



RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF PATNAGARH UNDER THE CHAUHANS RULE:

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Abstract:

Prior to the Chauhans reign in Patnagarh region, there was a strong hold of Saivism and Tantricism. Ranipur - Jharial with its hypaethral temple dedicated to the sixty four Yoginis and the temple of Somesvara Siva, containing an inscription of Ganga Sivacharya, the famous Acharya of Mattamayura school of Saivism, was an important centre of religion. However, with the commencement of Chauhans rule, they brought their own faith but did not impose it upon the people. Ramai Deva, the first Chauhan Chief, was a devotee of Asapuri Devi, the tutelary goddess of the Chauhans all over India but in Patna, he declared her as Patneswari, the presiding goddess of Patna. Kosaleswara Siva, who was the principal deity of Patna' before the Chauhans, was also greatly honoured and his temple found place inside the fort close to the shrine of Patneswari. Balarama Deva, who founded a new kingdom in Sambalpur region, accepted the local deity, 'Samalai' and identified her with his own tutelary goddess. The Chauhans were devotees of the 'Pancha Devatas' (Five Divinities) namely Vishnu, Siva, Durga, Surya and Ganehsa. Besides that obscured religious faith like Kurmbhipatias and Kabirpanthis were also prevalent in Chauhans kingdom.

Keywords: Patnagarh, Chauhans, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Saktism. Obscured cult.

1. Introduction:

On the eve of coming of the Chauhans, Patna region was a strong hold of Saivism and Tantric religion. Ranipur - Jharial with its hypaethral temple dedicated to the sixty four Yoginis and the temple of Somesvara Siva, containing an inscription of Ganga Sivacharya, the famous Acharya of Mattamayura school of Saivism, was an important centre of religion. The Chauhans brought their own faith with them. But they did not impose it upon the people of this territory rather they identified their faith with that of the locality. Ramai Deva, the first Chauhan Chief, was a devotee of Asapuri Devi, the tutelary goddess of the Chauhans all over India, but in Patna, he declared her as Patneswari, meaning the presiding goddess of Patna. She was regarded as an aspect of Durga and her image was installed in the temple built by Ramai Deo inside the fort¹ (KN-38).

Kosaleswara Siva, who was the principal deity of Patna' before the Chauhans, was also greatly honoured and his temple found place inside the fort close to the shrine of Patneswari. Balarama Deva, who founded a new kingdom in Sambalpur region, accepted the local deity, 'Samalai' and identified her with his own tutelary goddess. Following the example of his fore-father, Ramai Deva, he enshrined the goddess Samalai inside the premises of his fort at Sambalpur. The same example was followed at Sonepur where Madana Gopala Deva founded a new Chauhan kingdom. He paid great reverence to god, Suvarna Meru, who was the principal deity of Sonepur before him and built a beautiful temple in honour of him. Thus the Chauhans made it their principle to honour and glorify the deities of the people, wherever they extended their kingdom. This made them very popular among the subjects and contributed to a great extent to the success of their long rule.

The Chauhans were devotees of the' Pancha Devatas (Five Divinities) namely Vishnu, Siva, Durga, Surya and Ganehsa-Ramai Deva, the first Chauhan Raja is said to have worshipped all the five deities at the time of his coronation and towards the end of the Chauhan rule, a unique temple in honour of all the Pancha Devatas was built at Sonepur by Vira Mitrodaya Singh. Each of these five divinities was separately being worshiped and s 1 arine s were dedicated to each one of them except Ganesha whose image, however' found prominent place in the temple of the other four deities. The worship of the Sun also was not so very popular in the kingdom of the Chauhans. Yet it was not altogether neglected. The sun temple at Salebhata appears to have been built during the Chauhan rule; but recently it has been renovated and has lost all its characteristics of the late medieval period. An account of

the three main cults viz. Vaishnavism, Saivism and Saktism under the patronage of the Chauhan rulers is presented below.

