built by the kings cannot be regarded as accidental. The most likely it indicates that such temples were considered as state property rather than the property of the kings during whose reigns they were built. Chaṇḍrikā Devi, the daughter of Gaṅga king Angabhima-III, built the temple of Ananta Vāsūdeva and Gaṅga officer built the temple of Megheśvara at Bhubaneswar.

Several inscriptions exist in the inner walls of the Liṅgarāja temple. Many of these inscriptions refer to the reigns of the Gaṅga kings, but none credits them with the building of a temple. They record, in most cases, the endowment of perpetual lamps in the shrine of Krīttivāsa or Liṅgarāja and give dates in the Śaka era 1200 (1278 AD).

These inscriptions do not help us in understanding the type of religious culture that was introduced into the Śaiva shrine. Therefore, to understand the cultural history of the period, it is necessary to look for the literary and other archaeological evidences. By the time the Gaṅgas established their rule in Bhubaneswar, the ideas about the size of religious structures had become greatly changed. The two illustrious members of the preceding dynasty had built a gigantic temple structure like the great Liṅgarāja (addition of Nāta and Bhoga maṇḍapa) and Ananta-Vāsūdeva temple. The ideas about the worship and the status of the presiding deities had also greatly changed. The Gaṅga kings provided patronage to dancing girls, musical groups, silk clothes, gold ornaments, elephants, horses, cows, palanquins and, above all, big estates to settle large expenditure on his daily worship and offerings in the name of god. Perhaps, it is in the Gaṅga period that the custom of presenting dancing girls to the presiding deities was largely spread in Odisha.

The Gaṅga period is especially memorable for a great religious movement for a synthesis of different cults and sects. It is really surprising how the different cults, so different in conception and origin and sometimes even opposed to each other. It could be welded together into a cosmopolitan form of religion that became the order of the day. Before the commencement of the Gaṅga period Śaivism, Śaktism and Vaisṇavism were the three main cults which existed side by side in Bhubaneswar. Each preaching its own superiority, but at no time either in theory or practice, losing its separate entity. So the patronage also depends on the religious practice of royal person and his family. In the Gaṅga period there were attempts to merge them into one form of religion that contained the principles of each, but yet exclusively represented none.

The *pithas* or shrines continued to bear distinct names in accordance with the cults of their origin and divided through patronage. As well as the religious art also

bears impact on the patronage in remodeling the Liṅgarāja temple, the Gaṅga kings also introduced some Vaiṣṇvaite features. These are not found any Saiva shrine. In the southern door jambs of *Nātanmaṇḍira* are to be found the images of the *dvārapāla*, *Jaya* and *Vījaya*, in the place of *Chaṇḍa* and *Prachaṇḍa*. These images holding conch and disc in the upper two hands and a mace stuck to the ground lower two are close prototypes of the *davārapāla* of the Ananta Vāsūdeva temple built in AD 1278. The further evidence that *nātamaṇḍira* was erected during the Gaṅga period. Another evidence is the lesser known temple such as Gangesvara and Yamunesvra temple belongs to Gaṅga period, where the four handed Vishnu has been installed as a *pārsvadevī*.

3.3. Sculptural Representation of Patronage

A royal figure holding a sword and having female attendants by his side has been represented in one of the square niches in the outer face of the low compound wall of Muktesvara temple.⁵⁶ Since the figure does not represent any deity, there can be no doubt about its non religious but will always remain in doubt whether it represents the builder of the temple or any other representative of Śiva⁵⁷ in the Muktesvara temple. The southern facade of the *Jagamohana* in the Brahmesvara temple depicts a female figure in a panel. She is standing in the centre in the midst of the musicians and raising a temple structure (a *Pīḍha* temple) with the left hand, which can, with a fair measure of certainty. It could be identified with the builder of the temple, who, as we know from the commemorative inscription originally attached to it, was Kolavati, mother of king Udyotakesari of the Somavaṃśīś dynasty.⁵⁸

The only incongruity in the representation is that she has been depicted as a youthful figure, while she must have been an old woman at the time the temple was built in the eighteenth year of her son's reign.⁵⁹ But it seems most probable that the attempt of the sculptor was not to carve the real portrait of the builder, but only to represent her by a conventional female figure. In fact, in ancient art it had become a convention to depict all females, non religious or religious, as youthful figures, except Chāmuṇḍa and allied deities which have been represented as old women. On the southern side of the *Jagamohana*, there is also a panel which most probably depicts a king and his courtiers. The same royal figure appears as a warrior on the southern side

of the *Vimāna* with a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left, and with two parasols, made of peacock's feathers, held over the head, that indicate his royalty⁶⁰ and the same instance in Mukteśvara, Śūka and Śāri temple also depicted this sculpture.⁶¹ A royal figure also occurs on the southern facade of the main temple of Lingaraja and there we find him holding a sword in the right hand, of which only the hilt has survived, and engaged in reading a copper-plate inscription held in the left.⁶² An officer stands in front of him, perhaps awaiting orders from him, while two attendants hold over his head two parasols, made of peacock's feathers, which likewise indicate his royalty.⁶³ Making an allowance for the different garments worn by them on different occasions and also wear and tear from which they have suffered, one can easily perceive a great deal of similarity in all the three figures, two on the Brahmeśvara and one on the Liṅgarāja.⁶⁴

These sculptures are representation of a royal personage. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether they represent real portraits, though a striking similarity between them may lead to such a reading.⁶⁵ An elaborate scene of a *darbār* held by a king also appears on the southern facade of the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja, which is identified as the *Indrasabha* or the court of Indra.⁶⁶ There was an attempt at portraiture of the builders of the temples. It is also evident from the sculptures of the great Konarka temple,⁶⁷ in which the portrait of a king who, in the context of the history known to us, should be taken as Narasiṃha-I, appears in several panels.⁶⁸ It appears in the base of the empty *ratnavedi* of the main temple, where it is seen as worshipping and receiving a garland or a piece of cloth from the high priest.⁶⁹ In the same panel there is a depiction of *dola* (*vimāna*) by the side of Durga, Jagannatha and a phallic emblem (Śiva Linga).⁷⁰ In all these panels and in several others, that the portraits represent one and the same king is evident from their striking similarity and unmistakable features, though a sure conclusion rests on the question whether these portraits were real or idealized.⁷¹ The high officers of the kings who happened to have built temples had also the privilege of appearing on the temples.⁷² The temple of Papanasini situated in the close vicinity of the Lingaraja temple, contains an inscription which was for the first time noticed by K.C. Panigrahi.⁷³ It is engraved on the base of a panel of sculptures showing an elephant procession carved in a niche in the southern side of the porch of the Papanasini compound.⁷⁴

The inscription, which consists of only two lines and is mutilated at some points, is in proto-Odia characters very similar to those used in the copper-plate grant of Purusottarnadeva (AD 1470-97).⁷⁵ The first line records the name of Sri Kapilesvaradeva and the second his 17 *anka* and a name which is lost, and the words *raṇāsura-mahāsenāpati* towards the end of the epigraph.⁷⁶ The inscription served as the label of the panel showing the elephant procession, of which the man sitting on the largest elephant heading the remaining two, has two parasols, one held over his head by a man sitting behind him and the other held up by a footman walking ahead.⁷⁷ The parasols indicate the high rank of the person, seated on the elephant, who was, in all likelihood, the commander-in-chief of the army of Kapilesvaradeva, referred to in the inscription as *raṇāsura-mahāsenāpati*. At any rate since Kapilesvara ascended the throne in 1435,⁷⁸ his 17 *anka* recorded in the second line of the epigraph. When calculated according to the mode of counting the regnal years adopted by the Gajapatis of Odisha, gives the year AD 1449, which should be taken to be the date of the Papanasini temple. Secular figures are rare on the religious structures and only kings, queens and the builders of the temples had the privilege of being featured on them.⁷⁹ So, it seems most likely that the temple of Papanasini was built by the commander-in-chief of the Gajapati Kapileśvaradeva. Kapileśvaradeva's connection with Bhubaneswar is further proved by another inscription edited by M. M. Chakravarti,⁸⁰ originally attached to the outer door of the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple, and now preserved at A.S.I. circle office Bhubaneswar branch. In this inscription Kapilesvara commands all the subordinate rulers of his empire to remain faithful to the paramount sovereign and threatens them with dire consequences if they act contrary to his desire. A similar elephant procession with a similar foremost rider appears on the southern facade of the *Jagamohana* of the *Śāri-deula*; but there is no such evidence of its builder, it is difficult to identify the rider or royal patronage.

3.4. Temple and Its Role in Socio-Economic Condition

(i) Expenditure of the Monarchy

The massive construction programmes of temples and maintenance of religious institutions during the Somavasānsīś period drained the treasury. The amount spent by

Somavamsi Kings on the construction of the Saiva temple was equivalent to a million of gold *mādhās* and the jewellery given to the deities amounted to two lakhs and a half gold *mādhās*⁸¹ at Bhubaneswar for Liṅgarāja temple. Amount like one million of gold *mādhās* was given by Chodagangadeva on construction of the Jagannatha temple.⁸² The accounts of Abul Fazl testify to the fact that king Narasimhadeva-I spent the revenue of twelve years on the construction of the Sun temple at Konark.⁸³ The Gajapati monarchs, who succeeded the Gangas, could not undertake any new project of temple construction. This might be due to poor state of economy of the kingdom and frequent Muslim invasions. However, they lavishly spent for the religious undertakings. Purushottamadeva Gajapati immediately after coming to the throne donated costly offerings to Lord Jagannatha⁸⁴ and also granted income of the southern victory as a sacred offering to the supreme lord.⁸⁵ An inscription states that the king made a gift of a number of utensils and ornaments out of devotion to the lotus feet of Jagannatha.⁸⁶

(ii) Endowments to the Temples

The inscriptions frequently refer to the endowments of lands and money to the temples. The endowments to the temples started from the Somavamsi period. One can, however, survey more evidences in the period of the imperial Gangas who succeeded the Somavamsis. These temple endowments were not confined to the royal family alone, but were made by the royal officers and rich merchants too. The purpose was mainly for the attainment of religious merit and to absolve the donor from worldly sins.⁸⁷

(a) Land Endowments: Donation of land to the temples was made by the members of the royal family, ministers, merchants and officers. Sometimes king donated land to the temples and appointed priests as the trustee of the land.⁸⁸ The Puri plates⁸⁹ of Narasimhadeva-IV record the grant of one hundred *vatis* of land to a Brahman Devarathacharya who was the priest of the god Ugresvaradeva. Many such examples can be cited to show the donation of lands to the temples. Here the donee was not given the ownership of the land which was granted to god Ugresvaradeva for his maintenance. Such grants were revenue free gifts, as known from the Nagari plates of Anangabhimadeva-III.⁹⁰

(b) Endowment of Lamps: The most common and popular gift was the donation of lamps to the temples. The donors made provisions for oil supply to the perpetual lamp. They used to deposit gold and silver currency in the temples and interest earned from these deposits was used to purchase oil to lit lamps. The Jagannātha temple inscription⁹¹ of Chodagangadeva records the grant of a village for installation of twenty perpetual lamps and the king had deposited nine *madhas* to supply cow *ghee* for lamps. Similarly, another inscription⁹² records the grant of a perpetual lamp by a lady Medama Devi in favour of the god Kirtivasesvara or Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar. Sometimes, milk animals like sheep, cows, buffaloes and goats were also donated to the temples for the preparation of *ghee*. An inscription⁹³ dated AD 1081, refers to the gift of lamp and fifty female buffaloes to god Bhimesa by Banapati, the Commander of king Chodagangadeva. The donors deposited money with the merchants who arranged the burning of the perpetual lamp. An inscription⁹⁴ in the Markeṇḍeśvara temple informs that three merchants accepted some amount of gold coins for one perpetual lamp to be burnt before god Markeṇḍeśvara. The responsibility of the merchants was to supply oil for the lamp in place of the interest from the money deposited with them. Money was also deposited with the temple superintendent and village headmen for burning the perpetual lamp. An officer named Kamandi had deposited some money with the temple superintendent for a perpetual lamp.⁹⁵ Rajan Pramadi, the younger brother of king Anangabhimadeva had also deposited five *madhas* with the village headman for burning a perpetual lamp.⁹⁶

(iii) Managerial Skill in Temple

The inscriptions as well as literature are silent about the system of temple management and number of officers attached to it.⁹⁷ But it may be presumed that the temples of Odisha did not possess an elaborate machinery of officers like those of the South Indian temples.⁹⁸ Temples were maintained by various endowments. The Murupaka grant⁹⁹ of Chodagangadeva, dated AD 1083, records the grant of a village to five persons for rendering services like worshipping, offering, dancing, singing and beating drums for God Narendrasvaradeva and for undertaking occasional repair works of the temple. The officers and individuals were also donating plots of land for daily maintenance of the temple. An inscription¹⁰⁰ at the Lingaraj temple records the

grant of five *vati* (measurement of land, that one *vati* is equal with 1.5 Acre) of land by a Ganga General Govinda Senapati. The land was granted for making provisions for sweeping the *mandap* thrice a day, washing its walls once a year and repairing the roof once in every twelve years. Out of five *vatis* of land, two were allotted to *kumbhakara* (potter) for repairing the roof, two to the *churanakara* (lime washer) for white washing and one to sweeper for cleaning the floor. These lands were enjoyed by the servants in lieu of their services to the temple. Provisions were also made for the daily worship of the God by individuals. The Pārvatī temple inscription¹⁰¹ and an inscription at Parsurāmeśvara temple¹⁰² record the arrangements made by Prappanacharya and Bhirnabahika for daily worship in the temple.

(iv) Role of Temples in Land Managements

The accumulation of donated lands by the temples might have led to the formation of a class of land management like early medieval South Indian temples.¹⁰³ As the owner of the vast land property, a large number of agricultural laborers might have been employed for cultivation. The yields of the land gave temples the major share of income. Lands were under the supervision of temple priests. The temples might have taken active interest for the agricultural development of the area. But details are not available to establish the role of temples for extension of cultivation as could be found in case of the South Indian temples.¹⁰⁴

(v) Role of Temple an Employer

For the management of temples, a number of people were employed. There were employed accountants, treasurers, musicians, drummers, singers, lamp-holders, cooks, sweepers and gardeners. *Devadasis* (temple dancers) were also appointed in the Odisha temples. Chodagangadeva is credited to have introduced *devadasi* dancing in the temple of Lord Jagannatha for the first time. But the *devadasi* tradition was started in the Somavaṃśīś periods. Somavaṃśīś king Karnadeva or Karnakeshari¹⁰⁵ (1100-1110 AD), the last descendant of Dharma-Kandarpa Janmejaya, granted a rent free village to a dancing girl, Karpura-Sri by name, who had become his queen.¹⁰⁶ In the charter granting the village instead of her father's and grandfather's names, generally it is found the names of her mother and grandmother, which proves that she belonged

to family of professional dancing girls.¹⁰⁷ It formed daily ritual of the temple. Many people such as milkmen, garlanders were engaged in supplies milk and flowers to the temple for daily worship of the deity.

(vi) Temples as a Consumer

The temples were the major consumers of the local products which were regularly purchased and used for performance of the rituals. So it might have led to the establishment of industry like perfumery. The potters might have engaged in supplying earthen pots to the temples. The temples which attracted large number of pilgrimages might have created a good market for the local merchants.

(vii) Temple as a Bank

The deposition of money with the temples and merchants for the purpose of burning lamps might have been utilized for rural credit institutions. The *Adhīkarīs*, *Deula Purusha* or the temple heads lent the money to the needy people and the interest earned, was utilized for the burning of the lamp. The Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramadi¹⁰⁸ informs that the villagers receiving the money had to pay interest at the rate of one quarter per month, i.e., 25% (*masa-padika-kala*). The rate of interest of Odisha temples was 25% whereas the demand of the Chola temples was approximately not more than 12½%.¹⁰⁹ The money deposited in the temples might have had contributed to the growth of rural industries by lending money.

(viii) Temples and the Regional Development

The temples played an important role for the regional development in medieval Odisha. As a land owner of the locality, it looked after the cultivation of donated lands and extended cultivation to non-cultivable donated areas. The temples mobilized resources of land, labour and money and financed rural artisans and merchants. Thus, urban centers developed around the temples. The construction of roads, tanks, and bridges were carried out by the state for temples and pilgrims. An inscription¹¹⁰ of Svapaneśvara of the time of Anangabhimadeva at Megheśvara temple (AD 1192) states that Svapaneśvara after constructing a magnificent temple for Siva, laid out a garden near the temple, built a tank near it and erected a *mandapa*. He also excavated

wells; tanks constructed roads and arranged lights in the temples and cloisters for the study of the *Vēdas*. Industries developed to cater to the needs of the temples and pilgrims. The pilgrims from other states brought wealth to spend in religious shrines resulting in raising the standard of living of the people of the area.

(ix) Temples as Centre of Cultural Activities

Besides economic activities, temples were the important centers of cultural life of the then Odisha. Festivals were celebrated in the temples on different occasions. An inscription¹¹¹ of Anangabhimadeva-III at Liṅgarāja temple mentions that the *maṇḍap* was used for performing *parvotsava* (festivals) and *mahotsava* (great festivals).¹¹² The Liṅgarāja temple was noteworthy for the *Śivarātri* festival and the Jagannātha temple was famous for car festival which was celebrated each year up to the recent times.¹¹³ The minor temples of Bhubaneswar also celebrated all rituals associated with Siva temple. Dance and music were also organized in the temples. Temples had regular staff of dancers and musicians. The temples also acted as the seat of learning and studies of the various branches of the Vedic learning encouraged by the temples. The priests recited the *Vedas* and *Puranas* in temples as a daily routine.¹¹⁴ The community life was guided by the temple festivals. The beginning of cultivation and harvest started with offerings to the ruling deity of the temples.¹¹⁵ Moreover the temples of Odisha were the embodiment of social and cultural life of the Odia as one can trace the origin of its dance drama, literature, and music to the religious festivities and joy emanating from the medieval temples, as escape routes from the monotony of life.¹¹⁶ In spite of the various development works carried out by the temples, they as social institution acted as hoarders of wealth. A lion's share of the kingdom's income was invested for them which might have depleted the treasury of Odisha.¹¹⁷ As the main target of attack of the foreigners which invited the recurrent Muslim invasions to Odisha.

3.5. Availability of Resources for Building of Temples

In this **section**, availability of resource for building of temples is the area of focus. The abundant natural resources and the strategic location of Bhubaneswar region make it one of the focal points of early historic trade and exchange.¹¹⁸ Hence, trade

and commercial route and the location of Bhubaneswar are some of the important elements for the rise of the temple construction activity.¹¹⁹ Stone has been chiefly used a building material in Odisha temples. Although the localities where the temples flourish do not yield a projection of building stones of good quality, still the sense of ensuring permanency was so deep-rooted in their minds that it led to quarry them at some distant hills, and to bring the huge blocks of stone from many scores of miles across trackless forests.¹²⁰ The principal stones that have been utilized for building purpose in Odisha are sandstone, laterite, chlorite, and granitic gneiss or metamorphic rock.¹²¹ According to M.M. Ganguly¹²² “ Geologically Odisha consists of very distinct portions, one near the coastal region, where Bhubaneswar (Puri and Khurda district) is existed, is a belt of nearly flat alluvial formations varying from 15 to 40 miles in breadth, and the other, is an undulating area studded with numerous hills, it is mainly composed of the crystalline or metamorphic series consisting of rocks of very ancient date which completely altered a crystallized by metamorphic action, now all that traces of the original structure are lost.”

The stone that are not used for temple building such as *Talcher* sand stone, shale, silt and boulder bed, *Damuda* sandstones, shale, coal, Panchet sandstones and grits. But alluvium (river delta deposited, older alluvium of coast plain) and blown sand stone are used for building purposes. The metamorphic rocks are chiefly found in the Niligiri hills near Balesore. The temples of Bhubaneswar are situated in an undulating sedimentary in which flats of laterite and alluvium alternate with each other. The basement bed on which these superficial formations rest is entirely obscured, and whether it is composed of metamorphic rock or of later sedimentary series cannot be determined. The gneissose hills which crop out near Khurda probably indicate the floor on which the sedimentary beds of the Atagarha basin were deposited.¹²³

In Bhubaneswar area abounding in such excellent building stones such as laterite and sandstone, it is natural that utmost advantage has been taken to make use of such materials.¹²⁴ Although the deposits of laterite are very extensive and more accessible, the bed of sandstone also attain great proportions, and the importance of the latter is comparatively reduced owing to the great ease with which blocks of

laterite can be excavated and shaped.¹²⁵ The explanation for the preference of sand stone to laterite is to be sought for in the superior resistance which a compact and homogenous rock like sandstone offers to great superincumbent and lateral pressure a factor of utmost importance where the great elevation of the temples was concerned.¹²⁶

Besides, from the artist's point of view, the textures of the sandstones were far more adaptable in receiving the impressions of the sculptors chisel and display it to utmost advantage.¹²⁷ Stones were quarried in all parts of the state: *mātikāda* (tuffstone) for the foundations came from the region of Khurda, *baulmālā* (coarse-grained sandstone) and *bāliā haladiā sāhana* (yellowish sandstone) from the Bāneśvar Hills near the Mahanadi in the west, *kerāṇḍimāliā* (smooth whitish stone) from Ganjam District, *regadā sāhana* (sandstone) from Tāpaṅga and from Arāgada near the Daya river, and all the *muguni* stones (blue, black and green chlorite) from the Nilagiri Hills and *Pithaūsuni* in the North. They were all transported on raft by way of the rivers.¹²⁸

The sandstone used in the building of the temples at Bhubaneswar shows compact texture in the marked degree. The rock is usually a very fine grained, and combined with this, its hardness is such that it is susceptible of fine artistic treatment which would have been too soft, too fragile or too hard.¹²⁹ The sandstone beds in the vicinity of the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills attain great development.¹³⁰ The quarries were situated in the vicinity of Bhubaneshwar where the availability of labour community was not at all a problem.¹³¹ The beds of sandstone do not preserve a uniform character over long distances. Fine grained sandstone, coarse grits and even conglomerate composed of large translucent pebbles of quartz, merge into one another. Such gradations are at times noticeable within a very small area as in parts of Udayagiri hill.¹³² The color of the sandstone also varies, but sandstone of a grayish white and buff color predominates.¹³³ Ferruginous infiltrations due to the decomposition of contained iron minerals have often imparted a rich red color to layers of the sandstone.¹³⁴ The blocks of sandstone used in the, Mukteśvar, Rājārānī, Brahameśvara,, Amūnhā, Gaurī, Nageśvara, Lakheśvara, and Mohinī temples show a pleasing dark brick red color which appears to be due to artificial coloring which did

not penetrate far in to the interior of the rock, as the original natural buff color is clearly visible in the portions where the stone shows a fractured face.¹³⁵

3.6. Construction Technique

The architectural geomorphology know very little about the preparation of models to scale in ancient India, but one religious text contains a casual mention of an architect who displayed to his patron the model¹³⁶ of a temple that he had constructed in various places. This reference implies that models of buildings were prepared prior to construction, and it seems possible that the practice was a more general. The main task of the master craftsman, the *sthāpati*¹³⁷ of the odisa Sanskrit text *Śilpaprakāsa*, must have been to layout the exact plan and elevation of the temple, as also its measurements, and to work out a coherent and unified decorative scheme.¹³⁸ This presumably must have done in consultation with the chief surveyor, the *sūtragrahin*¹³⁹, and the chief sculptor¹⁴⁰, the *taksaka*¹⁴¹. His next task would have been to organize his various groups of craftsmen¹⁴² accordingly, as well as to handle the large force of manual labour that must have been required for the erection of any ambitious temple. The preliminary work involved in the construction of any temple must have taken place at the quarry site.¹⁴³

The Odisa temples are built mostly of sandstone, with coarse laterite occasionally being used for unseen portions of the temple such as the plinth or the inner portions of the courtyard wall. It was at the quarry that the huge blocks of stone were hewn to size,¹⁴⁴ and the surfaces then finely hammer-dressed and so prepared that each block rested smoothly on the other. The prepared blocks would then be transported from the quarry to the temple site, and there rise into position by groups of labourers.¹⁴⁵ The huge blocks of stone were laid dry, evenly and horizontally in courses one upon the other, and kept in position largely by their own solid weight and by their even balance.¹⁴⁶ Occasionally grooves and offsets were cut into the blocks so that they slotted into one another, and very occasionally, in certain vital portions of construction, iron dowels were utilized.¹⁴⁷ No cementing mortar of any kind was used. Such mortar was introduced in India by the Muslims and was an innovation quite unknown to the architects of our ancient temples.¹⁴⁸ Block was placed upon block,

and with the simple and basic principle of weight being transmitted directly downwards, our ancient architects were able to raise impressive temple towers.¹⁴⁹

The general practice in temple building in Odisha seems to have been to first construct completely the sanctum with its tower, the unit known as the *deula*. Only when this was completely finished together with its sculptural decoration, was the hall in front commenced. As the *deula* rose in height, the practice was to surround it with great mounds of earth which acted as a platform from which work could proceed further. An inclined plane was then made on one side and along this the large blocks of stone was dragged up for the construction of the upper levels of the *deul*. In the case of the famous Lingaraj temple at Bhubanesvar, this inclined plane led all the way from the quarry in the Khandagiri hills in the west up to the temple a distance of nearly 8 kilometer. Such a length of ramp would be required to get the enormous crowning stone up to its crowning height of 150 feet.¹⁵⁰ Moreover the inclinations of the same require constant adjustment at every stage of the increase in the height of the temple. So it is fair to conclude that blocks of stone were carried to building site by carts drawn by elephants, if the building site is at a distance from the quarry site.

It has been pointed out that several small mounds sported today between the Khandagiri hill and the temples are in fact part of the inclined plane constructed almost a thousand years ago. We are told that at the last point of this plane a small laterite shrine called Chara Nārāyaṇa was built, the word *chara* in the local language meaning an inclined plane. In south India at Tanjore, a similar ramp several miles long was constructed to build the famous Rajarajesvara temple, and along this ramp was dragged up to its final resting place 200 feet from the ground, the crowning stone, a single cupola of granite estimated to weigh 80 tons. The Khichakesvari temple at Khiching in Mayurbhanja district, it is a *rekha* vimana of Kalingana order. Originally the temple dated to the 10th century AD and it was again reconstructed in 1942 by Maharaja Pratap Chandra Bhanjadeo. He followed the tried and tested ancient Odisha *silipasastra* method, involving the 'burying' of the *deula* in earth as it progressed in height.¹⁵¹ With such a system it is apparent that a temple was not first constructed of rough stone blocks, which were then carved once the construction was complete. The work of stone masons and of sculptors had to proceed hand in hand.

On completion of the shrine and its tower, the mounds of earth surrounding it were removed and construction of the hall in front commenced in a similar fashion. In the Odisa temples we notice that the joint between the *deula* and the hall in front is rarely precise.¹⁵² It appears that however accurately the designing architect might have planned this junction, it did not work out that precisely in practice. Such inexact joints may be seen on the most advanced and finest of Odisa temples where one might have expected an accumulation of experience to have avoided such a flaw.¹⁵³ It is apparent that such a discrepancy was inherent in their method of construction. It must be mentioned, however, that an alternative method of construction is shown on a sculptured slab¹⁵⁴ that has today been set into the courtyard wall of a 15th 16th century AD temple, the time of Suryavamsi Gajapati king constructed the Siddha Mahavira temple in the Puri-Konark marine drive road.¹⁵⁵ The panel shows an inclined plane constructed apparently of wood, with one end resting on the ground and the other on the highest part of a temple, with three pillars supporting the plane in between. A rectangular block of stone is shown being carried up this ramp, tied at both ends with ropes on two carrying poles which, in turn, rest on the shoulders of four workers.¹⁵⁶ In certain parts of India fragments of carving have been found at the quarry indicating that sculptors sometimes worked at the quarry site itself. In Odisa however, this does not seem to have been the general practice.¹⁵⁷

On several temples, both at Bhubaneswar and elsewhere in the state, the pattern to be portrayed has been indicated on the wall of the temple, but the carving has not been completed. This certainly indicates that the sculpting was done at the temple site itself.¹⁵⁸ After placing the stones in position outlines of the carvings were drawn. On some of the temples where carvings have not been completed the outlines are still discernible. Sometimes a particular sculpture covers different blocks and due to the carvings on the body of the structure itself. After the completion of the *vimana*, the *mukhasala* was constructed in the same manner.¹⁵⁹ Often too, when examining closely a large carved figure, it is possible to discern the joints of the various blocks of stone which occasionally may happen to meet in the middle of a figure.¹⁶⁰

In certain temples we notice an alternative practice in which the figures of the more important gods and goddesses have been carved from separate slabs of stone

and then inserted into the shallow niches kept ready for them.¹⁶¹ Such a practice avoided the joints showing up within a single figure. The importance was the priestly supervision¹⁶² in the building of a temple. The very choice of a site was governed by varied complicated religious, astrological, and astronomical calculations, and of course, construction could be commenced only under a favorable combination of stars.¹⁶³ Once the site had been chosen, the entire area had to be consecrated, and in particular, several rites had to be performed on that small piece of ground which was to serve as the base on which the sanctum was to be raised.¹⁶⁴

The excellence, achieved in the temple building, during this period was mainly due to right types of materials used by artisans and that were available. Apart from, architectural and sculptural remains, the *Śilpaśāstras* also refer to the materials to be used.¹⁶⁵ Verses 462 to 465 in *Śilparatnakosa*¹⁶⁶ describe the materials used in image making as stone, wood, metal, and clay. All the clay images are worshipped in the festivals.¹⁶⁷ Artists should make firm and permanent stone images to be placed in the *Garbhagirha*, external niche and in decorative panels also.¹⁶⁸ Folk images are odd-shaped and inferior. The artist should not make these in metal or clay images. He should carve wooden images with care which is not a *Dhyānimurti* but excellent for worship. For stone images, *Pratimā Lakṣhana* section of the *Śilparatnakosa*¹⁶⁹, devotes its verses 1 to 5 describing three types of stone Muguni (black granite), Sahana (sandstone), Kundika (Khondalite) are suitable. Two types of Muguni-black and bluish green are used, Sahana is best for images and easy to sculpt. It is grey, smooth pure and of consistent colour. Stone, which is full of sand and whitish and yellow (Khondalite) is not good for making images.

One of the important aspects, of stone carving was the selection of the right type of the stone for specific work. The artists were experts in this aspect. The monuments and sculptures in Odisha, which have come down to us in their original shape indicate the proficiency of artisans in selecting particular stone, since they knew the effect of rain, wind weathering affects on stone. In an unchanged tradition the stone carving in Odisha continues for a long period of about 23 centuries the 3rd century B.C. the forepart of elephant carved at Dhauli.¹⁷⁰

The stone used in temple and making images in the Bhubaneswar region are sandstone, khondalite, chlorite schist and laterite. The laterite is mostly used for pavement, enclosure wall, steps, kitchens, and foundation in the structures of secondary importance. For the outer facing of temple, architectural members, sculptures, mostly sandstone is used. It is commonly of grey to reddish type, compact, coarse grained, homogenous texture, useful for delicate carving as well as strong to bear the weight of the temple.¹⁷¹ The khondalite is one of variety with stratified texture from clay substance to garnet to feldspar in it. Chlorite is commonly known as Muguni, used in later temple for sculpture, for doorjambs and lintel. Being fine grained, it gives a high degree of polish and minute carvings.¹⁷² It is compact, though but easy to work upon. But the sculptures of the earlier period are rarely found in stone.

To ascertain the exact nature of stone, location and transportation, it is necessary to survey the sculptures and architecture from the earliest period onwards in Odisha. In 2000, Devaraj Pradhan excavated a Buddhist stupa of Asokan period at Langudi, the ruins of which are covered with burnt bricks. It is surrounded by laterite wall and rectangular in size.¹⁷³ The rock cut Stupas and caves in hills are hewn out of Khondalite stone hill.¹⁷⁴ The relics of Asokan period at Dhauili comprising the fore part of an elephant carved out of Khondalite, while the Jaugada inscription is inscribed upon granite stone.¹⁷⁵ The other relics of Asokan period like bell capital, Lion, Bhaskareswara Lingam are made of sandstone. In the Sisupalagarah excavation¹⁷⁶, it is found that on the gate ways, steps, flanking walls and 16 monolithic pillars of a pillar hall, were being made of laterite stone. On the north of Radhanagara, on low flat hill known as Kaima, a monolithic rock cut elephant was found, surrounded by four monolithic khondalite pillars at the four corners.¹⁷⁷ Stylistically, these are assigned to 2nd-1st century B.C. The hillock also preserved some rock cut caves, which are austere plain and devoid of any sculpture.¹⁷⁸

Thus in the early phase, architecture was either initiated in laterite, which is plentifully available, easy to cut, dig and shape, or hewn out of living rock in situ like elephants at Dhauili and Kaima.¹⁷⁹ The next dated monuments are encountered at Khandagiri and Udayagiri, where 117 caves are dug out of existing rock of

sandstones.¹⁸⁰ This stone is coarse grained, soft and porous and easy to excavate. In cave architecture, availability of the hills determines the type technology of the monument.¹⁸¹ The location, nature and size of the caves are determined by the suitable selection and material of the hill. The undulations in the fringes of the hill were advantageously utilized by the builders.¹⁸² Thus, Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves are formed on the fringes of hills, without having a systematical pattern with each other. But in case of structural temples, location of the site is more important than the availability of the materials as those can be transported. On the summit as Udayagiri, a structural apsidal temple is excavated, made of well dressed laterite blocks.¹⁸³ This chapter is complete with the discussion of the patronage and temple construction. The next chapter contains discussion about the architectural and sculptural features of the lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar.

Endnotes and References

¹ . In the earliest periods of Indian history patronage was expressed in terms of a few major institutions- Vedic sacrifice (*yajna*) and Buddhist and Jain charitable donation (*dāna*). The purpose of the elaborate Vedic ritual sacrifice was to ensure the fertility and well-being of the patron, termed *yajamāna*, his family, and ultimately the whole community. Various forms of Vedic sacrifice, which were offerings to sustain the gods in their work of maintaining the world, are documented in ancient Indic hymns and ritual literature, as well as in the Sanskrit epics. In the *Mahābhārata* the ancient idea of patronage is shown in various rituals, particularly the great ceremonies of Yudhisthira's royal consecration (*rājasuiya*) and horse sacrifice (*asvamedha*), also in the building of the city of Indraprastha by divine architect Maya. These episodes dramatize the idea that the king needs the rituals and buildings not only to legitimate him in the eyes of his subjects, but in his own psyche and that of the other participants. An important aspect of the ritual was the honorarium or 'gift' (*dakṣinā*, or *dāna*) given by the patron of a sacrifice to its priestly officiates. It was not a fee, but more a present, which guaranteed the fruition of the sacrifice. The presents were usually cattle, but the other forms of liberality, such as gold and garments were believed to have particular efficacy. The very notion of a 'gift' in the sacrificial context involves a kind of moral ambiguity in the relation between the donor and recipient since they are reciprocally dependent on one another in asymmetrical ways. It is from the ancient idea of the *yajamāna* that the notion of the *yajmān* developed-describing not just ritual exchanges and land relationships, but means of organizing skills and services, of distributing wealth, and of legitimating authority. Significant analyses of economic and socio-political relations of patronage in agrarian India have been made in terms of *yajmānī* and other systems.

² . Definition of Patronage is "one who supports or protects an institution, a cause, art or undertaking". (The Oxford English Dictionary, 2008.)

³ . U.N. Dhal, ed, The Ekāmra Puraṇa, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 102, 120.

⁴ . U.N. Dhal, op. cit, pp. 102, 120-122.

⁵ . B.P. Sahu, Authority and Patronage in Early Orissa, in Archaeology of Orissa, eds. K.K. Basa and Pradeep Mohanty, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 431-440.

⁶ . R.P. Mohapatra, Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, Delhi, 1981, pp. 2-3.

⁷ . Ibid,

⁸ . S.C. De, Two Plates of Tribhubanamahadevi from Baud, EI, Vol. XXIX, Delhi, 1951-52, pp. 210-220 and see also p. 169.

⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi, History of Orissa, Cuttack, 1961, pp. 167-189, and see also IHQ, Vol. XXXV, p. 327.

¹⁰ . Inscription of Orissa (IO), Vol. II, 1960, p. 237-241, and see also S. Tripathy, Inscriptions of Orissa, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 131-133 (Pedda-dugam Plates of Satrudamana, 9th regnal year, tenth day of the of Āśāḍha. (5th century AD on the basis of Paleography).

¹¹ . S. Tripathy, Inscription of Orissa, Vol. I, Delhi, 1997, pp. 171-172.

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- ¹² . Ibid,
- ¹³ . Ibid,
- ¹⁴ . Ibid,
- ¹⁵ . The date of the Mātharas dynasty is 350 AD to 498 AD, basically dated to 5th century AD on the basis of Paleographic evidences, and see also K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1981, pp. 46-47.
- ¹⁶ . Pītrbhaktas dynasty also dated to 4th-5th centuries AD on the basis of Paleographic evidences.
- ¹⁷ . Vaśīstas dynasty also dated 5th century AD on the basis of Paleographic evidences.
- ¹⁸ . IO, Vol.1, Pt.2, pp.31-34
- ¹⁹ . See Narasimhapalli Charters, EI, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62f.
- ²⁰ . IO, Vol, II, p. 10
- ²¹ . See Narasimhapalli charters, op. cit.
- ²² . S.N. Rajguru, The Santa Bomvali Copper Plate of Nandavarmana, JAHRS, Vol. II, pt. 3-4, and Vol. IV, pp. 217.
- ²³ . IO, Vol. II, pp. 280-286, and see also K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1981, pp. 48-49, the dating of the Early Gangas or Svetaka Gangas on the basis of genealogy (given by Bhartiya Vidyabhavan Series, The Classical Age) the era started from 496 AD to end in the middle of the eight century AD, and the king Indravarman dated to 5th century AD
- ²⁴ . S.N. Rajguru, The Santa Bomvali Copper Plate of Nandavarmana, JAHRS, Vol. II, pt. 3-4, and Vol. IV, pp. 95-100.
- ²⁵ . J.K. Sahu, Minor Dynasties, in *Comprehensive History and Culture Of Orissa*, P.K. Mishra , J.K. Samal, eds. op. cit, p. 135, and see also S. Tripathy, IO, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 162-163, Podagadh Stone Inscription of Skandavarman, year 12, the twenty-seventh day of the month of Madhava or Vaiśakha.
- ²⁶ . IO, Vol. I, Pt.2, 1981, pp. 120 and see also S. Tripathy, IO, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 184-186. (See also Kanasa Plate of Lokavighraha, year 280 of Gupta Samvat, the fifth day of month of Phālgun.)
- ²⁷ . Ibid, pp. 133-135, and see also S. Tripathy, IO, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 190-192. (See also Olsing Plate of Bhanudatta, 5th regnal year, and the twenty-fourth day of the month of Āśvina (September-August).
- ²⁸ . See S.C. Behera, *Rise and fall of Sailodbhavas*, Calcutta, 1982.
- ²⁹ . IO, Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 157-161.
- ³⁰ . T. Watters, *On Yuan Chawang's Traves in India*, 2 Vols, Pt. 1, pp. 196-197.
- ³¹ . S. Tripathy, *Inscription of Orissa*, Vol. I., op. cit, p. 83.
- ³² . IO, Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 166-172.
- ³³ . Ibid,
- ³⁴ . See Buguda Plates, Ibid, pp. 166-172.
- ³⁵ . See Tekkali plates, Ibid, pp. 241-47.
- ³⁶ . See Banpur plates Ibid pp. 191ff.

