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From The Editor's Desk...

History is TRUTH and TRUTH is God. History is a search for the ultimate truth , an understanding which would end the search for any further explanation. Many of you may feel disturbed with such a content. In fact, many of you may feel this statement to be very subjective. Indeed you may opine that history is all about alternative explanations, choice of one explanation over the others with justification. In this short editorial an attempt is being made to explore, 'History as Truth'. History like any other discipline can never be dealt in isolation; however, it may seem so. It is not even a distinct part of the whole, it is indeed the whole itself- both temporally and spatially. Why all search in history may be partial yet the partial search always can be of the whole only. The ability of the historian to view the past as a part of the whole, is the most critical ability. The complex inter-connectedness makes a case for universal history. A universal history ensures that there is indeed a holistic picture and historian has to know this. Such knowledge is knowledge of the God and of TRUTH. Such knowledge of the universal can never be short of TRUTH. History may begin with a question or number of questions but must lead to a state of mind- which is question less, contended and has the answers to all the questions. One need not debate whether Marx or Hegel was standing on the legs, what can safely be conceded is that there is indeed a cause for universal history, for history as the study of God, Truth, a single overriding explanation, there is indeed a consciousness evolving through time and space. The success of the historian is to discern the evolving consciousness, discern the pattern, material or spiritual or one or the other, or the both. Once the truth is grasped, the pattern is understood, the jigsaw puzzle falls in to place and the historian becomes question less. Truth can never be single dimensional, it is like a lantern whose light has no color and yet it highlights the color of the object on which it falls. Light has no colour and yet without light no object, no event has a colour of its own. History is indeed the light which highlights the colour and makes it visible. Light is not necessarily in the torch or lantern, light is indeed in the eyes of the beholders, the seekers, the perceiver. Whole is always visible. Understanding and learning is the light. The holistic history and universal history is always there, the understanding may not be there. Once this

understanding develops, little reels of doubt, contradictions, conflict, and opposition don't vanish but flow harmoniously and flow as the universal. It is like the proverbial *Viswaroop Darshan*. Nothing is denied, all is admitted yet a vision of whole emerges which is harmonious. With no scope for doubt or question, universal can be conceded but can God be conceded. Is God same as Universal? God is indeed universal, if not, there is no God. God is indeed spiritual, if not, matter is not adequate to be the holistic yet matter is not undivine, unspiritual for matter is indeed the vehicle for the spiritual. Mind is indeed housed in the body. One flows into the other; matter into the spirit, spirit into the matter, body into the mind and mind into the body. God is not only the universal, but also the cause, the effect, the whole of it. Even if history is only a study in causation, it is still a study in God. For God is indeed the cause. Can we equate God with the cause, of course, the answer is yes. Without cause- there is no question and no history and even no God. The answer may be varied, there may be no agreement but there is conviction, no doubt among those who claim an answer. This is not to deny the complexity of the answer or even the contradictions, this is to assert the harmony. Whether we assert that Truth is God, and if it is not true, it is not God(Mahatma Gandhi) or the reverse, history can never be divorced from Truth and hence from God. History can never be other than Truth or other than God. Neither Truth nor God needs to be confused with religion or system of worship or even any revelation. For a historian, Truth can be evidence free from bias, it can be rational and all the paraphernalia of the tools of historian can be admitted as long as it leads to the universal.

The above paragraph may lead to many to dismiss the above as full of jargons, pep talk in contradictions and to be irrelevant. I have no quarrel with such understandings. Yet what is pleaded for is a development of a sense of history, a theoretical frame work for a universal history and freedom from a saga of events, un-connected events and vision beyond the phone book of your mobile telephone.

(S.P. PANI)
Editor

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This was publised ealier in the proceeding at 34th session of Odisha History Congress.

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MUKTESVARA TEMPLE - THE GEM OF ORISSAN ARCHITECTURE

Sanjay Acharya

ABSTRACT

In this article an attempt has been made to make a brief study of the Muktesvara temple, at Bhubaneswar. Assigned to the Somavamsi period and dated to the 10th century A.D. this temple is a landmark in the context of evolution of temple architecture. It is said that the temple that best integrates the new architectural features and decorative motifs filtering into Eastern Odisha via the upper Mahanadi Valley with the indigenous traditions is the Muktesvara. Although small the deula rising only to a height of 10.42 metres, the temple has been aptly described as "the gem of Orissan architecture", "as a dream realised in sandstone", a monument in which sculpture and architecture are in complete harmony with each other.

It is the earliest surviving example of what became the standard temple plan, a rekha type deula with curvilinear spire, and a pidha type jagamohana with a stepped pyramidal roof. We also have, for the first time at Bhubaneswar, a perfect and natural joining of the deula with the jagamohana without the crude overlapping of the sanctum decoration by the jagamohana roof, noticed in so many other temples, suggesting that the two structures were conceived as a uniform complex in the original plan. This temple is particularly important in tracing out the gradual development of the Hindu temples in Odisha from the 9th century onwards, to a mature style of temple architecture.

Keywords: *baranda, bho* panels, *deula, gandi,graha, jagamohana, ketu, kirtimukha, linga, mariachi Kunda, mastaka, mukhasala, pancha-ratha , pidha, rathas, rekha, Sapta-Matrikas*, Siddharanya, *sikhara, torana.*

Dedicated to Siva, the Muktesvara temple has been assigned to the 10th century A.D. It is said that the temple that best integrates the new architectural features and decorative motifs filtering into Eastern Odisha via the upper Mahanadi Valley with the indigenous traditions is the Muktesvara. Although small the *deula* rising only to a height of 10.42 metres, the temple has been aptly described as "the gem of Orissan architecture" [1], "as a dream realised in sandstone" [2], a monument in which sculpture and architecture are in complete harmony with each other.

It is the earliest surviving example of what became the standard temple plan, a *rekha* type *deula* with curvilinear spire, and a *pidha* type *jagamohana* with a stepped pyramidal roof. We also have, for the first time at

Bhubaneswar, a perfect and natural joining of the *deula* with the *jagamohana* without the crude overlapping of the sanctum decoration by the *jagamohana* roof, noticed in so many other temples, suggesting that the two structures were conceived as a uniform complex in the original plan. This temple is particularly important in tracing out the gradual development of the Hindu temples in Odisha from the 9th century onwards, to a mature style of temple architecture. It demarcates the end of the earlier style and the ushering in of a new and mature phase in the course of Odishan temple architecture. This temple stands at a midpoint bearing many similarities to the early group of temples, while also looking forward to the later mature style. It served as a model in some ways for the temples of the later group, mainly the Brahmesvara, which looks back at the Muktesvara as a means of breaking with the experimental style of the Rajarani.

The Muktesvara temple has an enchanting, picturesque setting. Encompassing an area of about 70.4 metres x 74.1 metres, this garden like enclosure is popularly called the "Siddharanya", or forest of the perfected ones.[3] The present setting resembles more of a well-maintained park, rather than an ascetic grove. The central position in the location is given to the Muktesvara *deula,* its *jagamohana,* the enclosure wall and the unique *torana,* all set within a recessed courtyard. On the southern side of the enclosure wall there is a small enclosed well. This well is locally known as the *mariachi Kunda*, and its water is famous for its curative

properties – to cure barrenness of women. [4] The location of the temple along with it's environ brings in an atmosphere of serenity which is essential for the setting of any temple.

As in all the major temple of Odisha following the Odishan style of temple building, the Muktesvara temple has two basic units- the *jagamohana* or the *mukhasala* which is the forehall or hall for the audience and then the *deula* which houses the *linga*. The *Jagamohana* and the *deula* are separated by the thickness of the walls of the *deula* and *jagamohana*, thus preserving a sense of separation of the two units.

This temple, like all other early temples of Bhubaneswar does not rise to a great height. It has a modest height of 10.42 meters.[5] The *gandi* gradually curves inwards from the *baranda* level, and when this technique is adopted, soaring heights cannot be effected. Both the *deula* and the *jagamohana* rest on a low platform or *pitha* similar in shape to that of the enclosure wall. Broadly speaking, from the ground plan, the proportion between the two structures i.e. the *deula* as against the *Jagamohana* is 2:1.

The *deula* like all standard Odishan temples is divided into the *bada* the *gandi* and the *mastaka.* On the *bada* of the *deula* is surmounted a tall curvilinear *gandi*. The *gandi* or *sikhara* gradually curves inwards from the *baranda* level. Each of the walls, excluding the western side which is connected to the *jagamohana,* is articulated or designed in exactly the same manner, while the imagery placed around the temple on the lower *rathas,*

the *baranda* and the heraldic *bho* panels, which are just below the *kirtimukha,* vary from side to side. And on the top is the *mastaka.*

The *deula* is *pancha-ratha* in plan. The ground plan of the *jagamohana* is square and there are no pillars inside to support the roof. It must be mentioned here, that the *jagamohana* of the Muktesvara temple was not an individualistic or isolated development. It developed out of the previous rectangular *jagamohana.* This type of *jagamohana* which developed then was still in the experimental stage, in the sense that it is devoid of the crowning member as found in a full fledged *pidha-deula.*

It is in this temple of Muktesvara that for the first time we see similar treatment of the walls of the *deula* and the *jagamohana.* Henceforth, the emphasis was on the identical treatment of the walls of the two structures.