2. Vaishnavism:

The earliest known Chauhan ruler to profess Vaishnavism was Vaijala Deva I (c. 1410 - 1430 A. D.) He built, on the mountain of Gandhamardana a beautiful temple dedicated to "Marjara Kesari" the feline incarnation of Lord Narasimha and granted the village Loisinga together with one hundred cows for the day to day worship of the deity. The conception of Marjara Kesari appears to be unique and such a deity is nowhere found in India. It is believed that Vishnu in the form of the cat-lion is waiting in the shrine for the mouse-demon to come out of the whole which lies, in front of him² (Yoga Das). Vaishnavism was very popular in Patna kingdom in the reign of Prataprudra Deva T (c. 1470-1490 A.D.) It was during his rule that Chaitanya Das of Khariar wrote a number of books propounding the faith of Orissan Vaishnavism (the cult of Jagannath). N.N. Basu has given Chaitanya Das all equal position with that of the Pancha Sakhas who were Balarama Das Jagannath Das, Yasobanta Das, Ananta Das and Achyutananda Das. He remarks that "these six were the principal poets who, with hearts stirred by religious fervour, sang the glories of Sri Krishna and have, in consequence, been generally regarded as interpreters and champions of Vaishnavism in Utkala³(Basu-38- 39).

The 9th Chauhan ruler of Patnagarh, Vaijala Deva II (c 1520-1540 A.D.), was a famous Vaishnava poet. His "Prabodha Chandrika" in which he taught his son, Hiradhara Deva, the principles of Sanskrit grammar through the story of Kama in lucid verses, is in fact, a valuable contribution to Vaishnava literature. In the opening verse, he describes himself as a devotee of Vishnu, Siva and his own preceptor (Hari-hara-guru bhaktah).

Vaishnavism greatly flourished in the kingdom of Sambalpur during the time of Raja Madhukara Deva (c 1630-1660 A.D) His son Bansi Gopal turned a Vaishnava ascetic and devoted his life to the cause of that faith. He established at Sambalpur the Gopalji Matha which is still there as the biggest Matha in Western Orissa. From that time it became a convention with the Rajas of Sambalpur to be initiated by the Mahants of this Matha with Vaishnava Mantras.⁴ (The Mahants). In the precincts of this Matha, Bansi Gopal built the Gopalji temple where the images of Radha and Krishna were enshrined. On the outer wall of the temple in a niche is seen a small standing statue of the pious prince in black chlorite stone with his name inscribed under it in Oriya script. Two more temples of the town, the building

of which is ascribed to Bansi Gopal, are a Jagannath temple and the temple of Ananta Sayya the latter being dedicated to the Vishnu image that had been secured by Balarama Deva from Surguja as trophy of Victory. Bansi Gopal's activities, however, were not confined to Sambalpur only. He spent some months at Sonepur with his brother Raja Madan Gopal and popularised Vaishnavism in the newly founded kingdom. Thereafter, he went to Puri, where he built Ramji Matha and dedicated it to Vishnu. This Matha even now maintains its relation with the Gopalji Matha of Sambalpur.

Long before the coming of the Chauhans, the people of Western Orissa had great reverence for Lord Jagannath of Puri and every year a large number of them were going to that holy city to pay their homage to the god. But in the pre-Chauhan period we find no temple dedicated to Jagannath. Raja Balabhadra Deva (c. 1605-1630 A. D) of Sambalpur was probably the earliest Chauhan ruler to build a temple for Jagannath. There he enshrined the deity with Balabhadra and Subhadra. Thereafter, the cult became so popular that princes and people vied with one another to build -temples for these deities Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra and towards the end of the Chauhan rule such temples were found in almost all important villages of their kingdom.

3. Saivism:

The Chauhan rulers were devoted worshipper of Siva. Saivism had already been a popular cult before their coming and it became all the more popular during their rule. Ramai Deva showed great honour to Kosaleswara Siva who was enshrined in a temple, close to that of Patneswari inside his fort at Patnagarh. These two deities were regarded as Father God and Mother Goddess in the old Chauhan Kingdom of Patna.