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- ³⁷ . K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, op. cit, pp. 374-75
- ³⁸ . Ibid.,
- ³⁹ . IO, Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 173-177.
- ⁴⁰ . Ibid, p. 199.
- ⁴¹ . See Puri plates, Ibid, p. 229.
- ⁴² . U. Subuddhi, op. cit, pp. 85-94.
- ⁴³ . See Neulapur Charters, EI, and Vol. I XV, pp. 1-8.
- ⁴⁴ . Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ . Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ . See Terundia plates, EI, Vol. XXVII, 1950, pp. 211-216.
- ⁴⁷ . EI, 1949-50, pp. 181-183.
- ⁴⁸ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 154.
- ⁴⁹ . Ajaya Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of Sarabhapuriya, Panduvamsi and Somavaṃśīśns*, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 148-167.
- ⁵⁰ . The Existing inscriptions in these caves prove that the Jaina images were carved in them in the fifth and the eighteenth regnal years of Uddyota Keasari, E.I., vol. XIII, pp. 166 ff., Bhandarkara's List of Inscription of Northern India, No. 1571 and 1573.
- ⁵¹ . K. C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 250.
- ⁵² . Ibid, pp. 251-252.
- ⁵³ . Ibid, and see also IHQ, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 300-307.
- ⁵⁴ . Kanchinarayan Mohanty, *Kausalyāgaṅga Eka Adhayana (Odia)*, Ekamra Kshetra, Ed. Brajmohana Mohanty, Cuttack, 1193, pp. 316-320.
- ⁵⁵ . Ibid,
- ⁵⁶ . Walter Smith, *Images of Divine Kings from the Mukteśvara Temple, Bhubaneswar*, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 51, No. 1/2, 1991, pp. 90-106. Smith discussed in this article "If we accept the interpretation of the Muktesvara reliefs as images of divine kings, the question which remains is, "why are such images placed so prominently on this particular temple?" Nothing has been mentioned so far as to who exactly the kings depicted on the Mukteśvara temple might be. With a date of ca. 950-975, based primarily on stylistic considerations and comparisons with roughly datable temples like the Parasurāmeśvara (ca. 635-650), Vaital Deul (ca. 800), and Brahmeśvara (ca. 1050), the Mukteśvara was built during the first century of the "later" Somavaṃśīś dynasty, which most likely reigned either from ca. 882-1054 or from ca. 929-1118. By around the middle of the tenth century, the Somavaṃśīś (literally, "whose lineage is from Soma," the moon, but also one of the *lokapālas*) appear to have become firmly established on coastal Orissa. According to Orissan tradition, the Mukteśvara temple was built by Yayati-I Mahasivagupta, the second Somavaṃśīś king, who probably ruled either from ca. 922-955, or as late as ca. 963-991. The tradition seems authentic, since Yayati's dates correspond closely to the date of the temple, arrived at through stylistic analysis. The site of Bhubaneswar, near the eastern coast, had been a pilgrimage site sacred to Siva from at least the early seventh century. It is possible that Yayati built the small but elaborate Mukteśvara temple as a symbol, not only of the dynasty's growing supremacy,

but of the divine legitimacy of its royal power as well. Hermann Kulke discusses how royal patronage at pilgrimage sites had great significance for the legitimating of royal power... “The *tirthas* (places of pilgrimage) became centers of a multi centered royal network which united the different nuclear areas religiously and even economically.” “And so, even though Bhubaneswar was not their political capital, the Somavaṃśīś declaration of affiliation with Siva at this important pilgrimage site and religious center was crucial to their establishment of divine legitimacy. As examples of this “royal temple policy,” Kulke cites, among others, the Brhadisvara temple at Tanjore (eleventh century), the Kandariya Mahadeva at Khajuraho (eleventh century), the Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar (eleventh century), and the Jagannātha temple at Puri (twelfth century). As “royal temples,” these works are most notable for their extreme monumentality, in contrast to the tenth-century Mukteśvara temple, which is of the same modest proportion as most of its predecessors, being built at a time before the trend toward grandiose size became established. In spite of this, the Mukteśvara fits well into Kulke’s scheme in that it was built after a long hiatus of architectural activity in Bhubaneswar, the Mukteśvara’s immediate predecessors being the Vaital Deula and Sīsireśvara temples, both dating to ca. 800, and possibly sponsored by the Somavaṃśīś predecessors, the early kings of the Bhauma Kara dynasty (ca. 736-923). Most politically powerful during their first century, the dynasty began a decline that steadily increased during the first quarter of the ninth century. The Mukteśvara temple, then, was possibly built as a declaration of Somavaṃśīś legitimacy as the Bhauma Karas successors, showing the dynasty’s kings (Yayati himself, and/or his predecessors?) literally at the center of a newly formed royal cult dedicated to Siva. The reliefs on the *candrasalas* of the Muktesvara temple, placed in close proximity to a symbolic and visually powerful representation of Siva, give form to the idea of the king as a deputy of the supreme lord, who himself contains a portion of the divine essence. The reliefs can also be seen as indicators of a royal cult centered on Siva. If such a cult existed, it strongly parallels the cult of Jagannātha (which is much more clearly documented and observable, due mainly to the fact that it is a living tradition), and was an important precedent for it”.

⁵⁷ . Ibid., pp. 93.

⁵⁸ . P. Acharya, Brahmesvara temple Inscription of the time of Udyotakesri, JARSB., Vol. XIII, No. 2, Letters, 63-64, 1947, Calcutta, p. 70.

⁵⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, New Delhi, 1961, see also Fig. 81. p.118.

⁶⁰ . Ibid., see also Fig. 85.

⁶¹ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit., p. 106-108.

⁶² . Ibid., p. 108.

⁶³ . Ibid., see also Fig. 84.

⁶⁴ . Ibid., pp. 108-109.

⁶⁵ . Ibid.,

⁶⁶ . Ibid.,

⁶⁷ . Ibid.,

⁶⁸ . Ibid.,

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- ⁶⁹ . K.S. Behera & T.E. Donaldson, *Sculpture Masterpieces of Orissa: Style and Iconography*, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 67-69.
- ⁷⁰ . K.S. Behera & T.E. Donaldson, *Sculpture Masterpieces of Orissa: Style and Iconography*, New Delhi, 1998, Fig. 1.
- ⁷¹ . K.S. Behera & T.E. Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- ⁷² . *Ibid.*,
- ⁷³ . *Ibid.*, and see also *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I., No. 2, p. 1, ff and the Plate.
- ⁷⁴ . K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
- ⁷⁵ . *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I., pp. 355 ff and the Plate.
- ⁷⁶ . K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, and see also Fig. 82, pp. 49-50.
- ⁷⁷ . K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
- ⁷⁸ . R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 289.
- ⁷⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28.
- ⁸⁰ . Priyatosha, Banerji, Anugul Copper Plat Grant of Dharmamahadevi, *JASB*, Vol. XVII, No.3, 240-250, Calcutta, 1951, and see also *JASB*, Vol. LXII, 1893, Part I, p. 92-100.
- ⁸¹ . A. Sterling, "Orissa: Chronology and History" in N.K. Sahu, *A History of Orissa*, II, p. 238.
- ⁸² . *Ibid.*, pp.238-240.
- ⁸³ . "Abul Fazl's Account of Konark Temple" (Extract from *Ain-I-Akbari*) *OHRJ* I, p.187.
- ⁸⁴ . M.M. Chakravarty, *JASB*, LXII (1893), p. 100.
- ⁸⁵ . Puri Inscription of 2nd year of Purushouattma, K. B. Tripathy, *op. cit.* ,p. 278.
- ⁸⁶ . R. D. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-01.
- ⁸⁷ . S.C. De, Gallavalli Plates of Prithivi maharaja:Year 49, *EI*, XXXV, , Delhi, 1963-64, pp. 221-223 and see also pp. 115-20.
- ⁸⁸ . For details, section on, Patron of patronage through Temples as Landholders may be in this chapter consulted.
- ⁸⁹ . S.K. Panda, *Medieval Orissa, A Socio-Economic Study*, New Delhi, New Delhi, 1991, p. 73, and see also *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 302-12.
- ⁹⁰ . *Ibid*, pp. 72-74.
- ⁹¹ . S.K. Panda, *op. cit.*, p. 70-76.
- ⁹² . *Ibid*,
- ⁹³ . *Ibid*,
- ⁹⁴ . *Ibid*,
- ⁹⁵ . *Ibid*,
- ⁹⁶ . *Ibid*,
- ⁹⁷ . Some scholars have claimed to have discovered four unpublished palm leaf manuscripts relating to the construction, management and ritual of the Konark temple vide, A. Boner, S. Rathasarma and R.P. Das, eds. "*New Light of the Sun Temple of Konark*":(Varanasi 1972). But scholar like K. S. Behera has rightly challenged the authenticity of the manuscripts and rejected them to be genuine documents on several grounds. Review article, *South Asia Studies*, no. 6, Dec. 1976, pp. 127-129.

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- ⁹⁸ . L. Nannithanby, "Village and Temple Administration in Allur Inscriptions", *Proceedings of Tamil Studies*, pp. 245-50.
- ⁹⁹ . S.K. Pnda, op. cit, p. 73.
- ¹⁰⁰ . Ibid,
- ¹⁰¹ . Ibid,
- ¹⁰² . Ibid,
- ¹⁰³ . D. N. Jha, "Temples as Landed Magnates in Early Medieval South India", in *Indian Historical Probings*, ed. R. S. Sharma and V. Jha, pp. 202-16.
- ¹⁰⁴ . B. Stein, "The State, the Temple and Agricultural Development in Medieval South India" *Economic Weekly*, Annual Number (1961), pp. 179-87.
- ¹⁰⁵ . K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa, Cuttack*, 1981, pp. 110-111.
- ¹⁰⁶ . Ibid,
- ¹⁰⁷ . Ibid,
- ¹⁰⁸ . S.K. Pnda, op. cit, pp. 74-75.
- ¹⁰⁹ . K.R. Chaterjee, "Temple Offerings and Temple Grants in South India" *PIHC (1940)* Lahore Session, p. 164.
- ¹¹⁰ . S.K. Pnda, op. cit, pp. 71-74.
- ¹¹¹ . Ibid,
- ¹¹² . Ibid,
- ¹¹³ . Ibid,
- ¹¹⁴ . Ibid,
- ¹¹⁵ . Ibid,
- ¹¹⁶ . Ibid,
- ¹¹⁷ . Ibid,
- ¹¹⁸ . P. Acharya, *Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives*, Cuttack, 1969, pp. 444-453.
- ¹¹⁹ . P. Acharya, op. cit., pp. 445-448.
- ¹²⁰ . Ibid., 396-398.
- ¹²¹ . Ibid.,
- ¹²² . M.M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, Patana, 1987, p. 239.
- ¹²³ . M.M. Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 239-241.
- ¹²⁴ . Ibid., 246.
- ¹²⁵ . Ibid., pp. 245-246.
- ¹²⁶ . Ibid.,
- ¹²⁷ . Ibid., p. 246.
- ¹²⁸ . Alice Boner, "Economic and Organizational Aspects of the Building Operations of the Sun Temple at Koṅārka", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 13, No. 3, BRILL, (Nov., 1970), pp. 257-272.
- ¹²⁹ . Ibid.,
- ¹³⁰ . Ibid.,

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- ¹³¹ . Ibid.,
- ¹³² . M.M. Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 246-247.
- ¹³³ . Ibid.,
- ¹³⁴ . Ibid., p. 248.
- ¹³⁵ . Alice Boner, "Economic and Organizational Aspects of the Building Operations of the Sun Temple at Koṅārka", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. 13, No. 3, BRILL, (Nov., 1970), pp. 257-272.
- ¹³⁶ . The use of model before the construction of the huge temple, now days find the model at Jagannath temple complex at Puri and another is in Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar.
- ¹³⁷ . Alice Boner, "Economic and Organizational Aspects of the Building Operations of the Sun Temple at Koṅārka", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. 13, No. 3, BRILL, Nov.1970, pp. 257-272.
- ¹³⁸ . Bettina Baumer and R.P. Das, eds, *Śīlparatnakosa*, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 176-177.
- ¹³⁹ . Ibid., and see also Viday Dehejia, *The Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 25-26.
- ¹⁴⁰ .Ibid., op.cit., pp. 24-25.
- ¹⁴¹ . Ibid., op.cit., p. 25.
- ¹⁴² . Alice Boner, "Economic and Organizational Aspects of the Building Operations of the Sun Temple at Koṅārka", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. 13, No. 3, BRILL, Nov.1970, pp. 261-267.
- ¹⁴³ . The Khandagiri-Udayagiri hillock about 10 k. m. from town was the craft or manufactured industries at the time of temple building is going on the prescient of the Liṅgarāja temple. Here we can find large number *āmalka*, *ardhachandra śilā*, *miniature temple*, and the element *mastaka* portion of the temple. (Rusava Kumar Sahu, *Archaeological Vestiges at Khandagiri and Udayagiri: A Study on Pre Historic Relics*, M.A. Disseration, Utkal University, BBSR, 2006, pp. 30-33.)
- ¹⁴⁴ . The block of stone should 4 measures in length, 2 in width and 1 in height. It is auspicious to make it so. (*Bhubana Pardīpa*: p. 3 and 43), and see also, N.K. Bose, *The Canons of Orissan Temple Architecture (Vāstusatra)*, Delhi, 2001 (Reprint), pp. 52-53.
- ¹⁴⁵ . Alice Boner, "Economic and Organizational Aspects of the Building Operations of the Sun Temple at Koṅārka", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. 13, No. 3, BRILL, Nov.1970, pp. 261-267.
- ¹⁴⁶ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁴⁷ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁴⁸ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁴⁹ . Viday Dehejia, *The Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 29.
- ¹⁵⁰ . Ibid., p. 29-30.
- ¹⁵¹ . Ibid., p. 30.

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- ¹⁵² . Alice Boner, "Economic and Organizational Aspects of the Building Operations of the Sun Temple at Koṅārka", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 13, No. 3, BRILL, Nov.1970, pp. 262-268.
- ¹⁵³ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁵⁴ . A sculptured panel fixed to this temple depicts a scene of temple construction. It shows an inclined wooden plane, the lower part of which resting on the ground and the raised part on three wooden posts. On the block of stone is being dragged across the plane by four persons. (N. K. Bose, "A Temple Under Construction", *Journal of the Indian Society for Oriental Art*, XII, 1945). But this method does not seem to be a convenient one since the wooden plane would necessitate a constant adjustment at every stage of the increase in the height of the temple.
- ¹⁵⁵ . A.N. Parida, *The early Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 36, and see also V. Dehejia, *Early stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 29-30. (See also Plan Drawing of Dehejia's this book p. 29.)
- ¹⁵⁶ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁵⁷ . V. Dehejia, *Early stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 29.
- ¹⁵⁸ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁵⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi attributes the discrepancies at the point of the juncture of the *vimana* and *mukhasala* to the practice of adding the latter after the completion of the former. (K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pp-66-67.)
- ¹⁶⁰ . V. Dehejia, *Early stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, pp.30-31.
- ¹⁶¹ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁶² . Ibid., pp. 257-61.
- ¹⁶³ . N.K. Bose, *The Canons of Orissan Temple Architecture (Vastusatra)*, Delhi, 2001 (Reprint), pp. 50-54.
- ¹⁶⁴ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁶⁵ . Ibid., p. 53.
- ¹⁶⁶ . Bettina Baumer and R.P. Das, eds, *Śīlparatnakosa*, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 176-179.
- ¹⁶⁷ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁶⁸ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁶⁹ . Ibid, p. 183.
- ¹⁷⁰ . B.K. Rath, "Crafts in Ancient and Medieval Orissa", *OHRJ*, Vol. XXX, II, No. 4-54, pp. 92-100.
- ¹⁷¹ . Ibid.,
- ¹⁷² . Ibid., pp. 93-95.
- ¹⁷³ . "Asokan Stupa Discovered in Orissa", in *Times of India*, 27. 05. 2000, New Delhi Edition, P. 10.
- ¹⁷⁴ . H. Prusty, P. Mohanty and Jitu Mishra, "Laṅgūdi, An Early Historical Buddhist Site in Coastal Orissa", in *Puratattva*, Vol., 27, pp. 100-103.
- ¹⁷⁵ . P. Acharya, "Varieties of Stones Used in Building Temples and Making Images in Orissa", *OHRJ*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, p. 9-20.

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- ¹⁷⁶ . B.B. Lal, Sisupalagarh, 1948, "An Early Historical Fort in Ancient India", *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 62-105.
- ¹⁷⁷ . Jitu Mishra, "Radhanagara, Early Historic Buddhism, Urban Structure and Trade", K.K. Basa and Pradep Mohanty, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.
- ¹⁷⁸ . *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- ¹⁷⁹ . P. Acharya, "Varieties of Stones Used in Building Temples and Making Images in Orissa", *OHRJ*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, p. 9-20.
- ¹⁸⁰ . R.P. Mohapatra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves*, Delhi, 1981, pp. 2-3.
- ¹⁸¹ . R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- ¹⁸² . *Ibid.*,
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CHAPTER-IV

*Temple and their Art and
Architecture
(Lesser Known Temples)*

CHAPTER-IV

TEMPLES AND THEIR ART AND ARCHITECTURE (LESSER KNOWN TEMPLES)

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the process of evolution and general features of the lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar. It distinguishes four major phases with a particular discussion on the four dynasties and their contribution towards emergence of those lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar. This chapter will cover from early sixth century AD to early thirteenth century AD. Bhubaneswar was a major centre of art in the Kalingana area, because of large number of temples belonging to all types. Here one can notice temples in continuous succession which provide its development process. All the innovations and experimentations were carried out in this place. The dates of the temples have been determined through careful examination of their features and other evidences in the Bhubaneswar group of temples.¹ The large number of existing monuments and detached sculptures constitute an enormous archaeological material found at Bhubaneswar, which needs to be studied for their emergence and peculiar architectural format, thus the analysis is that of selection rather than accumulation.

The earliest specimens of Bhubaneswar are not a Brāhmaṇical monuments but the *yakṣa*, *Nāga*, Buddhist and Jaina monuments found in its vicinity. The Bhubaneswar groups of temples belong to the “Kaliṅganā School of Style”, is evident by inscriptional record. Along with other major forms of Indian temples such as Nāgara, Drāvīḍa, Bhūmija, and Vesara, the Kaliṅga temple form is noted in an inscription on a temple in Karnataka² and in textual sources from west, east, and south India.³ The twelfth-century south Indian Śaivāgama, the Kāmika, presents a brief description of the forms of this temple type, but little is distinct from the corrupt Sanskrit text.⁴ It may be observed that Kaliṅga,⁵ as coastal Odisha was known before the third century BC, is consistently, identified as large coastal Odisha region despite changing the political geography from time to time. In 1934 Stella Kramrisch discussed through the inscriptional evidences to Kaliṅga as a distinctive type. She identified it as the eastern variety of *Nāgara* (northern) temple styles.⁶ The analysis of

the inscriptions, texts, and reliefs of the major temple types represented by artisans on temples in Karnataka, M. A. Dhaky concluded that temples in Odisa most closely matched the *Nāgara* form as described in the *Kāmikāgama*.⁷

To study temples general features and its respective chronology Bhubaneswar is an appropriate place. Sanskrit works, i.e., the *Ekāmra Pūrāṇa*, *Svarṇādrimahodaya*, *Ekāmra-Chaṇḍrīkā* and *Kapīla-saṁhitā*, *Bhubana Pradīpa*, *Śīlpa Shāstra*, *Śīlpa Prakāsa*; despite mentioning notable stylistic features, are of little use for determining the evolution of temple as they attribute the origin and construction of most of the temples to gods and supernatural beings, though they record names of the temples alone with their approximate location.

The majorities of the inscriptions appearing on temples is much later in date than their actual construction and are silent about their builder or patrons. Copper-plate grants are also silent about the temple construction and mainly concern with gifts of villages or land for the maintenance of the existing temples. Epigraphic records are also rare on the Brahmanical sculptures which, unlike the Buddhist images, bear no inscriptions recording the names of donors or rulers.⁸ Only a handful of inscriptions exist which allow us to date about particular temples with precision, the most important being is the commemorative inscriptions on the Brahmēśvara, Mēghēśvara, Anaṅṭa-Vāsudeva and Papanasini at Bhubaneswar and on the Sobhaoneśvara Śīva at Niall, the Cāteśvara at Kisenpur and the Caṇḍraśekhara at Kapilas Hill. Inscriptions appearing on the Kedāreśvara and Pārvatī temples at Bhubaneswar, on the Gateśvara temple at Algum and on the Khīleśvar a temple at Khilor, though not mentioning the date of construction, are helpful in establishing the exact time frame of the temple and shrines. Inscriptions on other temples, including the Lakhṣmaneśvara, Parasūrāmeśvara, Vaitala *Deula*, Pascimesvara (Amangai Island), Mallikeśvara (Paikapada) and Someśvara (Ranipur-Jharia) can be dated less precisely on the basis of paleographical comparisons. From other epigraphic records, with some degree of accuracy, the Sūrya *Deūla* at Konarak and the Jagannātha temple at Puri can be scrutinized. But the present study reveals another two temples inscription i.e., Mohinī and Nārāyaṇi temple. Epigraphic evidence thus helps us at

least a tentative framework for working out a chronological development for the evolution of the Odisa temple.

4.1. General Features of the Temple Architecture

According to *Bhubana Pradīpa*, a treatise on temple architecture, the temples of Odisa have been classified into three orders that are *rekhā*, *pīḍhā* and *khākarā*⁹ (Plan Drawing. 8, 9, 10). The temples thus evolved in Odisa consists of the sanctum and the porch or frontal hall- the two forming component parts of one architectural scheme. The sanctum (called *vimāna*) can be divided into three type's viz. *rekhā*, *pīḍhā* and *khākarā* orders¹⁰. Similarly the frontal hall or *mūkhasālā* is either a flat roofed or rectangular hall with the roof arranged in *pīḍhās*, which are tiers. So the latter is called *pīḍhā deula*. The first two are very common and are to be found in all parts of the Odisa. The third type or *Khākarā* is limited to six examples in Bhubaneswar, but in miniatures of this type were very extensively employed as a decorative motif on the body of *Rekhā*, *Pīḍhās* or *Bhadrā* temples, and such, the type has wider distribution. N.K. Bose refers to another style of temple, which he called as *Gauriya* type.¹¹ But this style of temple architecture did not become popular for which this pattern of building was abandoned subsequently. At Bhubaneswar, however, the earliest extant temples already prove a mature conception and exhibit few signs of any evolutionary progress, aside from elaboration and increasing competence on the part of the artisans, thus suggesting that their origins must lay further back.¹² Majority of the sanctums of Odisa temple are of *rekhā* type and whereas the *khākarā* type (Plann drawing. 10) is limited to a few *Sākta* temples only. The *mūkhasālā* of the earlier temples are flat roofed rectangular halls but in latter temples they are *pīḍhā deula* (Plann drawing. 9). Externally, the *jagamohana* or *mūkhasālā* is subordinate to the *vimāna* (main temple) in height. There is a traditional belief among the craftsmen of Odisa that the main temple is the bridegroom and the *jagamohana* is the bride.¹³ In course of time, to meet the growing needs of the rituals two more structures are the *Natamaṇḍapa* and the *bhogamaṇḍapa*, were added. Both these structures are completely separate but integrated to form an effective and harmonious architectural organization. Standing in a row in the same axial alignment, with rising and falling peaks, they give the impression of a mountain range and take the eye to the *sikhara* of the sanctum, which

is the highest of all.¹⁴ The temple complex is often enclosed by walls, but there is no *gopūram* as in the case of South Indian temples. The Odisha temple is remarkable for its plan and elevation. In the *Śilpasāstras*, there are specification of 55 *rekhā*, 6 *Bhadrā* and 3 *Khākarā* temples. The 55 *rekhā* are divided into two classes according to the construction of their *bāda* or wall.¹⁵

The *rekhā* and *pīdhā* form two component parts of one architectural scheme, the former is represented by a sanctum with its curvilinear spire and the latter by the frontal porch having pyramidal roof of receding tiers known as *pīdhās*. In the earlier phase, there was no *pīdhā deula* and the *Jagamohan* or the frontal hall had a flat roof. In course of time to meet the growing need of the rituals two more structures were added namely *nātamandapa* (dancing hall) and *bhogamandapa* (offering hall) during the Ganga period (12th century AD). All the four components are arranged in one axial alignment and often the temple complex is enclosed by boundary wall. The *khākarā* order is noted by a semi-cylindrical vaulted that looks like an inverted boat (*boita*) or a pumpkin gourd roof. The temples of this order are usually meant for Śakti worship. Odisha temples constituted a sub-style of the Nāgara style of north Indian temples. The building activity of this sub-regional style continued for nearly one thousand years from the 6th-7th century to the 15th-16th century AD in unbroken continuity. Bhubaneswar, the ancient *Ekāmra Kṣhetra* served as the experimental ground of these temple building activities without being diverted by the change of ruling dynasties or their cult affiliation. As a result the temples are identified with the land 'Kalinga' rather than the royal families such as Pallava art, Rashatrakuta art, Chandella art, Chalukyan art etc.

The interior ground plan of the temple is square as a rule. However the temple has star shaped layout (as noticed at Boudh) or circular plan (Ranipur-Jharial & Hirapur) to conform to the nature of rituals. Generally speaking, the Odisha temples are distinguished by vertical offset projections called *rathas* (on plan) or *pāgas* (on elevation). Depending on the number of *pāgas*, the temples are classified into *triratha*, *pancharatha*, *saptaratha* and *Navaratha*. The earlier temples are characterized by *triratha* plan. Temples show interesting features on elevation. Both sanctum and the porch can be divided into three parts along the vertical plane that is

bada, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. From bottom to top or final, each part of the temple has a special name corresponding to that of limbs of human body standing on a *pistha* or the platform on which the temple stands (which is not a compulsory element in early temples and is generally found in later temples).¹⁶ The *bāda* or the vertical wall portion of the temple is divisible into *pābhāga*, *jaṅgha* and *baraṇḍa*. This type of three fold division of *Triangabāda* is found in early temples and in later temples, *bāda* has five elements namely *pābhāga* (or the foot portion is composed of five mouldings called *khūrā*, *kūmbha*, *pāṭṭa*, *kani* and *basanta*), *tala jaṅgha* (lower thigh), *bāndhana* (mouldings joining the two thigh), *upara jaṅgha* (upper thigh) and *baraṇḍa* (the waist portion). The *baraṇḍa*, forming the top most part of the *bāda* has a set of mouldings, starting with one moulding in the early phase progressing into seven and ten mouldings in the subsequent period.

The *gaṇḍi* (or the torso) of *deula* has a curvilinear super structure. In the temples of early phase, *gaṇḍi* is devoid of any sculptural embellishment. Fully developed temples have ornamental *bhūmis*, *chaity* motifs and *aṅgaśikhara* (miniature shrines). The *jagamohana* is of pyramidal shape (designed with receding tiers in a sequence so as to reduce the top most tiers to the half of the lower tier). The *mastaka* (the head) consisted of the *beki* (neck) or recessed cylindrical portion above *gaṇḍi*, *amalaka* (ribbed circular stone, resembling the *amla* fruit), *khapūri* (skull), *kalāśa*¹⁷ (auspicious pot) and the *āyūdhā* (weapon of the enshrined deity) in succession. The *mastaka* of the *pīḍhā deula* has the same features except for the addition of *ghanta* (bell).

The horizontal cross-section of the *bāda* and *gaṇḍi* in both the *rekhā* and the *pīḍhā deula* are square, while the *mastaka* is circular. The ground plan of *khākarā deula* is oblong. The temples are remarkable for abundance of sculptures. The sculptural repertory consists of human figures, *kanyās*, erotic motifs, cult icons, animal figures including mythical and composite figures, decorative designs like variety of scrolls and architectural motifs like *pīḍhā muṇḍi*, *khākarā muṇḍi*, *vajra muṇḍi* etc.

The temple style was in full energy in the wake of vast religious and cultural evolution that took place when the Śailodbhavas ruled from the middle of 6th century

A. D. to till the first quarter of 8th century AD The temple building activities gained momentum under the Bhaumakaras (736-950 A.D) and the Somavaṃśīs (950-1112 A.D) and reached the climax during the Ganga period (1112-1435 A.D). The activities however continued even under the Suryavamsi-Gajapatis (1435-1542 A.D) though on a very small and impoverished scale. To a keen observer, the temples of Odisha portray a picture of organic evolution from Paraśurāmeśvara to Lingaraja through Mūkteśvara and Vaitāl, which ultimately culminated in Pūrī and the gigantic Koṅārk. The evolution can be seen through four distinctive phases of temple building; viz. Early Phase (6th century A. D. to the first half the 9th century A. D.), Transitional Phase (2nd half of the 9th century A. D. to the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.), Mature Phase (Middle of the 11th century A. D. to early 13th century A. D.), and Phase of Decadence (Middle 13th century A. D. to 16th century A. D.).

In the present work only the lesser known temple at Bhubaneswar are studied. However a brief account of development of the four phases is mentioned here in order to understand the architectural development of lesser known temples in Bhubaneswar town.

(i) Early Phase

The period in between the 6th century AD to the first half of the 9th century AD is considered as the formative phase that synchronized with the rule of the Śailodbhavas and early phase of Bhauma-karas. The representatives of lesser known temples are Sikhara Chaṇḍi, Nārāyaṇi, Mohini, Bhimeśvara, Taleśvara and Gaūriśhaṅkara in Bhubaneswar. The main features of early phase temples are *trīratha vimāna* has a *rekḥā śikhara*. The *jagamohana* is a rectangular pillared hall with a terraced roof sloping in two tiers. The architrave of *graha* has eight *grahas* with the absence of *Ketū*. Temples of this period are *triratha* on plan with a central *graha* offset and two corner projections. On elevation *bāda* is *triraṅga*, with three divisions i.e. *pābhāga*, *jaṅgha*, and *baraṇḍa*. *Pābhāga* or the foot portion consists of three mouldings of *khūrā*, *kūmbha* and *pāṭṭa*. *Gaṇḍi* became a gradual curvature and started from of the sikhara unburdened by any *aṅgāsikhara*. The temples are of small and moderate height. *Baraṇḍa* is terminating in a recessed *kānṭhi*. The absence features of this phase are of *dopichā śimḥa* in the *beki*, below the *āmlaka*, absence of *digapālas*, and

absence of baby on the lap of *Mātrikās*. The sculptures are in low relief, flatter and entrusted on the surface of the stone. Beginning with disproportioned and rigid limbs assumed flexibility and proportion during the Bhauma-kara period.

(ii) Transitional Phase

The temple activities entered into a transitional period in the second half of the 9th century that continued up to the first quarter of the 11th century under the rule of the later Bhauma-karas and the first half of the rule of the Somavaṁśīs (Keśharis). The lesser known temples of this period are Akhadāchaṇḍi, Nāgeśvara, Nilakantheśvara, Pabaneśvara, Kapāli Matha, Paramagūrū Siva, Pātāleśvara, Chakareśvara, Markaṇḍeśvara, Nilakantha, Kotitrithesvra, Kukuteśvara, Amūnha *deula*, Uttareśvara in Bhubaneswar. The notable feature of the period was the introduction of extensive erotic sculptures due to the influence of *Tāntrism*. The notable features of this phase were the introduction of erotic sculptures. *Mūkhasālā* or the *jagamohana* became an inseparable element with a perfect and natural joining of the vimāna with *jagamohana* without the crude overlapping of the sanctum decoration as seen in the early phase.¹⁸ Both the structures were conceived as a uniform complex in the original plan. Towards the end, the plan and elevation of the *mūkhasālā* transformed from a rectangular flat roof to a square hall with a pyramidal superstructure.

Pābhāga had four mouldings. Introduction of *Nāga-Nāgi* pilasters and *chaitya* medallions as decorative motifs, introduction of the *vyāla* and *jāgrata* motifs in the *jangha* portion, *bāraṇḍa* recess is carved with base-reliefs, *kanikā* is divided into five horizontal *bhūmis* (storey) by *bhūmiamlas*. *Pārśvadevatā* images are carved of separate single stone unlike the earlier tradition of blocks of stones that constitute a part of the temple wall. Sculptural treatment of the interior part (particularly the ceiling) which is characteristics feature of the Somavaṁśīs period is Liṅgarāja temple and not noticed in the earlier or the later temples include *Mātrikās* carry babies on their lap. Finally *Ketū* was added to the list of planets, which became a permanent feature of the *graha* panel in the temples of the subsequent period.

(iii) Mature Phase

The building activity attended its maturity towards the middle of the 11th century (Somavaṃśī) that continued till the 13th century (Gaṅgas). The temple architecture developed further under the Somavaṃśī, which can be traced through a series of lesser known temples like Vishṇu temple in Gandhi Garabadu precinct, Chaṃpakeśvara, Ladu Bābā, Lakhaeśvara, Vishṇu temple. The building tradition was continued by the Gaṅgas who are credited with the construction of the great Jagannāth temple at Puri, Sobhaneśvara temple at Niali district Cuttack, the magnificent Koṅārḱ temple (Dist. Puri), marks the grand climax of the Odisa style. The features are quite visible as given in the discussion. *Bāda* is divided into five segments, i.e. *pābhāga*, *talajangha*, *bāndhana*, *upara jangha* and *bāraṇḱa*. *Pābhāga* has five mouldings (*khūrā*, *kūmbh*, *pāṭṭa*, *kani* and *basanta*). *Gaṇḱi* is embellished with *angasikhara* (miniature temples) of diminishing size as they rise upwards. The *pāgas* projections are fully developed and prominently articulated. *Āmlaka silā* is supported by *deulachārinis* or seated divinities and *dopicha* simhas being set in the *beki*. Structural motifs like the *pīḱhāmuṇḱi*, *khākarāmuṇḱi* and *vajramuṇḱi* are introduced in the *jangha* portion. The sculptures of this period are excellent in their plasticity and modeling include non iconic female figures, these are more proportionate, elongated and in alto-relievo.¹⁹ In the iconography of the cult deities new elements were introduced with profused female figures, *Ketū* in a serpent body and projected lion (*udyota simha*) on the *rāhapāga*. *Piṣṭa* and platform became a regular feature. *Nātamaṇḱapa* and *Bhogamaṇḱapa* were added to the *Jagamohan*. Subsidiary shrines in front of the *pārśvadevatā* niche were introduced. The *vāhanaśtambha* is placed in front of the temples respective shrines was a new element introduced in this phase. Appearance of the female counter parts of the *dikpalas* on the *uparjangha* was an addition to the ongoing tradition.

(iv) Phase of Decadence

After the Gaṅgas during the 14th to 16th century AD under the Suryavamsi-Gajapatis, the temple building activities entered into a phase of decadence. The great period of Odisa temple architecture came to halt with the crowning achievement at Koṅārḱ. The Suryavamsis, who succeeded the Gaṅgas remained preoccupied with political problems

and could, not give much time for temple building. Of the few lesser known temples Ganagaesvara, Yamunesvara (last quarter of 13th century and first half of 14th centuries) at Bhubaneswar belonged to this period. Towards the later part of the 15th century AD impoverishment was noticed. *Pīdhā deula* became the choice for both vimāna and the jagamohana. The building materials are mostly laterite. The walls of the temple are devoid of sculptural embellishment and decoration. Similarly the doorjambs remain plain. Thus the temple building activities that started during the 6th century AD reached its climax during the Gaṅga Period started declining during the Gajapati. One of most important factors for the declines of temple building activities is lack of royal patronage. Whatever it may be till Odisha still processes the rich temple heritages. These temples are most compact and homogenous architectural group in India.