An unusual feature of this temple is the carved ceiling of its *jagamohana* with its formal, narrative and iconographic complexity. These sculptures, which we see represent a totally new concept. The ceiling consists of an elaborate system of five progressively receding stone courses. The first or the innermost is square, the next three are octagonal and the fifth or the outermost is rectangular. This arrangement has created triangular and trapezoidal panels at the corners. These panels contain various decorative motifs and narrative relief scenes. At the centre of the ceiling within the innermost course, is a fairly deep "dome" having the shape of an eight-petaled lotus. The petals are actually niches within which are placed the images of the *Sapta-Matrikas* seven Mother Goddesses and their attendant, Virabhadra [6].

In most of the Odishan temples the interior of the *jagamohana* and the sanctum are devoid of any carvings. This was done so that there were no distraction for the devotees, and it would emphasis the solemn and serene atmosphere which was required for the performance of the rituals of the deity. The deviation in this temple can be justified by saying that the Silpa-sastra texts were probably not very strict about this aspect of leaving the inside of the *jagamohana* and *deula* free from carvings.

The temple stands on a stone pavement which serves as a means for going around the temple. This stone pavement has an enclosure wall, which is of the same shape as that of the temples exterior and thus forms the ground plan of the temple.

This temple has the unique distinction of having a magnificent gateway fronting the entrance through the compound wall. This is the only surviving example at Bhubaneswar where we see the *torana* forming part of the original temple complex. The low decorated enclosure wall and the magnificent *torana -* these two features have neither any precedent, nor any subsequent use in Odisha. In majority of the temples, a free-standing *torana* was never an integral part of the temple complex. Near the Vaitala *deul on* its southern side we have such a *torana* but in any case, it is a modern addition.

This temple of Muktesvara is indisputably one of the most refined and beautiful temples of Odisha on account of its elegance, proportion and vibrant texture of its exquisite surface treatement.[7] Its exquisite sculptures eloquently speak of the sense of proportion and perspective of the sculptors and their extra- ordinary skill in visualising things of the minutest character with great dexterity. In this temple every inch of the exterior walls of both the *deula* and the *jagamohana* have been carved. These carvings are not only delicate and distinct, but are integrally linked with each other.

It should be remembered than even though every inch of this temple is carved, it is done with due restraint. One can never find a place to prove that the sculptors were over obsessed or that there was any rush for carving. The sculptors were always conscious to secure a balance between proportion and elegance, between grandeur and beauty. And hence, the outcome was a monument in which sculpture and architecture were in complete harmony with each other. This temple has introduced some new concepts as regards iconography. The introduction of *ketu* as the ninth planet in the *graha* panel is seen here for the first time. It is difficult to say as to why, even if the people were already aware of the concept of the nine *grahas*, *ketu* was being left out till then. Other iconographic introductions are the association of the cock with Karttikeya, the presence of the mouse as Ganesa's mount, and babies in the arms of the *Sapta-matrikas*. Another remarkable feature of this temple is the absence of erotic sculptures. The entire temple complex has just one erotic scene.

On the whole, the Muktesvara temple is a notable monument for new artistic experimentations-both stylistic and iconographic. And hence, it would not be wrong to term this temple as "the gem of Orissan architecture" a "dream realised in sandstone".

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5. The measurement of the temple was done by the use of a theodolite.

6. For details of these panels see Walter Smith, "The Ceiling of the Muktesvara Temple in Bhubaneswar" *Artibus Asiae* XLV, I (1984), MCML XXXIV, pp. 73-95

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MADHAVA TEMPLES OF ODISHA

Amaresh Jena

ABSTRACT

The cult of Madhava found its expression through a number of temples which were constructed in different parts of Odisha at different points of time. These temples were architecturally designed in the form of other Vaisnavite temples of Odisha. The most famous among them are the Nilamadhava temple at Gandharadi, the Nilamadhava temple at Kantilo, the Madhavananda temple at the village Madhava, Niali, and the Madhava temple at Puri. Besides these another temple dedicated to Lord Nilamadhava can be seen in the temple complex of Paramahansanath Siva, which is situated on the left bank of river Kathajodi near Cuttack town. We also found some ruined brick temples of Nilamadhava in Prachi valley at places like, Chahata , Mudgala and village Madhava, but the images are intact and in their proper locations. A modern temple at Dhanchangeda near Kantilo is dedicated to Lord Lalita Madhava. Another temple is dedicated to Lord Madhava at the village Kumarpur in the district of Bhadrak. There is a modern temple housing an early image of Madhava at Agarapada in the district of Bhadrak. The paper examines the Nilamadhava temple at Gandharadi, the Nilamadhava temple at Kantilo, the Madhavananda temple at the village Madhava, Niali and the Madhava temple at Puri in detail.,

Key Words: *Rekha and Pidha, Deula, Jagamohana, Natamandapa, Mukhasala, Bhogamandapa, Bada, Gandi, Mastaka, Pabhaga,Tala Jangha, Bandhana, Upara Janjaha, Baranda, Beki, Khapuri, Kalasa, Ayudha, Raha,Ratha, Anuraha, Paga and Bhumi.*

Before going to discuss the Madhava temples of Odisha it would be better to have a discussion regarding the salient features of Odishan temple architecture. A typical temple of Kalingan style consists of a *vimana* and a *jagamohana,* both forming a part of one architectural scheme[1]. The main temple is called as *deula* as well as *garbhagriha* which is generally of the *rekha* type and has a curvilinear spire. The *jagamohana* or porch is the frontal structure which is also known as *mukhasala* is of the *pidha* order. These two structures are linked internally. Externally the *jagamohana* is a subordinate structure to the main temple in height. It is to note that the craftsmen of Odisha traditionally believed that the main temple is the bridegroom and the *jagamohana* is the bride.[2] With the gradual march of time, to cater to the needs of the rituals two more structures such as the *Natamandapa* and the *Bhogamandapa* were added. All these structures stand in a row. Usually the temple complex is enclosed by compound walls with a small gateway in front. Conventionally the interior ground plan of the temple is square but the exterior portion appears round in shape due to projections.

A typical Odishan temples consist of several vertical projections called *pagas* or *rathas*. According to the number of *pagas*, the temples are divided into *tri-ratha, pancha-ratha, sapta-ratha* and *nava-ratha*. The earlier temples are marked by *tri-ratha* plan but during latter period the *tri-ratha* plan changed to the *pancha-ratha* and *sapta-ratha* plan. The latter temples posses developed *paga* designs. As already said the *deula* consists of a curvilinear spire and the *Jagamohana* is a pyramidal structure. The Odishan craftsmen generally ascribe the temple as the body of the cosmic being.[3] Due to this the different parts of the body of the temple are named after the limbs of the body. In later temples the *pista* became a regular feature.

The usual sections of the *bada* are *pabhaga*, *jangha* and *baranda*. This type of *trianga bada* can be noticed in the earlier temples. In later temples the *bada* portion of a temple consists of five elements and thus called as *panchanga bada*. These elements are *pabhaga, tala jangha*, *bandhana*, *upara jangha* and *baranda*. The *pabhaga* is the foot portion of a temple wall which is again subdivided into several parts such as *khura*, *kumbha*, *pata*, *kani* and *basanta*. The *bandhana* of the *bada* separets the *jangha* into two parts such as *tala-jangha* and *upara-jangha*. The uppermost portion of the *bada* is called as *baranda* which consists of seven or ten moldings.

The *bada* portion of both the *deula* and *jagamohana* are almost identical in treatment but the *gandi* portions of both these structures are different. It is to note that, the *gandi* of the *jagamohana* is of pyramidal type while the *gandi* of the *deula* is of curvilinear type. With the gradual march of time the small and simple *sikhara* and spire of early temples transformed in to lofty *vimanas*. The *gandi* portion of these soaring temples consists of *anga-sikharas* which show the upward thrust of the *deula*. Similarly the *kanika-paga* of the *gandi* of a *deula* possesses several *bhumis* and *bhumi-amalas* also. The central *raha* portion of the temple contains the *bho* design over which we generally notice lion-on-elephant motifs. It is noteworthy that, the early temples show the gradual curvature of the *sikhara* but the later ones display the pronounced curve near the *visama* portion of the *gandi*.[4] The *mastaka* of the *deula* consists of the *beki*, the *amla*, the *khapuri*, the *kalasa* and the *ayudha* respectively. The *beki* portion divides the *gandi* from the *mastaka* of a temple. In later temples the *amla* or the *amalaka* is supported by *dopichha* lions at the corners where as a *deula-charinis* on the centre. Just above the *amalaka* there is *khapuri* which is again topped by a *kalasa*. The *ayudha* can be noticed above the *kalasa*. The *dhvaja* or banner is seen at the top of a temple. From the *ayudha* it can be identified to which deity the temple is dedicated.

The *mastaka* portion of the *jagamohana* consists of usual elements like *beki*, *ghanta*, *amla*, *khapuri*, *kalasa* and *ayudha*. Most of the Odishan temples face to the east but there are some temples which face to west, north and south. Usually the *garbhagriha* contains one door only and it is devoid of windows. In early temples the *jagamohana* possesses latticed windows on the side walls in additions to the main door. The *jagamohana* of latter temples contain balustraded windows. The

Jagannath temple at Puri and the Surya temple at Konark have three entrance doors in the *Jagamohana*.