In Sonepur, Madana Gopal Deva built the temple of Suvarna Meru Siva on the bank of the river Tel. From his time, it became a tradition with the Chauhan rulers of Sonepur to worship Siva in that temple regularly on each Monday⁵ (Majumdar-19). In the Kingdom of Sambalpur, Saivism became so very popular that every important village in it boasted to have one and sometimes more than one Siva shrines ⁶(The village Barpali). Important of them were the following eight temples that were collectively known as the Asta Sambhus. Those were (1) Vimalaswara at Huma (2) Maneswara near Sambalpur (3) Kedarnath of Ambavana (4) Viswanath of Deogaon (6) Valukeswar of Gaisama (6) Swapneswar of Soma (7) Visweswara of Saranda and (8) Nilakantheswara of Niljee. The temples of Asta Sambhus

were also found in the Chauhan kingdom of Sonepur where there were known as (1) Suvarna Meru(2) Rameswara (3) Gokarneswara 4) Somanatha (5) Kosaleswara (6) Kale-swara (7) Nilakanteswara and (8) Sankar. Sonepur was regarded as Varanasi of Western Orissa probably because of its being a centre of Saivism.⁷ (KN -56).

The Chauhan rulers introduced the festival of the marriage of Siva in their kingdom. This festival which was popularly known as Sitala Sasthi was celebrated every year in the bright fort Night of the month Jyestha (June) mainly in two places - Sambalpur and Barpali. It is not definitely known as to which of the Chauhan rulers of Sambalpur started this festival. In the Barpali estate, the ceremony was initiated by Lal Nrparaja Singh to commemorate the birth of his son, Mahendra Singh, in 1877⁸ (Gangadhar-425).

4. Saktism:

The Chauhan rulers were noted for their worship of Sakti, their family goddess being Patneswari in Patna house and Samalai in Sambalpur-Sonepur house. Patneswari in Patna is the ten - armed Durga mounting on a lion that pounces upon the buffalo - demon (Mahisasura). Samalai in Sonepur is represented by a fierce looking image but in Sambalpur and Barpali her image conveys a very different conception⁹ (Plate-26). Beglar who visited Sambalpur describes it in the following words. It is a "large block of stone in the middle of which is a projection resembling the mouth of a cow. The extremity of this projection has a groove of a thread-breadth which is called the mouth. At both sides of this projection, there is depression over which beaten gold-leaf is placed as a substitute for eyes."¹⁰ (Alexander-61)

The figure does not correspond with any of the forms of Devi found in India. She appears to be a primitive deity worshipped by the local people and with the rule of Balarama Deva, she was accepted as the family goddess of the Chauhans of Sambalpur.

Other Sakta deities popularly worshipped in Western Orissa were Sureswari (Suvarna-Pureswari) of Sonepur Padmasani of Padmapur, Chandrasani of Chandrapur and Chardai Devi of the village Charda¹¹ (Gangadhar-203). Different castes and tribes inhabiting the Chauhan territory had also their respective tutelary goddesses, whom the Chauhans showed honour and reverence.

Rama Chandi Devi was worshipped by the Kultas, in whose houses she was represented by a handful of earth brought from her shrine at Sarsara in Baud. There were temples of Rama Chandi in Mura, Lapanga and Kamgan in the district of Sambalpur¹² (SDG-205). The Binjhals worshipped Vindhyabasini, whose image was enshrined in a temple on

the Gandhamardana near Narsimhanatha. It is said that the deity was brought from the Vindhya mountain by the twelve archer brothers¹³ (Ibid-77). These legendary brothers were also deified and their 'worship prevailed in some parts of Patna kingdom. The river Lanth a tributary of the Tel was honoured as Barabhai Lanth probably after them.

In Sonepur the worship of Stambheswari and Lankeswari is very significant. The wife of Raj Singh Deo, the fourth ruler of Sonepur brought from her country. Khemandi, her family goddess Sthambheswari for whom a separate temple was built in Sonepur by the Raja¹⁴ (Majumdar-22). Sthambheswari was worshipped by the Dumals and Kandhs of Sonepur as their tribal goddess. The deity was generally represented by black wooden pillars¹⁵ (Tbid-117). The Dumals did not wear black cloth or black ornaments because they believed that their deity was black in colour. They themselves worshipped the goddess and did not engage Kshatriya or Brahmin priest for the purpose.

The worship of Sthambheswari was found as early as the sixth century A.D. in Kalahandi region as known from the Tarasinga plate of MaharajaTushtikara¹⁶ (Rajguru-81). The Sulki rulers of Dhenkanal and Talcher in 8th and 9th Century A.D, were also devoted worshippers of Stambheswari¹⁷ (Mahatab-149). It appears that the tradition of the worship of Stambheswari came to Sambalpur Sonepur tract from these adjoining territories during the rule of the Chauhans.