4.2. General Features of Evolution and Development of Temple Sculpture

This section deals with the features of the sculptures which are depiction in the lesser known temple of Bhubaneswar. This section is sub-divided into three sub-sections; the first section is concerned with the ethno-aesthetics modulations of the figural art²⁰, because of the very distinctive visual changes that occur in the figural modulation. The second section is of the sacrilegious or secular theme and the last is religious themes. The next section deals with the evolution and development of iconographic features of the sculpture. These sculptural panels are divided into two phases, (i) early phase (6th century AD to the first half the 9th century AD), and (ii) later is belonging to 2nd half of the 9th century AD to the first quarter of the 11th century AD, and middle of the 11th century AD to early 13th century AD

The sculptural trend in Bhubaneswar approach is so great a creative power that it always takes first place in every analysis of Kalinga or Odisha art. The walls of temples also carry forward the sculptural tradition. The devotee looks at the temple first when he comes near the building, and then, particularly during the ritual of walking around it, where he not only recognizes the images, but also perceive its impact. The wall now comes alive with images.²¹

According to Stella Kramrish, “the coherence of its monumental shape is enriched by its carvings; nowhere else in India are the walls of the temple as intimately connected with their sculptures. The temple here is a work of monumental sculpture of which the single carvings form the intricate surface”.²² The external surfaces of the Odisha temples have been in large quantities decorated and ornamented than their interiors which are severely plain. The *Śilpa* texts are silent as to why the interiors are to be left plain. The interior of the *deula* or sanctum is conceived as the *garbha* or womb of the cosmic Being.²³ In orthodoxy with the idea of *garbha* the walls have been left plain.²⁴ The plainness of the walls also emphasizes the quiet and solemn atmosphere which is required for the performance of the rituals of the deity.²⁵ The interior walls of the *mūkhasālās* of the earlier temples were also left plain. The interiors of the *mūkhasālā* of a few temples are found decorated with sculptures.²⁶ But this practice could not become popular and therefore did not continue. The interiors of both the *mūkhasālā* and *vimāna* have been kept plain as far as possible.²⁷ A perfect agreement between the architecture and sculpture has been achieved on the Odisha temples.²⁸ After a period of unsure efforts the Odisha craftsmen succeeded in achieving an orderly arrangement of the sculptural motifs and cult icons on the body of the temple.²⁹ They also succeeded in assuring the balance between magnificence and attractiveness connecting height and elegance of the temple.³⁰

It has been already pointed out that the sculptural art of Odisha had travelled a long way by the time the Satrugheśvara group of temples, the earliest extant temples, were erected. The temple sculptures followed the tradition established by the earlier sculptors.³¹ The sculptures on the early group of existing temples appear to be the work of, what Fabri observes as ‘provincial artists’.³² The ‘provincialism’ is noticeably demonstrated on the earliest sculptural art of Odisha, the forepart of an elephant engraved out of a rock boulder at Dhauli.³³ The Dhauli elephant can be considered as the ancestor of the numerous elephants found on body the Odisha temples.³⁴ Correspondingly the railing pillars and the lion capital discovered from the neighborhood of the Bhaskareśvara temple and the bell-shaped lotus capital found earlier in the surrounding area of the Rameśvara temple³⁵ but now displayed in the Odisha State Museum compound exactly the right hand side of entrance gate appear to

be the works of the same artists. There is nothing Mauryan in them as supposed by K.C. Panigrahi.³⁶

The few *Yakṣa* and *Nāga* images are discovered in the locality of Bhubaneswar. These figures are carven in and decorated with heavy ornaments. The workmanship is unfinished and primitive.³⁷ The *Yakṣa* images bear the similar uniqueness as those of Sanchi.³⁸ Similarly the two Naga images are closely associated to the Manibhadra *Yakṣa* of Powaya.³⁹ The *Yakṣa* and *Naga* images of similar types are found carved on the temples.⁴⁰ The *Yakṣa* on the temples also appear in the position of carrying weights or *bhārbhāka*.⁴¹ The present image of goddess Bhadrakālī of Bhadrak district is as old as third century AD⁴² The Natarāja image of the Asanpāt inscription is dated to the fourth century AD and it is the earliest Natarāja image of Odisa. The eight-armed Natarāja with *urdhaalinga* is holding a snake over his head with two upper hands and a *vīṇā* with the two lower hands. One of his left hands is in *varadāmudra* and in the rest-of his hands he is holding *trisula*, *damaru* and rosary.⁴³ Thus, the image bears the uniqueness similar to those of the images on the walls of the early temples.⁴⁴

The other significant piece of sculptural instance is the *Mūkhalinga* at Sitabiñjhi in the Keonjhar district.⁴⁵ It can be placed in the fourth-fifth century AD It is a fine amalgamation of the *Linga* and anthropomorphic forms of Siva. Before the seventh century AD the theme of the sculptural art in Odisa was predominantly non-Brahmanical i.e., either Buddhist or Jaina. The *Nāga* images were, as stated earlier, in close replication of the *Yakṣa* figures of Pāwaya. Representation of some of the Brahmanical gods closely similar to with the gods of the Buddhist pantheon too began to be carved. The image of Lākūlīsa is the best example to illustrate this point Lākūlīsa is usually depicted sitting in *yogasana* on full-blown lotus with eyes half-closed and showing *dharmachakra-prauartana-mudrā*. As established by the fact that the Lākūlīsa images are directly borrowed from the iconography of the Dhayni Budhha with the addition of Lākuta or staff.⁴⁶

The *Mukhalinga* along with the tempera painting on the ceiling of a rock at Sitabhinji in Keonjhar district bears the uniqueness of the Gupta art.⁴⁷ The paleography of the inscriptions found there also strengthens the above view. The

inscriptions are in the characters of the fourth century AD⁴⁸ The present image of Viraja (two-armed Mahisarnardini) at Jajpur represents Gupta characteristics⁴⁹ and closely resembles with the same image at Bhumara⁵⁰ with the exception that the Bhumara image has four hands. R.P. Chanda assigns the image of Viraja to the fifth century AD⁵¹ Thus the influence of Gupta style on the Odisha sculptures is clearly visible. The sculptures on the temples erected in Odisha during the period of the Gupta supremacy in Northern India (From AD 319 to middle of the fifth century AD), of which not a single specimen is available today for the reason acknowledged, must have been influenced by the Gupta style to some extent. This is evident from certain sculptural fragments bearing Gupta characteristics discovered from different parts of Bhubaneswar.⁵²

Odisha had an extensive institution of sculptural art by the time the earliest existing temples were erected at Bhubaneswar. It was because of this explanation that the sculptures on the early Odisha temples were not a total reproduction of the Gupta style.⁵³ The Gupta features can be noticed in the lintel the doorway, the image of the river goddesses Gaṅga and Yamunā the wig-like hair dress of the male figures, and certain low-cut decorative motifs, predominantly the floral designs.⁵⁴ Vidya Dahejia's disagreement that the Gupta sculptural style did not influence the Odisha art expression⁵⁵ does not appear to be correct in view of the above discussion. She goes to the extent of saying. "On feature the early Odisha did not take in from the Gupta workshops was sculptural style."⁵⁶ Therefore it can be said that the Gupta sculptural style had its influence on the Odisha temple art, but the influence was limited to a few examples.⁵⁷

An important development in the Gupta period was the canonization of the iconographic norms that developed in the earlier period. They were enforced to follow strictly the canonical rules while executing the images of gods and goddesses. So the highlighting was shifted to the iconographic aspect of the images.⁵⁸ The medieval art is marked by an affinity towards not only the perfection of the technical skill but also canonization, therefore, images of gods and goddesses were fashioned in abundance, but they all appear mechanical.⁵⁹

The evolution and development of the sculptural programme on the wall of temple has been the integral part in the various ages. The sculptures on the temples of the earlier phase (6th century A. D. to the first half the 9th century A. D.), are very poorly treated. They are carved in low relief. Dahejia observes, "Proportions are poor, images stocky and figures generally in rigid postures. The human body has an uncomfortable appearance with arms and legs seeming to be separate entities, flat and flabby, and attached to the body in an inorganic fashion without any depiction of underlying bone or muscular structure."⁶⁰ The fingers and toes look very rough. Similarly the seated figures are also very disturbingly placed.⁶¹ However, it may be observed that the treatment of the *Pārśvadēvatās* is slightly better than the other figures. Therefore Dahejia says that these were the works of 'more advanced craftsmen'.⁶² This explanation does not appear to be reasonable. The *Pārśvadēvatās* images do not form part of the temple wall as found in the early phases of temples. Here they were carved separately and placed in the side niches. The sculptors who worked on independent separate blocks of stone for *Pārśvadēvatās* images were more at ease compared to their counterparts working on the surface of the temple walls. Their legs and arms are inorganically fitted into the bodies. The eyes are very oddly treated and devoid of expressions.⁶³

In the later phase (2nd half of the 9th century A. D. to the first quarter of the 11th century A. D., and middle of the 11th century A. D. to early 13th century A. D.) of temples, a marked perfection is noticed so far as the handling of the sculptural volume is concerned. Here the sculptures have been carved in deeper relief and therefore the figures appear more round and sensitive and delicate.⁶⁴ The sculptors seem to have been successful to a certain extent in noticed in the treatment of the figures of the previous group of temples. The limbs are more precisely carved and joined more organically to the body.⁶⁵ Thus these do not appear separate entities. The treatments of the eyes are better and the facial expression is graceful. About the sculptures Debala Mitra says, "The dignified self-composed figures of the deities with the expression of absorption are mellowed with warmth of spiritual grace and are elegant and refined."⁶⁶ The figures are no stockier and a tendency for slenderness is visible. The *mithuna* figures of this phase are predominantly charming.⁶⁷ But certain defects such as odd treatment of legs and uncomfortable positioning of the legs of the seated

figures, as noticed in the earlier phase, still continue in spite of the efforts at improvement.⁶⁸ The decorative motifs are found skillfully executed.⁶⁹ The mastery over skill also extends to the arrangement of sculptures within the available space.⁷⁰ The sculptures of the temples of this phase bear certain characteristics common with those of the Buddhist monastic remains at Ratnagiri in Cuttack district.⁷¹ Temples belonging to this phase are seen abundantly decorated with sculptures. The decorative motifs are treated in the most delicate manner.⁷² The arrangement of sculptures on temples surface reaches the stage of complete perfection. The figures are slender with elongated limbs.⁷³ The facial expressions of both divine and other figures are charming. The most important aspect of the sculptures of these temples is the profusion of exquisitely engraved *nāyikas* or indolent damsels.⁷⁴ Thus throughout nonstop efforts, across over some hundred years, the temple sculptures improved tremendously.⁷⁵ The improvement was related to the technique of treatments as well as to the aesthetic character.⁷⁶ It was a long travel from the crudeness and ineffectiveness to refinement and maturity.⁷⁷

4.2.1. Ethno-Aesthetics Modulations of the Figural Art

The meaning of the ethno-aesthetics modulation of figural art such as- that stages which can be considered as realistic, because of the very typical visual changes that occur in the figural variety.⁷⁸ Those sculptures are close in depicting the ethno-cultural of the period. A distinctive visual change occurs in the handling of sculpture.⁷⁹ It is very distinctive and likely that these are caused by political changes under Śailodbhavas, Bhaumakaras, Somavaṁśīs and the Gaṅgas.⁸⁰

The temple sculptures are not only consisting of the image of god and goddesses but also the representation of the social themes. These are human beings in domestic scene, acrobatic feats, music and revelry, *āchārya* disciple depictions, pilgrimage jaunts, battles, processions, household features like a lady seemingly waiting for her husband's return with the door kept partly open, *alaskanyās* fondling a child or sporting with pet birds, an *abhisarika*, removing her anklets, wearing a drape, playing on musical instruments, attending to hairstyle and make-up or relaxing amidst flower plants and birds, animal scenes especially the method of capture of wild elephants through trained elephants (a frequent theme), riding a horse, with

attendants, carrying flowers, lady removing thorn from foot, lady looking at the mirror, marching of elephants, cavalry and infantry and even a camel brigade are all perseveringly portrayed.

(i) Nāyikā

The female figures (Fig.17, 41, 42) that occur on them are one of the most beautiful products of the Odisha sculptors. The earliest example of the decorative female figures goes back to panel from Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves. In Odisha as well as Bhubaneswar these decorative female figures are known as *alaskanyā* a term which may indicate women in idle mood, but in north India they are known as *sura-sundaris* or the beauties of the heaven.⁸¹ Many of these figures represent conventional poetical ideas to be found in Sanskrit literature.⁸² The females holding babies, plucking flowers or fruits, writing love letters, putting on ornaments, or engaged in similar feminine pastimes, that we find in the Bhubaneswar temples, are not always free of the human sentiments, although such sentiments are of universal and ideal nature.⁸³ The text of the *Śilpa Prakāsa* is emphatic about the necessity of decorating a temple with figures of maidens and its author tells us that the *nāribandha* or panel of maidens is indispensable to architecture, “As a house without wife, as frolic without a woman, so without the figure of woman, the monument will be inferior quality and bear no fruit.”⁸⁴ Celebrating the beauty of a woman with all ornaments, contemplated in various postures, she is known as *alasa*, and placed as decorative device to the *gavāksha*, and the *sikhara*, the walls and other parts of the *mūkhasālā*.⁸⁵ The *Śilpa Prakāsa* refers for the sculptural identification and the installation of the *Kanyās* in the walls of temple.⁸⁶

As *alasa* or indolent maiden, she was to decorate all parts of a temple, and the descriptions of sixteen types maiden's in *Śilpa Prakāsa*⁸⁷ such as *Alasa* is indolent, *Toranā* is learning in a door way, *Mūgdhā* is innocent simple girl, *Māninī* is resentful or offended girl, *Dālamālikā* is drawing down towards her branch of tree, *Padmagandhā* smells a lout, *Darapanā* is looking into mirror, *Vinyāsa* is thoughtful and meditative, *Ketakibandhā* is wearing *ketaki* blossoms, *Mātrūmūrti* is mother with child, *Gūnthana* is concealing herself with veil, *Chāmarā* is holding a fly-whisk, *Nartaki* is dancer with hands joined together above her head, *Sukasārikās* playing

with a parrot or *mainā*, *Nuparapādikā* is one leg bent and pulling on ankle bells, and *Mardalā* is drummer.

This delightful lot should be decked with various ornaments, with beautiful armlets, necklaces, ear-rings and bracelets.⁸⁸ They should be adorned with all ornaments and with all auspicious things on the body.⁸⁹ These tall and slender *nāyikā*, position in the carefully curved position, are found eventful in various feminine pastimes. In most cases they stand on pedestals formed by full-blown lotus, a feature noticeable by its lack in earlier phases of temples in Bhubaneswar.⁹⁰ With their well-built breast, gentle hip, narrow waist, and ineffable smile on the lips these figures possess a powerful sensuous appeal.⁹¹ The sculptors, it seems, had put their best to formulate these *nāyikā* mainly attractive and charming of all the figures on the temple walls. The *nāyika* images are found in lesser known temple like Amūnhā, Vishṇu temple in Gandhi garabadu courtyard, Vishṇu temple at Bindusagar embankment, and Nāgeśvar.

(ii) Erotic Figures

The construction and consecration of a temple, according to the architectural portions of the *Śilpasāstras*,⁹² is very much like the shaping and consecration of an image and decorative motif.⁹³ The most mystifying decorative motifs are appearing on the temples of Bhubaneswar. It divides such sculptures into two⁹⁴ broad categories are the amorous couples or *mithuna* image and othe one is copulation of male and female figures engaged in sexual postion or *maithuna* image. Erotic sculpture (Fig.19, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45) appears on the very earliest temples erected at Bhubaneswar. In the early temples the *mithuna* figures occur on the walls and recessed *Kanthi* and sometimes on the door-jambes.⁹⁵ The *Śilpa* texts,⁹⁶ discovered so far, are not specific about the purpose of their carvings on the temples. Therefore it is a wonder how such carvings were allowed and given prominence on the walls of the temples. In these cults sex⁹⁷ is considered as the means to attain the spiritual merit.⁹⁸ According to Banerjee the sexual scenes on the walls of the Varāhi temple at Chaūrāsi are the visual representation of some aspects of *kāula-kāpālīka* cult⁹⁹ and this has been agreed to by Dahejia.¹⁰⁰ If *Tāntricism* was responsible to the form such sculptures on the temple walls they would have been limited to the Śākta temples only.¹⁰¹ But they are found

carved on the temples of other cults such as, Saiva, Vaisnava¹⁰² and Surya.¹⁰³ The practice of depicting *mithūna* figures on the doors is very ancient in India. The *mithūna* figures were considered an auspicious symbol and therefore placed at the entrance to the house.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps it was for the same purpose that the *mithūna* figures were carved on the walls of the temples. The erotic images are found in lesser known temples like Amūnhā, Viṣṇu temple in Gandhi garabadu courtyard, Viṣṇu temple at Bindusagar embankment, Tāleśvara, Gaṅgaśvar, and Nāgeśavar.

(iii) Music and Dance

Music and Dance (Fig.44) are two different and distinctive arts used as vehicles to express human emotions of joy celebrations. These are depicted on the temple sculpture. The ornate temples further used dancing in every way possible. Thus, the fine temples like the Amūnhā *deula*, Nāgeśavar, Pātāleśvar, Nārāyaṇi and Viṣṇu temple in Gandhi garabadu courtyard appear as though the temples are built to expose dance forms. Scenes of musical performance are not confined to a particular group of temples.

The examples of other ethno aesthetic sculptural scenes like battle and war-procession occur in greater number in the later temples. Included among the new motifs are hunting scenes, farewell scenes, and everyday activities such as *śikṣādāna* motifs, royal procession, practicing archery, swinging, riding in a palanquin, and domestic scenes and performing *pūjā*.

4.2.2. Sacrilegious or Secular Theme

(i) Animals and Birds

Apart from occurring in association with the gods and goddesses as their mounts the animals and birds have also found place on the surface of the temples as elements of decoration (Fig.2, 17, 22 44). They are found on all the temples of our period and have no chronological significance. Lions and elephants are very common in their occurrence. The elephants on the temples have been most realistically treated. Lion on elephants is a very common motif found in the temples. Lions, called *ūdyata*, are projected from the *rāhapāga* just above the *Kirttimukhas* on the lesser known temples

like Lakhaśvar, Gaṅgaśvar, Yamuneśvar, Amūnhā, Nāgeśvar, and Tāleśvar temple. The Mūktesvara temple is the only example where find animal figures are found in plenty.¹⁰⁵ These include, apart from lions and elephants, crocodiles, tortoise, bull, deer, crab, and boar.¹⁰⁶ Animal studies in Odisa temple art bear the mark of a balance between stylization and realism.¹⁰⁷ They generally occupy the base of the temple or the *bāraṇḍā* and the base line course relief of the *chaitya* window or *bho* motif, or on the square frames of the shafts of pillars.¹⁰⁸

(ii) *Kīrttimūkha*

Kīrttimūkha or the 'Face of Glory' is an important decorative motif which occurs on the temples during 6th to 16th centuries AD, (Fig. 16, 17, 24, 31). Originally it meant an ugly mask. It is a fierce-looking lion's head with bulging eyes and open mouth.¹⁰⁹ On the religious shrines it has been used as an auspicious symbol to ward off the evils.¹¹⁰ The upper *chaitya*-medallions of the *Vajramastakas* on the *rāhā pāgas* of the earlier temples are formed by the draws of pearls reproducing from the mouth of the *Kīrttimūkha*.¹¹¹ Here the *Kīrttimūkha* appear very outstandingly. The detailed *bho* motifs on the *rāhā pāgas* of the lesser known temples like the Lakhaśvara, Nāgeśvara, Amūnhā, Pātāleśvar, Subraneśvara, and Mārkaṇḍeśavra are also surmounted by *Kīrttimūkhās* flanked by *Yakṣas* holding chains in their hands that inter sects the chain with a bell that hangs down from the mouth of the former.¹¹² Sometimes, the *Kīrttimūkhās* are flanked by *Vyālas* with riders on their backs. Strings of pearls drip from the mouth of both *Kīrttimūkha* and the flanking lions. *Kīrttimūkhās* decorating the pilasters on the walls are also found in the temples of the later period. The only difference that can be marked with the *Kīrttimūkha* on the later temples is the rise of the hanging draw of pearls.

(iii) *Vyāla* Figures

The figures of *Vyālas* or *Vyāla* (Fig. 20, 23) have been frequently used for the decoration of the temple walls of Odisa. The word *vyāla* is a deformation of *vyāla* which means fantastic or grotesque. Therefore V.S. Agrawala terms it "Grotesque in Indian Art."¹¹³ It is nothing but the deformed human and animal figures. M.A. Dhaky describes several kinds of *vyālas* in his scholarly monograph, *The Vyāla figures on the Medieval Temples of India*. In the Vaital temple the *vyālas* are found flanking the

Kīrttimūkhas on the pilasters and have riders on their back.¹¹⁴ They are conspicuous by their absence in the temples earlier to the Vaital. In the temples of the later phase the occurrence of the *vyālas* becomes a regular feature.¹¹⁵ They are placed in the recesses of the pilaster in the *tala-jangha* portion of the *bāda*. They are found either on elephant mount or trampling an elephant and belong to different type described in the *vāstu* texts.¹¹⁶ The *vyāla* figures are depicted on the lesser known temples such as Kapāli Matha, Lakheśvara, Nāgeśvara, Amūnhā, Subraneśvara, Viṣṇu temple in Gandhi Garabadu courtyard and Mārkaṇḍeśavra at Bhubaneswar are composed, dignified and seem startlingly alive, a specific Kalinga characteristic.

(iv) *Chaitya*-Medallions

The *Chaitya*-Medallions (Fig.13, 16, 24, 32) are important decorative motifs of the temple's decorative vocabulary. These motifs resemble with the window on the facade of the rock cut *chaitya-hall*. In the early temple small size *chaitya*-medallions have been used for the reason of beautification.¹¹⁷ Appearing on the *bāda* and on the *Śikhara* of the temples they are found enclosing mostly cult images. The *Vajramastakas* the *rāhā pāgas* of the earlier temples are formed by two superimposed large-size *chaitya*-medallions.¹¹⁸ In the centres of the medallions are depicted cult-icōns and scenes from mythology. The *chaity*-motifs are profusely found in the lesser known temples like Kapāli Matha, Tālaeśvar, Amūnhā, Nāgeśvar, Lakheśvar, Viṣṇu temple in Gandhi Garabadu courtyard and Mārkaṇḍeśavra as well. The *chaitya-medallions* on the *raha pāgas* become most ornate in the *bho* motifs of the later temples. These *bho* motifs are flanked by *Yaksas*.

(v) Haloes

All the cult images on the lesser known temples of the early period invariably have haloes behind their heads. Even the *dvārapālas* have haloes. In the lesser known temples are belonging to earlier phase such as Mohinī, Nārāyaṇi, Tāleśvar and Uttareśvara images have haloes behind their head (Fig.2, 4, 5, 11, 12, 27). Amūnhā temple the haloes are encircled by dotted outline. It is interesting to note that the *nāyikās* of these temples are shown some time with haloes and so also the non-divine figures also. But in later lesser known temples are Gangeśvara, and Yamuneśvar that is no haloes depicted even behind the heads of divinities.

(vi) Door-Frame Decoration

The door-frames (Fig.10, 11, 32, 34) of the Odisha temples are elaborately ornamented.¹¹⁹ Even the door-frames of the earliest of the temples too are not an exception to it.¹²⁰ One can distinguish the influence of Gupta art tradition on the door-jambes.¹²¹ The jambes consist of either three or four bands of decorative designs which include various floral and creeper motifs, scrollwork, *gelbai*, flying figures and occasionally *mithūna* figures. In the lower portion of the door jambes we generally find *dvārapālas*¹²² and *dvārapālikās*, respective deities in the temples sometimes above double *vyālas*. In the temples of the earlier phase the figures of Gaṅga and Yamunā with their respective mounts are shown beyond the *dvārapālas*.¹²³ But in later temples the figures of these river goddesses do not appear in the same places.¹²⁴ Sometimes in later temples male and female figures are depicted within niches at the bottom of the jambes. The figure of Gajalakṣmī normally occupies the centre of the lintel above the doorway, but in some temples either Gaṇeśa or Lākūlīsa takes the place of Gajalakṣmī.¹²⁵ The door frame of the Tāleśavar, Nāgeśvar and Amūnhā temple are very elegantly carved.

(vii) Scroll Motif

In the all lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar are depictions of scroll motifs. These are reached outbreak proportions, decorating such conventional surfaces as architectural members and affecting even figure sculpture.¹²⁶ The sculptural ornament or surface decorations in Bhubaneswar temples are decorated with scroll motif. The decoration is either (a) organic, where the design is based on vegetable or animal life, or (b) inorganic, where it consists of geometric lines and points. Of all the ornamental designs that have been borrowed from vegetable kingdom. But combined with other elements and characteristic of the early sculpture, may be mentioned the well-known flower and vase motif (*pāttā kūmbha*). But the scroll, the *dāli* or *latā* of the craftsmen, is the Bhubaneswar ornament par excellence. An ordinary scroll is *sadhā-dāli*, but when it combines flowers as well, it is *phāṅsi-latā* and with curling tips *vakra-dāli*. The main spring of the usual Odisha scroll, however, is “the idea of a creeping plant with its tendrils, leaves and flowers.”¹²⁷ *Nati-latā* is a scroll with a winding creeper and its curling tendrils; *phula-latā* or *phula-dāli*, creeper throwing off

flowers on either side; *patra-latā*, a similar creeper throwing off leaves in seated, rather like a vertebrate band. Another creeper scroll, with insets of birds, animal or even human beings, known as *pakṣhi-latā*, *hamsa-latā*, *jiva-latā* or *nara-latā* respectively, also belong to this class. When a number of leaves spring round, the motif is called *chakri-latā*. The door frames of Bhubaneswar temples are composed of several bands of different decorations. The *jāli* decoration is depicted are two kinds on Bhubaneswar temples, *paia-jāli* where the perforations are square or rectangular and *Banka-jali* where they are diamond-shaped with diagonals on the vertical. The all lesser known temples of Bhubāneswar are also depiction of scroll work.

(viii) Other Decorative Designs

In addition to the *chaitya*-medallions, other designs have also been used for the purpose of the decoration of the walls of the Odisa temples. These architectural designs such as, *Khākarā-mūṇḍis* (miniature representation of *Khākarā* temples) and *pīḍhā-mūṇḍis* (miniature representation of *pīḍhā* temples) decorate the subsidiary *pāgas* on the lower and upper *jangha* respectively of both the *rekhā deula* and *pīḍhā deula*¹²⁸ (Fig.23, 35). These are the standard decorations for the later temples. The niches of these designs house *Pārśvadevatā*, various cult images, *mīthūnas*, couples in sexual position, and other figures.¹²⁹ Lotus medallions and bands of lotus petals in triangular and wavy pattern are prominently shown in the early temples and comparatively absent in later temples.¹³⁰ The bottom and top portions of the pillars and pilasters of the early temples are carved with *puṇḍrikā* designs. Pot-bellied *yakṣas* with uplifted hands and bent knees rarely occur in the early temples. Scrolls of different types are found in almost all the temple. Generally the pillars and pilasters are decorated with scroll works, but in later temples narrow bands of scroll work also decorate the *śikhāras*. The *gelbai* design occurs on the temples throughout mature period. Fabri describes these designs as “the most attractive and original specialty of Odisa decorative art.”¹³¹ The temples belonging to earlier phase also contain some other decorative designs such as, *jali* and *jharavali* which are rarely found in later temples. Decoration with large rounded dots is very popular with the earlier temples like the Amūnhā Deula, Chakreśvara, Champakeśvara, Viṣṇu Temple (in Gandhi Garabadu Precinct), Mārkaṇḍeśvara Kotīrtheśvara, Kapāli Matha, and Tāleśvara

temple. Even if the dots occur in later temples, these are not as large in size as found in the above mentioned temples.

4.2.3. Evolution and Development of Iconographic Features of the Sculpture

This section focuses on the iconographical features in the lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar. Several temples of Bhubaneswar belonging to the different periods are craved with a large number of the images of one and the same deity which needs to be studied from easy to be comparative iconographical perspective.¹³² Such a study reveals the existence of distinct types or forms in the image of a particular divinity and a comparative analysis of such types and forms coupled with other evidences, architectural as well as sculptural, appears to furnish definite pointers to the chronological epochs in which they were produced.¹³³

Thus deities like Gaṇeśa is repeatedly represented in Bhubaneswar temples in the varieties i.e., absent of mouse and presence of mouse as depiction of *vāhana*.¹³⁴ Similarly, the images of Kārttikeya and Pārvatī are two other *pārśvadevatā* of a Śaiva temple. Kārttikeya is shown with only peacock in the early phase temples (Parśhurāmeśvara, Uttareśvara) but in later temples he is shown with peacock and cock or hen (Brahmeśvar and Liṅgarāja).¹³⁵ The flower *ketaka*, shows in one of the hands of Pārvatī in the early temples, changes to lotus in the later temples.¹³⁶ The planet slabs also fall into two groups by the presence or otherwise of *Ketū*, the ninth planet.¹³⁷ The images of Mahisāmardini, by reason of the shape of the demon, may also be divided into two groups. In one the demon is of human shape with the head of a buffalo and in the other, has the figure of a buffalo head which emerges the demon in human shape.¹³⁸

(i) Pārśvadevatā

The special characteristics of temples are the central niches of the *bada* on three sides putting in of *Pārśvadevatā*. The front side is the entrance door way to main deity. The *Pārśvadevatā* are always closely related to the presiding deity of the temple. For example, the *Pārśvadevatā* in Śaiva temple are Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī. In a

Vaisnava temple the *Pārśvadevatā* are three incarnations of Viṣṇu, such as *Varāha*, *Naraśiṃha* and *Trivikrama*. While in an Śakta temple they are three forms of *Devī* such as *Chamuṇḍa*, *Mahishāmardini* and *Varāhi*.

(ii) Gaṇeśa

Gaṇeśa (Fig.5, 9) in the earlier temples does not have mouse as his mount but in late temples mouse is found with him.¹³⁹ Seated, rarely standing, and holding in the four hands a radish, a *Japāmālā*, an upraised *kūthāra* and a bowl of sweets. Snakes are used as the belt and the sacred thread. The head usually does not show any *jatāmūkūta*. The second variety or sub-type is distinguished further by a *jatāmūkūta* on the head, and the pedestal shows one or two jack-fruits.¹⁴⁰ Standing, and holding in the upper right hand a broken tusk, in the lower right a *japāmālā*, in the upper left a bowl of sweets in which the trunk is placed and in the lower left a *kūthāra* placed upside down. A snake is used as a sacred thread. The pedestal consists of a full-blown lotus. The mouse appears on one side of the deity or on the pedestal below the feet of the god.¹⁴¹ The Gaṇeśa images are carved in three types i.e., *Sihānka mūrti* (standing), *Āsana mūrti* (seating) and *Nirṭya mūrti* (dancing).¹⁴² The Gaṇeśa images are depicted in Amūnhā, Gaṅgesvar, Nāgeśvara like lesser known temples in Bhubaneswar.

(iii) Kārttikeya

As in images of Gaṇeśa, those of Kārttikeya (Fig.4, 27) may also be divided into two broad classes because of the presence of the cock or hen, the characteristic attribute of the god. One type is without cock or hen. The god is either seated or standing and is shown with two hands, one holding a *vija-pūṛaka* and the other an *śakti*. In the standing examples the peacock, the mount of the god, is shown on the pedestal.¹⁴³ The second type of the image is with the cock or hen. He is usually shown four armed and in a standing pose, though two armed seated representations, resembling the first type except for the figure of the cock or hen, are also found. The inference that the Uttaresvara sculptures might also belong to an early tradition. The natural presumption hence is that in the evolution of the iconography of Kārttikeya there was a period when the peacock was not regarded as an essential feature, and the

Uttareśvara specimen might have actually possibly belonged to that age. The peacock as an essential element in the iconography of Kārttikeya appears from the fourth century AD onwards.

(iv) Pārvatī

In the temple art of Bhubaneswar Pārvatī image is recognized with three types of name such as *Yogeśvari*, *Maheśwri* or *Gaurī* and *Rājeśwari*.¹⁴⁴ The division of the images of Pārvatī into two broad groups is based on the presence either of the *ketaka* flower or of the *padma* in one of the four hands of the goddess.¹⁴⁵ One type is with the *ketaka* flower. Upper right hand a *japamala*, lower right in *varada* with a lotus mark on palm, upper left a *ketaka* flower and lower left a vase. The lion-mount appears on the pedestal.¹⁴⁶ Another type is with the *padma*. The images of the first type occur in the decoration of the walls of the Talesvar, and Mohinī. The second type occurs in one of the Chakreśvara, Gangeśvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Nilakanṭha, and Uttareśvara. The association of the two types with the two groups of temples, early and late, is thus clear and explicit and chronologically the first type preceded the second.

(v) Mahisāmardinī

Mahisāmardinī image is not always *parśvadevata* association with a Saiva temple. The images of Mahisāmardinī are rather prolific in their depiction at Bhubaneswar temple. Mostly they represent isolated sculptures either found loose or fixed to the walls of the temples. A classification of these images into two broad groups is possible on the shape and form of the buffalo-demon.¹⁴⁷ In one group the demon is shown as a human figure with the head of a buffalo, whereas in the other he is shown as a human figure carving out of the decapitated body of the buffalo.¹⁴⁸ Second type images of Mahisāmardinī of this type are rare in occurrence as original features of temple decoration.¹⁴⁹ The northern *rāha* niche of Uttareśvara temple has depiction of the six armed Mahisāmardinī. She holds a wheel in lower left, a bow in second lower left and the third left hand rests over the demon Mahisāsura.¹⁵⁰ The deity holds a sword in lower right, a spear in the middle and an arrow in the third right hand. Her left leg is resting over the hip of the demon. The body of the demon is a buffalo where

as the face is that of a human. This type of other Mahisāardini image is depicted at Amūnhā Deula.

(vi) Lākūlīsa

Images of Lākūlīsa (Fig.30) are fairly prolific in their appearance on the Bhubaneswar temples and may be classified under two broad groups by the modes of their seated positions.¹⁵¹ In one group Lākūlīsa it is shown as seated cross-legged in what known as *Vaddhāsana*. The other variety shows the crossed legs against the chest crossed legs are tied with *Yogapāda* or *Yogapāṭṭa*. These two modes constitute distinctive traits for a typological division.¹⁵² Lākūlīsa is usually shown in *Dharmma-chakra-pravarttana-mudrā* with a *lakuta* held between one arms. Usually he is shown single, but instances are not rare where he is found in the company of disciples, two, four, six or eighteen.¹⁵³ Lākūlīsa also appears occasionally on the lintels in the company of the teachers of the Pāsūpāta sect.¹⁵⁴ The Lākūlīsa images are remarkable for their close similarity with the images of *Dhyāni* Buddha.

It is believed that the Pāsūpāta sect of Saivism found its way in to Odisha during the 6th-7th century AD¹⁵⁵ The organizer of *Pasūpāta* sect was Lākūlīsa¹⁵⁶ who was considered to be the last incarnation of Siva. With the growing popularity of the *pasūpāta* cult the image of Lākūlīsa began to be carved on the Śaiva temples of Odisha.¹⁵⁷ He has been frequently depicted in the earlier temples, but in later ones he has been given less importance. The Lākūlīsa image is depicted in the lesser known temples like Tāleśavar, Mohinī, Chakreśvara, Gangeśvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Nilakanṭha, and Uttareśvara, Lakheśavra, Amūnhā, Nāgeśvara and Kotitrithesvar in Bhubanesvara.

(vii) Natarāja (Fig.16, 22, 31)

The image of Natarāja, of Siva as the lord of dance, is a commonly occurring motif in the temple art of Bhubaneswar.¹⁵⁸ It is found from the earliest phase of temple-building activity to later phase. The images of Natarāja are served as a grill in the facade of the *Jagamohana* of a temple and *rāhapāgas* over *udyatasimha*. The image has mostly six hands (Amūnhā Deūla) but some time eight (Kapāli Matha) to ten

(Muktesvar compound).¹⁵⁹ Numerous images of Natarāja that appear on the temples of Bhubaneswar have a snake as one of the attributes and in the majority of them it is held in the uppermost two hands in a manner to be found in these images. Besides the snake the trident and the *vina* (lute) to be found in three specimens are almost identical in form of this image. The Natarāja image is depicted in the lesser known temples like Amūnhā, Lakheśvara, Nāgeśvara, Tāleśavar, Mohinī, Chakreśvara, Gangeśvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Nilakanṭha and Kotitrithesvar, but the Kapāli Matha Natarāja image is the best specimen in Bhubaneswar.

(viii) Hara-Pārvatī

Numerous varieties may be accepted in the images of Hara-Pārvatī (Fig.2) one of which appears to have been associated with the early group of temples.¹⁶⁰ In the first, Hara and Pārvatī are seated side by side on a lotus seat below in which their respective mounts are shown.¹⁶¹ The goddess seating near the god instead of seating on the lap is peculiar features and may be dated to seventh-eighth century AD on the basis as well as on stylistic grounds. This type of image is found at Nārāyaṇi temple.

(ix) Ardha-Nārīśvara

Three different varieties of this deity flexible about to three epochs are to be found at Bhubaneswar. First variety is shown where deity stands reclining on the bull shown behind and has in the male hands a *japāmālā* and a *vija-puraka*. The second variety occurs on the temple of Amūnhā. It is also four-handed, but only three of its hands have survived. The lower right (male) hand holds a skull (*kharpara*) and the upper two (male and female) are raised in an attempt to affect a union over the head. In the female part jewelled ornaments, garments and a prominent breast have been shown, while the male part shows a garland of skulls, reaching to the thigh, and the *Ūrdhalinga*.¹⁶² The third variety is two handed, holding in the right hand a trident and in the left an indistinct object. The bull and the lion occur on the pedestal on the respective male and female sides of the deity, a characteristic also noticed all the second variety.¹⁶³

(x) Other Manifestation of Śiva

The large majority the images of Siva and his various manifestations are prolific in his appearance. In all the examples he is depicted with *ūrdhvaliṅga* or phallus erect. Individual Śiva images with usual attributes are found depicted on the temple wall throughout the period and these images are not indicator for the chronology of the temples. *Nirtyamūrti-Vamadeva* in Amūnhā *Deula*, *Ajekapāda* or *Ekapada-Bhairava* (Fig. 12) depiction in Tālaeśvara, and *Harihar* depiction in Amūnhā *Deula*¹⁶⁴ are other manifestations of Siva, the images of which are regularly found in the temples.

(xi) Incarnations Vishṇu

The Vishṇu images are revealed in standing position and the treatment of the body does not suggest any movement. The earliest Vishṇu image is found at the bank of Bindusaravaro tank at Bhubaneswar, the image is known as *Śankarshaṇ*.¹⁶⁵ Except for several small seated images there are few Vaiṣṇava motifs on Saiva temples, the majority of these being *avatāra* such as *Varāha*, *Naraśimha* and *Tivikrama* and *Dasāvatāra* in the lesser known temple like Paramaguru Siva temple and the four handed image of Vishṇu in Amunha *Deula* and Gangaesvar temple (Fig.40). A Beginning in the images of Vishṇu and his incarnation were occasionally inserted into niches as *āvarana-devatā*,¹⁶⁶ generally on the *Jagamohana* of the temple. The depiction of the Krishṇa image is showing Krishṇa (Fig.26) standing before his mother Yasodā who is engaged in churning the curd are found in one of the corner shrines of the Amunha temple.

(xii) Buddha Image (Fig.6, 29)

The sculptors were under no obligation to depict Buddhist and Jaina themes on the Brāhmaṇical temples.¹⁶⁷ Buddhist art flourished in Odisha during the period of Bhaumakara rule.¹⁶⁸ The Buddhist image is depicted in Amūnhā *deula* entrance of the right hand side outer wall in a separate stone block it seems to be a votive *Śtūpa* depicted of Dhāyāni Buddha image in the compound of Uttareśavar temple in Bhubaneswar. The Jaina images (Fig.18) are carved out on the base level of the Nāgeśvara temple and it may be noted that the similar images is also found in the base level of temple like Mukteśvara.

(xiii) Semi-Divine Figures (Fig.9, 17)

Along with the semi-divine figures, flying *Vidyādharas*, *Yakṣas*, *Yakṣinis* and *Supārṇās* (bird with human head) are profusely carved. They have been irregularly depicted on the walls of the temples and bear no chronological importance. In the later temples the *Yakṣas* are represented with their hands uplifted as if raising heavy structures. The knees are bent with the weight of the raised structures.¹⁶⁹ In the present study of some lesser known temples, these types of semidivine figures on the wall are carved. But *Nāga* and *Nāgini* figures have a significant place in the temple-sculptures. *Naga* pilasters are found in the recesses formed by the *pāgas* on the *vimāna* and *mūkhasālā* of the temple Tāleśvara, Nilakanṭheśvara, Viṣṇu Temple, Nāgeśvara, Kapāli Matah, and Amūnhā. Sometime the *Nāgas* are anthropomorphic and some time purely in zoomorphic.

(xiv) Digapālas

Eight *digapālas*¹⁷⁰ are characteristically associated with the Bhubaneswar temples,¹⁷¹ as guarding deities of directions. In the earlier temples, however, they do not appear on the eight all directions. Indra is found in the east, Agni in the south-east, Yama in the south, Nairīta in the south-west, Varūna in the west, Vāyū in the north-west, Kūbera in the north and Isāna in the north-east.¹⁷² The guardian deities on the bodies of the temples, each in his respective position, started getting sculptural in the Somavaṁśī period and the practice continued till the latest period of temple building activity in Odisha. So far as extant temples go, the eight *Digapālas* first appear on the Parasūrameśvara temple, though not in their respective positions.¹⁷³ The characteristics and the features of these figures such as Indra appears as riding an elephant and hurling or holding a thunderbolt; Agni as a bearded figure rides a ram or has the same mount on the pedestal and flames rising from both sides; Yama as a terrific figure holds a *danda* and sometimes a noose, and has a buffalo mount; Nairīta holds a human head in the right hand and has a man lying prostrate on the pedestal; Varūna holds a noose and has a *makara* on the pedestal; Vāyū holds flag-staffs and has a rabbit or deer as his mount; Kūbera has on the pedestal several pots or eight pots hanging from a wish-fulfilling tree (*kalpa-vṛkṣha*) and representing *aṣṭa-nidhi*; and Isāna has the usual attributes of Siva but in addition also has a *danda* held in one of

the hands. The female counterparts appear just above the male guardian deities exactly with the same attributes and the same mounts as those of the latter. The digapal's are depicted in the lesser known temple like Amūnhā *deval* (Fig.28).