Sculptural Features: The interior walls of the Odishan temples are usually plain but the exterior is fully carved. Sometimes we notice carvings in the interior of the *Jagamohana* but not inside the *garbhagriha* of a temple. While entering the temple a devotee first sees the images of Ganga and Yamuna on the lower portion of the door jambs. These river goddesses stand for the symbol of purification. Then a devotee enters the *garbhagriha* and worships the god in a calm atmosphere. The outer walls of the Odishan temples contain a variety of sculptures like *nayikas* and erotic figures, cult icons, animal figures, *kirtimukhas*, *nagas* and *nagis*, decorative designs like scrolls, architectural designs like *pidha* and *khakara-mundis*, *chaitya* windows and others. We notice the Gajalaxmi figure on the centre of the door lintel of the temple. Just above the door lintel we notice nine *graha* images. The *parsva-devata* images can be found on the niches can also be noticed on the outer wall of the temple. It is to note that, the *parsvadevata* images are closed related to the presiding deity.

The cult of Madhava is found its expression through a number of temples which were constructed in different parts of the state at different points of time. These temples were architecturally designed in the form of other Vaisnavite temples of Odisha. The most famous among those temples are the Nilamadhava temple at Gandharadi, the Nilamadhava temple at Kantilo, the Madhavananda temple at the village

Madhava, Niali and the Madhava temple at Puri. A vivid description of these Madhava temples has been attempted in this paper.

The twin temples of Nilamadhava and Siddhesvara at Gandharadi:- The twin temples of Siddhesvara and Nilamadhava are located in Gandharadi village which is about twelve miles west of Baudh town in present Baudh district. The twin temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu respectively are built side by side on a common platform or *pistha*. The sides of this *pistha* are carved with a set of *pabhaga* mouldings and the *jangha*. The *jangha* is decorated with small *mundi* designs which are identical to that of the temple wall. This is the earliest example where the *pistha* or platform is high enough which also contain decorations [5]. The temples are exact duplicates, except for the *ayudha* placed on the *amalaka* were surrounded at the four corners of the *pitha* by a miniature which corresponds to the *panchayatana* plan. Unfortunately these corner shrines are completely ruined. The temples are of *rekha* style along with a rectangular flat-roofed *Jagamohana*. Dolandson ascribed the temples of Gandharadi to early 10th century on stylistic ground.[6]

Deula: The *bada* portion of the *deula* which measures 15 feet[7] square at the base is a fully developed *pancha-ratha* structure. Its *pabhaga* portion measures 36 inches high and has four moldings such as *khura*, *patta* and *vasanta*.[8] The *bada* portion we notice elongated *khura-mundis* with a *vajra-mastaka* design carved on its top. The *kanika* design of the *jangha* which is measuring 76 inches in height [9] consists of a pilaster with a

small *vajra-mundi* on the bottom portion and the hanging garlands in the top portion. Similarly the *anuratha* design of the *jangha* is carved like a tall shrine with a small *vajramastaka* on the top portion. The miniature temple design corresponds to the *triratha* design the *raha paga* of the temple is designed like a big *vajra mundi* flanked on by a pilaster which is topped by a *kalasa*. This *vajra mundi* is *triratha* in plan. The pilasters framing the niche contain the scroll work. On the top of the *vajra mastaka* there is a small *mundi*.

The *baranda* portion of the temple separates the *bada* and *gandi*. The *gandi* portion is *pancharatha* in design. The *kanika paga* of the temple contains seven *bhumis* and equal number of *bhumi amlas* with each *bhumi* sub divided in to four additional *varandas*. The *anuratha pagas* are divided into horizontal moldings with triple *chaitya* designs of the top. The *raha paga* just above the missing *vajra mastaka* motives is finely carved. It is not worthy that on the front façade of the *gandi* portion just above the roof of the *jagamohana* there is a triangular opening which leads into the interior of the *garbhagriha*, because of this the sanctum is well lighted the other Odishan temple[10]. This is the unique feature of this temple. On the Siddheswar temple there is an *akasha linga* over the *amalaka* where as on the Nilamadhaba temple a stone *chakra* can be noticed which the usual emblems of Siva and Vishnu respectively are. For the first time we found seated figures on the *bisama* portion, over the *raha paga* in this temple.

Jagamohana: The *jagamohana* is a rectangular hall which measures 26 feet 8 inches by 20 feet 4 inches.[11] The roof consists of two sloped tiers like the Parsurameswar temple at Bhubaneswar, but there are no openings between the tiers which is built in the cantilever principles identical to the Sisireswar temple.[12] There is an extra slab on the top of the roof. The projecting tiers and the top most slab are progressively stepped which later developed into a *pidha* type of roof in Odishan temples. Originally there were four internal pillars placed as a square in the center of the *jogamohana* to support the roof but these are not in situ.[13] There are pilasters placed at regular intervals on the interior walls are devoid of ornamentation. We found only a small *chaitya* motive on the base and leaf design on the capitals. The interior walls above the *pabhaga* portion are plain. The door frame inside the *jagamohana* is also devoid of carving except for a *dvara-lalata–bimba* panel.

The exterior *bada* of the *jagamohan* is *tri-anga* in design with the window on the central portion. We found *naga* and *nagi stambhas* on the walls. The *pabhaga* portion of the outer wall consists of four mouldings like the *deula* which measures 29 inches in height.[14] The base of the *Naga* and *Nagi* columns is decorated with a pair of *Gaja Kranta* motifs. The serpents in these columns are depicted in ascending order. The window in between the columns occupies the lower half of the wall and is framed by three plain mouldings. The *dvara-lalata-bimba* panels which appear in the center of the mouldings on all four sides are left uncarved. Here the window is of lattice type showing the diamond shape design. The space just above the window is decorated with three tiny *rekha deulas*

which are separated from each other by thin pilasters in between. The carvings of the outer doorway of the *jagamohana* are now destroyed. The *baranda* which measures 14 ½ inches in height and consists of a single mouldings appears at the portion of the *jangha*. [15]

Cult images on the temple walls

There are a less number of sculptural remains on the exterior walls of the temple. The *parsvadevata* niches as well as the subsidiary niches are empty. Several sculptures of sandstone can be noticed inside the *jagamohana* of the temple. These are small in size and partially ruined. It appears that these were originally kept within the exterior niches. Among these sculptures we noticed various *avatara* figures of Vishnu such as Matsya, Kurma, Varaha and Vamana as well as Surya. One of the fragments of this Surya image shows the charioteer Aruna and the seven horses in galloping pose. There are also two Mahisamardini images which are ruined. We also found broken images of a ten handed Mahisamardini and an eight handed Bhairava. There are two broken images of Vishnu in the *jagamohana*. One of these image measures 4 feet in height [16] is identical to the presiding deity of the sanctum known as Nilamadhava. This image is broken from the elbow portion. The second one is also fragmented and has an ornamented halo behind the head.

Among the decorative motifs the *naga* columns are impressive. Others include standing female figures, erotic figures are small in size can be noticed on the *pabhaga* mouldings. We found *vana-lata* motifs on the

temple walls. The *raha* and *anuratha pagas* of the *gandi* portion contains *chaitya* motifs, interlacing ribbons. The *kirtimukha* design can be seen on the pilasters having pearl garlands spitting from the mouth which later became famous in Odishan temple architecture. After comparing this temple with that of the Varahi temple at Chaurasi A.N. Parida assigns this twin temple to the mid ninth century A.D.[17]

Madhava temple at Madhava: Among the Madhava temples in Odisha, the shrine of Madhava in the village of Madhava, district Cuttack is the most impressive one. The very name of the village is derived from the presiding deity of the place. The village of Madhava is located on the eastern bank of the river Prachi near Chaurasi and near about 8 kms from Niali. It is to note that, the Prachi valley area is famous for the shrines of Madhava (Vishnu) at several places. Due to the influence of *Gita Govinda* of saint poet Jayadev during Ganga period we found numerous temples and images of Madhava in this area. It appears that the area in between Niali and Madhava was the main center of Madhava cult in Prachi valley [18]. According to local tradition this monument was built by Ganga king Anangabhimadev-III (A.D.1211-1238)[19]. The temple of Madhava is located within a rectangular compound along with a small temple of Buddhanath Siva. The main gate of the temple is situated on the eastern side which is built as a *pidha deula*. At the entrance we notice the Gaja-laksmi figure on the lintel portion. Just inside the gate way there is a platform which was originally built for the purpose of *nata-mandapa* no longer extent. The sides of the *pista* of this *mandapa* consist

of usual mouldings such as *pabhaga, jangha* and *baranda* in the conventional manner. In front of this platform is a long structure added at a later period which is presently used as *bhoga-mandapa*. It has several doors such as on the north and south as well as east and west. The walls of this *mandapa* are thickly plastered with lime and devoid of decorations. There is a niche and a latticed window near the south side door. Similarly there are *dvarapala* and *navagraha* figures on the eastern side wall.