Lankeswari Devi enshrined on a hillock in the bed of the Mahanadi in Sonepur, was worshipped by the boat-men while passing through the river¹⁸ (Plate-41). During the medieval period, Sonepur region was known as the kingdom of Lanka 'with Lankeswari as its presiding deity. In Buddhist Sadhana Mala, Lankeswari has been described as a Tantric deity and her abode Sonepur Lanka great Tantric centre¹⁹ (Sadhanamala-427).

Not only Sonepur but Sambalpur and Patna were also centres of Tantric cult in pre-Chauhan and Chauhan periods. Indrabhuti Raja of Sambhala (Sambalpur) in the latter half of the 8th century A. D. propounded Vajrayan which is regarded as a system of Tantric Buddhism. His sister, Lakshmi Kara, married the son of Jalendra, the Raja of Sonepur. She is known to have propounded the Sahajayana, another cult of Tantric Buddhism. Both Indrabhuti and Lakshmi Kara are regarded as great luminaries in the Tantric world and are counted among the traditional eighty-four Siddhas²⁰ (Sahu-166-68). In later period, their followers spread Tantricism in different parts of Western Orissa. Patnagarh, in particular, became a stronghold of the Tantric cult where the traditional seven virgin girls namely,

Lahukuti Lahuruni, the black-smith maid, Sukuti Chandraruni- the Cobbler maid, Gangi Gauduni- the Cowherd maid, Sua Teluni -The oil pressure maid, Jnanadei Maluni- the garland-maker maid, Nitai Dhovani - the washer maid and Patnapindhi Saharuni - the Savari maid are believed to be practising esoteric rites to achieve perfection. Patnagarh was popularly known as 'Kaunri Patna' or Kumari Patna (citadel of virgin girls) after them. The name Kaunri Patna was in popular use as late as the rule of the Chauhan Raja Prataparudra Deva I (c 1470-1490 A.D.)²¹(Das - 200). These seven virgin girls have been deified in a collective name of 'Sat Bahen' (Seven Sisters) and are believed to be residing as water nymphs in solitary village - tanks.

Tantric practices were being observed in some Devi temples under the patronage of the Chauhan rulers. The Dussehra festival particularly was an occasion of esoteric rites, when a man, being possessed by the spirit of the deity used to dance and shake heads to the tune of the music played by the Gandas. The person thus possessed, was known as Vali (To whom sacrifice) and when under spiritual possession, he was believed to be able to grant boon to the faithful.

4. Obscured Religious Cults:

The religion of the Kurmbhipatias which is known as Mahimaism or Alekism was founded in the middle of the 19th century by one. Mahima Gosain on the mount of Kapilash near Joranda in Dhenkanal State²² (Viswanath Baba). Govinda Baba was the first man to be initiated with this religion and he became the Adi Siddha, the Guru himself being known as the Anadi. Thereafter both of them went to Gramdiha in Rairhakhhol, where they admitted into their fold an illiterate Kandh named Bhima Bhoi whom the Gosain ordered to preach the tenets of Mahimaism among the people through lucid poems. It was Bhima Bhoi who gave a new life to this sect and made it popular Sambalpur and Sonapur. It will therefore, not be out of place to give her a brief sketch of the life of this prophet.

Bhima Bhoi was born blind at Gramdiha in about 1855 A. D. in a poor Kandh family²³ (Mishra-178). While yet an infant, he lost his father and was brought up by his mother with great difficulty. At the age of twelve, he began to earn a living as a cowherd boy²⁴ (Bhoi-21-22). Though devoid of any education, he was exceptionally intelligent. He retained in his memory, the lines from the Bhagavata, that he heard from the Brahmin priest of the village and when left to himself, he pondered over the spiritual, significance of them. B.C. Majumdar thinks that Bhima Bhoi came to know of the glory of Mahima Gosain from

some itinerant Kumbhipatias and himself went to Joranda to be initiated by him²⁵ (Baba-41). But we get a different version from the History of Mahimaism which states that the Gosain and Govinda Baba initiated Bhima Bhoi at his own village, Gramdiha. The latter version, however finds support in the writing of Bhima Bhoi himself²⁶ (Bhajanamala-64). Though illiterate and blind, Bhima Hhoi could sing in easy flowing Oriya verses and his inspired utterances were being written down by two of his Brahmin disciples, Hari Panda and Basudeva Panda. Hundreds of his songs have been published by the Prachi Samiti and many more are yet to see the light. These poems are very widely read and recited by the common people all over Orissa. Owing to his personality and organising capacity, a large number of people were drawn towards Mahimaism and in Sambalpur district alone as many as in 30 villages got converted into the sect²⁷ (SDG-60).