(xv) *Graha* Slabs

A row of either eight or nine *graha* or planets (Fig.11, 34) are depicted on the architraves above the door lintel of the temples. The *graha* slabs are found in all the temples except the Vaital and the Sisiresvara of Bhubaneswar. According to the *Śilpa Sāstra*, the propitiation of *grahas* leads to total destruction of evils. It is perhaps because of this reason that the *grahas* have been associated with the temples. The *graha* slabs¹⁷⁴ bear a chronological significance. In the earlier temples of our period only eight *grahas* are found depicted on the panel. These *grahas* are, (1) Ravi (Sun) has two hands holding louts stalk and has a *ratha* drawn by seven horses. (2) Soma, (Moon) holdings a mace and *varada mudra* and has *ratha* drawn by ten horses, (3) Angīrasa or Mangala (Mars) has four hands holding a *khadaga*, *śakti*, *gadā* and *varadā mudrā* and with a ram as his vehicle. (4) Būdha (Mercury) has four hands holding sword, shield, *gadā* and *varadā mudrā* with lion as the vehicle. (5) Brhaspati (Jupiter) has four hands holding *dand*, *akṣhasutra*, *kaṃaṇḍalū* and *varadā murdā* with the swan vehicle. (6) Śūkra (Venus) has four hands holding *dand*, *akṣhasutra*, *kaṃaṇḍalū* and *varadā mudrā* with frog vehicle. (7) Śaṇī (Saturn) has four hands holding *sūla*, bow, aroww and *varadā mudrā* with the vulture vehicle and (8) Rahu (ascending node of moon) has four hands holding sword, *sūla* and *varadā mudrā* with *makara* vehicle. In the later temples, starting with the Mūktesvara, the number increases to nine with the addition of (9) Ketū (descending node of moon) has two hands holding *gadā* and *varadā mudrā* with vulture vehicle.¹⁷⁵

(xvi) Other Deities

The river goddesses, Gangā and Yamunā become visible on the doorjambs of the *mūkhasālās* or the vimāna with their individual vehicles, *makara* (crocodile) and tortoise (fig.10). They also come out on the walls of *antarāla* of the early temples of Bhubaneswar. The illustration of river goddesses on the door-jambs is a Gupta legacy. In the later temples they are noticeable by their absence. In many of the temples the

image of Gajalakṣmi (Fig.11, 34) is carved on the lintel of the doorways. She is shown seated gracefully on a lotus with two elephants pouring water over her head from upturned jars on two sides.¹⁷⁶ These types of image are found at the Tāleśvara, Amūnhā, Lakheśvara, Nāgeśvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Kotīrtheśvara, Champakeśvara, and Uttareśvara temple. Among the lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar one of earliest Brahmā temple situated in the embankment of Bindūśaravora. The enshrined deity is Brahmā standing on a lotus pedestal and four armed. The image is crowned with *kiritimukha*.

An analytical and comparative study as attempted above, leads to a definite division of the images of the principal divinities associated with the temple structures, as systematic study of the principal and lesser known temples of Bhubaneswar. Even in images where such a wide division is not achievable. The remarkable varieties by their distribution may also be found to supply rough chronological data regarding the occurrence of a particular form in a particular period. The results of such an iconographic study of the images are thus found to bear out and maintain those arrived at by a study of the architectural features and decorative motifs of the temples. In the backdrop of this introductory observation, the lesser known temples are discussed in the next section.

4.3. Description of Selective Lesser Known Temples

In this section, out of the one hundred and sixty temples of Bhubaneswar, twelve lesser known temples are described. This section gives a detail description of stylistic differences and development of the art and architecture of selected temples. In spite of the peculiarity in the form of temple architectures, further added components and devices differentiated one phase to another.

Nārāyaṇī Temple (7th century AD) (Fig.1) – It is situated within the precinct of Bhabānī Śaṅkara temple which is located on the left side of the Tala Bazar road which leads from Liṅgarāja temple to Bindusagar. This temple lies buried under the Sanskrit College. This Sanskrit college is behind the Bhabani-Sankar Temple. The Nārāyaṇī temple was totally buried but was partly exposed when the area was being excavated under the guidance of Debala Mitra. This temple was first noticed by Charles Fabri

and brought it to the notice of ASI, Bhuvaneshwar. Presently, parts of the eastern and southern walls are visible. On the walls of the temple, there are inscriptions written in late Brahmi script. The inscriptions are in two rows; consisting of twenty-seven letters, some of the letters have been mutilated beyond recognition. It also seems that some more letters have been completely wiped out with the cracking off the walls. The script of the inscription belongs to the 7th-8th century AD¹⁷⁷ On the basis of the paleography of the inscriptions; the temple can be said to belong to the seventh century AD. The temple appears to have been made after the construction of Parasūrāmeśvara temple. But the stylistic approach is same as that of the Parasūrāmeśvara temple.

The temple faces towards the North. Since the entire temple has not been completely excavated it is not easy to identify its full architectural and sculptural details for its stylistic features. On the basis of little details available from the exposed portion of its side wall we can suggest that the temple belongs to the Parasūrāmeśvara type. This suggestion is also supported by the palaeographical evidence referred to earlier. The temple seems to be very small in size and has a rectangular *mūkhasālā*. The *pābhāga* of both the *vimāna* and the *mūkhasālā* consist of three mouldings. The *mūkhasālā* has been constructed directly against the front wall of the *vimāna*. Most probably it has a two-tiered roof with sloping eaves. One of the perforated windows is now visible.

The *bāda* of the *vimāna* is of *tri-ratha* design that is visible has three fold divisions namely *Pābhāga* with three mouldings, *Jangha* and *bāraṇḍa*. The treatment of the side niches is similar to that of the Parasūrāmeśvara, but here the major *pārsava-devatā* niche on the *rāha-pāga* does not cut through the *pābhāga* mouldings. In the only exposed *pārsava-devatā* niche noticed seated figures of Śīva-Pārvatī. These images, built of a separate block of stone, do not perfectly fit into the niche. Most probably the block containing the image of Śīva-Pārvatī does not originally belong to the niche. It found its way into the niche at a later period. The placing of Śīva-Pārvatī image (Fig. 2) in the *pārsava-devatā* niche is rare and unique example of such type. So the original *pārsava-devatā* was removed for unknown reason but most probably the image belonged to this temple.

The treatment of these images is almost similar to the Śīva-Pārvatī image depicted on the Parasūrāmeśvara *mūkhasālā*. Here Śīva is four-armed and is shown with *ūrdhva-liṅga*. In one of the right hands he holds rosary and the other is in the *varadā-mūdrā*. One left hand circles round the waist of Pārvatī who is seated to his left. The left hand of Pārvatī is broken and the right is hidden behind the back of Shiva. Their legs are most awkwardly positioned. On the pedestal are carved their respective mounts. The bull, Nandi looks back upwards at master the Śīva. The mount of Parvati, lion is represented by its head.

The *pābhāga* of *khūrā* is inscribed in south wall decorated with the four decorated vertical pilasters with *chaitya* medallions as similar to the south wall *bāda* of the Vaitāla temple. The eastern wall is decorated with two vertical pilasters on either sides of the *rāhā* niche. Within the pilaster, there is a subsidiary niche with scroll works decorated with elephant and lion heads surmounted by lotus design. The niche crowned with a *vajra-mūṇḍi* at the center of with a peeping human face. Above the niche there is a stylized *chaitya*. The *baraṇḍa* portion decorated with *mūktā-lobhī haṁsa* flanked by two stylized *chaitya*.

The *jagamohana* is a rectangular hall in shape decorated with three baluster windows in width except this the *jagamohana* is devoid of ornamentation. The jambs of niche is decorated with three vertical bands of scroll works like lotus leaf, beaded design and floral motif from exterior to interior flanked by two vertical pilasters. At the base and top of the pilaster is decorated with *ghata-pallava* with scroll design repeated earlier. Originally temple has a door-jamb but at present it is buried. Traces of the *bāda* are only visible.¹⁷⁸ Superstructure has collapsed. The sculptural program like Śāivite iconography is absent here and other parts of temple are total buried.

The main issue regarding the temple is its name of being Nārāyaṇī temple. And the other issue is regarding its patronage. Firstly, its iconographic features are related to the Śāivite shrine but the name clearly indicates that of a Vaiṣṇavite name. Only further excavations can put some light on the same issue. We can see that it is built in a limited space or limited patronage. The sculptural programs are not so matured and remain unfinished. Bhaumakaras were the followers of Buddhism and Saivism. So, probably, they gave lesser importance to Vaisnavism. The other minor

issues like, quality of construction, hierarchy system in entering temple and the role of society.

Coming to the inscriptions on the temple, as has been mentioned earlier, this temple has inscriptions mostly were engraved in the late *Brāhmī* script of about 7th-8th century AD. They can be grouped under two categories scribed cursive and non cursive form of late *Brāhmī* script. The inscription is saying about the patronage. The inscription records “the name of donor whose name is Sri Atavala who has donated the necklace, gold coin(s) which were measured and weighted. He also seems to have donated a musical instrument or it can also be said that he with a tender heart has carried out the donations. In the *kūmbha* part there is reference about someone born to an unchaste woman.” It seems that some portions of the inscriptions next to this got lost that’s why the second part of the inscription is referring to this Atavala or someone is not clear. This inscription was not deciphered till this work.¹⁷⁹ The temple features bear the Śāivite character but it’s name is clearly Vaiṣṇavite. During the period of the Bhaumakaras it was complete Śāivite architecture, but some Vaiṣṇavite deities were also depicted. Evidence shows sculptural panels in Śāiva temple with less representation of Vaiṣṇavite features. In this temple it could be because of religious tolerance of the rulers or patronage by some Vaiṣṇavite individual, in this instance, Atavala as the evidence of the inscription. If, this temple is dedicated to Viṣṇu then it would be the earliest evidence of Viṣṇu temple in Bhubaneswar as well as Odisha. After its full restoration we will be in a position to determine whether the temple is almost contemporaneous with or earlier to or later than the Parasurāmeśvara temple. But it is definite that the temple belongs to the seventh century AD.

Ūttareśvara Śīva Temple (7th century AD) (Fig. 3) – This temple is located within a precinct in the northern embankment of Bīṇḍūsāgar tank in the Nalamūhāṇa Sāhi, Kedāra- Goūrī Chowk, Old Town. The enshrining deity in this temple is *Śīva-liṅgam* within a circular *Yoni-pītha* at the centre of sanctum. The original temple has collapsed. As evident from the renovation work above the *pābhāga* and presence of cult images of earlier phase in different parts of the temple walls without conforming to the canonical prescriptions. It is the main temple within the precinct along with nine lesser shrines. According to the local tradition, this temple is so named as it is

located in the northern embankment of Bīṇḍūsāgar and north of Lingārāja. The temple is one of the four *pīthas*; the other *pīthas* are Kharākhīā Bāīdyanātha, *Bhoga pītha* at Lingaraj and *Siddha Pītha* at Kedāra- Goūrī temple. Similarly Ūttareśvara was known as *Taṇṭra pītha*.

The stylistic development is equal with early phase temples like Parasūrāmeśvara type. Architectural features like *pābhāga* mouldings, rectangular flat roofed *jagamohana* and sculptures with 7th century iconographic traits. *Vimāna* is *rekhā deūla* where as *jagamohana* is a rectangular flat roofed hall. The temple is surrounded by the lesser shrines of Bhīmeśvar in north Sahadeveśvara in south and the compound wall on the eastern and western sides. The temple is facing towards the east. The temple has a *pancha-ratha vimāna* and a flat roofed rectangular *jagamohana*. The *vimāna* is of *rekhā* order with components like *bāda*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. The *bāda* is three fold divisions and the temple has a *triāṅga-bāda*. At the bottom the *pābhāga* has three base mouldings and *baraṇḍa* with a thick of single moulding.

The peculiarities of the temple's iconographical studies and features are mostly related with early phase temples. The *pārśva-devatā* niches located on the *rāhā-pāgas* of the *janḡha* on the three sides of north, west and south i.e. Kārtikeya in west, Pārvatī in north and Gaṇeśa in south. Kārtikeya standing (Fig. 4) in a *trī-bhaṅga* pose is holding a spear (*sūla*) in his left hand and the right hand rests over his thigh. He has *jatā-mūkuta*, and wears beaded necklace and a female attendant is standing in his lefts. The chaste of this image is very wide and the features like Mohinī temple. Here is another representation of cock or hen is absence. The image is not like slenderness, the hand and toes are resemblance with Parasūrāmeśvara Kartikeyey image. The northern *rāhā* niche has six the armed Mahisāmardinī. She holds a wheel in lower left, a bow in second lower left and the third left hand rests over the demon Mahisāsūra.¹⁸⁰ The deity holds a sword in lower right, a spear in the middle and an arrow in the third right hand. Her left leg is resting over the hip of the demon. The body of the demon is a buffalo where as the face is that of a human. This image of Mahisāmardinī appears to be a later installation as Mahisāmardinī is not the *pārśva-devatā* in Śīva temple. The southern *rāhā* niche enshrines the image of a four armed

Siddhivinayaka Gaṇeśa (Fig. 5). He holds a *nāgapāsa* in upper left and *parasū* in upper right hand, *modaka-pātra* in lower left, and a staff in lower right hand. This image has special peculiarities similar with Mohinī, here the *vāhana* is absent and the jackfruit is present under the pedestal tripod. These features are the same with early phase. The *jagamohana* is plain. It has three niches in the southern wall. One of the niches has the image of *Narasimha* in *Ugra* form. The temple is devoid of ornamentation. However in *Pābhāga* portion line drawings of *chaitya* design are noticed. The lintel is *lalatabimba* there is a four armed Gajalakṣmī seated in *lalitāsana* over a lotus pedestal. The architrave above the doorjamb is carved with the traditional *navagrāhās*. The *graham* features are irregular, because stylistically the early phase temples are bearing the panel of *astagrahas*, it may be the latter addition at the time of renovation. Despite having much more place for decorating the wall but it remains plain like Mohini. It became difficult to make out any decoration as the temple is painted with plastic paint. The temple has a thick red wash all over the walls along with strip painting in yellow at places. The bull or *nandi* is placed on a short pillar just in front of the *mūkhasālā*. In this temple complex the era is the image of *Dhāyini-Buddha* (Fig. 6) depicted on a Votive *stūpa*, but the votive stupa went under considerable changes and has become like a miniature *pīdhā deula*.

Mohinī Temple (7th-8th century AD)- The temple of Mohinī (Fig. 7) stands on the southern bank of the Bindusagar tank, Old Town. The presiding deity is a fierce-looking ten-armed dancing *Chāmūṇḍā*. In architectural style it closely resembles to the early phase of temples. It has a *jagamohana* which is similar to Parasūrāmeśvara temple, and it was completely damaged and has been restored with the help of plain block of stones. With the several free standing pillars inside the hall. It is difficult to say whether these are pillars inside the *mūkhasālā* to support the roof and the pilasters against the side of wall.

The *gaṇḍi* of the *vimāna* is similar to that of the Parasūrāmeśvara. The *bāda* has three divisions and is of *trīratha* design. The *pābhāga* (Fig. 8) consists of three mouldings. The *pārsava-devatā* niches are cut through the *pābhāga* mouldings. There is a plain recessed *bāṇḍhaṇa* below the undecorated *sīkhara*. A plain recessed *Kāṇṭhi* separates the *bāda* from the *gaṇḍi*. The superstructures of this temple except the

bhūmī-amalas of the respective *kaṇikā-pāgas* are devoid of decorative details. There are three vertical projections on the *gaṇḍī*. The *anūratha paga* is not fully projected so as to make the plan *pahcha-ratha*. It is consisted of superimposed *bārarṇḍis* with shallow depressions on either side. The *kaṇikā-paga* is divided into five *bhūmis* by *bhūmi amalas* and each *bhūmi* into four *bārarṇḍis* seems to be Parasūrāmeśvara and Vaitāla but is not bearing equal status. The front *raha* is undecorated. The *mūkhasālā* is build directly against the front wall of the *vimāna*. There are pillars inside the *mūkhasālā* to support the roof and the pilasters against the side walls. Base mouldings and side niches too have no decorative carving.

On the body of the main shrine are inscribed a few short records. Its original *garabha-mūda* above the present wooden ceiling is distinguished by carved louts on the top most stone capping the corbels. There is at least one more chamber over the *garabha-mūda*. Inside the sanctum, ten-armed *Chāmūṇḍā* standing on a prostrate male figure and brandishing a sword with her upper most hands. On the floor of the *jagamohana* lies a six-armed image of *Chāmūṇḍā* image.¹⁸¹

The three *pārsava-devatās* are intact. They are not built of separate blocks of stone, rather carved out of the stones that form the wall of the temples like Parasūrāmeśvara and Vaitāla. The joints of different blocks of stone are clearly visible on the body of the images. This is a feature found in the temples of the next phase. Unlike a *Devī*-temple, the *pārasva-devatās* here are the images of *Gaṇeśa*, *Kārtikeya* and *Pāravatī*. The *Gaṇeśa* image (Fig. 9) is similar with Parasūrāmeśvara, he holds in upper right hand *japāmāla* and lower hand *modaka-pātra* and left upper hand *Kūthāra* and lower hand broken tusk. This image has representation of jackfruit under his pedestal and absences of mouse, these features are bearing early phases characteristic. These types of images are found in every early phase temples. The *Kārtikeya* image is totally eroded and properly not identified, but only the peacock is standing on left site of the image of *Kārtikeya* looks like very stocky, and not slender which is same with early phases. The four handed *Pāravatī* image also facing problem to identify only can find out the pedestal, sitting on a deer and two women attendants. The special characteristic of the haloes are depicted in the ever cult icons in this temple, like the stylistic value of the early phase. One side niche contains two unidentified male

figures, one carrying an axe and other a trident and both depicted with haloes. The familiar bands below the niches which were carved into animal figures are left entirely plain. This temple is bearing the resemblance to the early phase of temples. In view of these stylistic features, it can be placed either at the end close of the seventh century AD or in the early years of the 8th century AD

This temple has born some inscription. That inscription does not talk about patronage. This inscription is depicted in the left side wall of the *Vimāna*, it mentions that “Unable to bear..... (The sufferings caused by).....fire.... (He).... with the flower..... (Worshipped).....honestly.....” It assumed that a royal family member or Mohinī Devī was suffered some problems or diseases. So, she gave donations or patronage to construction a temple for her remedy; and it could be religious uplift. There is no reason to suppose that the temple was built by Mohinī Devī, the queen of Śivakara II of the Bhaumakara dynasty, as has been done by K.C. Panigrahi¹⁸² in his work *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*.

On the whole the temple is without decoration but the outlines of the carvings are still visible. The wall of temple is too huge in shapes like Parasūrāmeśvara temple and therefore, there is available space for decorative motifs. Another cause the building materials are not supportive to engrave it. The cause is lack of patronage or some technical problem to decoration of the wall. Also another reason could be as evident from the inscriptions that this temple received patronage when Mohinī Devī was ill. Mohinī Devī might have passed away before the temple was completed, hence there might have been a stoppage of the patronage received.

Tāleśvara Śīva Temple-I (8th century AD) –This temple is situated on the left side of the Kedār-Goūrī road leading from the Parasūrāmeśvara temple to the Vaitāl temple and North-East of Parasūrāmeśvara temple in Old Town. This temple (Fig. 10) is without a *mūkhasālā* and there is absolutely no evidence which would suggest its existence before it. The temple is of very small height. The temple is facing towards east. The presiding deity *Śiva* in the form of *lingam* with circular *Yoni-pītha* inside the sanctum, which is below the *chandra-silā* of the entrance doorway.

At present, the temple stands on a low square platform. The temple plan has a *vimāna trī-ratha* on plan as distinguished by a central *rāhā* and a pair of *kaṇikā-pāgas* on either side of the *rāhā* on all the four sides. On elevation, the temple has a renovated *bāda* sealed by stones. The *pābhāga* has three mouldings comprising *khūrā*, *kūmbha*, and *pāta*, which are not a developed one. The *rāhā* niches on three sides are occupied by smaller images of the recent times, due to paucity of space. The temple wall is very small and the image and other decorative features are much crowded. The temple is special features is a miniature form of the Satrūghaneśvara temple. Of all its parts the door-frame is somewhat better preserved. The *bāda* of the temple was originally carved richly with *chaitya* motifs and scroll works. In the *pābhāga* mouldings, *khūrā* is plain, *kūmbha* is relieved with elephants, lions, and scroll works and the *pāta* is decorated with *chaitya* motifs. The base of the *janḡha* is decorated with a series of elephants and lions. The subsidiary niche is crowned by a *khākharā-mūṇḡī* relieved by stylized *bho*-motif made of two *chaitya* motifs. In the centre of the *chaitya* motifs are a female figure in *padmāsana* and a human head in succession. The *baraṇḡa* with a single moulding is relieved by the carvings of scroll works, recess and false perforated windows. The line drawings of the *chaitya* motifs and scroll work are noticed in the temple stones, which suggest that carvings in the temples are done after the structure is erected.

The special features of this temple are iconographic arrangement of *digapālas* and decorative features which belong to earlier phase. The doorjamb is decorated with scroll works. At the base of the door jamb, there are *dvārapāla* niches enshrining Śāivite *dvārapāla*. The right side niche houses a four armed *dvārapāla* that is wielded with *lalāta-bīmba*, lotus stalk, and trident in three hands and upper right arm in *varadā-mūdrā*. The image wears a sacred thread, and *jatā-mūkuta*. The *dvārapāla* is flanked by two male figures, one firmly fixing the shaft of the trident and the other seated in *anjālī-mūdrā*. The left jamb is a recent addition, which is plain. Beyond the *dvārapāla* niche is the river goddess niche that houses Yamūnā along with a diminutive female figure that holds the shaft of the parasol raised over the head of the river goddess. In the image of Gaṅga the upper part of the deity is missing. The river goddess pilaster is crowned by *ghata-pallava* on the top. At the *lalāta-bīmba* Gajalakṣhmī is seated in *padmāsana* and flanked by two elephants on either side

standing on full blown lotus. Her right arm holds a lotus stalk and left arm is in the *varadā mūdṛā*. The architrave above the door jamb carved with the eight *grāhās* (Fig. 11) seated in *padmāsana*. Ketū is absent in the architrave. The *grāhā* architrave is carved with eight *grāhās* and the lintel and jambs are profusely carved with scrollwork's.¹⁸³ However line drawings of various motifs on architectural members suggest that the temple was not complete.

The most attractive image in the temple is a four armed *Ājaeka-pāda Bhairava* (Fig. 12) in a subsidiary niche in the *kaṅkā-pāgas* of the northern wall. The deity is holding an arrow or *liṅga* (?) in lower left arm and a trident in upper left arm. While his lower right arm is in *varadā-mūdṛā*, the upper right arm holds a rosary. The trident is fixed firmly by a diminutive figure at the bottom. The deity is crowned by *jatā-mūkuta*. A seated male figure in *anjali-mūdṛā* occupies right corner of the niche. The temple has all the features of an early temple that can be assigned to the 8th century AD. There are three detached sculptures that are kept in the left side of the *vimāna*. One is broken *āmlaka*, a *do-pīchhā sīmha* and four armed Śīva holding attributes like *dambrū* in his lower left and trident in lower right arm seating in *padmāsana*. The other two arms are broken. These sculptures are belongs to the early phase.

Goūrīsaṅkara Śīva Temple (9th century AD) - Goūrīsaṅkara Śīva temple (Fig. 13) is situated at Tala Bazār Chowk in Old Town. It is located on the Tala Bazar road leading from Bindusagar to Liṅgarāja temple. The temple is facing towards west. The enshrined deity is the *Śīva-liṅgam* with a circular *Yonipītha* is placed in the sanctum which is below the present road level. The temple is buried from three sides up to the *bāraṇḍa* portion and a narrow stepped passage from the west leads into the sanctum right from the road. In the course of goddess Pārvatī's visit to the *Ekāmra Kānana* riding on the shoulders of demon Kīrti and Bāsa took rest for a while at this place.¹⁸⁴ Hence the place is known as Goūrīsaṅkara. This event was cherished by commissioning the Śīva temple on the site. The temple is surrounded by road on all its four sides and acts like a traffic post in the chowk.

The main features of this early phase temple are *trīratha vimāna* having a *rekhā sikhara*. The *jagamohana* is absence. The Temple is facing towards west. The temple has a *vimāna* and a frontal porch. It is buried up to *baraṇḍa* portion from all

sides. There are flights of steps to enter into the sanctum. On elevation, the *vimāna* is of *rekḥā deūla*. The *graha* architrave has eight *grahas* with the absence of *Ketū*. On elevation *bāda* is *triraṅga*, with three divisions i.e. *pābhāga*, *janḡha*, and *bāraṅda*. *Pābhāga* or the foot portion consists of three mouldings of *khūrā*, *kūmbha* and *pāṭṭa*. The *Pābhāga* and *janḡha* are buried. The *baraṅda* is single moulding. As the temple is buried up to the *baraṅda* portion, the *rāhā* niches are also buried. The doorjamb is decorated with three plain vertical bands. The enshrined deity of the temple located below the road level. *Gaṅḡi* became a gradual curvature and started from of the *śikhara* unburdened by any *aṅgaśikhara* like Mohini temple. This temple is very small and the *amalaka-sīla* (Fig. 14) stylistically similar with Parasūrāmeśvara. This temple has *aṅgaśikhara* and *baraṅdis* in respective in every *kaṅikā-pāgas*. The *ayudha* of this temple is *ākāśaliṅga*. The temple is of small and moderate height. *Bāraṅda* is terminating in a recessed *kānthi*. The absence features of this phase are of *dopichā śimḥa* in the *beki*, below the *āmlaka*, and absence of *dikpālas*. The sculptures are in low relief, flatten and entrusted on the surface of the stone. The temple wall not total devoid these are decorated with *jail* type scroll work on four sides. In the iconographic point of view this temple is total empty. The lack of patronage is another cause of developmental factors sculptural and architectural peculiarities. Detached sculptures are inside the sanctum there are two detached sculptures of Pārvatī and Gaṅeśa. Both the images are four armed standing on lotus pedestal.¹⁸⁵

Nāgeśvara Temple (10th century AD) - It (Fig. 15) is located in the Kotitīrtheśvara lane. It is situated on the right bank of the Liṅgarāja West Canal at a distance of west of Sūbarṇeśvara temple, which is situated across the Canal. The temple does not have any historical legend. This temple is situated on the bank of a canal in close proximity to the Sūbarṇeśvara Śīva temple with residential areas in the north and east and paddy fields in the south and west. However, local people call it Nāgeśvara because of the presence of *Nāga-Nāgi stambhas* profusely carved on the outer walls of the temple. It is believed that this temple was built by the Somavaṁśīs.

This temple represents a transitional phase of temple building tradition of Odisha. The general stylistic features of the temple are *Mūkhasālā* or the *jagamohana* became an inseparable element with a perfect and natural joining of the *vimāna* but

this temple is devoid of *jagamohana*. The cause may be the location of temple as it is situated in between two natural water ways (now known as *lingaraja* west canal (drain), and thus the extension of the temple remain in the front of the *vimāna*. *Pābhāga* had four mouldings. Introduction of *Nāga-Nāgi* pilasters and *chaitya* medallions as decorative motifs and introduction of the *vyāla* and *jāgrata* motifs in the *janḡha* portion, *bāraṇḡa* recess is carved with base-reliefs, *kanikā* is divided into five horizontal *bhūmis* (storey) by *bhūmi-amlas*. The *garbha-grītha* of the temple is empty. The temple is facing towards east. The sculptural embellishments on the outer wall of the temple suggest that the temple was originally dedicated to the Śīva. The temple is made of a fine-grained ochre sand stone that resembles the stones of Mūkteśvara. The architectural features and the scheme of decoration including the building materials bear strong resemblance with Mūkteśvara. The building materials of temple are fine grained ochre sand stone. The temple stands on a low and rectangular platform. The temple has a square sanctum measuring with a renovated frontal porch. It is *pancharatha* as distinguished by a central *rāhā* and pair of *anūratha* and *kaṇikā-pāgas* on either side of the *rāhā*. On elevation, the *vimāna* is of *rekha* order from *Pābhāga* to the *kalasa*. From bottom to the top, the temple has a *bāda*, *gaṇḡi* and *mastaka*. With three fold division of the *bāda* the temple has a *triāṅga-bāda*. At the bottom, the *pābhāga* has four base mouldings of *khūrā*, *kūmbha*, *pāta*, *basānta*.

The peculiarities of the temple are *gaṇḡi* which is devoid of any decoration except the *rāhā-pāgas*. In the eastern side the *rāhā-pāga* at the base is a *khākharā-mūṇḡi* right above the *grāhā* architrave, which is crowned by a stylized *chaitya* motif and a *vajra-mastaka* flanked by conches on either side. At the centre of the *chaitya* is a peeping human face whereas in the *vajra-mastaka* the image at the centre is a Natarāja (Fig. 16), this image is similar with the Mūkteśvara. In other three sides similar stylized *vajra-mastaka* decorates the *rāhā-pāga* at the base right above the *rāhā* niche. The *mastaka* bears *bekī*, *āmlaka*, *khapūrī* and *kalasa*. The *pārśva-devatā* niches located on the *rāhā-pāga* of the *janḡha* on the three sides of north, west and south are empty. Similarly, the subsidiary niches in *anūratha-pāga* in length, breadth and depth are also empty. The doorjambs are decorated with three vertical bands of

scroll works like, *pūspa-sākhā*, *latā-sākhā* and *patra-sākhā* from exterior to the interior, which is similar with the scroll work at Mūkteśvara.

At the *lalātabīm̃ba* there is a Gajalakṣmi seated in *lalītāsana* and is flanked by two elephants on either side standing on full-blown lotus. At the base of the doorjambs there are *dvārapāla* niches on either side. On the left side, there is a four-armed *dvārapāla*, which holds *lalātabīm̃ba* on the upper right arm and the lower right arm is in *varadā-mūdṛā*. While the upper left arm is resting on the waist, the lower left arm is holding a trident. On the right niche, the *dvārapāla* has two arms, holding a trident in the left arm and the right arm is in *varadā-mūdṛā*. The architrave above the door-jamb is carved with the *navagrahās*, each with in a niche and seated in *padmāsana*. The restoration works has concealed the first and last *grahās* and at present only seven *grahās* are visible.

The temple is richly carved up to the *bāda* portion (Fig. 17) and artistically it resembles the Mūkteśvara. In the *Pābhāga*, *khūrā* is relieved with *chaitya* motifs, *kūmbha* with *sālavanjikā* within a small niche and the *pāta* and *basanta* are decorated with scroll works with in beaded lines. The *janḡha* is decorated with pilasters and a *nāga-nāgi stambhas*. There are small niches in *anūratha-pāga*, which is surmounted by *ūrdha-gārvika* (series of *khākharā-mūṇḍis*). The niches are empty. The *nāga-nāgi stambhas* is carved with scroll works and sculptural representations. Above the *Pābhāga*, the *stambha* is raised over a pair of *gaja-sīm̃has* and it is decorated with a descending *nāga* and *nāgi* figures holding a garlands in both hands. The *stambha* is crowned by a stylized *chaitya* motif flanked by conches. The pictorial vocabulary in the decorative programme of the *janḡha* include scroll work, animal motifs like deers, *nāyikās*, *sālavanjikā*, *bhāra-bahākas*, *sūkasārika*, women tweeting through doors, etc. The *nāyikās* are delineated in *trī-bhaṅga* pose. The *rāhā* niche rests on a *tala-gārvika* that bears *bhāra-bahākas* at the *khūrā*. The niche on the top is crowned by *ūrdha-gārvika* (series of *khākharā-mūṇḍis*) with the miniature image of Gaṇeśa at the centre. The *ūrdha-gārvika* is surmounted by a horizontal tier, which is decorated with carvings of scroll work in between beaded lines. The *kanikā-pāga* of the *janḡha* terminates with a massive *bhāra-bāhākas* with in a niche. The *bāraṇḍa* with a single moulding is relieved by the carvings of scroll work and lotus petals. The recess is

decorated with false perforated windows and friezes of elephants.¹⁸⁶ The temple has standing Jaina image (Fig. 18). It may be noted that the similar image is also found in the base level of temple like Muktesvara. The notable feature of the period was the introduction of extensive erotic sculptures due to the influence of *Tāntrism*. The notable features of this phase were the introduction of erotic sculptures. The depiction of the erotic's image in the lower *janḡha* portion, (Fig.19), it is unclear and another image is clearly found. *Pārśvadevatā* images are carved of separate single stone unlike the earlier tradition of blocks of stones that constitute a part of the temple wall. But here *Pārśvadevatā* image is entire niches is empty. However, the monument needs regular maintenance, particularly during the rainy season to prevent the growth of vegetation on the structure. During the work of renovation, the stones were marked in white paints, which largely distort and deface the architectural edifice.

Kapālī Matha (10th -11th century AD) – It (Fig. 20) is located near the Badheibanka chowk, on the Ratha road, Old Town. It is located on the right side of Ratha road leading from Badheibanka Chowk to Tala Bazar road. This Kapālī matha originally is temple but the local tradition and some Brāhmaṇa community connected it into the form of Matha or monastery. The shrine of Kapālī, the maternal aunt of Liṅgarāja¹⁸⁷ is located in the monastery. It is surrounded by Maītreyaśvara and Iṣaṇeśvara temples in west, Pāpanaśinī tank in south, Chītrakarinī temple in east and Liṅgarāja temple compound wall in south-east. The Kapālī Matha is facing towards east.

The stylistic features of temple belong to transitional phase with Mūkteśvara and Nāgeśvara. *Pābhāga* had four mouldings. Some of the important features of introductions include *Nāga-Nāgi* pilasters and *chaitya* medallions as decorative motifs, the *vyāla* and *jāgrata* motifs in the *janḡha* portion, *bāraṇḡa* recess is carved with base-reliefs, *kanikā* is divided into five horizontal *bhūmis* (storey) by *bhūmi-amlas*. The *matha* has a double storeyed entrance which was originally a *pīḡhā deūla* leading into a courtyard. On elevation, the entrance of the *matha* is a *pīḡhā deūla* stand from *pābhāga* to the extant remaining part of the *ganḡi*. The *bāda* is *pābhāga*, *tala-janḡha*, *bāṇḡhana*, and *upara-janḡha* and *baraṇḡa*. The *pābhāga* has got five fold mouldings without any human workmanship except in the *khūrā* portion where

the head of a male figure is found. In the *Pābhāga* of the *rāhā* there is a *tala-gārbhika* of *rāhā* order.

The peculiarity of this time temple is total resemblance with transitional phase. The *rāhā* niches are flanked by *nagi* pilasters (Fig. 21). The *nāgi* has a snake canopy of five hoods. The left *nāgi* is crowned with *kiritī-mukuta* whereas the right *nāgi* is crowned with *karaṇḍa-mukuta*. The niche is flanked by two *khākharā-mūṇḍi* pilaster. Above it there is a recess, having three mouldings. Above it so far in the *upara-janḡha* portion there is a small niche enshrining the image of Natarāj (Fig. 22). The image is depicted on an inserted slab which is decorated with beaded flower design. The whole image is over a full lotus design and the image is six armed. He is holding a snake in his upper left and right hand, *Dam̃barū* in another right hand, trident in the another left hand and another right hand which may be in the *varadā-mūdrā* posture and the middle left hand is invisible as it is broken. This image flanked by *gana* and *gāndharva* figures and *Naṇḍi* became the pedestal of the Natrāja image. The temple has more space for sculptural decoration but marginally very few images are come in the temple walls. It is likely that there was lack of patronage and therefore the artisans left the walls undecorated. The doorjamb of Kapalika Matha is decorated with three plain vertical bands and at the base of door jamb there are two *khākharā mūṇḍi* (Fig. 23) pilasters. At the centre of pilaster, there are two male *dvārapāla*. Both *dvārapāla* are two armed and standing on a plain pedestal. They are holding *Sūla* in their left hand. The left side of a doorjamb wall at the *tala-janḡha* portion, there is a *sālabhaṇḡikā* female figure, whereas and the *upara-janḡha* is empty. The right side of the wall of doorjamb at the *upara-janḡha* portion and *tala-janḡha* portion there is no image. So far *tal-ajanḡha* there is a *Sīm̃havyāla*. In the *upara-janḡha* conjunction there is an erotic couple standing over a lotus pedestal. The *kanīka-pāga* in the left is not visible because a wall has come up and covered the same. On the conjunction of *rāhā* and *anūratha-pāga* so far in the *tala-janḡha* there is a *gaja-vyāla* standing over an unidentified animal and a tree. So far as *upara-janḡha* is concerned, there is a *nāyikā* holding her baby on right side. The *tala* and *upara-janḡha* are decorated with *khākharā* and *pidhā-mūṇḍi* respectively.¹⁸⁸ There are two *maṇḍapas* in the both side of the entrance to the *matha*. It is decorated with two *khākharā-mūṇḍi* pilasters and at its centre there is a male figure in the left and a female figure in the right side. In front

of the *maṇḍapa-pūrṇakūmbha* has are found in either side of the *maṇḍapa*. The temple has collapsed above the *gaṇḍi*. Two *Gaja-prānalas* are found in the western wall of the *matha*. Two niches are found in the northern compound wall of the *matha*, which houses a four armed Gaṇeśa and a three headed Śīva.

Mārkaṇḍeśvara Śīva Temple (10th-11th century AD) - It is an abandoned temple and is facing towards the east. However at the center of the sanctum there is *Śīva-liṅgam* with the circular *Yoni-pītha*. According to the local tradition, the temple was constructed by Keśaris to commemorate the visit of sage Mārkaṇḍeya. The temple is situated in private land the temple stands and stays in the north-west corner of the compound wall of the Kharākhīā Vaidyanāth temple precinct.

The temple is *panch-aratha* with a square *vimāna* and *jagamohana*. The *gaṇṭhiāl* architectural features developed in this temple. The *vimāna* is in *rekha* order with usual *bāda*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. The *vimāna* has three vertical divisions namely *pābhāga*, *janḡha* and *baraṇḍa*. At the base, the *pābhāga* has four mouldings of *khūrā*, *kūmbha*, *pāta* and *basanta* which are partially buried. The *baraṇḍa* has two mouldings. The superstructure of *vimāna* has collapsed since long. However the remaining part of *gaṇḍi* of the *vimāna* is distinguished by a central *rāhā* and a pair of *anūratha* and *kaṇīkā-pāgas* on either side of *rāhā-paga*. The *pābhāga* has four base mouldings which are partly buried. The plain *janḡha* and the *baraṇḍa* have two mouldings. These are the stylistic features of this temple. The *jagamohana* became an inseparable element with a perfect and natural joining of the *vimāna* with *jagamohana* without the crude overlapping of the sanctum decoration as seen in the early phase. Both the structures were conceived as a uniform complex in the original plan. Towards the end, the plan and elevation of the *mūkhasālā* transformed from a rectangular flat roof to a square hall with a pyramidal superstructure. *Pābhāga* had four mouldings.

Other peculiarities of this temple are *pārśva-devatā* niches located in the *rāhā-pāga* of the *janḡha* on the three sides, north, west and south. The four armed Kārtikeya in the western niche who is holding a peacock in the upper left and the lower right hand is in *varadā-mūdrā*. Other two hands are broken. The northern *rāhā* niche enshrines broken image of Pārvatī who is standing over a lotus pedestal. The

southern *rāhā* niche is empty.¹⁸⁹ The temple is architecturally and sculpturally plain because of the inferior type of building materials i.e. the laterite. However there are two miniature *rekha angaha-sikharas* at the base of the *ganḍi* in the *rāhā-pāga* of the eastern wall of the *vimāna*. The doorjamb of the *vimāna* is decorated with three vertical bands with *khakhara-muṇḍis* at the base which is a renovated one. The doorjamb of *Jagamohana* is plain. In the *lalatabimba* at the centre of the lintel of the *vimāna* is a *pidhamuṇḍi*. Growth of vegetation on the structure and cracks are found in every wall of *vimāna* and *jagamohana*. The *pābhāga* is partially buried that may be cleared.