Deula

The *deula* and *jagamohana* are standing on a *pistha* of small height concisting three moldings. The Parsvadevata temples of three sides are now missing but the pista portin remains in situ. The *bada* of the temple measures 19 feet square at the base and has the *saptaratha* design[20]. The *raha* portion measures 80 inches across with its offset pilasters [21]. The *pabhaga* of the temple consists of five moldings of usual type. The *jangha* portion is divided into two sections by a *bandhana* which consists of three mouldings. Due to the narrow design of each *paga* the decorative figures are carved in high relief. There are several *vidala* and *alasa-kanya* motifs on the upper *jangha* portion of the temple. On the lower *jangha* portion we notice eight *Dikpalas* and in the corresponding places in the upper *jangha* some of their consorts are carved. One special feature to be noticed with regard to the cult images is the placement of ten incarnations of Vishnu on the walls of the *vimana*. The *baranda* of the temple consists of eight horizontal mouldings which are devoid of ornamentation. The *kanika* and *pratiratha pagas* are both divided into ten *bhumi amalakas*. The *anuratha pagas* are decorated with three *anga sikharas* which are shown vertically. The *bho* motifs are also there in their usual places in the temple wall. It is to note that the *bho* motifs is flanked by two *ganas* on either side. In the *bho* motifs the *chaitya* medallion is filled with a lotus flower and bell hands from the mouth of the *kirttimukha* depicted above along with pearl garlands. Just above the *kirttimukha* mask there are *udyata* lion figures in the *raha paga* portion. On the beki portion *dopichha-simhas* can be noticed on the top of the *kanika pagas*. Similarly there are Garuda images above the *raha pagas* on the *beki* portion. The original twelve spooked wheel which is made of chlorite having a four armed Vishnu at the center which once crowned the top of the main temple presently lies near the *jagamohana*. According to K.S. Behera this temple is close proto type of the Sobhaneswar temple at Niali.[22]

Jagamohana: The *jagamohana* of the Madhava temple is a typical example of the *pidha* style of Odishan temple architecture. The *bada* portion of this structure measures 27 feet 4 inches[23] square at the base portion and has *naba-ratha* plan which consists of *kanika, pratiratha, anuratha* as well as a second *pratiratha* pagas on each side of the *gavaksa* projection. The *pabhaga* portion of the *jagamohana* consists of five usual moldings of usual design. The *jangha* of this structure is divided into parts viz. *tala jangha* and upper *jangha* by the *bandhana*. The recess portion between the *pagas* occupies *alasa-kanya* figures. On the *bada* portion of the *jagamohana* we also found *mithuna* and *vidala* motifs. The *baranda* portion consists

of eight moldings which separates the *bada* portion from *gandi*. The window projections are flanked by pilasters on the north and south side. The window consists of five balusters having *alasa-kanya* figures carved in bold style. Above the female figures there are floral canopy and two mouldings. Just above the balustrade window the *baranda* portion can be noticed which consists of two mouldings. In between the window and *baranda* on the center there is a niche consisting a royal figure on a horse that pierces an animal by a spear held in his hands. Similarly the niche on the south side is filled with a figure of Garuda. The small side niches are empty. Likewise the northern niche contains the image of the Buddha incarnation of Vishnu who is seen seated in *padmasana* with his hands in *dhyana-mudra* pose. During later period the balusters were removed from the south side, most likely when the present structure of *bhoga mandapa* was added, transforming the window into a door. This door is flanked by pilasters which extend up to the base of the second niche which houses the image of Garuda. Originally these pilasters were spanned by a *Makara torana*.[24]

The *pidha* of the *jagamohana* is arranged in two tiers of pidha moldings in a pyramidal order. The lower tier consists of six moldings and the upper tier having five. A *vajra-mastaka* of *bho* type can be noticed near the top portion of each tier on the main projections with the larger motifs topped by an *udyata* lion where as the upper motif contains Garuda mask at the top portion. The *mastaka* is intact having *beki-bhairavas* placed in the *beki* portion. The interior of the *jagamohana* is plastered and appears to be plain. There is a beautiful image of Garuda inside the *jagamohana*.

Cult images

On the *bada* portion of the main temple we found *parsvadevata* niches having Varaha on the south, Trivikrama on the west and Nrisimha on the north side respectively. There is a niche which is probably added in the *bhoga mandapa* during later period contains a large Varaha images. It appears to be served as the original *parsvadevata* on the south side. The deity is four handed and stands in *alidha* pose, holds Bhudevi on the raised elbow of his major left hand. Its measure right hand holds the uplifted hand of the goddess represented again in the right corner. He holds a *chakra* in his right hand while a conch can be seen in his lower left hand. T. E. Donaldson dates this beautiful image to the 13th century A.D.[25]

We found *dikpala* images both on the walls of the *deula* and *jagamohana*. They are carved on the second *paga* rather than the *kanika*. They are seen standing on their usual mount on the *deula* where as those of the *jagamohana* are seated on their respective mounts. Only a few of their consorts are carved on the upper stories of both structures. There are some of the *avatara* figures of Vishnu carved on the wall of the *deula*. Among these mention may be made of Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Vamana, Nrisimha, Parasurama, Rama, Buddha and Kalki. Besides these we found the image of the consort of Agni.

Apart from *dikpala* figure we also noticed *nayika* images, *sikshadana* motifs and royal figure on the wall of the

jagamohana of Madhava temple. We also found images of Garuda, Buddha *avatara* of Vishnu and a hunter in the niches of the window projection. Garuda is depicted in *Viraja-asana* with folded hands. Similarly Buddha is seen seated in *padmasana* and displays *dhyana mudra*. His hairs are arranged in curls along with a top knot. He has elongated years also. Interestingly two lotus stalks are depicted on the either side of Buddha on which we notice a chakra as the right and a *sankha* on the left sides respectively. In the scene with a figure riding a horse springing on its hind legs two parasols are depicted in the back ground though no attendant figures are included. The figure on the horse holds a spear in his hands with a diminutive leonine monster pierced at the tip. It is difficult to tell if the rider is wearing the boots but the absence of dogs and the manner in which his hair is braided which suggest that he is probably a royal person. T. E. Donaldson tentatively identify this figure is the Ganga king Anangabhimadeva-III.[26]

Decorative Motifs

The overall decorative program of the temple is dominated by the images of *alasa-kanyas* who appear in the both stories of the *kanikas*, on the flanking *stambhas* of the upper *anurathas* of the *jagamohana*, on the upper *anuraha* recesses of both structures and on the baluster of the *gavaksha* window. There is little variation in the pose, however, and the figures are generally rather static, possible dictated by their narrow confines, with movement confined primarily to crossing of the legs or the lifting of arms. Many of them hold a *chauri* in one hand while the other hand hangs at the side where it fondles one end of

a sash. In some cases they hold a *vina*, a bowl or a scarf in their hands. Perhaps the most animated are those carve on the baluster where the alignment of figures one nest to the other made it mandatory that the sculptor vary the poses to avoid monotony through repetition. One of the few new motifs introduced is that of bending, breaking, what appears to be garland or branch with an up lifted knee, a motif that becomes popular on numerous later temples. In general the body ornamentation of the figures is very sparse and their hair is braided in a tight chignon at the back of the head. Only a few *mithuna* and *maithuna* images remain in the upper *anuraha* recesses, most of them being plundered along with many of the *alasa-kanyas*. Of those remaining the most interesting is that of a bearded male with disheveled hair and wild look approaching a female from behind, the female turning back and tugging on his beard. There are also few examples of oral congress and several images of male exhibitionism, including the popular motif of a male weighing his *lingam*. Also popular images of a seated figure, both male and female obviously influenced by the *sikshadana* motif of a guru or royal figure instructing disciples or followers, appearing primarily on the *anuratha* mundi designs. The small size of the *mundis*, however, did not allow the carving of multiple figures or disciples so that the seated figures, generally on a low couch with a pillow behind their back are alone or faced by a single figure smaller in scale.

Of the animal motifs the most numerous are the serpents coiled around the *stambhas*, generally male on the right and female on the

left, who are represented ascending with the tailing coiling below. The *gaja-kranta* motifs are generally badly worn or obliterated so that details are missing. The *Vidal* motifs are of conventional design but overly crowded in their narrow confines. There is very little scroll work on the walls, resulting in a rather bald appearance, with the horizontal moldings of the *pabhaga*, *bandhana* and *baranda* being plain. The frames of the *mundis* of the wider *pagas* have scroll work on the sides while the base is relived with honeycomb *jali* patterns.[27]

The Nilamadhava Temple at Kantilo

Kantilo, the famous village is located about 35kms far from the district head quarters of Nayagarh. The village of Kantilo is widely acclaimed for the temple of Nilamadhava(Vishnu), (which is located on a small hillock known as 'Brahmadri Pahada' on the right bank of the river Mahanadi. The Nilamadhava temple of Kantilo bears many resemblance with the Jagannath temple at Puri. The temple complex is approached by four gate ways on four cardinal directions. Each of these gatway is approached by a flight of steps. The steps on the northern side lead to the water level of the river Mahanadi. In front of the eastern gate we notice 'Garuda Stambha'. Most of the shrine along with the main temple of Nilamadhava faces east within the complex.[28]

The temple: The main temple of Nilamadhava consists of the *deula* of *rekha* type and the *jagamohana* of *pidha* type respectively. Both the structures are thickly plastered in lime and due to this we could not ascertained the exact features of the temple wall. However, the projection of the outer

walls the *vimana* shows that it is of pancharatha type with five fold divisions in the *bada*. The *gandi* appears to be plain except the *udyota simhas* placed on the center of the *raha pagas* of each side. The *mastaka* portion of the temple consists of usual elements like *beki*, *amalaka*, *khapuri*, *kalasa* and *ayudha*. Much weathered figures of Varaha Vishnu, Trivikram and Narasimha images are placed within *raha paga* niches of the outer walls of the shrine and worshipped as *parsvadevatas*. The *jagamohana* is a typical *pidha* temple which is also thickly plastered.