In 1880 Bhima Bhoi with a good number of followers almost all of whom belonged to Sambalpur district, led an attack on the celebrated idol of Lord Jagannath at Puri, whom he considered a huge nuisance. His attack, however, was repulsed by the police and in the scuffle, that followed inside the temple, a number of Kumbhipatias were wounded and one was killed²⁸ (Buckland-733-736). Bhima Bhoi then abruptly ordered his men to retreat declaring that Jagannath had already left the temple in the guise of the Buddha. After this, he built a Matha at Khaliapali near Sonapur, where he passed his last days in peaceful prayers with his followers. He married there two girls one of whom belonged to the Brahmin caste and they bore him two children, a son and a daughter²⁹ (Kapileswara and Lavanyavati). He died in 1895 and was buried in the village, Khaliapali, where his tomb is visited by the devotees of his sect from all parts of Western Orissa.

After this, he built a Matha at Khaliapali. The followers of Shiro Bhoi used to wear the bark of Kumbhi trees and so they were known as the Kumbhipatias. They received alms of boiled rice from anyone except the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the washer men and the Chandalas³⁰ (Bhoi - 152). They paid their homage to the sun regularly at the time of its rising and setting. They washed their body with cow-dung and on certain occasion, even drank water mixed with cow-dung. They took their meal before night-fall. They condemned the caste system and idol worship of the Hindus. Truth, faith and submission to the Gurus were the essential characteristics of this religion. N.N. Basu had described Mahimaism as a development of Mahayana – Buddhism³¹ (Basu-175).

This interpretation was mainly due to the fact that the Kumbhipatias regard Mahima Gosain, the founder of the sect as an incarnation of the Buddha³² (Chautisha-29). The theory of void (Sunyata) in Mahimaism leads prof A.B. Mohanty to support N.N. Basu in identifying the religion with Buddhism³³ (Preface). Pandit Vinayaka Misra takes Mahimaism as a branch 5 of Sahajayana³⁴ (Misra-36&186) and according to Sri B.C. Majumdar it originated from Jainism. It is indeed not proper to identify a cult with another because of the similarities of some rites. Different religions are found to have some fundamental similarities in their principles. Mahimaism might have taken some elements from the later Buddhism and Jainism. But it has definite individuality of its own and it cannot probably be regarded as a part of some other religions.

The Kabirpanthis claim that the founder of their sect was Kabir (1440- 1518 A.D.), the great religious reformer. The followers of this sect rejected the Puranas of the Hindus and the authority of the Brahmins. They condemned the caste system and idolatry. The descendants of Dharam Das at Kawardha were regarded as the head of the sect. Besides them, there were other Gurus known as the Mahants, who were served by a large number of Bairagis (mendicants). Dressed in long white robes, these Mahants and the mendicants travelled widely to make proselytes for the sect. The ceremony of initiation of the Kabirpanthis was known as Chauka. The candidate was brought to the guru who made him promise to abide by the rules of the sect. Songs were then sung in praise of Kabir and half of the Mantra was whispered into the left ear of the candidate by the Guru, who, afterwards, placed in his outstretched palms some grass, Pan Leaves and white flowers. A Bairagi then led him to a corner of the room, where he threw the grass etc and received water from the mendicant.

With the first handful of water he rinsed out his mouth and with the second he washed his face. He was then brought back to the Guru who gave the Bairagi a Kanthi (garland of beads) to be touched by all the members of the Panth present there. When the Kanthi was returned to the Guru, he put it on the neck of the candidate as he knelt before him. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the whole Mantra was whispered in the right ear of the candidate. In the kingdom of the Chauhans, this faith was professed mostly by the Pankas, the Aghrias, the Dhobis and the Tells.