Amūnhā Deūla or Lokañatha Śīva Temple (11th century AD) (Fig. 24) - It is to be found in front of the Liṅgarāja temple in the south eastern corner crossways the road and adjoining to Liṅgarāja Temple Police Station in Old Town. Till 1972, the temple was buried from all sides up to the *bāṇḍhaṇa* portion, giving a notion as if the temple had no doorway. Therefore people called it Amūnhā deūla.¹⁹⁰ In 1972 Debala Mitra conducted an excavation in front of the northern wall and exposed the entrance. The sanctum is completely bare. On the other hand, on the basis of the local ethnicity and the sculptural ornamentation on the outer wall it is recognized as Śīva temple. It is now known both as Lokañatha Śīva or Amūnhā deūla. The time period of the temple is 11th Century AD, i.e. during the time of Somavaṃśī's rules.

This temple too marks the change in that architectural style. *Pābhāga* had four moulding. Introduction of *Nāga-Nāgi* pilasters and *chaitya* medallions as decorative motifs, introduction of the *vyāla* and *jāgrata* motifs in the *jangha* portion, *bāraṇḍa* recess is carved with base-reliefs, *kanikā* is divided into five horizontal *bhūmis* (storey) by *bhūmiamlas*. *Pārśvadevatā* images are carved of separate single stone unlike the earlier tradition of blocks of stones that constitute a part of the temple wall. With the exception of the entrance all other sides it is hidden up to the *bāṇḍhaṇa* (Fig. 25). A proto type of Liṅgarāja in a lesser scale and may be earlier than Liṅgarāja as a carrying out tests before conceiving the huge and grand Liṅgarāja temple. The temple has facing towards north. The temple has a *vimāna* and a frontal porch. The *vimāna* is of a *rekhā* order and *pancha-ratha* plan. Till the date the temple is buried up to the *bāṇḍhaṇa* moulding. Nothing can be definitely said about the *pista*, *pābhāga* and *tala-*

janḡha. But taking into account the observable architectural members are can assume that the temple belongs to the mature phase and had a *panchanga bāda*. With five fold divisions of the *pābhāga* and *tala-janḡha* must have accommodated the *pārśva-devatā* niches in the *rāhā-pāga* along with *pidha-mūṇḍi* in *anūratha* and *kanika-pāgas*. *Bāṇdhana* is of three mouldings. The *upara-janḡha* and *baraṇḍa* has mouldings. The temple is abundantly carved. The *gaṇḍi* is decorated with four *anga-sīkharas* in descending order in *anūratha-pāga* and the *kanika-pāga* is decorated with ten *bhūmīs*, each *bhūmī* is surmounted by a *bhūmī-amlā*, these features are as similar as the Liṅgarāja temple. *Mastaka* has usual *beki*, *āmlaka*, *khapūri*. There are four large size images in the *beki* above the *rāhā-pāga* on each side. The base of the *gaṇḍi* above the *baraṇḍa* the *rāhā-pāga* is relieved with the carving of an intricate *bho*-motif flanked by *makara*- motifs on either side. The *rāhā* niches of the temple are buried. The stylistic feature of the temple is total resemblance with Liṅgarāja temple. This temple appears to be a replica of the Liṅgarāja temple as it's of stylistic features and the use of iconographic traits are similar.

The special decorative peculiarities of the sculptural treatment of sculptures have characteristic feature of the Somavamśīs period. The decorative feature of the temple is upper *janḡha* and *pidha-mūṇḍis* in *anūratha* and *kanika-pāgas*.¹⁹¹ The niches within the *mūṇḍis* enshrines various Saivite divinities like Bhairavas, Ardhanārīśvara, Mahisāsūramardini, Lākūlīsa, Vishṇū, Krūshṇa (Fig. 26) with mother churn of crud, Gaṇeśa, Chāmūṇḍā, etc. along with carvings of *naga-nagis*, *bhāra-bhāka*, *yakṣha-yakṣhi*, *vyālas*, *nāyikās*, etc. The Saivaite image Kārtikeya (Fig. 27) is shown seated down over the peacock and he has three ponytail hair styles, his both the hands are broken however, the *Sūla* the *auyḍha* of Kārtikeya is visible. He is flanked by two *Kinara* both side of head. His ear ring is clearly visible in the style of the circular that type of *karna-kūṇḍala* is also found in Kartikeye or Viravhadra image at Liṅgarāja Kārtikeya image. The Gaṇeś image is in standing pose but its trunk totally eroded, both hands are broken; his *vāhana* mouse is presence in this image. These features of the temple belong to the later phase iconographical development. In the temple architectural tradition the image of *Śīvasahita-Uma* image is clearly visible on the right side walls of the temple in *uppar-janḡha* depicted in this temple. The *astadiga-pālas* are depicted in this temple and Nairūta image (Fig. 28) profusely

visible with three head and six-armed with respective weapons. He is seated on the lotus pedestal which is kept dead body. The image of *Natrāja* is also depiction in the sculptural embodiment. The *Kāmadeva* image is represent in the sculpture part of temple; he is standing with *Ratī* and *Prīti*, with bow and arrow.

The Vishṇu image is depicted in this panel with four hands holding the disc in upper right hand whereas the other hand is broken, the poses like *Varadā-mūdrā* and left hand holds conch and another left hand is eroded. This image is depiction on *trībhanga* type the crown is *Kīrti-mūkūta* style. Another important thing in temple is depiction of *Dhāyini* Buddha image (Fig. 29) on right wall of the *mūṇḍi* shrine. That Buddha image is the representation of the ninth incarnation of Vishṇu. The gesture and posture of *Lākūlīsa* image (Fig. 30) is like the Buddha image, this similar it's with earlier group like *Parśurāmeśvar*. The right hand side wall has depiction of six hand *Natarāja* image (Fig. 31), only upper two hands are clearly visible holds a *nāga* and with four attendants similar with *Kapālī Matha* and *Mukteśvara Natarāja* image. The decoration of the door jambs of this temple is carved with three vertical bands of *latā*, *patra* and *puspa-sākhā* from interior to the exterior. At the base of the jambs the *dvārapāla* niches are Saivite *dvārapāla* holding trident in left hands and the right hands in *varadā-mūdrā*. The original lintel has been replaced by renovated plain stone slab. This temple is an amused proto type of *Liṅgarāja* in a miniature form. The structure is crumbling. Heavily weathered and eroded due to the poor quality of stone and total neglect condition. Several cracks have developed in the *ganḍi* and in the visible portions of the *bāda*. It is an important monument in view of its striking resemblance with *Liṅgarāja* in its architectural features, sculptural decoration and ornamentation.¹⁹² The temple is buried up to the *bāṇḍhaṇa* level, sanctum is used as a garbage pit, and several cracks on the *ganḍi*, growth of vegetation on the *ganḍi* and *mastaka*, carvings on the walls have largely been eroded. The temple is very rich in the sculptural and architectural point of view. But this temple is smaller than *Liṅgarāja* and the space of temple is too small. To make the iconography like *Liṅgarāja* is unfeasible.

Kotīrtheśvara Śīva Temple (12th century AD) (Fig. 32, 33) –It is situated on the left side of the *Kotīrtheśvara* lane (leading from *Parasūrāmeśvara* to *Bīṇḍūsāgar*) at a

distance south-west of Parasūrāmeśvara Temple in Old-town and Southeast of Svarṇajaleśvara temple. The temple is facing towards west. The presiding deity is *Śīva liṅgam* with a circular *yoni pītha* inside the sanctum. The temple precinct is surrounded by residential buildings in the western and southern side, Kotitīrtheśvara tank in the eastern side and Kotitīrtheśvara lane in the northern side. The deity is named after the sacred tank Kotitīrth situated behind the temple, which is a natural spring. Local people held the tank in high esteem as sacred bathing place for purification of sins. The tank is used for various ritual practices, including offering of *piṇḍa*. The temple is surrounded by residential buildings and Visvanātha temple in the southern side, Kotitīrtheśvara tank in the eastern side and the lane in the northern and western sides. The lane and the residential buildings have encroached up on the original precinct of the temple. The temple is facing towards west.

The stylistic features of the temple is in mature phase like *bāda* is divided into five segments, i.e *pābhāga*, *talajangha*, *bāndhana*, *upara jangha* and *bāraṇḍa*. *Pābhāga* has five mouldings (*khūrā*, *kūmbh*, *pāṭṭa*, *kani* and *basanta*). *Gaṇḍi* is embellished with *angasikhara* (miniature temples) of diminishing size as they rise upwards. The *pāgas* projections are fully developed and prominently articulated. *Āmlaka silā* is supported by *deulachārinis* or seated divinities and *dopicha-sim̐has* being set in the *beki*. Introduction of structural motifs is *pīdhā-muṇḍi*, *khākarā-muṇḍi* and *vajra-muṇḍi* in the *jangha* portion. The sculptures of this period are excellent in their plasticity and modeling include aniconic female figures, these are more proportionate, elongated and in alto-relievo. In the iconography of the cult deities, new elements were introduced with profusion of female figures, *Ketū* in a serpent body and projected lion (*udyota sim̐ha*) on the *rāhapāga*. *Piṣṭa* and platform became a regular feature. The temple stands on a low rectangular platform. The temple has a *vimāna* and a frontal porch. Originally, the temple had a *jagamohana* in front of the *vimāna* as reported by R. L. Mitra¹⁹³ when he visited in the late 19th century. The *vimāna* is *pancha-ratha* on plan as distinguished by a central *rāhā* and pair of *anūratha* and *kaṇikā-pāgas* on either side of the *rāhā* on all the four sides. The *vimāna* is of *rekha* order. From bottom to the top, the temple has a *bāda*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. On elevation the *bāda* has three fold divisions namely *pābhāga*, *jangha*, *baraṇḍa*. At the base, the *pābhāga* has five mouldings, comprising of *khūrā*, *kūmbha*,

pāta, *kani* and *basanta*. The *janḡha* is plain wall surmounted by the set of two mouldings of the *baraṇḡa*. The *gaṇḡi* above the *baraṇḡa* is a curvilinear spire devoid of any decorations. However, a large *bho*-type *vajra mastaka* just right above the *rāhā* niche has relieved *bāraṇḡa* mouldings. Above the *vajra mastaka* motif has a projected stone that serves as abacus to *ūdyota-sīm̃ha* on all the four sides. The *mastaka* as usual in Odisa temples has components like *beki*, *āmlaka*, *khapūri* and *kalasa*. In the *beki*, *beki-bhairavas* are placed above the *rāhā-pāga*.

The *rāhā* niches on three sides, all are empty. Beneath the niche is the plain *tala-garbhikā* designed as *khakhara-mūṇḡi* while above the niche is an *urdhva-garbhika* as usual with 10th century temples of Odisa. The door jambs is three vertical bands of decorative scroll works namely *puspa-sākhā*, *nara-sākhā* and *lata-sākhā* from exterior to interior on either side of the entrance portal right above the *vajra-mūṇḡi* above the *dvārapāla* niche. At the *lalātabim̃ba* there is a Gajalakṣhmī seated in *lalītāsana* on double petalled lotus and flanked by two female attendants on either sides. Figure of lion is carved beneath the *dvārapāla* niche. The *dvārapāla* holds the trident in their left hand along with the river goddess standing on their respective mount and holding jars in their uplifted hands. Diminutive attendant hold large parasol above the head of the goddesses. Above the doorjambs there is the *grāhā* architrave (Fig. 34) which is carved with the traditional *navagrāhās* flanked by two *bhāra-bāhkas* (atlantid *gaṇas*). The *grāhās* are housed in small *pidha-mūṇḡi* niches, seated in *padmāsana*. *Rāhū* is depicted with shoulder rather than a head with hand. The frontal porch above the *grāhā* architrave is surmounted by a *suka-nasa* designed by two miniature *rekha deūlās* on either side of a *khākharā-mūṇḡi* that is crowned by a *bho*-motif. The temple is made of light grey fine-grained sand stone. This temple is totally renovated and only *garha* slab and door frame is the surviving original structure.

Vīṣṇū Temple- (12th -13th Century) (Fig. 35) - The Vīṣṇū temple is located in the Gāṇḡhī Garābadū Precinct and north of Kartikesvara Śīva temple in Old Town area. It is situated on the right side of the temple road branching from Garej Chowk to Liṅgarāja temple. The temple is facing towards the west. The *garbha-griha* of the temple is empty. But the cult icons on the outer walls and the *dvārapāla* in the door

jamb, suggest that the temple was originally dedicated to the Viṣṇu. The temple is made of ochre and grey sand stone.

The stylistic development belongs to mature phase. The *baraṇḍa* has five fold mouldings, arrangement of *rekha anga-sīkharas* like Rājārānī, and the arrangements of consorts of *digapālas* on the *upara-janḡha*. Local people ascribed the temple to the Somavaṃśī period. But the architectural features conform to the Gaṅgas. Architectural features of the temple have a square *vimāna*, with a frontal porch. It is a *pancha-ratha* temple as distinguished by a central *rāhā* and pairs of *anūratha* and *kaṇikā-pāgas* on either sides of the *rāhā*. On elevation, the *vimāna* is of *rekha* order. From bottom to top the temple has a *bāda*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. With five fold divisions of the *bāda* (Fig. 36) the temple has a *panchanga-bāda*. At the bottom the *pābhāga* has five base mouldings but the *khūrā* buried. The *bāṇḍhaṇa* consists of three mouldings and *baraṇḍa* has thick of five mouldings. The *gaṇḍi* is decorated with a series of miniature *rekha deūla* in all side above the *pāgas*. The *mastaka* has components like *beki*, *āmlaka*, *khapūri* and *kalasa* is broken. The *rāhā* niches are all empty.

The iconographical peculiarities are similar with Rājārānī and Anata Vāsudev temple in Bhubaneswar. The Angasikhara (Fig. 37) and architecture similar with Rājārānī, another features mature phase style adopted this temple. The *rāhā* niches are a set of *tala-garvika* mouldings. The niches on either side are flanked by a pair of octangular pilasters on either side. The spaces in between the pilasters are occupied by graceful *sālabhaṅjika*. The *tala-janḡha* houses *digapālas* in the niches of *kanika-pāga* and *nāyikās* in the niches of the *anūratha-pāgas*, where as the *upara-janḡha kaṇikā-pāgas* house the *digapālikās* (female counter parts of the *digapālas*) and erotic sculptures (Fig. 38) in the *anūratha* niches. The doorjambes are carved with three vertical bands of *lata-sākhā*, *puspa-sākhā* and *patra-sākhā* from exterior to interior. The lintel is broken. At the base of the doorjambes there are *dvārapāla* niches on either side. Both the *dvārapālas* hold bow in their left hand and *parasu* in their right hand. The *navagrāhā* architrave is carved with the traditional *navagrāhās*, each within a niche and seated in *padmāsana*. Among the *grāhās*, *ketū* is not clearly visible because of erosion and obliterations. The *rāhā pāga* of the western wall has cracked up to the

bisama that facilitates leakage of water into the Sanctum. The *Kalasa* is missing. The carvings in the exterior wall are heavily weathered due to rain water and poor quality of stone and poor maintenance. The *khūrā* portion of the *pābhāga* is buried and cracks are seen in *rāhā paga*. Because of unwarranted encroachments from all sides it is not easily accessible and even difficult for viewing. An *Ūdyota sim̃ha*, a broken fragment of the *rāhā pāgas* of western wall are found just in front of the entrance to the temple.¹⁹⁴

Gaṅgeśvara Śīva Temple (13th-14th century AD) (Fig. 39) - It is situated within a precinct on the left side of Gaṅga-Yamūnā road, leading from Tala Bazār Chowk to Gaṅga-Yamūnā temple in Old Town. It is located at some distance towards north-east of Liṅgarāja temple and north of Lakhesvara temple across the road, south of Sūbarneśvara and east of Goūriśaṅkar temple. The temple is facing towards east. It has a *Śīva-liṅgam* within a circular *Yoni-pītha* in its sanctum. There is a common belief among the local people that Pārvātī killed the demons Kīrti and Bāsa in the *Ekāmra Kṣhetra*. After this heroic incident, the deity felt thirsty. In order to satisfy the thirst, Śīva struck his trident into the earth. A spring came out and to consecrate the spring river goddess Gaṅga and Yamūnā were invited.¹⁹⁵ To commemorate the incident twin temples of Gaṅgesvara and Yamūneśvara were constructed during the Gaṅga rule in Bhubaneswar as well as in Odisha. However, the present monument is a later renovation over the original shrine as evident from the use of its building materials in a nonschematic manner and depiction of sculptures of later period in the *janḡha*. The temple is surrounded by Yamūneśvara temple in the south and *Gaṅga-Yamūnā* tank in the north-east direction within the temple precinct. The eastern, western and northern sides are surrounded by paddy fields across the temple compound wall. Gaṅga-Yamūnā road passes through in the south beyond temple compound wall. The temple is facing towards east.

The stylistic feature of this temple is decadence phase and its architectural features generally *Pīḍhā deula* became the choice for both *vimāna* and the *jagamohana*. The building materials are mostly laterite stone. The walls of the temple are devoid of sculptural embellishment and decoration. But this temple is *Vimana* probably the last time of 13th century AD. The temple is of the *pancha-ratha* type

with square *vimāna* and a frontal porch extending towards east. The temple consists of *vimāna* and the frontal porch. On elevation, the temple is in *rekhā* order having usual *bāda*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. The *bāda* has five fold vertical divisions namely plain *pābhāga* with five mouldings *tala-janḡha*, *bāṇḍhaṇa* two mouldings, *upara-janḡha* and the *baraṇḍa* has a single moulding. The *gaṇḍi* above the *baraṇḍa* is distinguished by a central *rāhā* and a pair of *anūratha* and *kaṇikā-pāgason* either side of the *rāhā* which is a curvilinear spire devoid of ornamentation. The *mastaka* as usual in Odisha temples have components like *beki*, *āmlaka*, *khapuri* and *kalasa*.

The iconographical peculiarity of temple is not like a mature phase. The *pārśva-devatā* niche is situated on three sides. The western niche houses a four armed Viṣṇu image (Fig. 40) standing in *tri-bhanga* pose on a full blown lotus pedestal along with his mount Garūda. The deity is holding mace in his upper left arm and conch in lower left arm. While his upper right arm is in *vardā-mūdrā* and the lower right arm is holding a wheel. The image wears a *Kīriti-mūkūta* and *Makara-Torana* in relief behind the head. The northern niche accommodates a four armed Pārvatī image of recent make. The southern niche is empty. The temple is carved with secular images on both the *janḡhas*. In the western wall, *tala-janḡha* portion there is a female figure holding a child in her both hands. She wears a *mani-bandha*, beaded necklace and armlet with blubbing hair. The *uppara-janḡha*, bears a *nāyikā* image in standing pose pushing something into her genital organ in her right hand and left hand resting on the ground. In the *kanikā-pāga*, *tala-janḡha* has *darpaṇā* image and the *upara-janḡha* sculpture has a male figure holding a rectangular flat shaped object on his left hand and right and resting over the right knee (Fig. 41). In the right side of the *rāhā-paga*, the lower- *janḡha* is carved with a male warrior who holds a sword in his right hand and shield in left hand (Fig. 42). In the *upara-janḡha*, there is a woman in *Yoni-abhiseka*¹⁹⁶ (Fig. 43) pose standing over a fire pot with spread out of legs, the figure either urinating or taking the warmth of the fire. Her right arm is in *abhaya-mudra* and left arm resting over her left knee. In the *kanikā-pāga*, the lower *janḡha* bears an amorous couple in which the male figure while the right hand touches the chin of the woman. In the southern wall, the left side *rāhā* (*anūratah-paga*) in lower *janḡha* bears a female figure holding a pot in her left hand while in her right hand she is feeding a monkey. In the *upara-janḡha*, the male figure is holding a *kamaṇḍalū* in his left hand

while in her left and while his right hand holds the arm of the female in an amorous pose. In the *upara-jangah*, there is an abduction scene in which a male with moustache is carried by female (Fig. 44). The carvings in the northern wall are chopped off. On the right side of the *jangha* is carved with the image of a female figure in which she is pushing something in to the genital organ with her left hand (Fig. 45).

The door jambs are decorated with two plain vertical bands. At the base of the door jambs there are two *dvārapālas* standing in flex position and holding a trident in their left hand. In the inner *dvāra-sakha* at the base near the *pidhā-mūṇḍi* of the niche has snake canopy with the bust of a female on the left and a male on the right. There are *gaja-simha* motifs carved beneath the *dvārapāla* niches. At the *laltābimba*, there is a Gajalakṣhmī seated in *Lalitāsana* on double petalled lotus flanked by two elephants which represents the *jalabhiseka* ceremony. The sculptures of the northern wall are chopped off, *pābhāga* portion of south-west corner is partly damaged and cracks are noticed in the *baraṇḍa* and *pābhāga* portion in the western and southern walls of the temple. Cracks are noticed in the northern and southern walls.¹⁹⁷ *Ūdyota simha*, a broken *āmlaka-śila*, *Siddhivinayaka* image without a mouse (early sculpture) and a *deūlachārinī* are noticed inside the temple precinct. There is introduced of *vāhanastāmbha* like main features of Gangas, these features are added in Lingaraja, Anata Vasudeva, Jagannatha and Konarak temple. This temple is belonging to that period. The *vāhanastāmbha* is *vrisabha* (Fig. 46) vehicle of Siva. The space of the wall is plain there are no decorative figures. There might be many causes but important of all, is lack of patronage and living of artisans, because during this time construction was going on of huge temples like Jagannatha at Puri and Surya Deula at Konarak. The available man power and resources were diverted to either Konark or Puri for construction of the huge temples. This was because of the rulers order to concentrate on the construction of temples at Puri and Konarak.

The lesser known temples are very small compared to major temples in Bhubaneswar. The representation of architecture seems similar to major temples, but there is difference in the sculpture. The sculptural representation needs adequate space in the wall. For instance the Natraja image in major temple like Liṅgarāja,

Parshurāmeśvara, Satruganeśvar and Vaitāla are very profusely done but lesser known temple has no space for representations of large image. The artisans applied the space-techniques in these monuments as the availability of resources. The artisans want to make it huge but the lack of patronage and some technical issues became barrier for performance better artistic qualities. This chapter thus dealt profoundly with temple and its architecture. Moreover the chapter comprises of a chronological analysis of the evolution of temple and its various sculptural manifestations. The next chapter contains concluding remarks of the study with critical insights.

Endnotes and References

- ¹ . A.N. Parida, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 7.
- ² . M. A. Dhaky, *The Indian Temple Forms in Karnatak Inscriptions and Architecture*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 1. And see also K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 51. He was mentioned on his work in fourth chapter “But the Orissan temple architecture by reason of its own distinct individualities and a long history of evolution soon came to acquire for itself a distinct nomenclature, viz. the Kalinga. Prof. R.D. Banerji has drawn our attention to an inscription of the pre-Muslim period in the temple of Amritesvara at Holal in the Bellary district, in which mention has been made of four classes of temples, Nāgara, Kalinga, Drāvida and Vesara. (History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 35) Prof. Banerji’s view has further been supported by another scholar, Mr. D.P. Ghosh, who has shown that certain well-marked peculiarities distinguish the Odisha group of temples from the *sikhara* temples of Northern India, Central India, Rajputana, Gujrat and Kangara”.
- ³ . The twelfth-century *Aparajitaprccha* of Bhuvandeva, western India; the *Laksanasamūccaya* of Vairocana, an eleventh-through thirteenth-century eastern India agama; and the twelfth-century south Indian āgama, the *Kāmika*. Cited., by Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture, North India, Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. AD 900-1000*, American Institute of Indian Studies, Delhi, 1998, p. 36.
- ⁴ . Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture, North India, Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. AD 900-1000*, American Institute of Indian Studies, Delhi, 1998, p. 50, n. 66.
- ⁵ .D.K. Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1975, pp. 3-9, see also pp. 4-5, He talk about Kalinga- “The earliest mention of Kalinga is both Buddhist and Brahmanical text before 3rd century BC, such as Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Mahābhārta, mentioned by Pāṇinī, Arthasāstra, and Buddhist text Bodhāyana mentioned it (Kalinga-Āraṇya) in Buddhist Pali text.” “The Buddhist literature abounds in references to Kalinga-raṭṭha and assigns to this country the city of Dantapura where king Brahmadatta is said to have erected a stopover a tooth relic of Buddha. The references to Kalinga-Araṇya in the Pali text show that large tracts of the country were covered with forest. Kalinga find mention in Rock Edict XIII of Asoka which includes within its jurisdiction the cities of Tosali, identified with modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in Puri district, and Samapa near modern Jaugada in Ganjam district.” (See p.5.)
- ⁶ . Stella Kramrisch, “Kalinga Temples,” *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, v. 2, no. 1, 1934, pp. 43-44 and p. 43, n. 3.
- ⁷ . Dhaky, *Indian Temple*, p. 9. 6. Dhaky, *Indian Temple*, pp. 36-37.
- ⁸ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 5
9. N.K. Bose, *Op. cit*, p.78.
10. In Odia language the temple is called *deula*.
11. N.K. Bose, *op.cit*, p.78.
- ¹² . K.C.Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 146.
- ¹³ . Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1946, p. 217.
14. S.N. Rajguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol.III; Part-II, Bhubaneswar, p. 345.

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- ¹⁵ . N.K. Bose, *op.cit*, p. 57.
- ¹⁶ . Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1946, p. 216-217.
- ¹⁷ . M.A. Dhaky, "The 'Aksalinga' Finial", *Artibus Asiae*, XXXVI, 1974, pp. 307-315.
- ¹⁸ . V. Dahejia, *Early Stone Temple of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, pp.124-138.
- ¹⁹ . A.N. Parida, *Early Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 48.
- ²⁰ . This meaning of the phrase is "which things are related with the human being and it could be related with society day to day life", those facts are study through ethno-archaeological point of view.
- ²¹ . Stella Kramrisch, *Wall and Image in Indian Art*, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (Feb. 17), 1958, pp. 7-13.
- ²² . Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, pp. 216-217.
- ²³ . V. Dahejia, *Early Stone Temple of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, P. 31.
- ²⁴ . A.N. Parida, *Early Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 41., The interior walls of the Vaita late temple are relieved with image of Saptamātrikas, Virabhadra, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. These images do not serve the purpose of wall decoration, rather they are meant to be worshipped along with the presiding deity, Chāmūṇḍa.
- ²⁵ . A.N. Parida, *Early Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 41.
- ²⁶ . *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42. "The ceilings of the mūkhasālā of the Mukteśvara and Brahmeśvara are carved with the design of inverted full-blown lotus. In the mūkhasālā of the Kosaleśvara temple at Baidyanāth and Kapileśvara temple at Charda the pillars and pilasters have been delicately carved."
- ²⁷ . *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ²⁸ . *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
- ²⁹ . *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45
- ³⁰ . *Ibid.* 45-48.
- ³¹ . C.L. Fabri, *History of the Art of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 31.
- ³² . *Ibid.*
- ³³ . A.N. Parida, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-65.
- ³⁴ . A.N. Parida, *Early Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 42.
- ³⁵ . *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- ³⁶ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 34-38, and *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1981, pp. 355-359. "The relief sculptures on the lotus capital bear affinities with those on the caves of Udayagiri." (D. Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, A.S.I., New Delhi, 1958, p. 8.)
- ³⁷ . D. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- ³⁸ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 207-208.
- ³⁹ . *Ibid.*, p. 210.

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- ⁴⁰ . A.N. Parida, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
- ⁴¹ .Ibid., p. 44.
- ⁴² . Ibid., p. 43. "It is evident from the Bhadrakalī temple inscription that the deity was called Paraṇādevatī in the third century AD. It is not known when and under what circumstance she became Bhagrakalī."
- ⁴³ . Ibid., p. 44.
- ⁴⁴ . Ibid., op. cit, pp. 42-43.
- ⁴⁵ . OHRJ, Vol. XIII, No.2, pp. 1-8., and see also *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XIV, 1-2, pp. 5-25.
- ⁴⁶ , A.N. Parida., op. cit, pp. 42-44.
- ⁴⁷ . T. N. Ramachandran, Find of Tempera Painting in Sītābhinji, District Keoñjhār, Orissa, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 14, No. 1/2, 1951, pp. 5-25. When the project was going on survey of the "Rock Art in Kenujhara District" myself and some research scholar from Utkal and Sambalpur University visit to Danguaposi village near the Sitabhinji Tempera painting. Some artifacts, rock art and other archaeological remains are goes back to the Prehistoric period. The Ravanachaya tempera painting is the bearing the art tradition of this locality continued from prehistory to even till the present time. The ethno archaeological point of view the continuing painting tradition for religious upliftment in this area make better instance. Except the A.S.I. protected monument Ravanachaya tempera painting boulder, all over the site and the other caves are painted various colours are natural as well as artificial to make the painting inside the big boulder or caves. The tempera painting, inscription and the Mukhalinga is bearing the time frame of the 4th & 5th C.A. D. The tempera paintings stylistic formation and artistic quality of Chatrumukhalinga linga is resemblance of the Gupta art. These are patronage by the Bhanja king Disha Bhanja the feudatory of Gupta Empire.
- ⁴⁸ . T.N. Ramachandran, 'Find of Tempera painting in Sitabhinji, District Keonjhar (Orissa)'. *Arsrtibus Asiae*, Vol. XIV, 1-2, pp. 5-25.
- ⁴⁹ . K.C Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, p 438.
- ⁵⁰ . *Memories of Archaeological Survey of India (MASI)*, No. 16.
- ⁵¹ . *MASI*, No. 44, pp. 4.
- ⁵² . D. Mitra, op. cit., p. 9.
- ⁵³ . Ibid.,
- ⁵⁴ . A.N. Parida, op. cit., p. 45.
- ⁵⁵ . V. Dahejia, op. cit., p. 62.
- ⁵⁶ . Ibid., p. 65.
- ⁵⁷ . A.N. Parida, op. cit., p. 45.
- ⁵⁸ . Ibid.,
- ⁵⁹ . Ibid.,
- ⁶⁰ . Vidya Dehejia, op.cit, p. 62.
- ⁶¹ . Ibid.,

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- ⁶² . Ibid.,
- ⁶³ . Vidya Dehejia, op.cit, p. 62.
- ⁶⁴ . A.N. Parida, op. cit., 45.
- ⁶⁵ . Ibid.,
- ⁶⁶ . D. Mitra, op. cit., p. 24.
- ⁶⁷ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, pp. 45-48.
- ⁶⁸ . Ibid., p. 48.
- ⁶⁹ . Ibid.,
- ⁷⁰ . CL. Fabri, op. cit., p. 135.
- ⁷¹ . K.C Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubanestuar, pp. 33-36.
- ⁷² . Ibid.,
- ⁷³ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, pp. 45-48.
- ⁷⁴ . Ibid.,
- ⁷⁵ . Ibid.,
- ⁷⁶ . Ibid.,
- ⁷⁷ . Ibid.,
- ⁷⁸ . K.V, Sundra Rajan, Early Kaliṅga Art and Architecture, Delhi, 1984, pp. 164-165.
- ⁷⁹ . Ibid., p. 164.
- ⁸⁰ . K.C. Panigrahi, History of Orissa, Cuttack, 1981, p. 434.
- ⁸¹ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, p. 60.
- ⁸² . K.C. Panigrahi, History of Orissa, Cuttack, 1981, pp. 434-435., "That an *Asoka* tree blossoms at the touch of the feet of a beautiful woman, is a conventional poetical idea which is to be found in several Sanskrit works like the *Meghaduta*, *Malavikagnimitra* etc., and this conventional poetical idea has been executed in stone by the ancient artists of Odisha. In fact, for inspiration and for achieving grace and elegance in their creations-both the poet and the artist had to borrow ideas from the same common source; viz. the Sāṅskṛit literature. That is do not however, go to the length of suggesting that certain motifs or forms have been inspired by a particular poet or poets like Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti. All that is intended to be said is that certain well known poetical ideas were widely current in the periods when the temples were built, and that the sculptors have depicted them in stone to lend charm and elegance to their creations. It is also to be noted that the sculptors in reproducing these ideas have been inspired by their beauty and appropriateness rather than by a desire to depict the real life of the society in which they lived."
- ⁸³ . K.C. Panigrahi, History of Orissa, Cuttack, 1981, p. 434.
- ⁸⁴ . *Śīlpa Prakāsa*, I, 392-481, pp. 46-53.

⁸⁵ . Vidya Dehejia, *Early Stone temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 69.

⁸⁶ . *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁸⁷ . *Silpa Prakasa*, I, 392-481, pp. 46-53.

⁸⁸ . A.N. Parida, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁸⁹ . *Ibid.*,

⁹⁰ . *Ibid.*,

⁹¹ . *Ibid.*,

⁹² . According to M.M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, Calcutta, 1912, p. 229, Uriya architects still believe in the efficacy of erotic images and cite from their *Silpa Sastras* the recommended positions for these images on the structures, insisting such images not only ward off evil spirits but protect the structure against lightning, cyclone or other dire visitations of nature.

⁹³ . In addition to its auspicious function on the temple, it was also beneficial for the builder. By depicting erotic imagery on temples, the builder (owner) expected spiritual good, prosperity, vigour, wealth and offspring, and also the fulfillment of other desires including a long life for him and the temple. See also T.P. Bhattacharya, *Mithun Figure in Indian Art*, *Lalita kala*, XII, 1967, p. 50., and see also Y. Krishan: *The Erotic Sculptures of India*, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1972, pp. 331-343.

⁹⁴ . Maithuna (sexually engaged couples) as well as mithuna (auspicious couples) are of great antiquity in India's religious imagery. Temples from the fifth century AD on primarily use mithuna couples until the high medieval period (10th to 15th centuries), but maithuna appear on temples in Odisha and Western India by the 7th and 8th centuries. See Francis Leeson, *Kama Shilpa*, Bombay 1965; Kanwar Lal, *The Cult of Desire*, New Hyde Park 1967; Thomas Donaldson, "Propitious-Apotropaic Eroticism in the Art of Orissa," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXVII (1975), 75-100. Devangana Desai's major study, *Erotic Sculpture of India, a Socio-cultural Study*, Bombay 1975, References are included in the notes. The earliest maithuna-terracotta plaques, not temple decoration from the first century BC to the second century AD are illustrated in P.C. Das Gupta, "Early Terracottas from Chandraketurah," *Lalit Kala*, 6, 1959, 50, fig. II; a further early example from Tamluk is illustrated in *Indian Archaeology: A Review*, 1954-55, pl. XXXIX. See also Desai, Ch. II, and pls. 7-12.

⁹⁵ . Aside from their auspicious function, there are many examples of erotic imagery on Odisha temples which seemingly illustrate specific Tantric rituals, particularly those in the baranda recess. In contrast to the earliest erotic images, such as on the Parasuramesvara, which are generalized in treatment and appear to be unrelated to any specific religious sect even though the temples are Saivite, beginning on the Markandeyesvara, dating to the mid- 8th century, the imagery becomes explicitly associated with Siva. Commencing on the southeast corner is a scene of Brahma and Vishṇu paying homage to Siva while the following scenes represent erotic imagery, drinking scenes and linga-puja. Similar erotic imagery appears in the baranda recess of the slightly later Sisiresvara temple along with an image of Kama supported by Rati and Priti. On the adjacent Vaital Deul, a Śākta/Tāntric shrine, in addition to erotic imagery, inebriation, linga-puja and Kama flanked by Rati and Priti, the bāraṇḍa recess contains the Bhikṣatanamūrti of Siva, Kapālika rsis, and drinking or eating from kapalas. And see also Thomas Donaldson: *Kamadeva's Pleasure Garden: Orissa*, Delhi, 1987, p. 1-7.

⁹⁶ . In the mid-tenth century AD the Somavamśis rulers firmly entrenched in eastern Odisha, the Paśupata and Kapālika sects were apparently replaced in popularity by new religious sects such as the Kaulacaras which were popular in Central India. Although we have no surviving Kapālika texts, there are many Kaula texts. A Śākta/Tāntric named Bhavadeva, who was the religious preceptor of the

Somavamsi king Udyota-kesari, reportedly wrote a Tantric text entitled *Tantramava* and installed many deities at Bhubaneswar. Other related Odisa texts include the *Saudhikāgama*, the *Śīlipa Prakāsa*, and the *Kaulacūddmaṇi Tantra*. In the changing iconographic programme of the temples, the sequential arrangement of prescribed stages in sex rituals is eliminated in favour of independent sexual activities which become incorporated as major motifs on all temples.

⁹⁷ . The erotic rituals are thus becoming secularized. *Yoniabhiseka*, for example, is transformed into a simple toilet scene and the *Dombi* is eliminated from fellatio scenes as the female participant is now idealized. More than anything, apart from their auspicious function, the images stresses the pursuit of love and hedonistic practices.

⁹⁸ . It is thus the magical power of sex which dominates in these later images. Although the belief in the magical power of sexual depiction was basic to the tenets of all of the religious sects, the plethora of magico-sexual motifs dominating the decorative programme of most later temples is probably due to Tantric influence and the spread of their doctrine among the aristocracy responsible for the construction of the temples. See also Devangana Desai, *Erotic's sculpture of India: A Socio-Cultural Study*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 110-114.

⁹⁹ . J. N. Banerjea, 'The Varahi Temple at Chaurasi', V.V. Mirashi Felicitation Volume, pp. 349-354.

¹⁰⁰ . V. Dahejia, op. cit., p. 71.

¹⁰¹ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, p. 58.

¹⁰² . Ibid., p. 59. In the commemorative inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva, dating to the Gaṅga period, it is recorded, There is this province of Utkala, where the five friends of the god of five arrows-the eye and others-appear fulfilled of desire in (their several) series of objects, following which is mentioned that the husband of Candrika (the builder of the temple) had practiced with her diverse kinds of pleasure in which delight was attendant upon amorous passions. And see also Paramnanda Acharya, *The Commemorative Inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple at Bhubaneswar*, OHRJ, Vol. 1, 1953, pp. 286-87.

¹⁰³ . Ibid, pp. 59-60. The temples belonging to the Gaṅga period bear these sculptures in greater number. On the celebrated Sun temple at Konark they have been lavishly displayed. It appears that after their introduction into the temples of a particular period; whatever may be the reason, they were used as the elements of surface decoration of the subsequent temples irrespective of the cult to which they belonged. They were treated in the same manner as other decorative motifs were treated and had no special significance.

¹⁰⁴ . T. Bhattacharya, *The Canons of Indian Art (A study on Vastūvidyā)*, p. 228.

¹⁰⁵ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 109-110.

¹⁰⁶ . Ibid,

¹⁰⁷ . Ibid,

¹⁰⁸ . K.V. Sundara Rajana, *Early Kaliṅga Art and Architecture*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 180.

¹⁰⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

¹¹⁰ . V. Ramasubramaniam, "Ganapati-Vinayaka Gajanana Worship-Analysis of an integrated-Cult," *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, January-June, 1971, Madras, pp. 123-125.