Temple complex

On the eastern side of the temple there is the 'V*yaghra Gumpha*' popularly known as B*agha Akhada*. Similarly on the western side shrines of several deities like Vimala, Saraswati, Bedha Kali and Laksmi are located. The temple of Hanuman is also located on the western side. Just below the Hanuman temple there are *mathas* and caves. Likewise on the north side of the main temple we noticed the Patitapavana temple. Towards the north-east corner of the Nilamadhava temple there is the shrine of Snanadevi. Besides these on the north side the kitchen of goddess Lakshmi and the shrine of 'Padapadma' (foot print of Lord Nilamadhava) are located. We also find northern gate, Vahana mandapa, Tulasi chaura and the shrine of Lord Jagannatha. On southern part of the temple premises we notice 'Rasa Akhada', which is meant for the observance of *Rasalila* of Krishna and Radha. Apart from this on the side there is the Raghunatha Badamatha, the great monastery meant for Lord Raghunatha.

From stylistic point of view the temple can be assigned to fourteenth century A.D.

The Nilamadhava temple at Puri :

There is a small temple dedicated to Nilamadhava inside the temple complex of the famous Jagannatha temple at Puri. Because of the earlier importance of God Nilamadhava in this holy place, one of the kings of the Ganga dynasty built a temple for the deity which stands till today.[29] Probably this temple was built after the construction of the grand Jagannatha temple. The present Nilamadhava temple consists of two structures such as the *deula* and *jagamohana*. The temple is built of khondalite stone and faces to the east.

The Deula: The *deula* or *vimana* of the Nilamadhava temple is built of *saptaratha rekha* plan. The height of the *vimana* is about 50 feet from the ground level [30]. The temple consists of four usual eliments such as *pista, bada, gandi* and *mastaka*. The deula is built over a platform of 2 feet height [31]. The *pista* portion of the *deula* consists of three mouldings. Similarly the bada of the temple is of *trianga* type consisting *pabhaga, janga and baranda*. The *pabhaga* of the *bada* portion of the temple consists of usual mouldings such as *khura, kumbha, patta,kani* and *basanta*.The *jangha* of the *bada* is ornamented with *khakara-mundies*. The *parsvadeveta* niches on three sides houses images of Varaha,Narasimha and Trivikrama. We notice a four-armed Varaha image on the southern *parsvadevata* niche. He stands on a double petalled lotus pedestal. The deity holds *chakra* in his upper right hand while *bhudevi* can be seen on his upper left hand. Similarly he holds the hand of *Sridevi*

by his lower right hand where as a conch can be seen in his lower left hand. The background slab of the image is decorated with a flower design so also the upper corners of the slab. Similarly we find the image of Narasimha in the western *parsvadevata* niche. Unfortunately the Narasimha image is disfigured. The deity is seen seated on a *Visvapadma* and has four hands which are also broken. Likewise the image of Trivikrama is placed as the parsvadevata in the northern niche of the *deula*. He stands on a decorated pedestal. He holds a *chakra* in his upper right hand while a lotus can be seen in his lower right hand. He displays a *conch* in his upper left hand where as a *gada* in his lower left hand respectively. He places his right leg firmly on the ground while his left leg touches the image of Brahma. There is an *apsara* figure on the top left corner of the background of the deity. The *baranda* portion of the *bada* of the *deula* consists of three moulding.

The *gandi* of the *deula* is represented by a curvilinear super structure which consists of seven *pagas*. Interestingly all these *pagas* are left uncarved. We found *udyota-simhas* on the center of the *raha pagas* except the front one. The bottom portion of the eastern *raha* contains an *angasikhara* which is topped by a lion on-elephant motif. There are two miniature *pidha deula* designs on the either side of the central *angasikhara*. The *mastaka* portion of the deula consists of several parts like *beki, amalska, khapuri, kalasa* and *ayudha*. On the top portion we find *dhvaja*. We find Garuda images on the four cardinal directions of the *beki*. Interestingly *dopichha* lions are absent on the *beki* portion.

The *garbhagriha* has one door opening which is beautifully carved with the naga columns, lotus designs *jali* works. The central portion of the door lintel contains an image of Ganesh. There two flying *apsara* figures holding garlands on the either side of the upper portion of the door jamb. Over the lintel there are figures of *navagrahas*. They are all carved in sitting posture having usual attributes in their hands. The figures of vaishnavite *dvarapalas* such as Jaya and Vijaya are carved on the either side of the door. On the lintel portion of the door there is an image of Gajalaksmi seated on lotus pedestal. It is to note here that, the temple of Nilamadhava at Puri has been deplastered by the ASI , Bhubaneswar Circle during 1980's.[32]

Jagamohana: The *jagamohana* of the temple is a flat roofed structure and appears to be built during much later period. The height of the structure measures about 12 feet from the surface of the Jagannatha temple compound of Puri. [33]The exterior walls of the *jagamohana* are completely plain whereas the inner walls of this structure contain paintings of Brahma, Siva, Garuda, Jagannatha trinity and priests. According to scholars the present structure was built after the first half of the twentieth century A.D. [34]Besides these another temple dedicated to Lord Nilamadhava can be seen in the temple complex of Paramahansanatha Siva, which is situated on the left bank of the river Kathajori near Cuttack town.[35] This temple seems to be built during later period but the image of Nilamadhava appears to be earlier than the temple. We also find some ruined brick temles of Nilamadhava in Prachi valley at places like Chahata and Mudgala Madhava[36]but the images are intact in their proper places. A modern temple at Dhanchengada near Kantilo is dedicated to Lord Lalita Madhava. The temple is located on the top of the mound named Dhangada Pahada. The temple is a recent construction, consisting of a *deula* and a *jagamohana*. But the presiding deity is a spacimen of earlier in nature and worshipped in the name of Lalita Madhava by the local people.

Another temple is dedicated to Lord Madhava at the village Kumarpur in the district of Bhadrak. The temple is about 40 feet in height and consisting of a *deula* and a *jagamohana*. The temple is a modern construction of 18th century A.D. The temple is thickly plastered with lime mortar that hides the architectural features of the temple. The presiding deity is a life size Vishnu image of late period worshipped in the name of Madhavajew by the local people. But the *Garuda sthambha* in front of the temple seems to be earlier one. Another early image of Vishnu has been worshipped in the name of Madhavajew in Madhava temple at Agarpara in the district of Bhadrak. But the temple is a modern construction.

The study reveals that, among the few aforesaid temples dedicated to Madhava, the temples at Gandharadi, Madhava and Kantilo are important from both architectural and sculptural point of view. Besides these all the Madhava temples belong to modern period. Interestingly Madhava images are frequently noticed at different places of Odisha unlike the temples of the deity.

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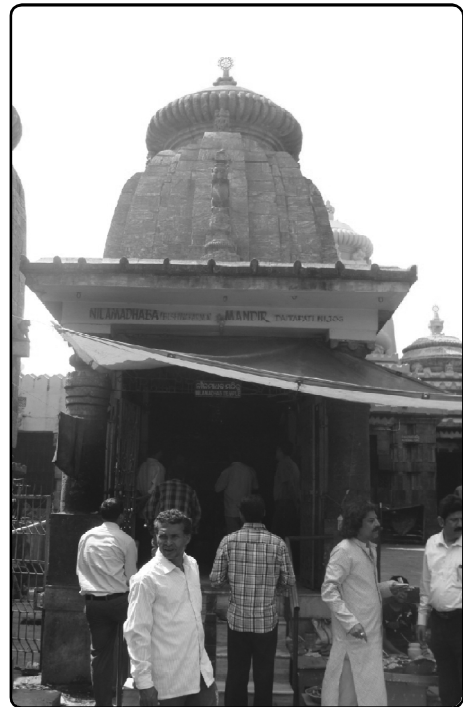
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TWIN TEMPLE,GANDHARADI

NILAMADHAVA TEMPLE,KANTILO

MADHAVANANDA TEMPLE, MADHAVA.

NILAMADHAVA TEMPLE, PURI (COURTESY-A.S.I.)

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GENESIS OF MAHARI DANCING TRADITION

Ms. Rina Ghadei

ABSTRACT

The article traces the genesis of Mahari Dancing Tradition of Odisha. Dedicating girls to the temples is a very ancient tradition in India. Jogimara cave in the Ramagiri hill provide the earliest evidence. The establishment of major temples in Odisha at Bhubaneswar and Puri also led to such dedication. Odisha had a rich singing and dancing school of style right from the earliest times. Coupled with these the Devadasi tradition laid the foundation of Mahari and Gotipua dance style. All these matured in to Odishi dance style in the 20th century. Guru Pankaj Charan Das and Guru Kelu Charan Mohapatra established their own schools of style. Pankaj Charan was the modern pioneer of Mahari style.