The Chamars or the cobblers, living in Western Orissa, mostly belonged to the sect of the Satnarnis. This cult was introduced in this region in 1820s by a Chamar named Ghasi

Das³⁵(SDG-59). The Satnamis did not take liquor, meat and certain vegetables such as tentiles and tomatoes, the juice of which resembled blood. They condemned idolatry and polytheism and worshipped the true name (Satnam) of one god. They believed that all men were socially equal except the family of Ghasi Das in which the priesthood of the cult was hereditary. Balak Das, who succeeded Ghasi Das as the chief Guru, angered the Brahmins by assuming the sacred thread and consequently, he was murdered.³⁶ (Ibid) Thus in the field of religion, the Chauhans followed a policy of toleration and extended their patronage to all forms of Hinduism even to the protestant faiths like the Satnam, the Kabirpant and the Kumbhipatia. The religious policy of these rulers contributed not only to the consolidation of their power but also to the building up of a better and healthier society in Western Orissa.

6. Conclusion:

The Chauhan rulers were religious tolerance and given importance to all sect of religion. There was no state religion during the Chauhans rule and the subjects were allowed free to adopt any faith as they like. All over Chauhan kingdom, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Saktism and other cults were prevalent. People were enjoying by worshipping their devoted Gods and Goddesses as their belief.

7. References:

1. Asapuri has been used as a name of Durga in the prayer of Rarnai Deva in Kosalananda 'Canto V-38 (Patna MS) in iconographical feature Patnesvari is "the Mahisha Mardini Durga.
2. Yoga Das- Nrusimha Mahatmya (MS) (in State Museum Orissa.
3. N.N. Basu, Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa) P.38-39
4. The Mahants of this Math & in succession were: - Bihari Das, Banamali Das, Hare Krishna Das, Bhagaban Das and Bihari Das Banamali Das fell in love with a Rajput lady and was consequently ousted.
5. B.C. Majumdar, Chauhan Rulers of Sonapur, p.19.
6. The village Barpali had six Siva temples, all belonging to the Chauhan period.
7. K.N. (Patna MS) Canto XV-56.
8. Gangadhar Granthavali, p.425.
9. Plate No.26.
10. Alexander Cunningham, (ed). Archeological Survey Report Vol. XVII 1884,
11. Gangadhara Granthavali. Utkala Lakshrni p.203.
12. Sambalpur District Gazetteer, p.205 and 208.
13. Ibid. p.77
14. B.C. Majumdar- Chauhan Rulers of Sonapur p.22.
15. For Sthambheswari Worship Vide B.d'. Majumdar-Sonapur in the Sambalpur Tract. Appendix II. P.117 ff.

16. S.N. Raj guru- Inscription of Orissa, Vol. I. Part III No.16 P.81
17. Dr H.K. Mahatab - History of Orissa. VoI. I p.149.
18. Plate No.41
19. Sadhanamala Sadhana No. 218, p.427
20. Dr N.K. Sahu, Buddhism in Orissa, pp-166-168
21. Das, Chaitanya- Nirguna Mahatmya, XVI, Verse 200.
22. For the History of Mahimaism vide , Viswanath Baba - Satya Mahima Dharma Itihasa.
23. According to Vinayaka Misra it is 1860 A.D., History of Oriya literature) p.178.
24. Bhima Bhoi- Stuti Chintmani 21st and 22nd Boll.
25. Op.Cit Viswanath Baba-41
26. Bhajanamala - 2nd Sataka.p.64
27. Sambalpur District Gazetteer, p.60-
27. G.E. Buckland Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors (190) Vol. II. PP.733-735
29. The name of the son was Kapileswar and that of the daughter Lavanyavati. The Kumbhipatias at Khaliapali were affectionately calling them Babu and Nani.
30. Akshaya Kumar Dutta - Bharatabarsiya Upasaka Sampradaya (in Bengli) Part 112 Appendix-p, 204. Also Yomati Malika by Bhima Bhoi, pp.152-153.
31. N.N. Basu, Modern Buddhism and its followers pp.175-176 also archeological Survey of Mayurbhanj. Vol.I. P.CC 1.III.
32. Chautisha Granthamala - p.29.
33. Preface -Stuti Chintamani.
34. Vinayak Misra, Hist. of Oriya Literature, p.36 & 186
35. Sambalpur District Gazetteer, p.59.
36. Ibid.