¹¹¹ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

¹¹² . In some cases, as on the Satrugnesvara temple, this association is more implied than explicit. Immediately above the displayed female, who reaches underneath her legs to open wide her yoni, is the representation of the male principle symbolized by the head of Śiva. A nearly identical displayed

female appears on the western facade of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple while two such images appear on the western facade of the later Gaurī temple within the vajra-mastaka motif along with *kirtimukha* masks, displayed male yaksa figures, atlantid figures, and a grotesque mask of Kubera with projecting tongue. This conjunction, along with auspicious exhibitionism and projecting tongue, further reinforces the apostrophic nature of the vajra-mastaka and its dominating *kirtimukha* motif.

¹¹³ . V.S. Agrawala, Foreword in M.A. Dhaky, *The Vyala Figures of the Medieval Temple of India*, p. 5.

¹¹⁴ . M.A. Dhaky terms them Mesavyalas. (M.A. Dhaky, op. cit., p. 23, fig. 20).

¹¹⁵ . A.N. Parida, op. cit., p. 62.

¹¹⁶ . Ibid.,

¹¹⁷ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 113-114.

¹¹⁸ . A.N. Parida, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

¹¹⁹ . Thomas Donaldson, *Doorframes on the Earliest Orissan Temples*, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 38, No. 2/3 1976, pp. 189-218

¹²⁰ . In that the doorframe is one of the most conspicuous features of the temple, at eye level confronting anyone wishing to perform puja within, it is appropriate that its decoration should not only beautify the entrance into the garbha-griha (sanctum) but act as a frame for the enshrined deity as well. At the same time the doorframe functions as a magical barrier around the doorway, the most vulnerable part of the temple 'where perils must be warded off and contamination with the impurities of the world prevented.' It is thus natural that its decoration should contain complementary dual Agni-Soma characteristics. None of the motifs on the temple, as has been pointed out, 'is merely decorative for each has its meaning at its proper place and is an image or symbol.' Prescriptions in the sacred texts not only dictate which motifs are to appear but generally even specify their location on the doorframe.

¹²¹ . The decoration on the doorframes of Gupta temples in north India generally conforms closely to the injunction made by Varahamihira (sixth century AD) in the *Brihat Sahita* (LVI, I4-1 5) where it is stated that the bottom fourth of the jamb be decorated with dvarapals. Among the other motifs mentioned in this injunction are auspicious birds, srmrksa (auspicious tree), svastika, pruna-ghata (full vase overflowing with foliage), mithuna (amorous couple), foliated creeper, and dwarfish figures. Additional doorframe motifs found on Gupta temples include the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna, Salabhanjikas (tree goddesses), series of projecting 'beam ends' frequently decorated with lion heads, winged lions (vyalas) with riders, and miniature caitya facades. The dvara-lalata-bimba motif in the center of the lintel usually shows an image of the presiding deity of the temple. The jambs of the doorframe are generally divided into four or five mouldings on each side of the door. Although there is elaborate scroll-work in these mouldings, in addition to *kirtimukhas* and interlacing naga tails, the overall decoration is dominated primarily by figure sculpture, such as the dvarapalas, superimposed panels carved with mithunas or ganas (sprites), river or tree goddesses, and flying figures.

¹²² . This dual complementary symbolism is also evident in the Saiva dvarapalas at the base of the jambs on the temples of the Śailodbhava period. The guardian on the proper left is a Bhairava (Nandi), or frightening aspect of Siva, while the guardian on the right (Mahakala) represents the benevolent aspect of Siva. They carry a trident as their weapon similar to their counter- parts on the early Calukya temples. This contrasts with Saiva doorkeepers in South India who generally are depicted leaning on a heavy mace with legs crossed, the free hand usually resting on the hip. The Odisha dvarapalas are represented in a slightly flexed, frontal position with an oval halo behind the head, rather than the

spoke-halo associated with the Pallava kingdom in the South, a motif which also appears frequently on Calukyan temples. Only on the Bharateśvara, and on one example of the Parasurāmeśvara, are the legs of the dvdrapala crossed. Only on one occasion does a dvrapala lean on his weapon. The dvrapalas are generally small, occupying the lower fourth of the jambs, and usually have four arms, an exception being the Bharatesvara where they have only two. Except on the Bharateśvara and Parasurāmeśvara, they are flanked by a pair of diminutive attendants, one in each of the lower corners. None of the attendants hold umbrellas, as on numerous Gupta temples, nor are there any river goddesses present. For details see Thomas Donaldson, *Doorframes on the Earliest Orissan Temples*, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 38, No. 2/3 1976, pp. 212-214.

¹²³ . The horizontal lintel over the doorway or niche on these earliest temples is dominated by a rectangular panel invariably carved with a narrative scene rather than a hieratic *davra-lalata-bimba* image as on Gupta, Calukya, or later Odisha temples. See also T.E. Donaldson, *op.cit*, p. 208.

¹²⁴ . River goddesses are only sporadically associated with doorways on Odisha temples, except for a brief period during the early Somavamsi dynasty when influence was filtering into Odisha from central India via the Upper Mahanadi Valley. Rare early examples appear on the west portal of the Parasuramesvara and on the Simhanatha temple near Baideswar; in both cases, however, the river goddesses merely flank the portal and are not part of the doorframe itself. See also Thomas Donaldson, *op.cit*, p. 190 ff.

¹²⁵ . Stories from Saivite mythology are depicted on the lintels of the door-jambs of the Satrugnesvara at Bhubaneswar. Image of Anatasayi Vishṇu surmounts the lintels of the Kosalesvara temple at Baidyanath and Kapilesvara temple at Charda. This feature not found in any other temple of Odisha. (A.N. Parida, *op. cit*, p. 49).

¹²⁶ . Anita K. G. Pearlroth, *Scrollwork in Medieval Orissan Art*, *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. 25, 1971/1972, pp. 77-87.

¹²⁷ . Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

¹²⁸ . A.N. Parida, *op. cit*, p. 64.

¹²⁹ . *Ibid.*,

¹³⁰ . *Ibid.*,

¹³¹ . C.L. Fabri, *op .cit*, p. 39.

¹³² . A.N. Parida, *op. cit*, p. 49.

¹³³ . K.C. Panigrhi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 124.

¹³⁴ . K.C. Panigrhi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 124-125., and see also A.N. Parida, *Early Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 51.

¹³⁵ . A.N. Parida, *op. cit*, p. 51.

¹³⁶ . *Ibid*,

¹³⁷ . *Ibid*. A.N. Parida, *op. cit*, p. 50.

¹³⁸ . *Ibid*. A.N. Parida, *op. cit*, p. 51.

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- ¹³⁹ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, p. 51.
- ¹⁴⁰ . K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 124-127., and see also R.S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists, and Jainas*, Bombay, 1972, pp. 47-48., and see also Durga Charan Panda, *Kaliṅgara Mandira Gatrare Deva Murti* (Odia), Bhubaneswar, 2006, pp. 31-40., see K.S. Behera & T.E. Donaldson, *Sculpture Master Pieces From Orissa*, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 65-67.
- ¹⁴¹ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 126, Ibid, p. 48.
- ¹⁴² . Durga Charan Panda, *Kaliṅgara Mandira Gatrare Deva Murti* (Odia), Bhubaneswar, 2006, pp. 31-40., and see also K.S. Behera & T.E. Donaldson, *Sculpture Master Pieces From Orissa*, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 65-67.
- ¹⁴³ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, pp. 127-131., and see also R.S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists, and Jainas*, Bombay, 1972, p. 46., and see also Durga Charan Panda, *Kaliṅgara Mandira Gatrare Deva Murti* (Odia), Bhubaneswar, 2006, pp. 40-46.
- ¹⁴⁴ . Durga Charan Panda, *Kaliṅgara Mandira Gatrare Deva Murti* (Odia), Bhubaneswar, 2006, p. 88.
- ¹⁴⁵ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit. p. 131, and see also K.S. Behera & T.E. Donaldson, op.cit. p. 68-70.
- ¹⁴⁶ . Durga Charan Panda, op.cit, p. 85.
- ¹⁴⁷ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 113.
- ¹⁴⁸ . Ibid,
- ¹⁴⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 133.
- ¹⁵⁰ . Ibid, pp. 320-322., and see also T. E. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, Vol. I, Leiden, 1985, p. 76.
- ¹⁵¹ . D.C. Panda, op. cit, p. 47.
- ¹⁵² . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 134.
- ¹⁵³ . D.C. Panda, op. cit, p. 49.
- ¹⁵⁴ . Ibid, p. 47.
- ¹⁵⁵ . J.K. Sahu, *Saivism in Orissa*, in *Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa*, p. 329.
- ¹⁵⁶ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, p. 52.
- ¹⁵⁷ . Ibid,
- ¹⁵⁸ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 137.
- ¹⁵⁹ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 138.
- ¹⁶⁰ . Ibid, pp. 64-68.
- ¹⁶¹ . Ibid, p. 65.
- ¹⁶² . Ibid,
- ¹⁶³ . Ibid, and see also Panigrahi, op. cit, pp. 142-143.

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- ¹⁶⁴ . D.C. Panda, op. cit, pp. 47-82.
- ¹⁶⁵ . D.C. Panda, op. cit, p. 135.
- ¹⁶⁶ . Ibid, and see also A.N. Parida, op. cit, p. 55.
- ¹⁶⁷ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, p. 57.
- ¹⁶⁸ . Ibid,
- ¹⁶⁹ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, p. 56.
- ¹⁷⁰ . R.S. Gupte, op. cit, pp. 49-53., Eight Dikpals are Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairrita, Varuna, Vayu, Kubera and Isāna (Siva).
- ¹⁷¹ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 143.
- ¹⁷² . D.C. Panda, op. cit, pp. 159-161.
- ¹⁷³ . K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit, p. 143.
- ¹⁷⁴ . Paramanada Acharya, Note on the Navagraha Slab in the temple of Orissa in Studies in Orissa History, Archaeology and Archives”, Cuttack, 1969, pp. 316-319.
- ¹⁷⁵ . Paramanada Acharya, “Note on the Navagraha Slab in the temple of Orissa”, Read at the Oriental Conference held in Kashmir in October, 1961 and printed in the Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. XI, 1962, No. 2 and see also “Studies in Orissa History, Archaeology and Archives”, Cuttack, 1969, pp. 316-319.
- ¹⁷⁶ . A.N. Parida, op. cit, p. 55.
- ¹⁷⁷ . The paleography of the Nārāyaṇi temple inscription is confirmed 7th-8th century AD Because this inscription identify with other the epigraphic records of same time, those inscription bearing the quality of later *Brāhmi* script. This 27 letter are identified by Satya Narayan Rajguru. And see also fn. 42, in Chapter-5, A.N. Parida, Early Temples of Orissa, New Delhi, 1999.
- ¹⁷⁸ . S. Pradhana, Lesser Known Monuments of Bhubaneswar, (INTACH, Bhubaneswar Chapter), Bhubaneswar, 2009, pp. 240-241.
- ¹⁷⁹ . The inscriptions on the temple were for the first time discovered and deciphered by the researcher and got it confirmed from Ephigraphic section of ASI, Karnataka.
- ¹⁸⁰ . Ibid, pp. 320-322., and see also T. E. Donaldson, Hindu Temple Art of Orissa, Vol. I, Leiden, 1985, p. 76.
- ¹⁸¹ . R.P. Mohapatra, *Archaeology in Orissa*, Vol. I. Delhi, 1986, p. 58.
- ¹⁸² . K.C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 53-54.
- ¹⁸³ . Ibid, pp. 313-315, and see also K.C. Pangrahi, History of Orissa, pp. 380-381.
- ¹⁸⁴ . Through the personal communication is with local Brahmini of Old Town area for this story.
- ¹⁸⁵ . R.P. Mohapatra, *Archaeology in Orissa*, Vol. I. Delhi, 1986. p. 57, and see also Debala Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1958, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸⁶ . Ibid, pp. 236-238.

¹⁸⁷ . Through the personal communication is with local Brahmini of Old Town area for this story.

¹⁸⁸ . Ibid, pp. 256-258.

¹⁸⁹ . Pradhan, pp. 185-187.

¹⁹⁰ . Pradhan, op. cit. pp. 5-7.

¹⁹¹ . Pradhan, op. cit. p. 7.

¹⁹² . Ibid,

¹⁹³ . R. L. Mitra, Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1961, p.149.

¹⁹⁴ . Ibid, 71-73.

¹⁹⁵ . Through the personal communication is with the priest of the temple for this story.

¹⁹⁶ . The *Yoni-abhiseka* tradition is celebrated as a ritualistic performance, when a girl gets her puberty or mother hood stage. After first menstruations of a girl child became surrender to god or goddesses for gets her quality of fertilization or production of child. This ritual still performed now days in the Berhampur district, some part of western, southern part of Odisa and border of Andhra Pradesh area. This sculpture is too much finding in the Gaṅga period temples because Gaṅgas are migrated from Andhra Pradesh area and this ritual is a tradition of these areas. So, probably this ritual and *Yoni-abhiseka* type of sculpture are spread in Odisa during the Gaṅga period. Gaṅgas are initially ruled over the Andhra Pradesh and southern part of present Odisa. Therefore, the Gaṅgas of Odisa known as *Telenga Gaṅgas* or *Telugu Gaṅgas*.

¹⁹⁷ . Pradhan, op. cit. pp. 75-78.

CHAPTER-V

Conclusion

CHAPTER-V

CONCLUSION

Understanding the emergence of lesser known temples in the context of issues of art, architecture and patronage has been the main emphasis to trace the various factors, which provided an impetus to the emergence of religious architecture. Bhubaneswar has some of the earliest extant lesser known temples dated from 6th century AD onwards. These temples have never become a part of art historical discourses. The stylistic development and the iconographic peculiarities of the lesser known temples could not become part of the temple studies because the focus were on major temples and the mere stylistic study is inadequate to understand the emergence of the small temples. The pioneer scholarship of the temple art in Odisha was following the tradition of Brahmanic nationalist school of thought which has been deployed by the nationalistic view like Coomaraswamy, Kramrisch, Sivaramamurti. The methodological frame-work of nationalist school of thought was followed and imposed in the studies on the Bhubaneswar temples by scholars like Percy Brown, S.K. Svarswati, K.C. Panigrahi, Debala Mitra, D.R. Das, Krishana Deva, K.V. Sundararajana, Vidya Dehejia, P.R.R. Rao, T.E. Donaldson and A.N. Parida; who considered the Kalingana School as a subtype of the *Nāgara* School and established an etymological correlation between Brahmanised *Śilpasastric* terminologies and architectural norms. The scholars assumed Lakhamaneśvara group of temples, Parashurāmeśvara and Vaitāla temple to be the first temple and stressed upon the evolution of an architectural form and style with growing complexities in temple structural activities. Though documentation has been the primary focus of the earlier scholarship but the issues of investigation related to patronage and its historical reconstruction in understanding Bhubaneswar as ‘temple site’ remained untouched. Proceeding on the issues of patronage from the earlier studies, the latter not only for temples but also scholars included religion as an important component and both have been combined in the works. Postmodern and Subaltern radical scholars like Herman Kulke, Vidya Dehejia, Upinder Singh, B.P. Sahu, Shishir Panda etc, who studied the temple through inscription, and suggested that the temple was deliberate mechanism

for legitimacy, hub of royal temple policy along with inner colonization through settlement of Brahmanas. These studies acknowledged temples as the symbolic representation of accumulation of surplus revenues and artisans being supported by kings and rich class people, merchants, *sadhabas* and cumulative financial support helped in shaping of big and small temples which were scattered in Bhubaneswar.

The geographic condition of Bhubaneswar made it an ideal settlement because of availability of natural water resources as well as due to its natural protecting measures. By the 3rd century BC, it emerged as an important town in the Kalinga area and being located in the coastal area, the trade economy must have played an important role for the expansion of the town. Earlier settlements like Dhauli, Sisupalagarha gradually become less important and there is a strategic shift to the township of Bhubaneswar as a part of Brahmanic settlement which can be ascertained by these lesser known temples. Because every small temple are well associated with the big temples like Kapāli matha which is the maternal uncle house of Liṅgarāja or Kīrtivāsa and same types of other eight *Caṇḍīs* temples are also associated with the Liṅgarāja temple which are located in four corners of the *Bindutirtha* or *Bindusagar*. The probable explanation for the construction of the “lesser known temples” in the area of Old town is that these small temples are an alternate to Liṅgarāja temple, built for common people’s ritualistic and religious practices. Henceforth, for ‘religious upliftment’, at first devotees should visit lesser known temples before visiting or making *darsana* to the Liṅgarāja temple, are described in Brahmanical text like *Svarṇādri Mahodaya*, *Ekāmra Candirkā*, *Śiva Purāṇa (Uttara Khaṇḍa)* and *Ekāmra Purāṇa*.

Location of temples and distribution of settlements in the early medieval period in this area show the shifting of the settlement pattern mainly moved to old town area from the east and west side of Bhubaneswar. Due to the emergence of new settlement pattern in the temple locality, thrived as centre of commercial hub. The location of Old town area is basically connected with the two tributary of Gangua, west Daya canal, where as river Daya and the Mahanadi River are located at a distance from the Old town. However the town was an important source for water supply to the temple town. The Old town area or *Purunābhobanisvara* was a well connected with the other commercial places like port areas are Manikipatana and

Golbaisasana through the water ways. Further the examination of terracotta figures, coins and the west Asia ceramics prove that the places like Sisupalagara, Manikpatana and Golbaisasna were the commercial place in the coastal Odisha. The place of the settlement of the Old town area became popular because of its trade connectivity with other trading centers. The shift of settlement also indicates the belief system that was relevant during that time and is strongly associated with the idea of proximity to the abode of god. Thus there is an emergence of Brahmanical settlements around the big temples. The other probable reason is the idea of *tirtha* which give importance to the site as per the Sanskrit text. Therefore some people are visiting this place for their *tirtha darsana* and many more are settled here for their lively hood. The Old town area basically dominated with the Brahmanical settlement near Liṅgarāja temple.

Patronage is an integral part of any monument building activities. The royalty's interest in the site is evident from the 3rd century BC onwards. Despite Bhubaneswar becoming the political capital of any political dynasty after 3rd century BC onwards, it remained an important place for the religious and the cultural activities. The Brahmanical settlements have a very notable pattern of development in the expansion of the town. Temples became site of religious manifestations and the peripheral location of the small temples clearly indicates how temples were deemed as important site of religiosity as well as that of Brahmanical power of orthodoxy over the society.

The way role played by traders, guild, lay worshippers and the community in the making of the Buddhist monuments was phenomenal; on the other hand the temple patronage became exclusive domain of royalties. But such singular understanding of the patronage can be contested due to proliferations of small temples in the city which must have had communitarian and individual ritualistic practices. The uni-dimensional approach arose due to ideological leanings, application of conventional methods and over emphasis on inscriptional sources. The concept of temple and its origin in the past centuries is often attributed to the divine origin. Such understanding has emerged due to the notion of exotic past as well as belief that the text being sacred text therefore divine origin theory has to be a valid reason. Such

Brahmanical perception has gone into the writings of historical past remained a very dominant thinking. The idea of exoticism cannot be applied to the small temples but they became the most frequently used temple site in a locality. It gets divine status when it becomes very popular and accorded the site of a 'tīrtha' by the Brahmanic religious order. It also delineates the various meanings of the word temple mentioned in various Hindu canons.

The issues of patronage of religious institutions were not only an exclusive prerogative of king and royal family member, but also *Śāivācārya*, rich class people, merchants (*sādhabas*), individual and cumulative efforts. However, many other individual, social groups and local bodies also participated in construction, management and maintenance of these temples. The epigraphic records are not sufficient to study patronage in small temples. There, available evidences are neither in the form of copper plate inscriptions nor in manuscripts. The Nārāyaṇi and Mohinī temples' inscriptions are the only available records which provide some idea of its patronage. At times they are not entirely clear. Idea of management of temple is understood through epigraphic records which involved mainly donation to temple and Brahmins by the royalty. In case of lesser known temple, no such system available, therefore it can be concluded that they remained the property of individual families or some communities and most have been maintained by those families and caste groups. Control of the Brahmins appears much marginalized entity in this regard. Even today, the Brahmins are still not the traditional custodian of these small temples.

A large number of temples depict the donor figures in the outer wall of temples. These sculptures are representation of a royal personage or an individual. The bigger temple plays important role in land employment, financial transactions but the small temples has no such role assigned for the fact that they are an outcome of individuals and the communities. Technological understandings of principal stones which have been utilized in temple making have almost a similarity with the ongoing tradition. The texture and longevity of the stones were the reasons behind their selection. The *Śīlpa* texts are important source of information with regard to the technical proficiency in the actual construction techniques. The role of the various groups of artisans is clearly defined in the textual tradition. It is equally applicable in

all the temple building activities, from laying its foundation to rising of a structure in the most complicated processes. It is evident from the inscriptional data that, religious donation was not only the prerogative of royalty, but other groups like officials; Brahamans, merchant associations, Saivacarya's and individuals were involved in it. Not all the donations led to the construction of new shrines rather some of these inscriptions record donations to existing temple. The important aspect of donations was for the maintenance, repairs and conduct of daily worship of the temple. *Debottara Saṃpatī* (god's property) was an integral part of the temple for which land was donated.

Bhubaneswar became the sites of various experiments. The way certain visual scheme is followed in the big temples, similarly it is also followed in small temples but it is only the cardinal deities that are preferred on the wall of small temples due to limited availability of space. The ethno-aesthetics modulations of the figural art, sacrilegious or secular theme and religious themes, and evolution and development of iconographic features of the sculpture are distinct and unique in small temples. Even one also observes iconographic variations in the sculptural representations of *Pārsvadevatā*, *Kārtikeya*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Pārvatī*, *Mahisāmardīnī*, *Lākūlīsa*, *Natarāja*, *Ardhanārīśvara*, *Hara-Pārvatī*, and other manifestations of *Śiva*, incarnations of *Vishṇu*. Images of Buddha and Jaina became part of temple imagery. Due to the political compulsions as put forth by the Bhaumakaras. Buddhist imageries enter on the *Śākta* and *Śaiva* temple walls but not on the Vaisṇavite temples. However in later temples Buddha images became part of the Vaisṇava imagery. There is also a very peculiar pattern of architectural development among the small temples which differs from the main temples. The architectural language has been involved keeping in mind the size and resources of availability.

The big temples have considerable space whereas the small temples provide very little space for sculptural embellishments. Temple such as Nāgeśvara despite being small in dimension appears like a big temple such as Liṅgarāja or Brahmeśvara. Visually the Nāgeśvara temple looks impressive. The artisans must have been very skilled artisans. On the other hand, there are temples like Gaūrīśaṅkar, Lakṣheśvara have no impressive constructions. There are instances where it is observed that

temples remained unfinished but its reasons are varied and can be ascertained that either it is due lack of patronage or some other reasons. Mere sculptural embellishment does not reflect the richness of temple as for the fact that temples like Lakṣheśvara might have been designed accordingly indicating how the artisans used their technical skill in designing the desired results. There is a stylistic unity of sculptures between the major and the small sculptures. It aptly shows how the same guilds were involved in both the constructions. When the same guilds are involved in the constructions, there is not only stylistic unity but also structural unity in the basic use of the principle motifs and the temple parts.

Appendices

Appendix A

Nārāyaṇī Temple Inscriptions

Script:

These inscriptions were engraved in the late Brahmi script of about 8th century A.D. They can be grouped under two categories: (a) Scribbled cursive form, (b) Non cursive form. The inscriptions of the first category are noticeable in photographs (1, 2 & 3) of Nārāyaṇī temple. It appears that some engravings are by amateur engravers and hence has the probability of being engraved by the workers i.e. the sculptors or any other local folks of those times. They could be even mason markings or the titles of masons engraved by them.

Nārāyaṇī Temple Inscription Fig. 1:

It consists of five letters of nail headed type and shows the characteristic feature of the script of 7th - 8th century A.D. It reads as following:

dā gu(?) ti(?) hā ra ca vā

Here, *hara* means “necklace” then *cha va* means “and as well”. Now a careful re-examination of these two words *gu(?)* and *ti(?)* shows that it could be *dā tru* which means “giving or granting or the donor”. So finally it reads as:-



Fig. 1.



Fig.2

dā tru hā ra ca vā dhā si hā ra chi vā

It may be attempted to translate it as *dhāsi hāra cha iva* or *dhasa hāra cha iva* most probably the latter which means “like the ten necklaces”

râ dha tâ dha de

It means that the donor has given away a necklace and also....

Nārāyaṇī Temple Inscription Fig. 2: It consists of five letters in very cursive form. It is read as following: *ca dha ṇa dha dhe (?)*

Here *ca* means “and” *dhaṇa* could be *dhāṇa* which means “gold coin” (i.e. a part of *Dināra*) Apart from this nothing more was comprehensible from the remaining part of the inscription. The cursive way of writing shows that it could have been engraved by some local people of those times. As no sentence starts with “and” it could be assumed that some of its front portion was lost.

Nārāyaṇī Temple Inscriptions Fig.3:

This photograph contains a two line inscription. One engraved on the *Kumbh* part of the *adhithana* and the other on the *Khura* part. The one on the *kumbha* part has five words which can be read as: *kā ṇa pa ya ha....*



Fig. 3

The term *kāṇa* mean

“unchaste women”, so it means one born out of unchaste women is referred in this line.

The other on the *khur* part has 11 words in one line and 3 words were written in the next line. They can be read as:

....*va mi tta tulâ śri â ṭâ va lâ*

..... *pe śi tâ (?)*

In the above lines the term *mitta* means “measured”, *tulâ* means “weight” and then follows the name *Āṭâvalâ* prefixed by the honourable title of *śri*. Then in the next line *peśi_* means some musical instrument. If we assume the unidentifiable letter as *la*, then together *peśala* means soft, tender, clever and crafty. Now the name *Āṭâvalâ* has

two words *Ātāpa* meaning “Pride” and *valā* or *balā* meaning “strength, valour, etc.”
So he is the person who is proud with his strength.

Summary of Nārāyaṇī Temple Inscriptions:

If we combine the inscriptions of the three photographs viz. Narayani1, 2 and 3 (especially that on the base (*khur*) part of the *adhistana*, then the summary would be as following:

The donor whose name is *Śri Ātāvalā* has donated the necklace, gold coin(s) which were measured and weighted. He also seems to have donated a musical instrument or it can also be said that he with a tender heart has carried out the donations. Now in the *kumbh* part there is reference about someone born to an unchaste woman. It seems that some portions of the inscriptions next to this got lost. Is it referring to this *Śri Ātāvalā* is not known.

Appendix B

Mohinī Temple Inscriptions

Script:

The inscriptions were mostly engraved in the late Brahmi script of about 8th century A.D. They can be grouped under two categories: (a) Scribbled cursive form, (b) Non cursive form. The inscriptions of the first category are noticeable in Mohinī Fig.1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. It appears to be some engravings by amateur engraver and hence has the probability of being engraved by the workers i.e. the sculptors or any other local folks of those times. They could be even mason markings or the titles of masons engraved by them. The second type can be assigned to Mohinī fig.5. It also exhibits nail-headed type. Of this Mohinī Fig.5 shows clear marks of transition from Siddhamatrika script to Sarada script. Exceptional case is the dating of the three inscriptions of Mohinī 1, 2 and 4. On the basis of the nature of letter *va* it appears as of 5th – 6th century A.D. These inscriptions are depiction on the left wall of the *Vīman* of the Mohini temple.

Description of the inscriptions:

Mohinī Fig.1:

It consists of six letters. The first one appears to be *vā* but except for the elongated stroke between *va* and the medial *ā*. The last two letters could not be identified. As a whole it read as:

rvā jñā ji ra _ _

Nothing could be said regarding the meaning of this.



Fig. 1

Mohinī Fig.2:

It has three letters written in very crude form and it reads as:

châ va re.. or chai va ra..

It could be split as *cha+eva* meaning “and like this” and *ra* (?)



Fig. 2

Mohinī Fig.3:

It consists of five letters which reads as following

kâ ja e da yu

The inscription here appears to be incomplete in the first part as the photograph shows. So from what left meaning

could be obtained to the words *kâja* which means “hair” *dayu* means “flying”. So it could mean “with flying hairs”.



Fig. 3

Mohinī Fig.4:

It consists of five letters. The first appears to be *vâ*. Next to this from what it seems could be a crude representation of Siva, and then follows the word *u ma*. After this appear to be an



Fig. 4

anthropomorphic representation of human. So as a whole it reads as: *vâ* crude representation of linga *u ma* anthropomorphic figure. The whole may read as (*Śi*) *vâ...umā*. The translations tells **ŚivaUmā**

Mohinī Fig.5:

This is the only one which could be satisfactorily deciphered to some extent. From what it seems the inscription in this photo consists of six lines if we take that part of Mohinī Fig.4 which we have dealt separately also as belonging to this. They read as:



Fig. 5

śu ri a sa ha va..... _ _ da ha.....

Flower with four petals depicted

.....ha.....la _ ru ta.....

Now coming to the meaning three words can be noticed.

1. *a sa ha va* = not tolerable or unable to bear
2. *da ha* = fire
3. *rūt a* = honest

So could it mean that the whole inscription could be understood as following?

“Unable to bear..... (the sufferings caused by).....fire.... (He).... with the flower.... (worshipped).....honestly.....”

Appendix C

Table of Brahminical Settlement Pattern around Bhubaneswar

VILLAGE (<i>grama</i>)	VISAYA	LOCATION	REFERENCE
Sattivada	Erada	Near Chicacole in Ganjam Dist.	The copper plates of Vajrahasta, A.D. 1037 <i>JAHRS</i> , VIII, pp. 163-19.
Kropali		East of the Sattivada	Ibid.
Trikhali			The Copper plates of the time of Madhukammavadeva, A. D. 1024, <i>JAHRS</i> , VII, pp. 162-98.
Padugrama			Ibid.
Hondaravada			Ibid.
Morakino Sellada	Rupavartini		The copper plates of Anantavarman Chologangadeva, A.D. 1085, <i>ibid.</i>
Virinika	Pushkami		The copper plates of Devendravarman, A.D. 806, <i>ibid.</i>
Nejekarada	Karntakavartani		The copper plates of Anantavarnadeva, <i>ibid.</i>
Brhadkodila	Varahavartani		The copper plates of Rajarajadeva I, A.D. 1070, <i>ibid.</i>
Harisavelli	Arasavalli		Arasavalli plates of Vajrahasta, A.D. 1060, EI, XXXII, pp. 311-116.
Chakivada Rengujed	Samva	Near Vizagapatam	Vizagapatam copperplate grant of Anantavarman Chologangadeva, A.D. 1077, IA, XII, pp. 161-65.
Khonna	Vorahavartani	Korni	The Korin copper plate of Anantavarman Chologanga, (Set A), A.D. <i>JAHRS</i> , I, pp. 40-48, (Set B), 1113 A.D., <i>ibid.</i> , pp. 106-24.
Niralo		Near Puri Town	Puri Inscription of Chologangadeva, A.D. 1114-15. EI, XXXII, PP. 181ff.
Alagumma	Ramanga	Modern Alugama in Puri Dist.	Alugama Inscription of Anantavarnan, A.D. 1140-41, EI, X.XIX, pp. 44 ff.
Khellandesvara		Khilor	Khilor Inscription of Anantavarnan, A.D. 1153, EI, XXXV, pp.115-20
Uchisamagrama	Kontharanga	Near Bhubaneswar	Bhubaneswar Inscription of Bhimadeva, A.D. 1230, EI, XXX, pp. 232-36
Tighiria	Kotaravanga	Modern Tighiria in Puri Town	The Orissa Museum plates of Aniyakabhima (III), A.D. 1211-38, <i>OHRJ</i> , XII, pp. 164-196.
Ambilo	Ravanga	Near Puri	
Gangesvara		Gangua Near Sisupalagarha	

Kapilesvara		Present Kapilesvara near Bhubaneswar	
Purushottamakshetra		Puri Town	Puri copper plate Inscription of Gangabhanu II, A.D. 1312, <i>JASB</i> , XVII, pp.19-26.
Abhinavavaransikatal	Sailo	Cuttack Town	Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, A.D. 1211-38, <i>EI</i> , XXVIII, pp.235-58.
Citra	Kalambora	Bhubaneswar	Lingaraja Temple inscription of Narasimha I (c. A.D. 1238-1265), <i>IHQ</i> , XXXI, pp. 81-84.
Remunakataka		Remuna	Alalpur plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1294, <i>EI</i> , XXXI, pp. 17- 24.
Bhanana			Kendupatana plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1294, and A.D. 1295, <i>EI</i> , XXVIII, pp.185-95.
Tantioda	Vansochaura	Basta in Balesor Distirct	Asanakhali plates of Narasimha IT, A.D. 1302, <i>EI</i> , XXXI, pp. 109-28.
Ardanga	Kativisaya	Adhanga	Kaijanga Plates of Bhanudeva III, A.D.1326, <i>OHRJ</i> , XIV, nos.3-4, pp.11-24.
Kinnari	Kalambora		The Kenduli copper plate grant of Narasimhadeva IV, A.D. 1384, <i>ORHJ</i> , V. pp. 1-80.
Vijayanarasimhapura	Raanga	Near village Siddhesvara in Jajpur	Siddhesvara Inscription of Narasimha IV, A.D. 1394, <i>EI</i> , XXIX, pp. 105-108. Puri plates (Set B) of Ganga Narsimha IV, A.D. 1395, <i>EI</i> , XXVIII, PP. 302-12.
Chavali		Kistana District of Andhra Pradesh	A copper plate grant of Kondavidu, A.D. 1457, <i>IA</i> , XX, pp.390-93.
Veligalani		Modern Medur in Godavari taluk of Kistan district	Veligalani Grant of Kapilesvara, A.D. 1458, <i>EI</i> , XXXIV, pp. 275-291.
Kapilesvarapura		-do-	<i>Ibid.</i>
Jagesvarapura		-do-	<i>Ibid.</i> ,
Vellamambapura		-do-	<i>Ibid.</i> ,

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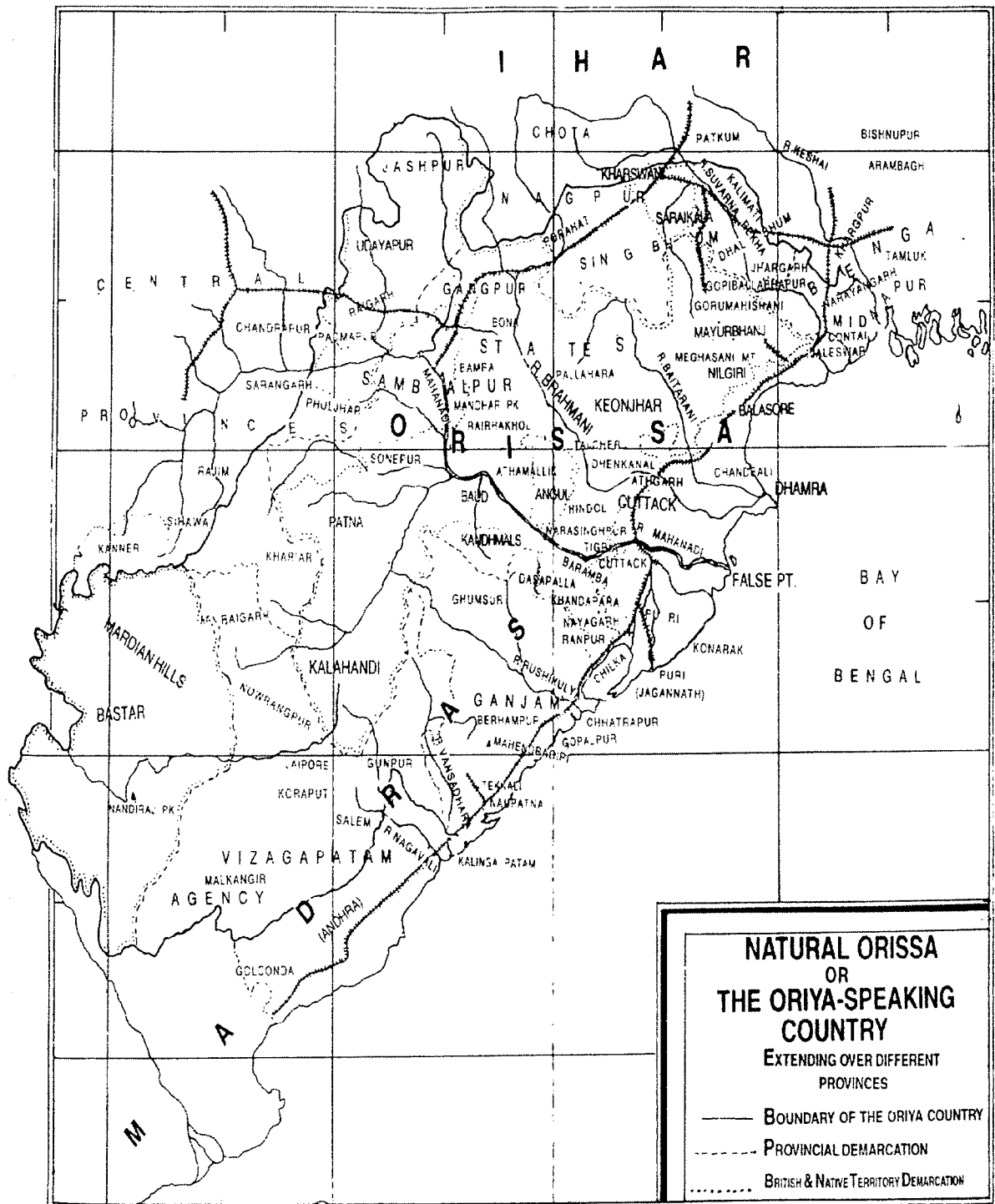
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Plan Drawings and Maps