Key words *: Devadasi, Mahari, Gotipua, Geet Govinda, Madala Panji, Deva ganika, Radha-Krishna, Jayadeva, Padmabati, Chodagangadeva, Jagannath and Sakhi-nachha.*

In the Indian sub-continent, cultural traditions have their roots spread over mellenia. Music and dance have their known history spread over centuries and have their genesis in the depths of devotion to god and religious sensibilities.

Spirituality forms the core of Indian art. Evolved out of spiritual passion, art of India has gone hand in hand with religion since time immemorial. All the Indian art forms, be it sculpture, architecture, painting, dance, music, the theme of artist is rooted in religion, and the urge is as such spiritual as aesthetics.

The tradition of dedicating dancing girls to deities of Hindu temples is a very old one in India. The puranas, which were compiled between the period 1000 BC to 10th century AD contain ample evidences of sacred dancing.

The Shiva purana categorically lays down in connection with the building of a temple of Shiva that, it should be provided among other things with hundreds of beautiful girls who should be proficient in the twin art of singing and dancing. Even verses of Bhabisya Purana and Padma Purana exhort rulers to dedicate girls to temples so as ensure their own place in heaven (Swargaloka).

Besides Padma, Bhabisya and Siva Puranas, other Puranas such as Skanda Purana, Vishnu Purana, Matsya Purana also advise the consecration of women in honour of various gods.

In India women dedicated to the temples are called Devadasis or " Servants of Gods" . The earliest inscription bearing the name of Devadasi occurs in central India at Jogimara Cave in the Ramagiri hill and is ascribed to 3rd or 2nd century BC (EP.Ind. Vol. XX11, PP.30-

31) [1]. A cryptic inscription found here describes one Devadina, a sculptor loved one Sutanika, a Devadasi. If we go by the familiar connotation of the word Devadasi, it becomes evident that Sutanika must have been a temple dancer.

After the decline of Buddhism and ascent of Hinduism, temple began to mushroom all over India and along with this rituals were introduced where in women played a major role. Thus began the cult of women temple artist.

There are numerous references to Devadasis in mediaval inscriptions. This indicate the widespread recognition of this institution all over India such as in Tamilnadu, Mysore, Gujrat, Rajastan, Kashmir, Bengal, Maharastra, Odisha, Sourastra and Kerala etc. Devadasis were an essential part of temple organization during the mediaval period.

Women dedicated to the service of temples were known by various names in the country. Some of them being "Devadasis", "Bhagtan", " Kalavangti" , "Mahari", to name a few. This system was derived from the cult of the goddess, known as "Shakti" [2].

In Assam they came to be known as "Natis",   in   Andhrapradesh "Dogams" and "Sanis", in Karnatak "Basavis" and "Jagatis", in Goa "Bhabins", in Maharastra " Jagatis" and " Jogtines" [3].

Since they were married to God they could never be widowed and therefore their presence was considered acceptable as an auspicious occasion.

As in other parts of India, Dance in Odisha was also considered to be an expression of devotion for the "Higher-Being". Here religions sprang up with organized divine services and dance too became more civilized. Since very early period of its history an un-broken tradition of dance has been maintained by the people of this eastern state.

Odisha has been the meeting ground of culture from north and south since ages. The seat of Jagannath on the eastcoast at Puri has been the symbol of a synthesis of all , that is good in every religion or culture. It is natural, therefore the dance art of this part of country contains in it the reflection of these cultures.

In Odisha the Devadasi cult is at least twelve centuries old as is evident from the inscriptions. The institution of Devadasi most probably had its origin in the earlier part of mediaval period.

Just as in the Buddhist temple at Hajo in contemporary Assam, (R.C. Choudhury, the History of civilization of the people of Assam, up to 12th century A.D. P.350) we come across the dancing girls in the Buddhist Monasteries of Odisha. The institution of DEVADASI might have been developed out of practice of allowing nuns in the Buddhist Monasteries. We get reference to the nunnery in the Buddhist Monasteries in the Talcher plate of the Bhaumakara king Sivakara[4] and the Mallar plate of the Somavamsi king Maha Sivagupta [5].

Consecration of dancing girls to then temples of Odisha are testified by a considerable number of a inscriptions . One

of the earliest commemorative inscription in this regard is the Brahmeswar temple inscription of Udyota Kesari, the last king of Somavamsi dynasty. This inscription records the construction of temple of Brahmeswar at Bhubaneswar, by his mother Kolavatidevi (11th Century A.D). The lines referring to the consecration of dancing girls to the temple are as follows:- " By her were dedicated to God Shiva some beautiful women whose limbs were adorned with ornaments set in gems and thus appearing as the ever lasting but playful lightening, and who were restless with the weight of loins and breasts, and whose eyes were fickle and extended up to the ears and who looked lovely like the pupils of the eyes of men". (S.N. Rajguru, inscriptions, Antiquity of Orissa, Vol. II(1880) PP. 87-89. J.R.A.S.13.Vol. XIII (1947). PP.68-74).

There is also evidence that, Kolavatidevi had built a dancing hall, for the performance of the dance in the Brahmeswar temple.

Durga rakshita, a servant of the Somavamsi king Balarjuna constructed the temple of Sambhu and made it over to **Sadasivacharya** hailing from Amardaka. The ascetic was granted some land in favour of God Madanarati (Siva) by means of Charter. Special arrangements were made for the worship of Lord Shiva with dance, music as well as offering of flowers. (Bina Kumari Sarma, Somavamsi Rule in Orissa. Punthi Pustak, Calcutta -1983.

At that time Buddhist Viharas had also Devadasis. The Ratnagiri charter of Somavamsi king Karna Deva (11th Century)

refers to Rani Karpurasri who hailed from Solanapura Mahavihar. She was the Daughter of Maharima Hunadevi and grand daughter of Udayamati.

Priyambada Mohanty Hejmadi opines that the word "Maharima" is actually "Mahari" and it should be read as "Rani Sri Karpurasri" daughter of Mahari Mahunadevi and grand daughter of Udayamati, consistent with the mother – to daughter lineage – a practice among the Maharis in Odisha [6].

After the Keshri kings , in the 11th century A.D the Ganga dynasty emerged as the paramount power under Ananta Varman Chodagangadeva who ruled from 1077 A.D to 1147 A.D. He is known to have embraced Vaishnavism, under the influence of greatest Vaishnava Preacher Ramanuja who visited Kalinga during that period and constructed the great temple of Jagannath .

Thus the practice of Devadasi which was in existence mainly in the Saiva Temple now found its way to the Vishnu Temples. Chodagangadeva had family relation with Cholas of the South. During his reign there occurred a happy fusion of Dravidian and Aryan culture in Utkal. The Madhukeswara Temple inscriptions at Mukhalingam refers to the Devadasis. According to this inscription Maharaja Chaodagangadeva had appointed to daughters of Nrutyaguru Purnakoti as Devaganika and two brothers of Purnakoti as Vadyakara and Gayaka in the temple. Thus there are evidences that in Kalinga, the tradition of dedicating Devaganikas, Vadyakaras (Musicians) and Gayakas existed even before the 12th century A.D.

According to Madalapanji, the temple chronicle of Jaggannath that the dance ritual in the Jagannath temple at Puri was started by Chodagangadeva. He appointed Dancing girls (Devadasis) in the temple who were responsible for keeping the dance for centuries. The history of Odissi dance therefore is largely the history of these Devadasis or Maharis as they are known in Odisha [7].

There were two batches of dancing girls, Oriya batch and Telugu batch. The Telugu batch was most probably brought by Chodagangadeva who rehabilitated them in a street of Puri which is still known as Chudangasahi [8]. Details about the Devadasi or Devaganika Pratha have been described in a Telugu manuscript entitled Jagannatha Sthala Brutantam. According to this manuscript : 24 Veshyas (Sani or Maharani), according to Nijoga (assignment) were divided into two groups "Sampradayas" of about twelve each. Each group consisting of both males and females were to assign "nryta-gita- vadya seva" in Sri Jagannatha Mahaprabhu's daily dhupas (meals), barasinghar (evening dressing ritual) and Puspanjali as well as performances at othet festivals (Jatras and Celebrations). In chandan yatra, during the chapa (Boating of Mahaprabhu) they performed "nrutya-gita and badya" . The music performed during this period should be of high order according to Shastric tradition [9].

Even this Skanda Purana completed about 11th century A.D mentions the dance ritual for the worship of Jaggarnath.

All the female attendance of the temple were maharis meaning "those great women who can control natural human impulses, their five senses and can submit themselves completely to God" Sri Chaitanyadeva defined Devadasis as 'sevayats' who served God through dance and music. Pankaja Charana Das, the oldest guru of odissi, who belongs to Mahari family , explains Mahari as "Maha-ripu-ari (one who conqueres the five main ripus or enemies).