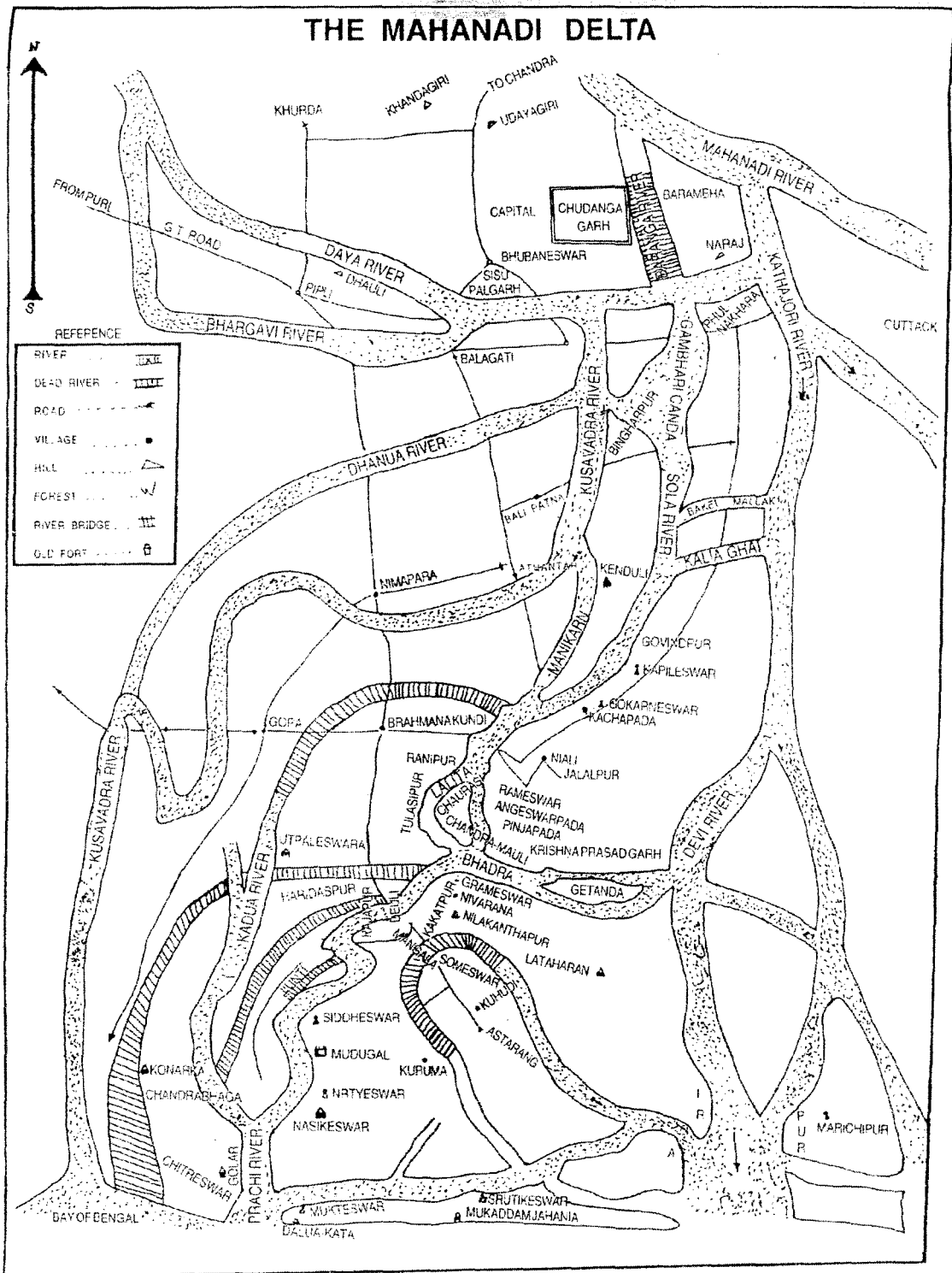
I. MAP OF ODISA

(Courtesy: J.K. Sahu, Historical Geography of Orissa, New Delhi, 1997, p. XXIII)



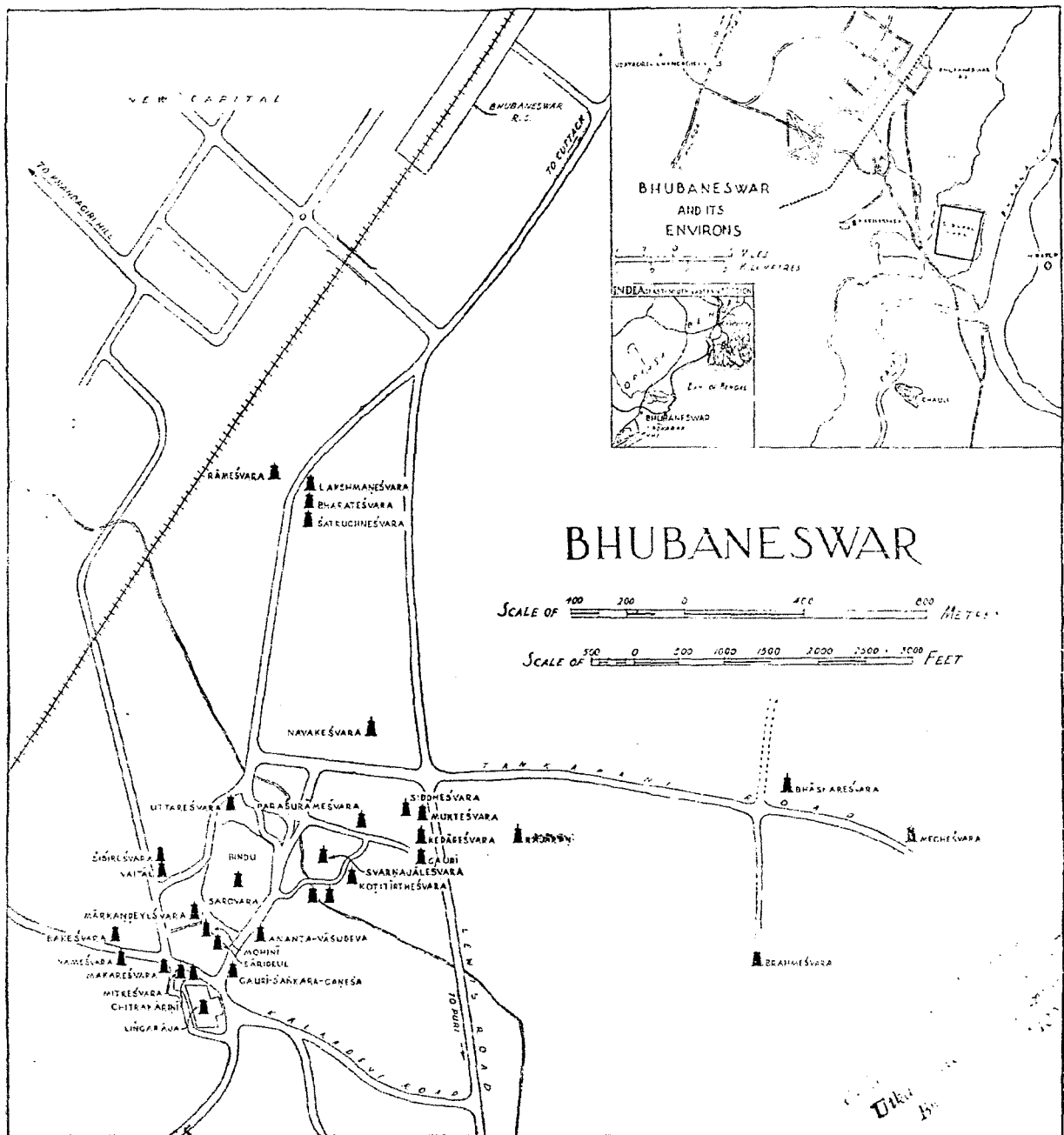
2. NATURAL ODISA OR THE ODIĀ SPEAKING AREA

(Courtesy: J.K. Sahu, Historical Geography of Orissa, New Delhi, 1997, p. XXV)



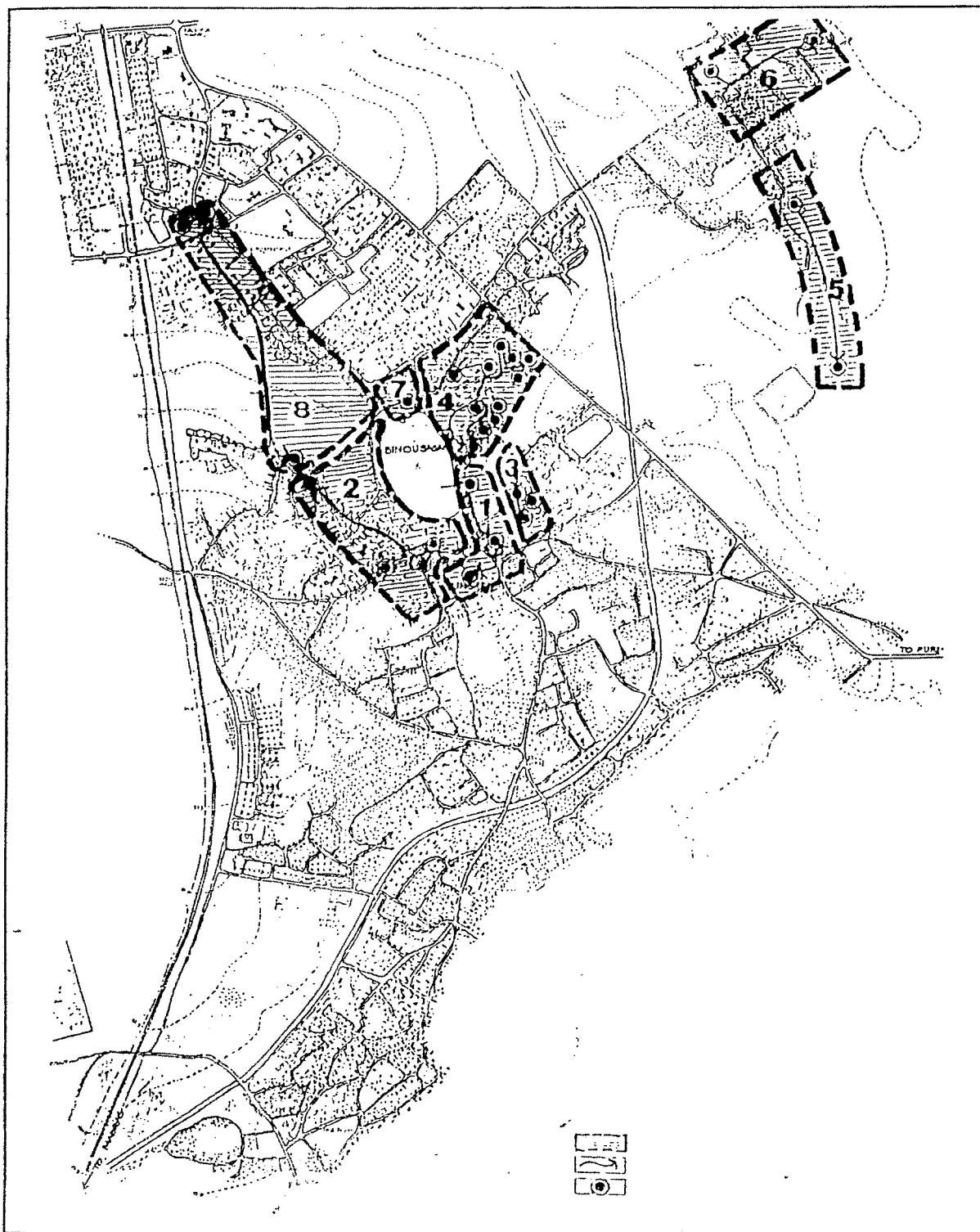
3. THE MAHĀNADĪ DELTA

(Courtesy: J.K. Sahu, Historical Geography of Orissa, New Delhi, 1997, p. XXVI)



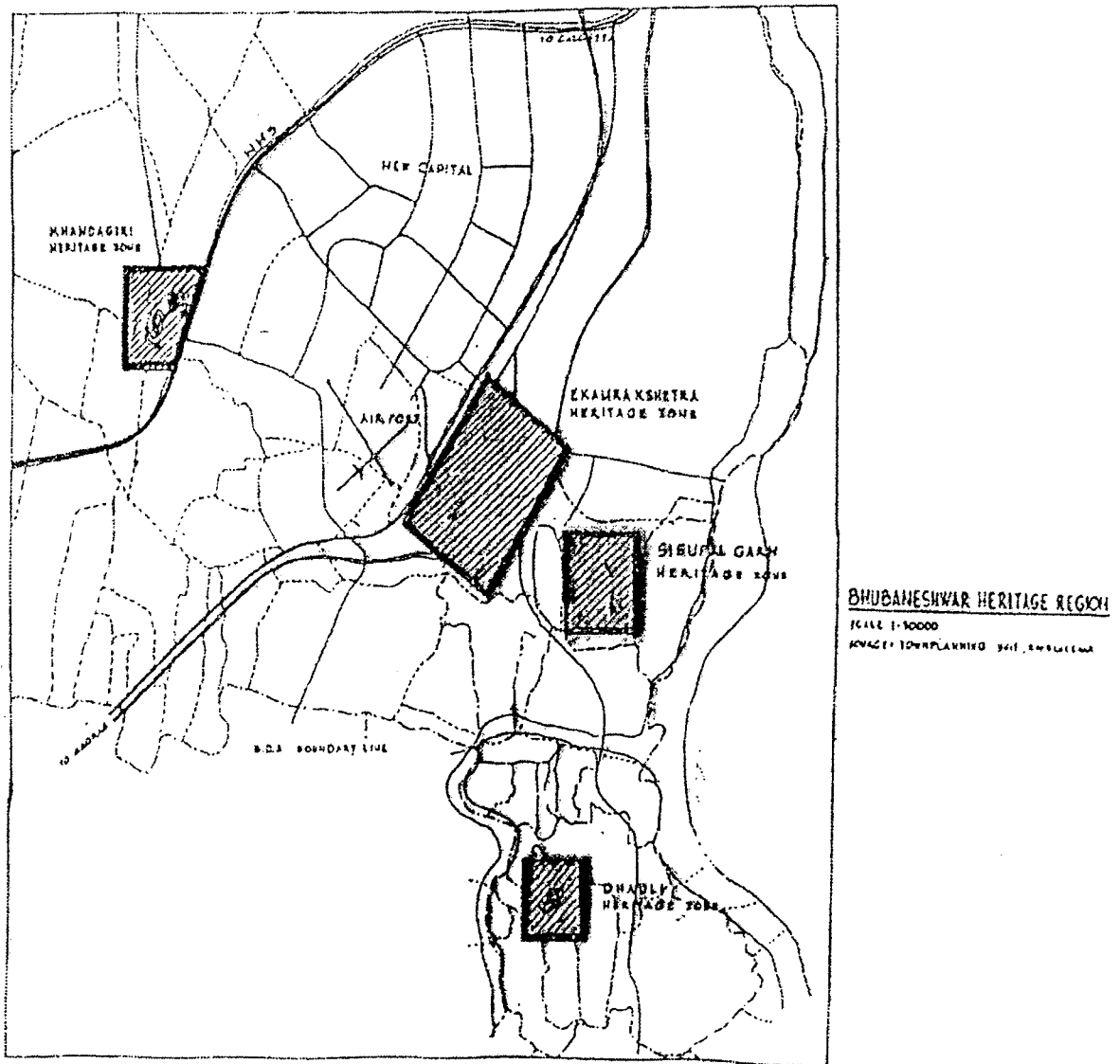
4. BHUBANESWAR AND ITS TEMPLES LOCATION

(Courtesy: Debala Mitra, Bhubaneswar, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1978, PL. XXI)



5. AṢṬĀYTANA PLAN OF EKĀMRA KHṢETRA

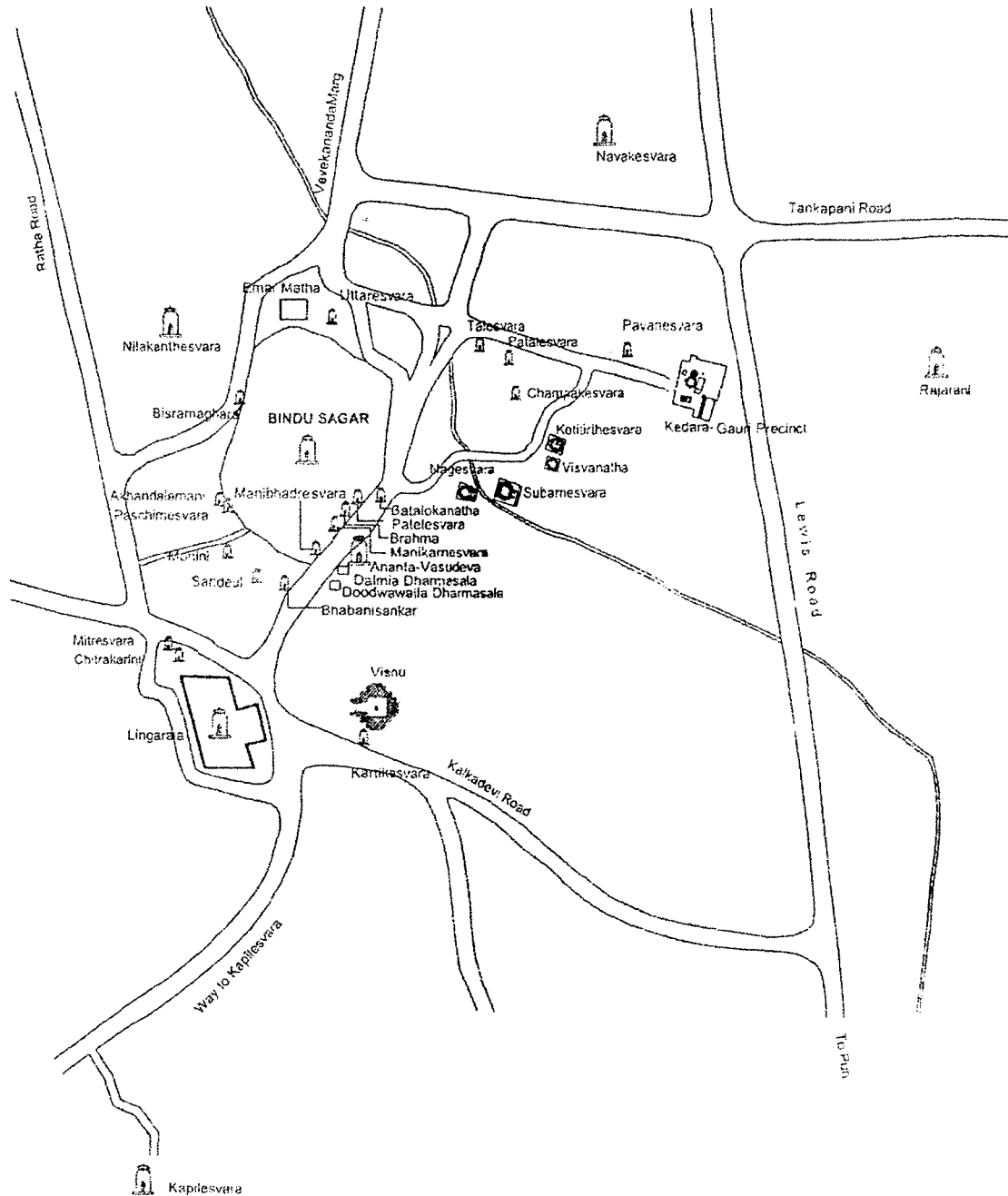
(Courtesy: K.S. Behera, *The Liṅgarāja Temple of Bhubaneswar, Art and Cultural Legacy*, New Delhi, 2008, p. 7 (Fig.1)



6. BHUBANESHWAR: HERITAGE ZONE

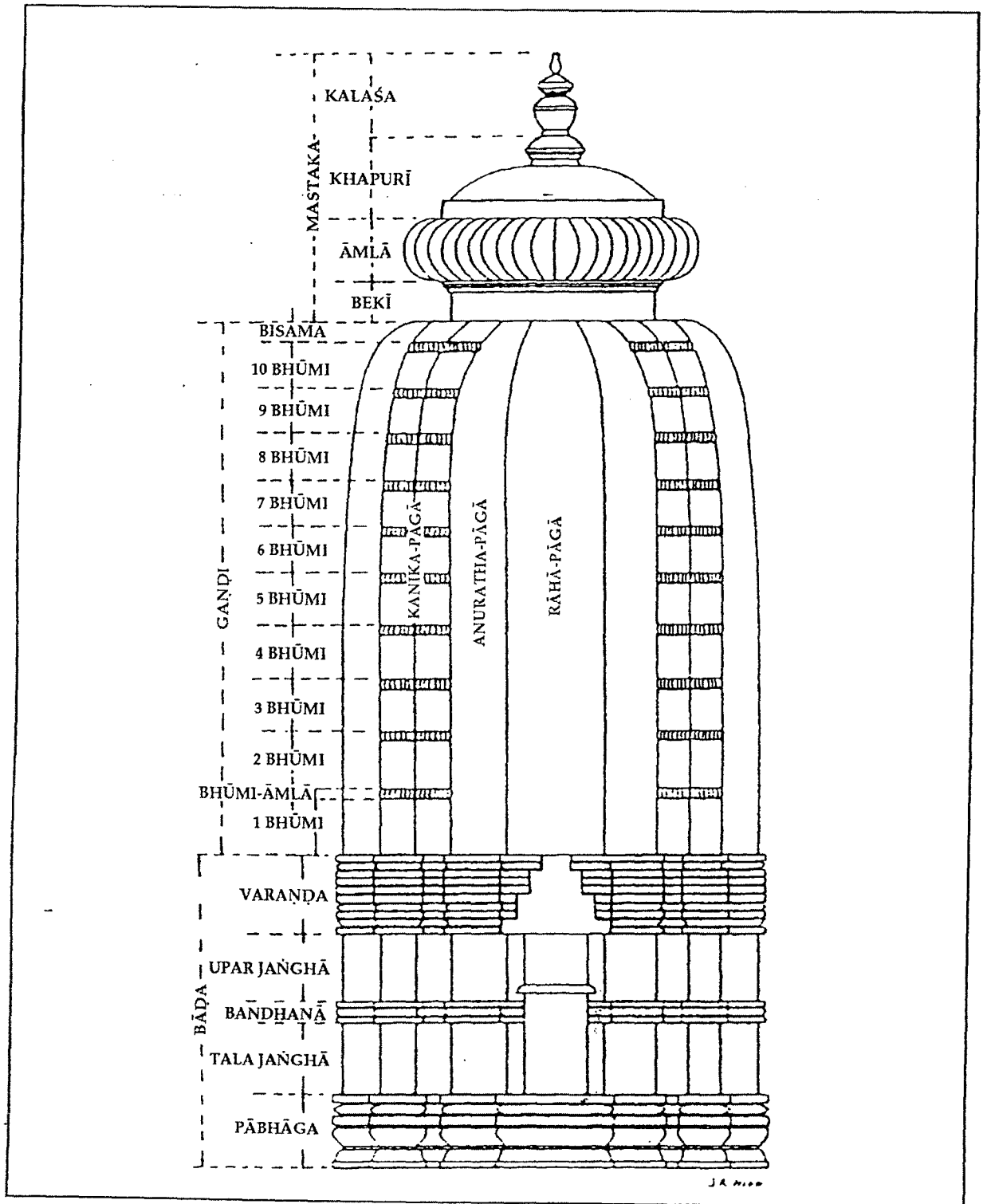
(Courtesy: K.S. Behera, *The Lingarāja Temple of Bhubaneswar, Art and Cultural Legacy*, New Delhi, 2008, p. 14 (Fig.4))

Scale 0 200 400 Metres



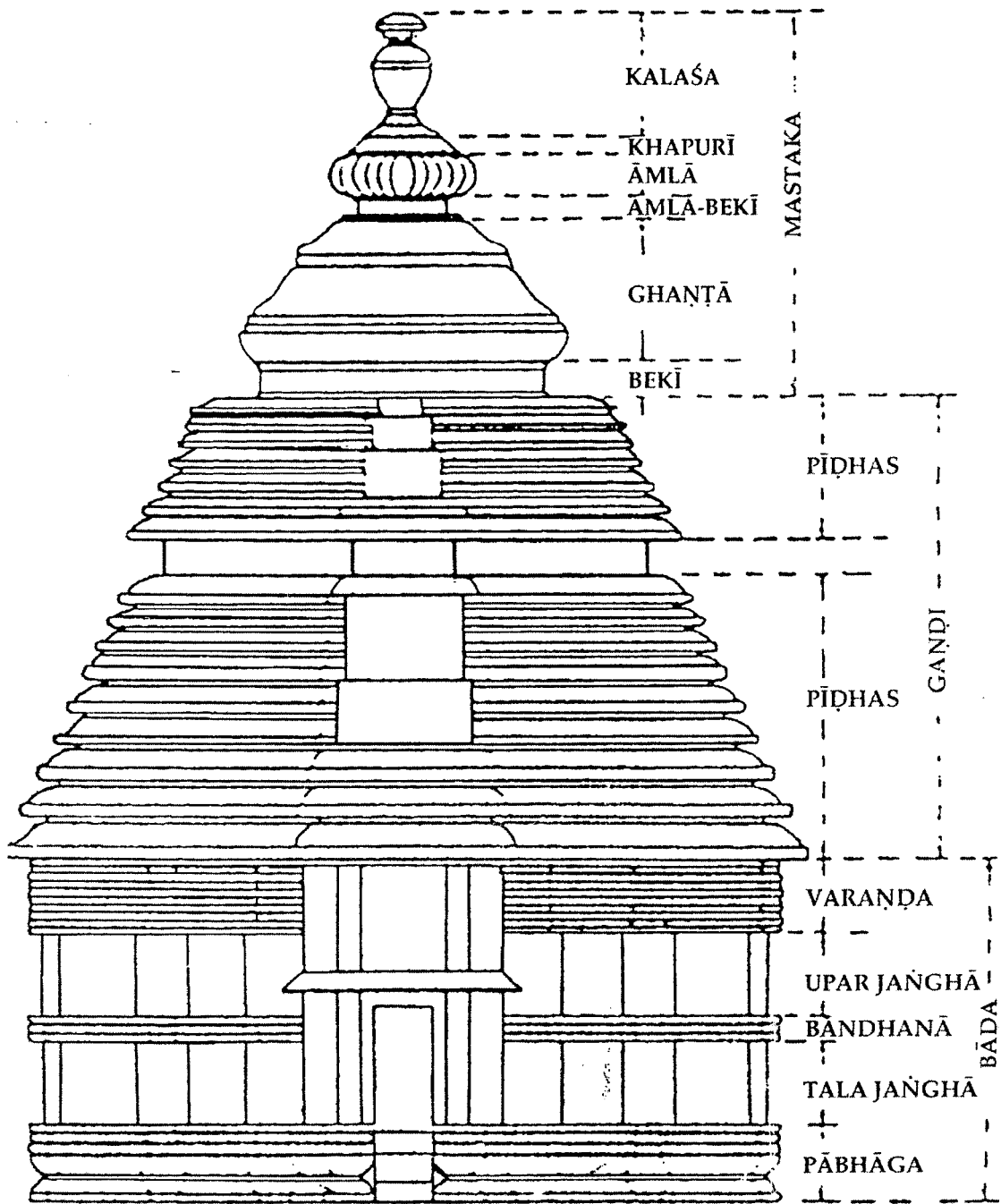
7. SITE PLAN OF TEMPLES AROUND BĪṆḌŪSĀGAR, BHUBANESWAR

(Courtesy: S. Pradhana, The Lesser Known Monuments of Bhubaneswar, INTACH Bhubaneswar Chapter, Bhubaneswar, 2009, p. 43)



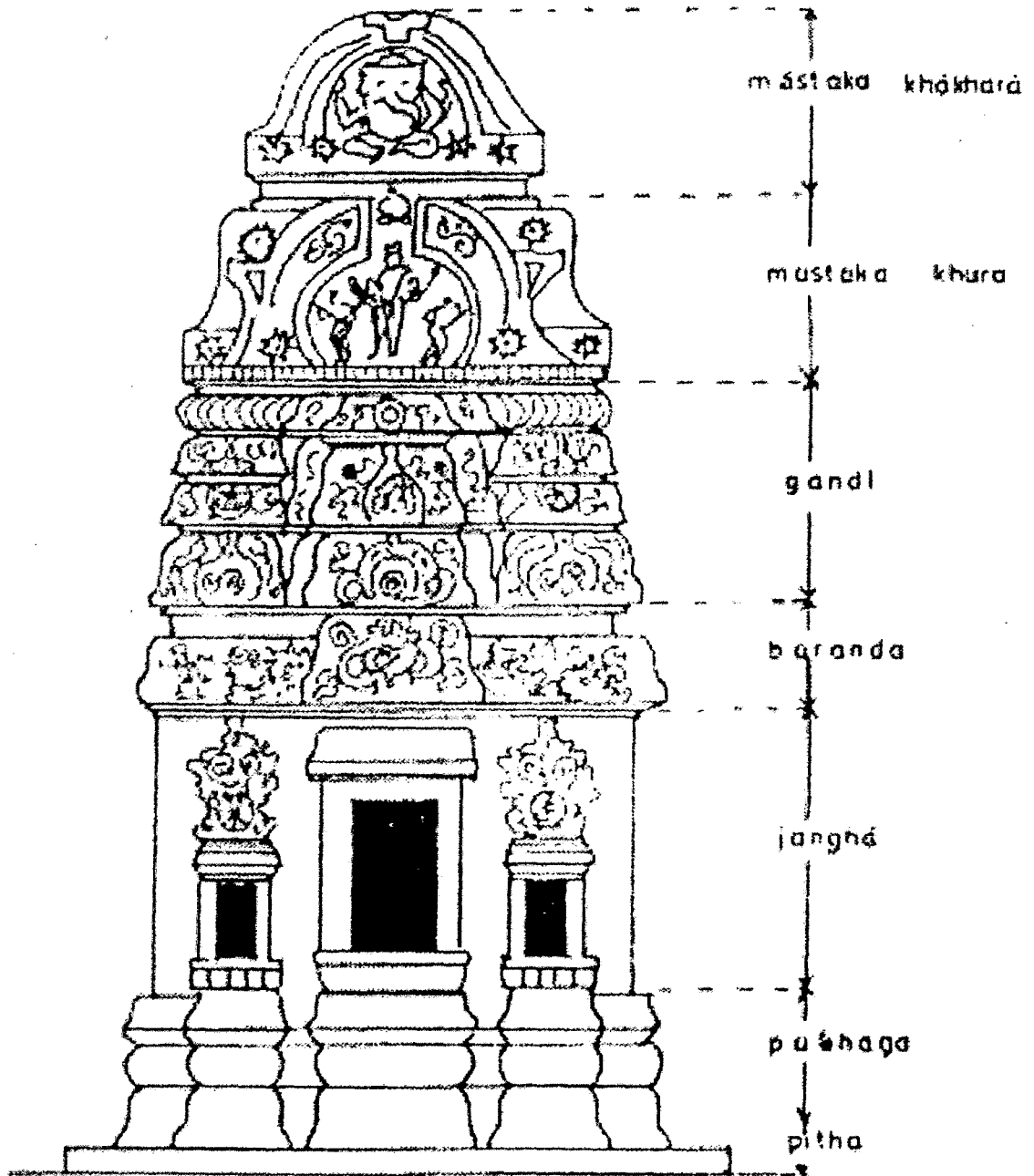
8. PRINCIPAL SEGMENTS OF REKHĀ - DEŪLA

(Courtesy: Debala Mitra, Bhubaneswar, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1978, p. 15)



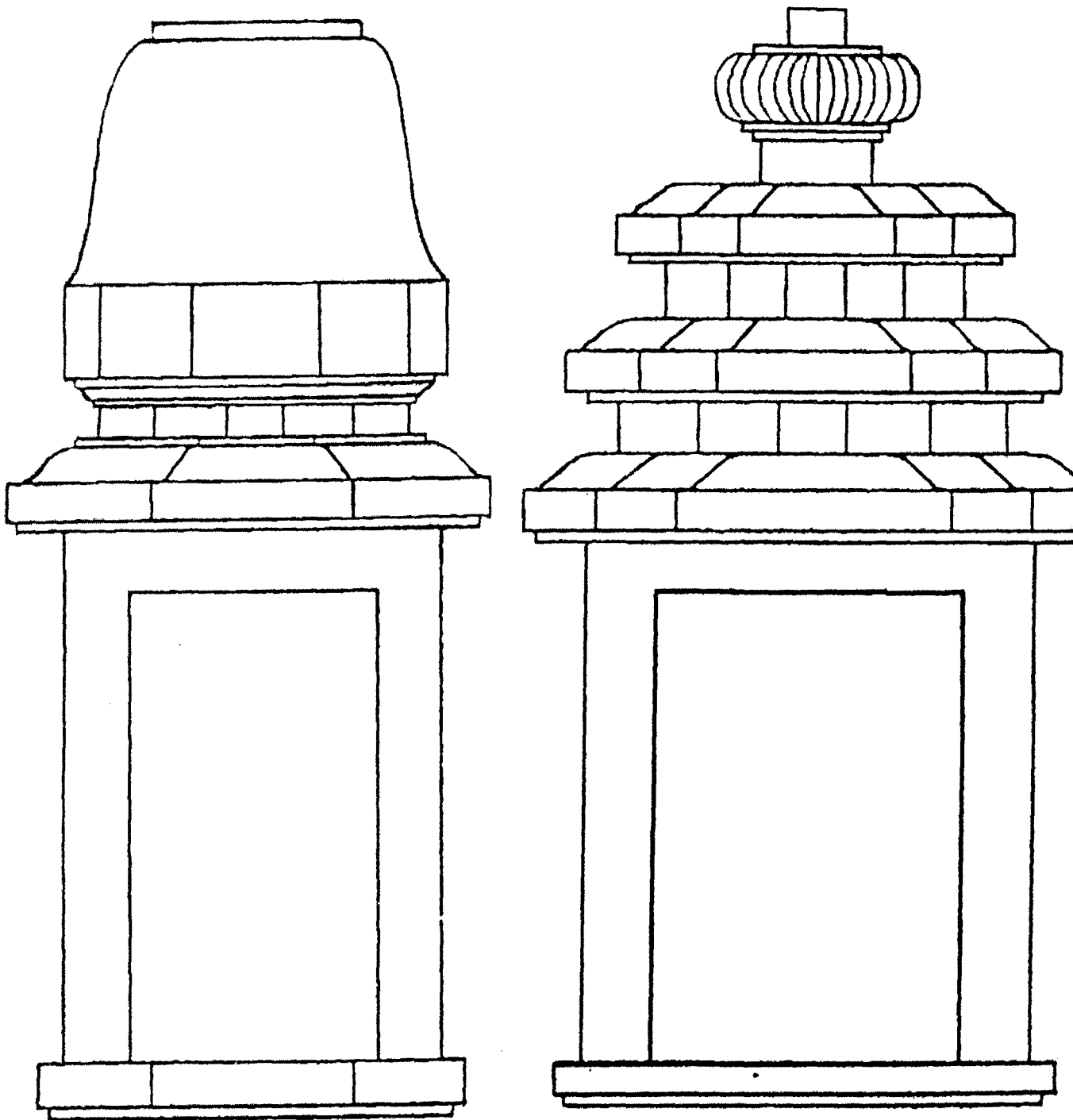
9. PRINCIPAL SEGMENTS OF *PIDDHĀ* OR *BHADRĀ DEŪLA*

(Courtesy: Debala Mitra, Bhubaneswar, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1978, p. 16)



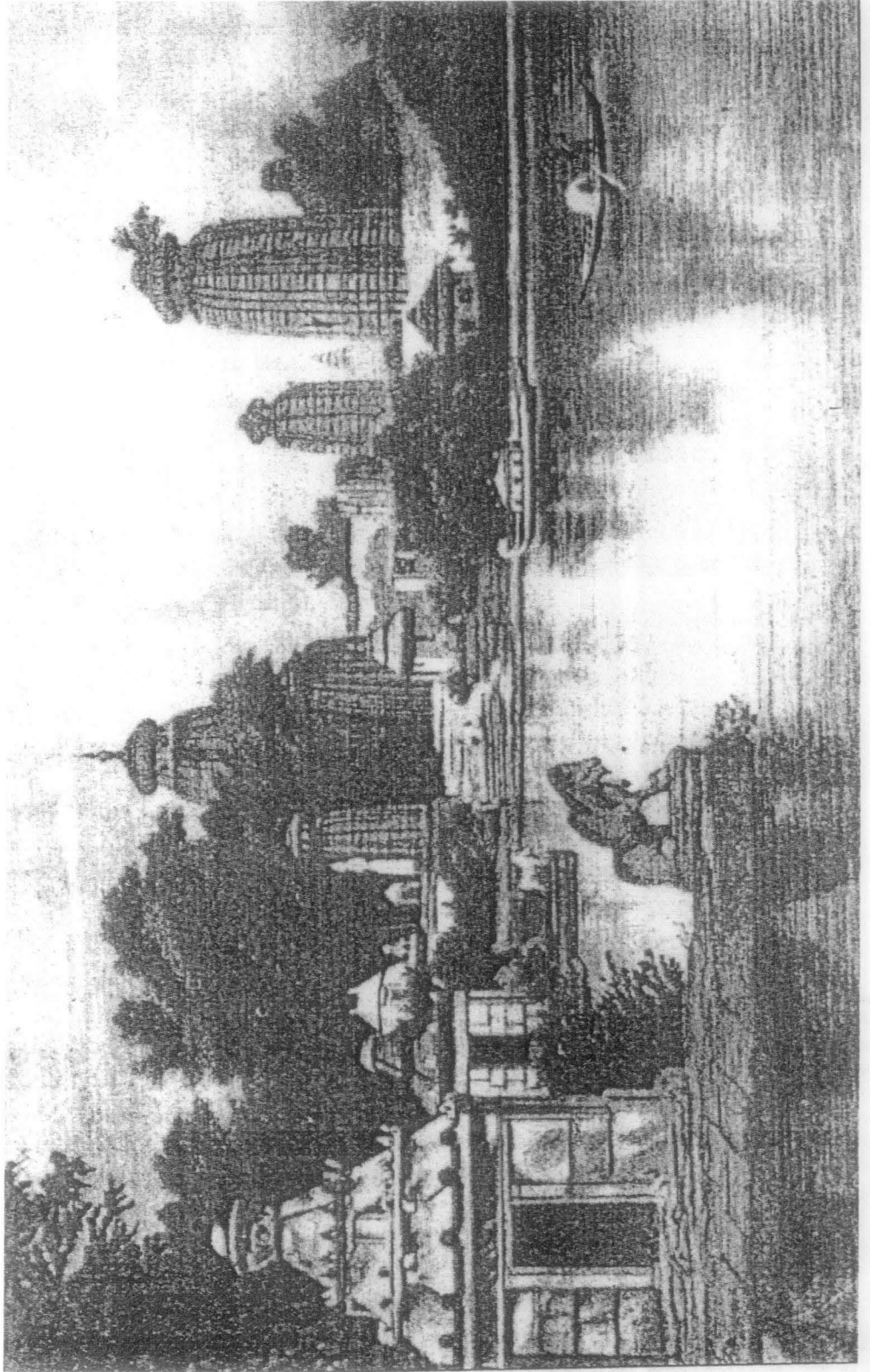
10. PRINCIPAL SEGMENTS OF *KĀKARĀ DEŪLA*

(Courtesy: S. Pradhana, *The Lesser Known Monuments of Bhubaneswar*, INTACH Bhubaneswar Chapter, Bhubaneswar, 2009, p. 221)



11. KHĀKARĀ-MUṆḌI AND PĪDHĀ MUṆḌI

(Courtesy: K.S. Behera, *The Liṅgarāja Temple of Bhubaneswar*, Art and Cultural Legacy, New Delhi, 2008, p. 51(Fig.14)