The Maharis were divided into several groups according to their sevices. The dancing girls were known as Nachuni (female dancer) and the others are Bhitara Gauni (female singers of the inner apartment) Bahara Gauni (female singers who sing outside the temple), and Gudisani, those whose duty was to fan the Lord.

Raghava the younger brother of Chodagangadeva came on the Ganga throne in 1157 AD. Jayadev, the celebrated composer of Gitagovinda was a contemporary of Raghava. He was the great expounder of Radhakrishna cult of love and some verses of the Gita Govinda indicates identification of Radha and Krishna with Laxmi and Jagannatha respectively. It consists of elegant and lyrical verses called Padavalis most of which are in Tala and Raga.

In fact the Gita Govinda is the earliest available lakshya (Practical) kavya in Indian music , the previous ones being only works on lakshana (theories) . In spirit and style as well as, in felicity and simplicity it presents a pastoral note of Gandharva lore and represents

the Prakrita or Apabhramsa folk tradition of the land of its origin although couched in Sanskrit Grab.[10]

Jayadeva's wife, Padmavati, before her marriage, had dedicated her self as a Devadasi to Lord Jaggarnatha . She used to dance all her husbands songs devotionally. Jayadeva calls himself an expert in directing the feet of Padmavati in verse No-2 where in he sings :- " Padmavati Charana – Charana Chakravarti"

Most Important was the acceptance of Gita Govinda as a text for worship in the Jagarnnatha temple. It contributed lyrical devotional poetry of the highest caliber in the shape of a dance drama of rare quality, to the institution of Devadasis. The popularity of the services of the dancing girls, after they took to singing and dancing the Gita Govinda grew to such an extent that Nata Mandira (Dancing hall) became common in the temple architecture of Orissa.

Towards the close of 12th century, Swapneswar Deva the brother in-law of Ganga king Raja Raja II built the Megheswar temple at Bhubaneswar . The original commemorative inscription attached to the temple is now removed to the Ananta Vasudeva temple compound. This inscription testify the appointment of dancing girls, as follows " whose eye – lashes constitute the very essence of captivating the whole world , whose very gait brings about a complete stillness in the activities of the three worlds , whose bangles bejeweled with precious stones serve as un- arranged candles during the dance, those deer-eyed maidens are offered in devotion to Him-Lord Shiva" [11]

In 1190A.D., 43 years after Chodaganga's death Anangabhimadeva II became the ruler. He built several temples. He also constructed the Natamandira, or dancing hall, as an annexure to the temple of Jagannath at Puri which was intended for the performance of the *maharis* and musicians who were appointed in the service of the temple [12]. Maheswar Mohapatra, the celebrated author of "Abhinaya Chandrika", the foremost Shastra on Odissi dance, adorned the court of king Anangabhimadeva II. "Abhinaya Chandrika" is a detailed study of various movements of the feet, hands, the standing postures, the movement and the dance repertoire. In these illustrations, there is clear depictions of some of the Karanas described in the Natyasastra as the Vishnu Kranta, vrichika Kutila etc. One can observe the continuation of this style of dancing in the dance reliefs of the Nat Mandir of Konark.[13]

The temple of Sobheneswar near Niali of Cuttack district was also built during the rule of Anangabhimadeva II, by a king named Baidyanath. The inscription attached to this temple refers to dedication of dancing girls.

Anangabhimadeva III (1211-1238) was another illustrious ruler of Ganga dynasty. In the annals of the Ganga dynasty, after Chodagangadeva, the name of Anangabhimadeva III, the great grandson of former, figures prominently. Like his great ancestors, he professed great devotion to Lord Jaganath the crowning deity of the state. He was well versed in fine arts which is corroborated by the inscription of Ananta

Vasudeva temple built by his beloved daughter Chandrikadevi in the year 1278 A.D. at Bhubaneswar. This inscription describes Chandrikadevi as an adept in dance and music. She became a widow when her husband paramardideva of Haihaya line sacrificed his life while fighting with the muslims in Bengal[15]. She then led a life of nun in the Vishnu temple singing and dancing before the deities Vishnu, Balarama and Subhadra.

It is a clear evidence that the dancing performance in a temple was very pious act like equal the religious authorities.

While the temple of Lord Jagannatha at Puri became the center of the Mahari or devadasi, the most magnificent architectural statement of the dancer remains in the Konark temple, dedicated to Surya, the Sun God. This temple, with a special Natya Mandapa (Nata Mandir) was built by the Ganga emperor Narasinghadeva I (1238-1264). The temple abounds in lovely life size figures of Odissi dance which correspond to the Karanas and Angaharas enumerated by Bharata in his Natya Shastra. The temple demonstrates not only dance poses but also a number of musical instruments which were in use during that period.

Srikurmam inscription mentions that the daughters of certain Nayak families of Kalinga were accepted as dancing girls in the temple of Srikurmam which was encouraged by Narasinghadev I [15].

Narasinghadeva II another Gangaking ruled from 1278 to 1306 A.D. He is said to have introduced the recitation of Gita Govinda in Jagannath temple at Puri. One Panditadasa, a minister of Narasingha II, made arrangements in the Simanchalam temple for " a choir consisting of two flutists and ten female singers of the dancing girl community full of grace and beauty.[16]

There is no doubt that the devadasis of Orissa during the period of Gangas were animated by a high spirit of devotion.

In early 15th century the powerful Ganga rule came to an end. The Suryavamsi Gajapati rule was established in A.D.1435, with the ascension of Kapilendradeva to the throne of Utkala. During this period Vaishnavism, with Lord Jagannath as the central deity, became a popular mass movement in Orissa. The devadasi system continued in the Jagannatha temple at Puri with as much as vigour as in the Ganga period. Though there is no record to show his love and patronage of dancing, he is supposed to have introduced the custom of Mahari dance twice everyday in the temple of Jagannath, once at the time of Bhog, or the lords mid-day meal, and again at the time of Bada Singhar, or the Lord's ritual adornment before being put to bed.[17]

Purusottamadeva, the son of Kapilendradeva had married Rupambika the daughter of Saluva Narasinghadeva the king of Kanchipuram. Rupambika was renamed as Padmavati. She of her own accord, enlisted herself as a mahari to serve the Lord Jagannath and it is recorded that later the temple honoured her by presenting a Gopa Sari. This shows that maharis were hled in high respect at that time and that a women of

high family considered it a great honour to be permitted to serve the Lord as a dancing girl.[18]

Prataparudradeva the son of Purusottamadeva being well versed in vaishnava theology, highly honoured Sri Chaitanya the great vaishnava saint, who came and settled at Puri, during his reign. Prataparudradeva is known to have enumerated the 36 duties, "Chhatisha Nijoga" in temples as well as the duties to be performed in the King's palace (Deula Karana and Raj Karana). Among the 36 duties prescribed for observance in temple there is one duty or a 'Nijoga' to be performed by the devadasis.[19]

Ramananda Patnaik who was appointed as the Governor of Rajamahendri by Prataparudradeva came in contact with Sri Chaitanyadeva.

He was so impressed with his discourse that forthwith relinquished the governorship and spent the rest of his life in serving Lord Jagannath at Puri. He was not only an erudite Vaishnava scholar, he was a poet, a dramatist, a musician and an exponent of dance. He wrote an operatic Sanskrit play Jagannath Ballava on the dalliance of Radha and Krishna in imitation of Gita Govinda of Jayadeva. This drama was played many a times in the temple of Jagannath with the help of davadasis. The Chaitanya Charitamrita of Krushnadasa Kaviraja gives a detail account of Ramananda's activities in dance, drama and music. Ramananda is credited with having introduced abhinaya in the dance of devadasi of Jagannath temple. He taught the Sanchari, Satwika and Sthayibhava to the devadasis and got the Gita Govinda enacted in dance through them.[20]

Orissa lost her independence in 1568 and with this royal patronage towards the art in Orissa gradually diminished. Orissa came under the rule, successively, of the Bhois, Pathans, Mughals, Marathas and finally the British. For over 200 years the political life of the region remained in turmoil. The Muslims and the Marathas began to loot and plunder the temples for which manytimes the seba padhati or ritual services, connected with the temple of Jagannath had to be suspended. Naturally, the devadasi institution in the temple lost its foot hood. During this critical period, Ramachandradeva appointed by the Mughals as the Raja of Khurda in Puri district, introduced the Gotipuas for the service of the Lord Jagannath, who dressed as dancing girls danced in the temple and also for general entertainment of the people. Side by side with the Gotipuas the devadasis in the name of "Maharis" developed and inspite of being oppressed by the muslim, Marathas and later on by British, they maintained their art, struggling hard through heavy odds. They preserved the art of dancing within themselves through generation and maintained the tradition of dance in temple till the middle of 20th century.

Coming to the rituals performed by the Maharis, there were two daily reituals, one during the Sakala dhupa (morning meals of Lord Jagannath) with the Jaya Vijaya Dwara (Door to sanctum sonctorum) closed. On the day of her turn, (pali) the Mahari had to

sanctify herself with a ritual bath and dress in her finest saree bedecked with Jewellery and decorated with Chandan (Sandal wood paste). She used to wear her saree with a Kania Kachha, a style of wrapping unique, to maharis, from waist down. She used to wear a specially decorated velvet blouse called Kanchala. She used to go in a procession led by the mina Nayak, had a thick veil on, and used to walk bare foot the whole distance from her house to the temple with her eyes focused on the ground. She was not to look or converse with any man either on her way to the temple or while dancing.