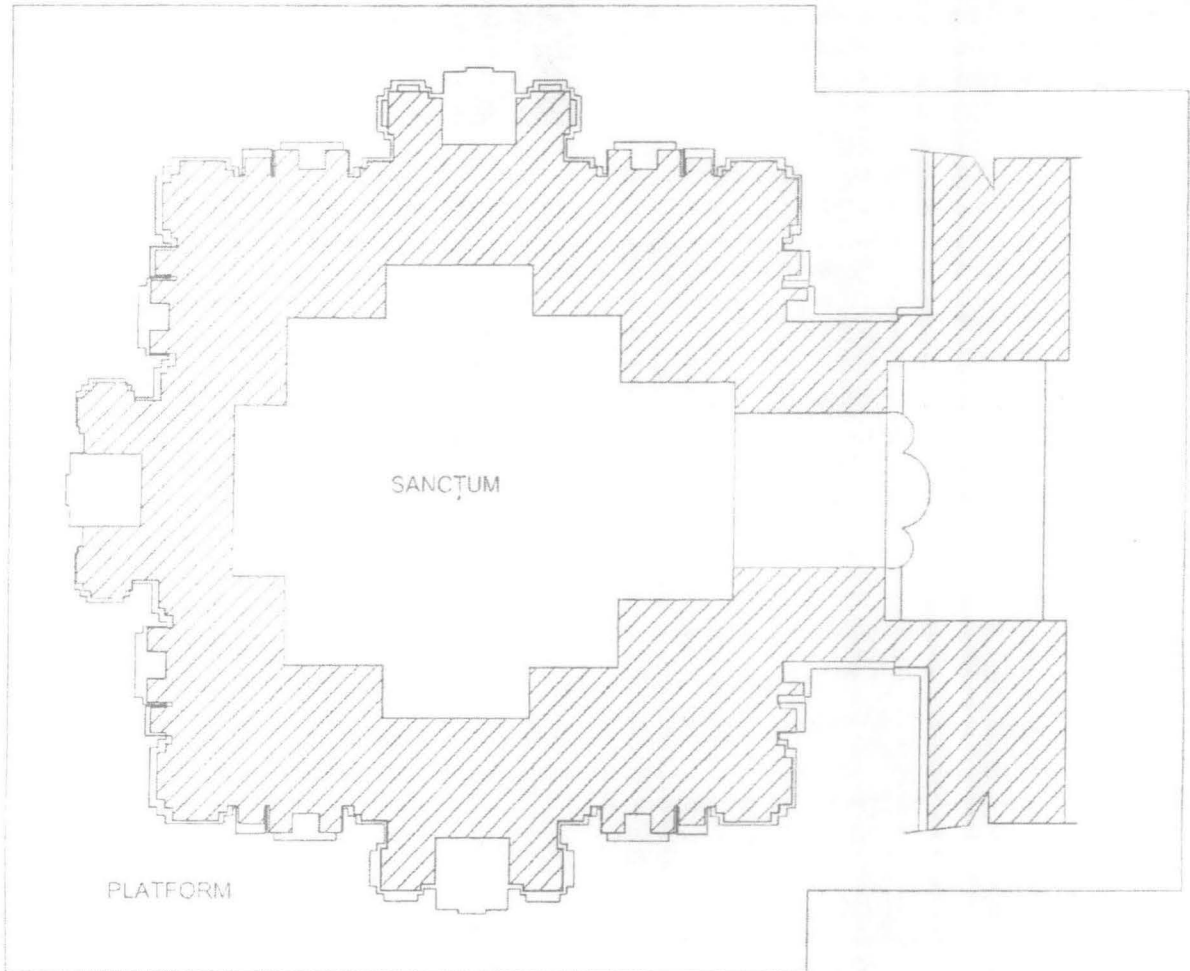


12. BHUBANESWAR: THE TEMPLE CITY OF ŚIVA (W.W. HUNTER, 1972)

(Courtesy: K.S. Behera, *The Liṅgarāja Temple of Bhubaneswar, Art and Cultural Legacy*, New Delhi, 2008, p. 91(Fig.17))

NAGESVARA SIVA TEMPLE
BHUBANESWAR, DISTT. KHURDA (ORISSA)

SCALE- 0 0.5 1.0m

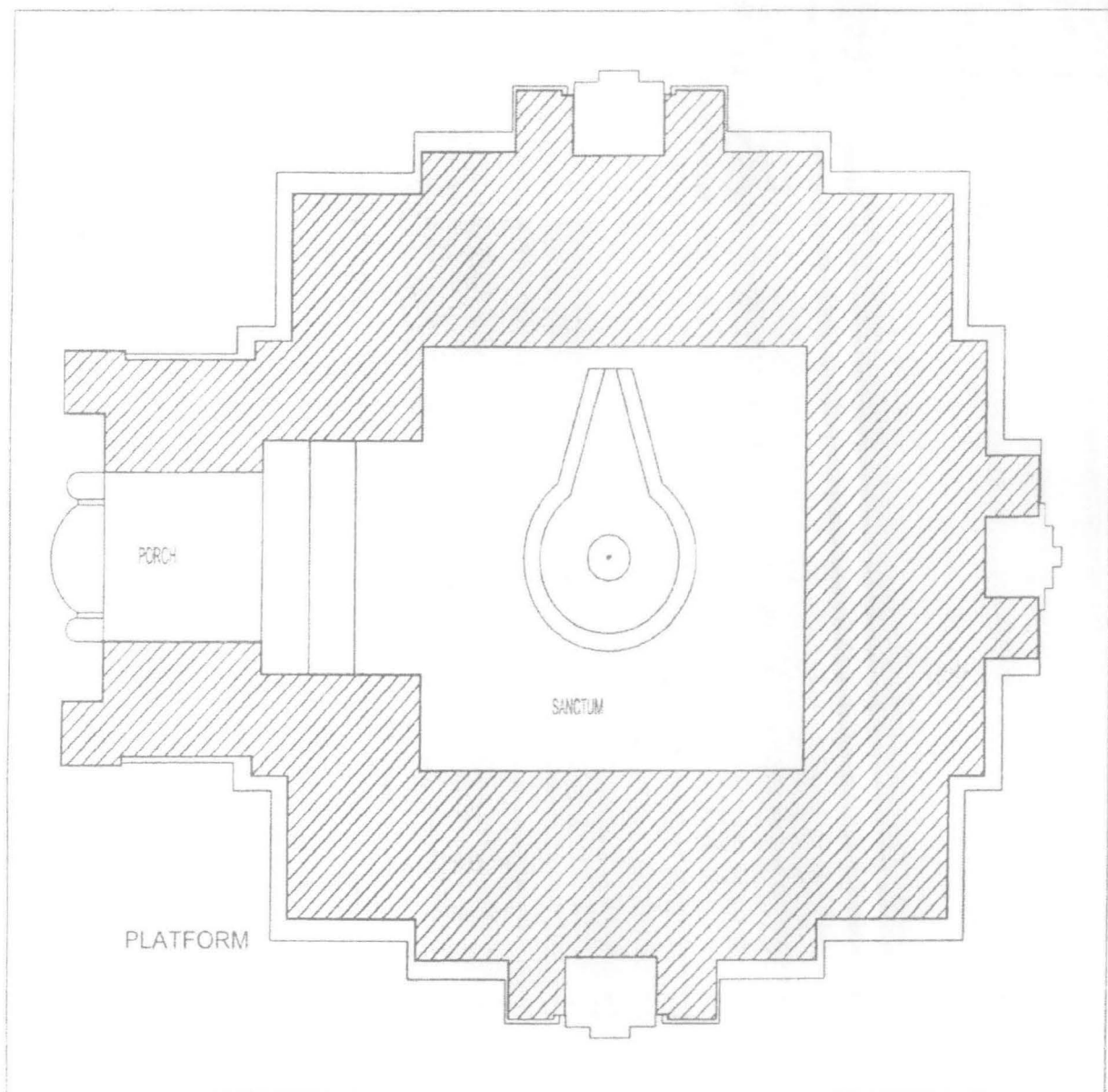


13. NAGESVARA SIVA TEMPLE, GROUND PLAN DRAWING

(Courtesy: S. Pradhana, The Lesser Known Monuments of Bhubaneswar, INTACH Bhubaneswar Chapter, Bhubaneswar, 2009, p. 239)

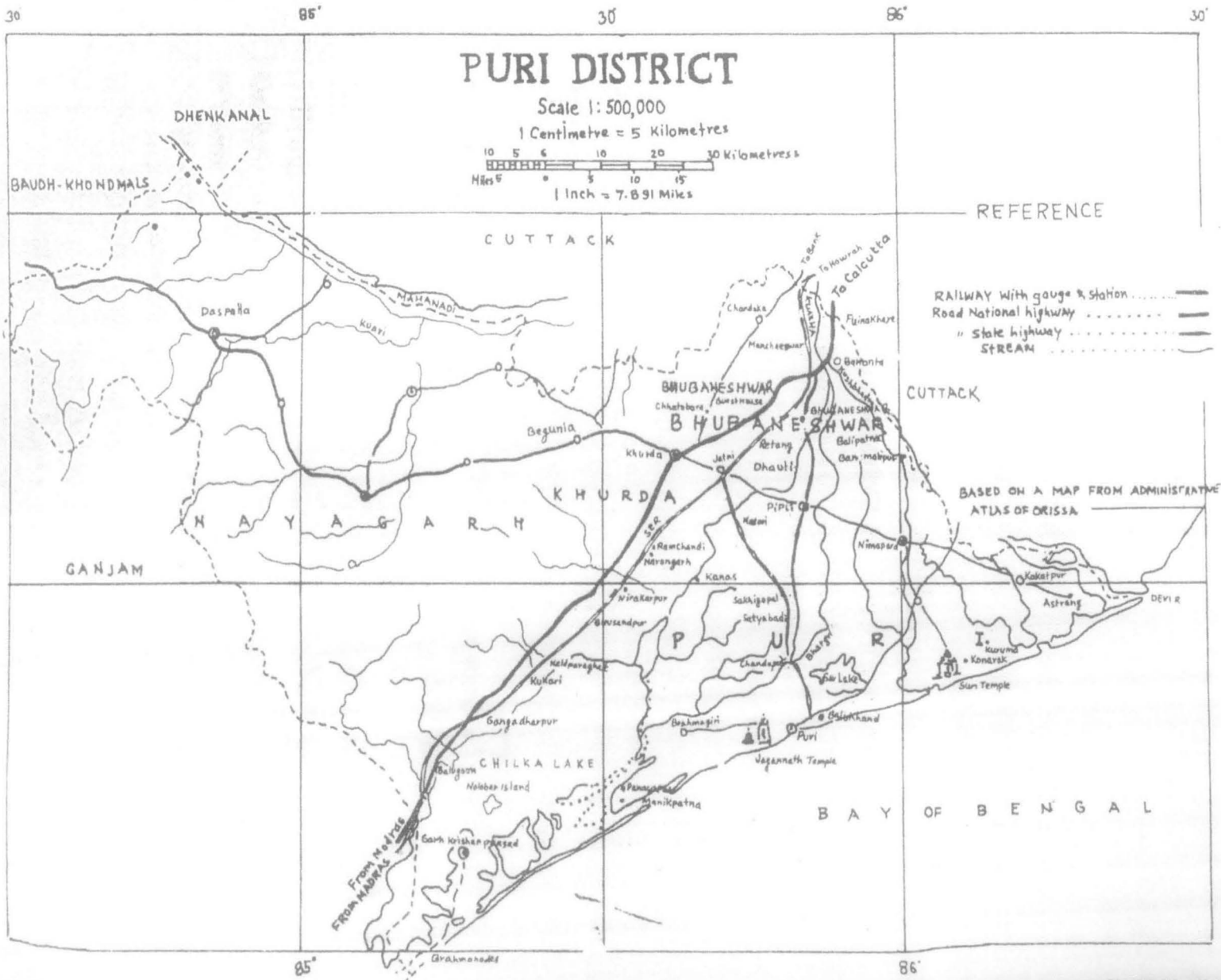
KOTITIRTHESVARA TEMPLE,
BHUBANESWAR, DISTT. KHURDA, (ORISSA)

SCALE- 



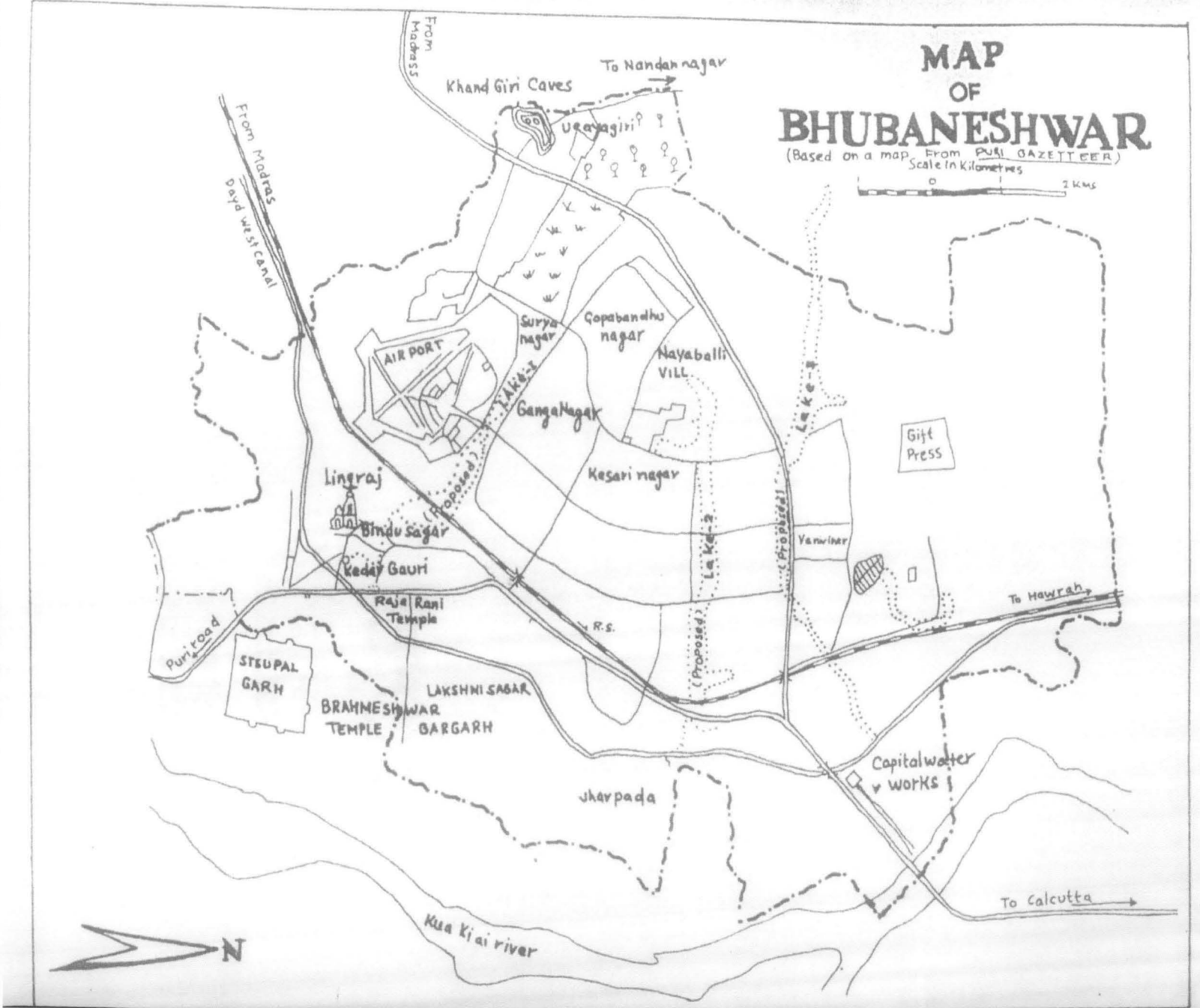
14. KOTITIRTHESVARA TEMPLE, GROUND PLAN DRAWING

(Courtesy: S. Pradhana, The Lesser Known Monuments of Bhubaneswar, INTACH Bhubaneswar Chapter, Bhubaneswar, 2009, p. 197)



15. Undivided Puri District Map

(Courtesy: N. Senapati, Puri District Gazetteer, Cuttack, 1977, p. 708)



16. Map of Modern Bhubaneswar (Based on a map from Puri District Gazetteer)

(Courtesy: N. Senapati, Puri District Gazetteer, Cuttak, 1977, p. 709)

Illustrations



Fig.1. Nārāyaṇī Temple, General View



Fig.2. Nārāyaṇī Temple, Śiva-Pārvatī Image



Fig.3. Ūttareśvara Śiva Temple, General View



Fig.4. Ūttareśvara Śiva Temple, Kārtikeya Image



Fig.5. Ūttareśvara Śiva Temple, Gaṇeśa Image

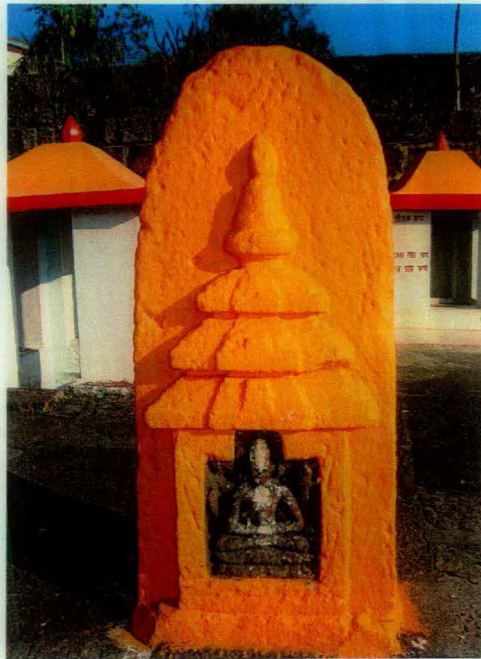


Fig.6. Ūttareśvara Śiva Temple Complex, Dhāyṇi Būddha Image



Fig.7. Mohinī Temple, General View



Fig.8. Mohinī Temple, Pābhāga

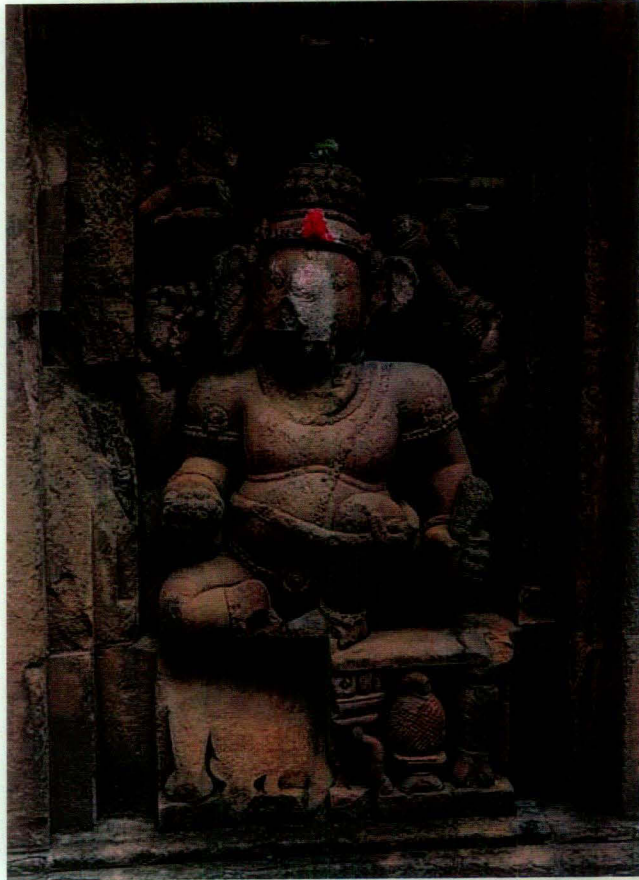


Fig.9. Mohinī Temple, Gaṇeśa Image



Fig.10. Tāleśvara Śiva Temple, General View



Fig.11. Tāleśvara Śiva Temple, Astagarhas



Fig.12. Tāleśvara Śiva Temple, Ājaeka-pāda Bhairava

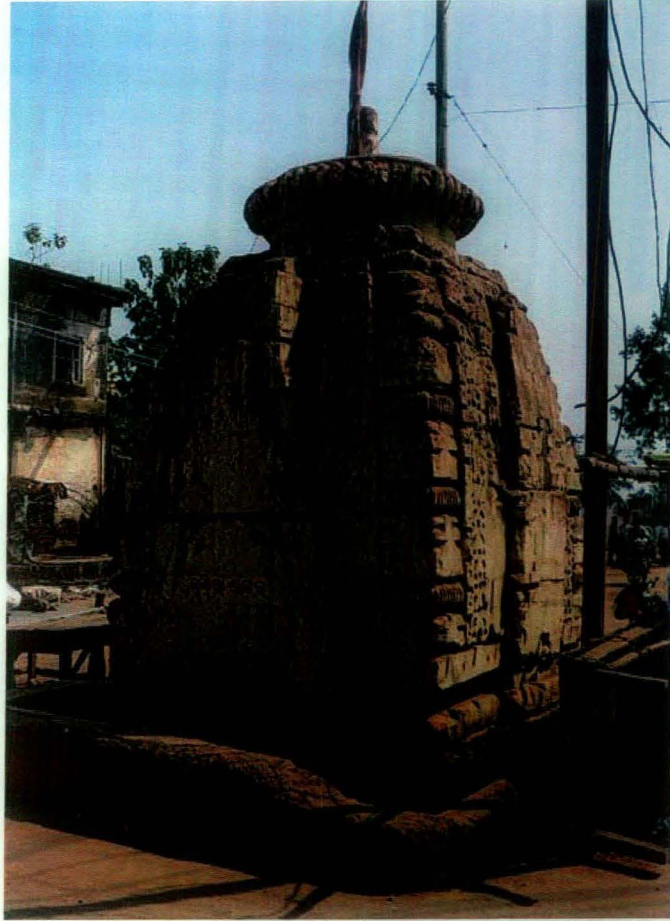


Fig.13. Goūrīśaṅkara Śiva Temple, General View

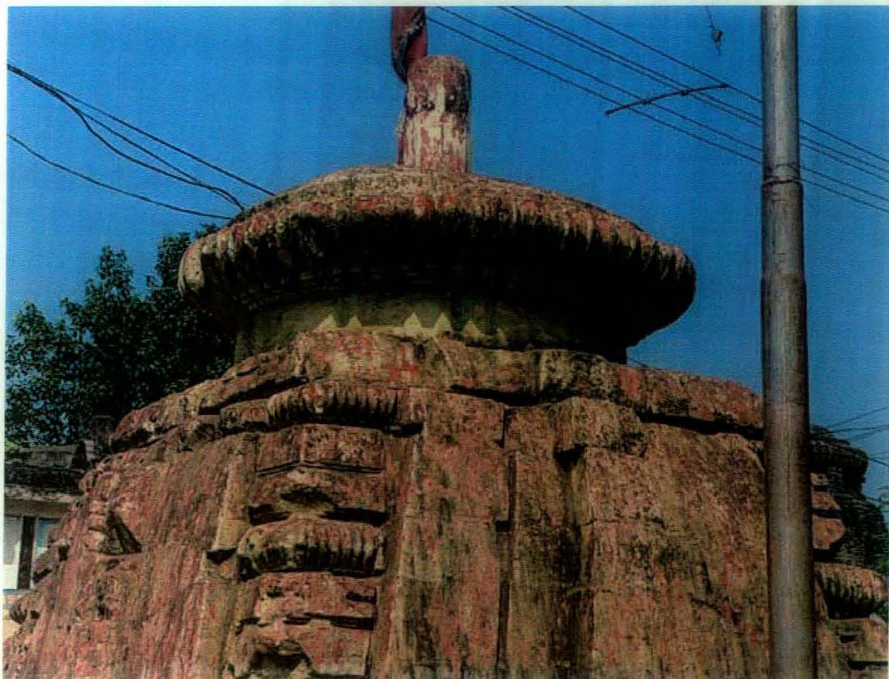


Fig.14. Goūrīśaṅkara Śiva Temple, Āmalaka-śīla

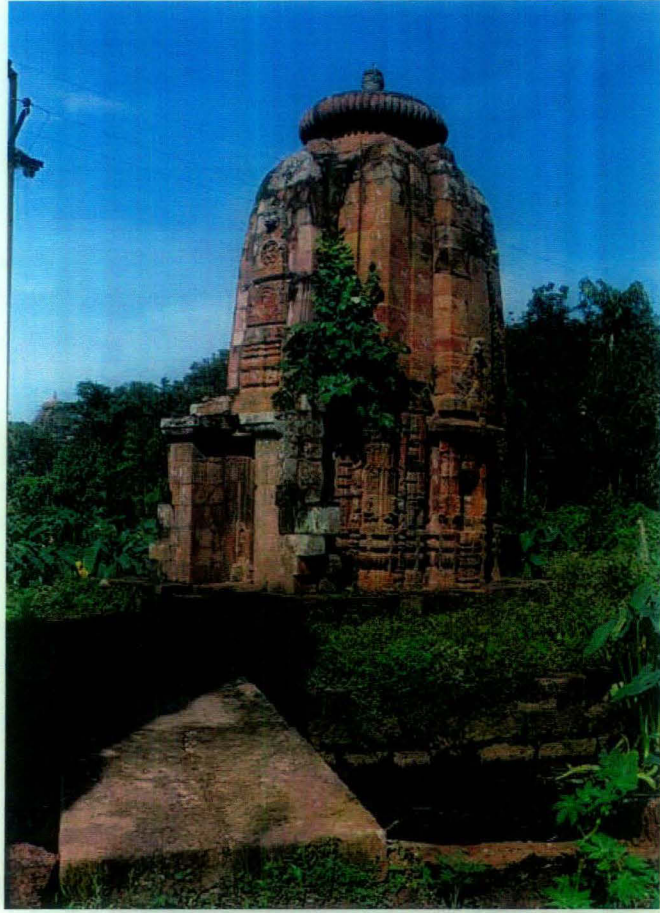


Fig.15. Nāgeśvara Temple, General View



Fig.16. Nāgeśvara Temple, Natrāja Image



Fig.17. Nāgeśvara Temple, General View of Bāda Porotation

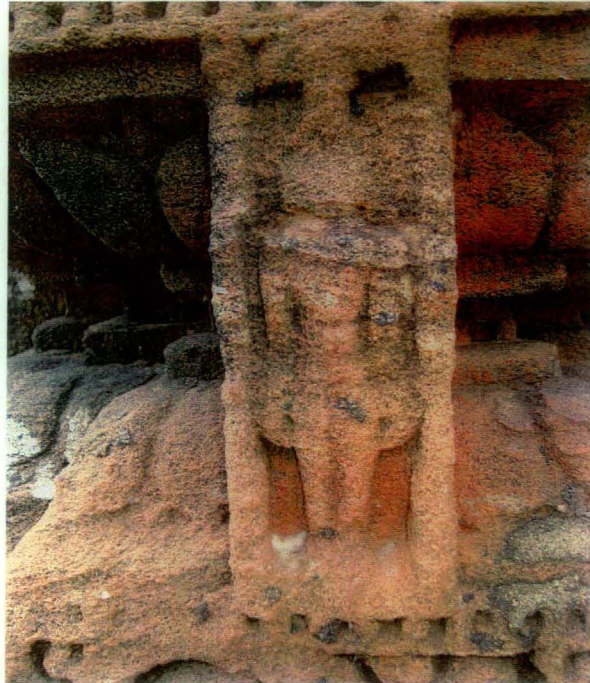


Fig.18. Nāgeśvara Temple, Standing Jain Trīthānkara



Fig.19. Nāgeśvara Temple, Erotics Sculpture



Fig.20. Kapālī Matha , General View



Fig.21. Kapāli Matha , Nāgi Pillaster



Fig.22. Kapāli Matha , Natrāja Image

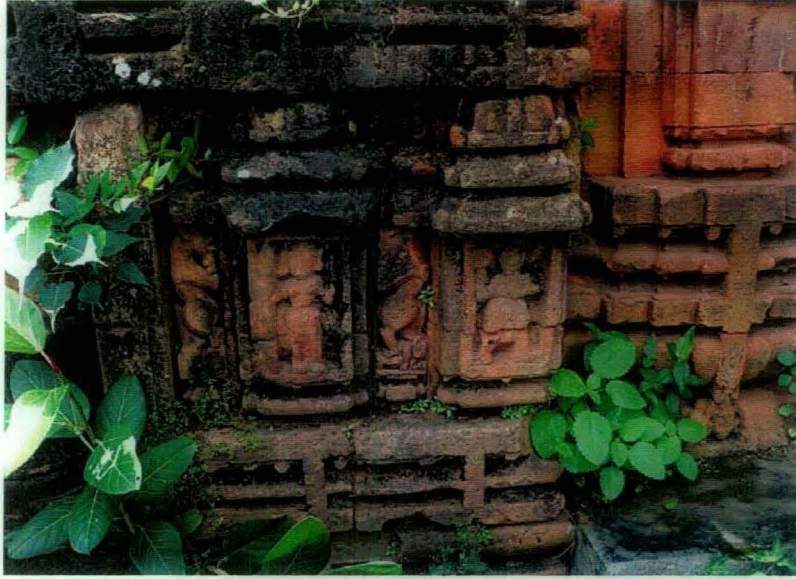


Fig.23. Kapālī Matha, Pīddhā-mūṇḍī



Fig.24. Amūnhā Deūla, General View



Fig. 25. Amūnhā Deūla, Burried Up to Bāraṇḍa and Entrance Path Portion



Fig.26. Amūnhā Deūla, Krishna and Yosadā



Fig.27. Amūnhā Deūla, Kārtikeya



Fig.28. Amūnhā Deūla, Nairuta



Fig.29. Amūnhā Deūla, Dhāyṇi Būddha



Fig.30. Amūnhā Deūla, Lākūlīsa



Fig.31. Amūnhā Deūla, Natrāja



Fig.32. Kotifirtheśvara Śiva Temple, General Frontal View



Fig.33. Kotitīrtheśvara Śiva Temple, Back Side with Kotitīrtheśvar Tank

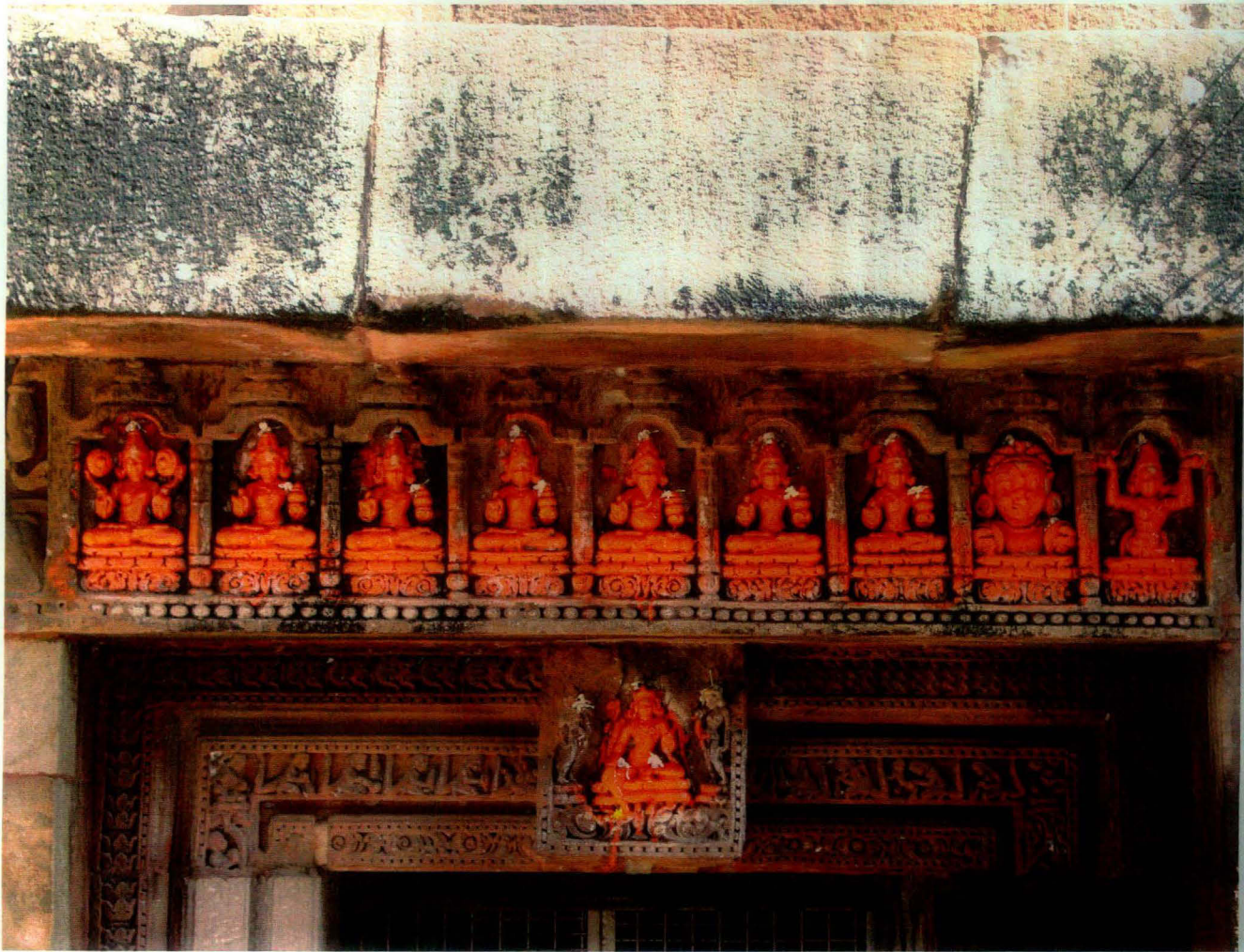


Fig.34. Kotitīrtheśvara Śiva Temple, Navagraha Panel



Fig.35. Vīshṇū Temple, General view of Back side



Fig.36. Vīshṇū Temple, Bāda Poration



Fig.37. Vīshṇū Temple, Aṅga-śikhara



Fig.38. Vīshṇū Temple, Erotic Image



Fig.39. Gangeśvara Śiva Temple, General View



Fig.40. Gangeśvara Śiva Temple, Vishṇu



Fig.41. Gangeśvara Śiva Temple, Social Themes

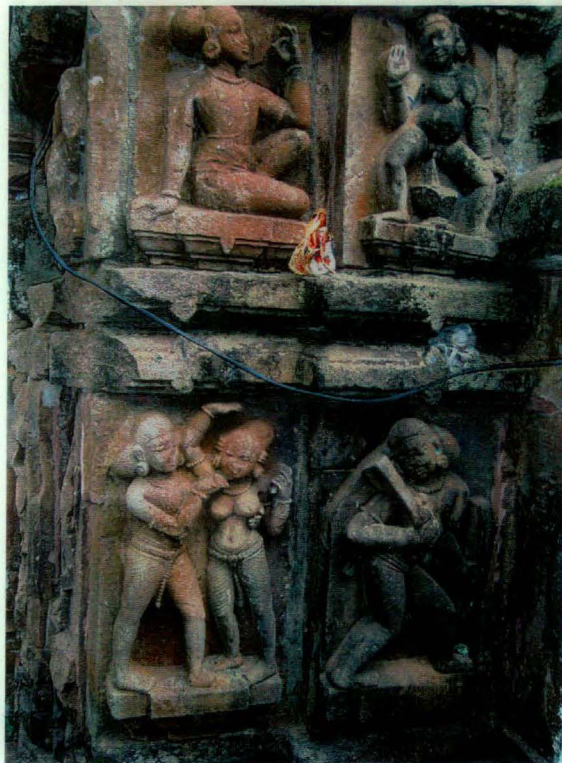


Fig.42. Gangeśvara Śiva Temple, Depiction of social themes

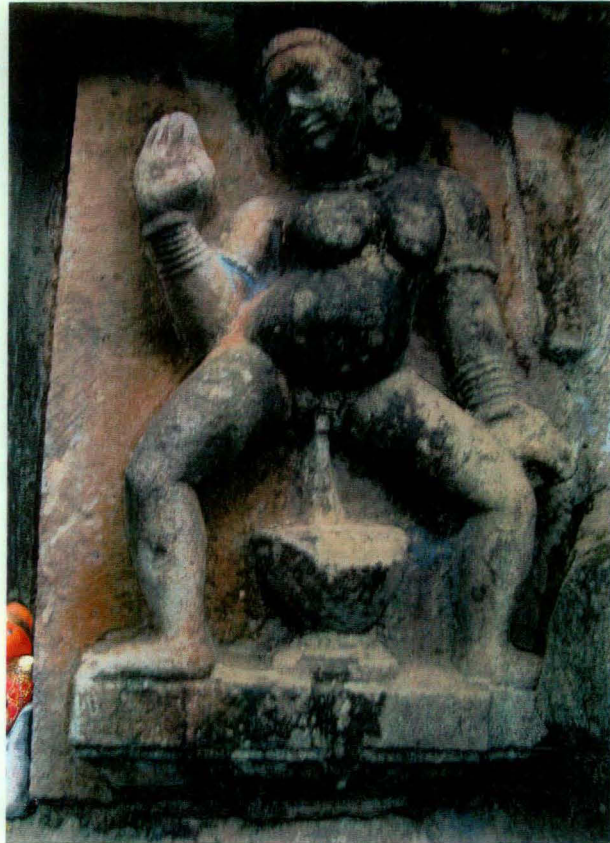


Fig.43. Gangeśvara Śiva Temple, Yoni-abhiseka

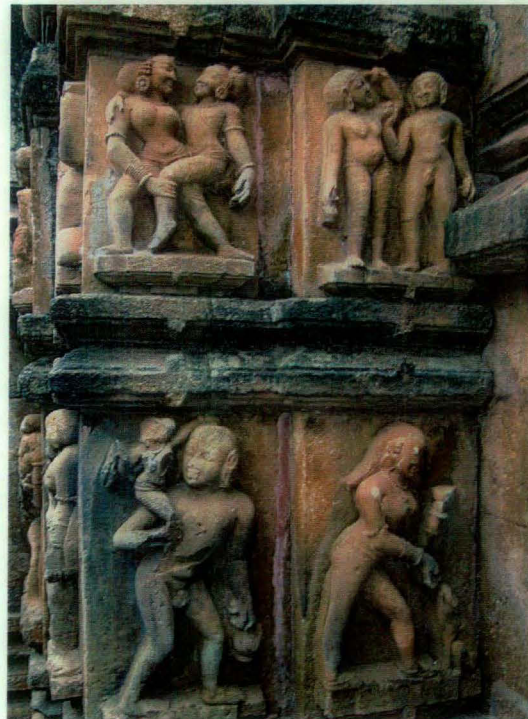


Fig.44. Gangeśvara Śiva Temple, Secular Themes

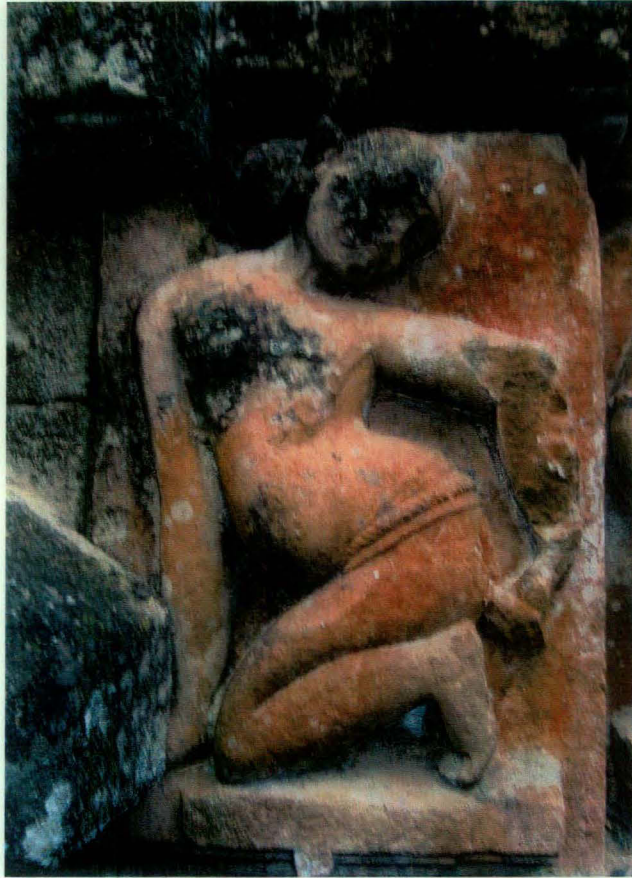


Fig.45. Gaṅgeśvara Śiva Temple, Nāyikā pushing some thing in her genital organ



Fig.46. Gaṅgeśvara Śiva Temple. Vāhanastambha