At the time of performance, they were instructed strictly to follow the shastras and must dance in the prescribed rhythinic cycles such as pahapata, Sarimana, Parameswara, Malashree, Harachandi, Chandana Jhoola, Srimangala, Bachanika and Jhuti Atha- tali. Mahari begins here dancing to the accompaniment of madala (Pakhawaj) and Gini (small symbals). The dance to be performed in the Nata Mandira during the morning offering (Sakala Dhupa) confirms to pure dance i.e. nritta. There was no song accompaniment to this dance.

The second dance to be performed during Bada Sinhar (bed time) in the inner most sanctuary exclusively for the deity was expressional and the song used for accompanying the dance were taken from Gita Govinda alone.[21] Moreover the variety in the structural form Tala and Raga of the Astapadi mentioned in Gita Govinda proves the express purpose of "Nritya".

Kokila prabha – the last devadasi attached to the temple, during her conversation with Dr. Somanath Chakrabarty expressed her experience that, through out her services, she was instructed to dance and reciete Gita Govinda and Janar type of song only.

Besides the above mentioned talas, the devadasi dance comprise several other phases such as :- Bhumi pranam, Bighnaraja, Istadeva bandana, swara pallavi nritya, Sobhinaya nrtitya and the chorography ends with rapid and rhythmic movement of Tarijhm.

Some of the basic form of gesture, posture, movement and expressions for padaveda and Mudra are namely :- Prabodhika, Birodh, Lalita, Tambula, Sarpashira, Bardhamanaka, Pechaka Mukha, Dhanu, Puspa, Chaturmukha Danda, Balaya and Bastra[22].

A devadasi during her youth used to adopt a son or daughter preferably from their relatives and train the teenage girl child so rigorously that the girl suitably becomes her successor.

Records show that there was another class of Maharis known as Samprada Nijog whose duty was to dance during the ceremonial procession (Patuar) of deities. Religious texts mention about such dance during Ratha yatra, Chandana yatra, Uthapana Utsaba, Dola yatra and Jooolan yatra etc.

It is difficult to say when exactly these ritual of Maharidance came to extinction. By 1954, the ritual had completely stopped.

It has been rightly said that the present day Oddissi dance owes its origin to the ritualistic dance practice of the Maharis in temples and the establishment of Gotipua system for entertainment out side the temple.

Like the Mahari dance, in Odissi dance "the Mardala" is the usual accompanying tala instrument. Generally the talas mentioned in Gita Govinda and used in Odissi dance are "Rupaka, Ekatali, Aditala, Tripula, and Jhumpa. Athatali which is one of the most important tala used in Odissi dance was very much in use with the Mahari dance. Apart from these talas, Jhula (Trimatrika) and Pahapata (Chaturmartika) are two other distinctive talas that are very much in use with Odissi dance.

The Gita Govinda takes the help of Bhakti, Bhava, Swara and Tala to appeal to the audience. So also Odissi dance and the Gita Govinda songs are extremely akin to each other. As the songs of the Gita Govinda being of Sringara Rasa and Kaisiki Vrittitty, they are fitting to the Lasya form of dance like Odissi[23]. Coinciding with the decline of Mahari dance, there rose the Gotipua tradition with pre-puberty boys trained to dance in female attire in keeping with the Sakhinacha tradition. The Gotipua performers specialized in Bandha Nritya, an acrobatic form in which the dancer executes contortionist postures called chira, Naunia, Mayura, Chara and Sagadi corresponding to some of the more gymnastic Karanas (dance uits) mentioned in the Natya sastra like Mayura lalita, Gangavatarana and Laltatilaka. Reduced to a

degenerated from by the 20th century, Gotipua still contained the basic vocabulary of movement and rhythmic for Odissi in its new manifestation, for most of the gurus of Odissi dance were trained in it [24]. There are only few dancers, trained by the son of one of the Maharis, Guru- Pankaja Charan Das (the Guru of the Mahari style of Odissi) who still had carried on the powerful tradition of Mahari dance, albeit in a secular setting.

Puspanjali is a very sweet term for the offering of one of nature is most beautiful gifts to a loving, personal God. Therefore, the Mahari dancer, who is a devout Vaishnavite, begins her dance with the dance item, puspanjali as opposed to Mangalacharan (auspicious offering of God's feet) by the Gotipua or male dancers of outer courtyard. This distinction still remains in the dance tradition of Guru Pankaj Charan Das (a guru influenced by the Mahari tradition) and Guru Kelucharan Mohapatra (a Guru influenced by the Gotipua tradition).

Rupashree Mohapatra and Gayatri Khuntia received the major part of their training in odissi dance from odissi Adya Guru Padmashree Pankaj Charan Das with the direct supervision of Guru Rabinarayan Panda at Udayan cultural Academy , Puri.

Now with a performing career of more than a decade Rupashree and Gayatri established themselves as outstanding representatives of mahari style. "They have performed extensively through out India and participated in several dance festivals.

It may be concluded that, the Mahari Parampara which was started as a ritual in the temple, gradually migrated to the public through gotipua dance tradition. Although, thee are no devadasis or Maharis in Orissa today, there are many good dancers, dnace teachers and musicians who have come from the devadasi traditions. It is they who are the custodian of the tradition, the discipline and the feeling of reverence for music and dancing nurtured through hundred of years. Undoubtedly, it is to them we owe the survival and preservation of one of the best classical dance forms in existence to day, that is Odissi.

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SOCIETY AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE GANGAS

Girija Shankar Bal

ABSTRACT

The article attempts to reconstruct the social life of the people of Odisha under the Ganga rule (10th to 15th century A.D.).Epigraphic and literary sources have been used. The temple art also provides vital clue for the study. The important findings of the scholar include: emergence of Karana (Kayastha) class in the social fabric of Odisha, establishment of agrahara-Sasana Brahmin village (exclusive Brahmin village-hamlet) and their increased importance, emergence of Kumutis, Sista Karanas, etc., development of Odishi dance and singing style and the growth of temples as major centres of socio-religious life.

KEY WORDS:

Atavikas,Uttarapatha, Dakshinapatha,Aswina,bali,Sastras, Puranas, and Itihasa,avadanas like '*Jata*', '*Desa*' and '*Caraca*', *Khandayat, agraharas, Gotras, Sasana,Pati, Senapati, Mahapatra, Kanyakubja, Komitis , Kumutee,Sista Karanas, Srikarana, Gundas, Mahasenapati, Padiryas, Talibohu, Satamanam, DeulaKarana, ThadoKarana, Mahaprasada, Chasa, Kalingis, Kilinjis, KintalKalingi, Buraga, Kalingi, Naidu, Nailu, Choudhury, Bisoi, Pradhan, Jena, Swain, Naik, Sradha, Atithi, Abhyagata, Sanyasi, Brata, Purnakumbha, SasthiDevipuja, Chaitra, BisubaSankranti, Purnima, AkshayaTrutiya, Baisakha, ChandanaYatra, SavitriAmavasya, Jyestha, Sitalasasthi, Asadha, DevasnanaPurnima, Bhandari, Barika, Mangeli, Dhoba, Rajaka, Kumbhara, Tanti, Gudia, Badhei, Kamara, Pan, Bidia, Pokhala, Kanji, Chuda, Mudhi, Guda, Panasa, Amba, Kadali, Pana, Khiripana, Devadasi, Devoganika, Gayaka, Gayaki, Nati, Bhdaka, NataMandapa, Homa, Mantra, Purohita, Dhoti, Uttarium, Saree, Ravika, Chhatra, TalaptraChhata, Talari, Chamara, Bahudayatra, Sankramanas, Odishi.*

Odisha is the confluence of north and south geographically and culturally. Rulers like Ashoka, Samudragupta, Sasanka and Harsha had all invaded Odisha in ancient period and brought winds from north. Even the Vedas refer to river Baitarani. Meghasthenes, Fahien and Hiuen Tsang leave records about Odisha. The Mahabharata refers to the participation of Kalinga and Utkala in the Great War. In contrast Kharabela belonged to the Chedi dynasty from south. Cholas, Chalukyas and the Gangas had also ruled over Odisha. Thus early Odisha was a meeting point of north and south.To add to this Odisha was the land of *atavikas* (tribes) says the Ashokan inscriptions. Thus Odia culture has four distinct elements. Elements drawn from *Uttarapatha, Dakshinapatha, Atavika* people and above

all the local people's traditions, beliefs and cultures. Under the Gangas Odisha reached a climax in more than one ways. When the Jagannath and Konark temples were built it marked the high point. In this article an attempt is being made to describe society and life under the Ganga rule (10th to 15th century A.D.)

The traditional caste system is an important factor that determined the social structure of Odisha during the Ganga rule. While most parts of north India had come under the Muslimrule the Gangas held the reign in Odisha and advanced the Brahminical system. The Gangas followed the liberal traditions of tolerance and eclectism.

The society during the Ganga period was based upon the traditional caste system of Indian Society. There were various castes and sub-castes and sub-communities. Each caste group was maintaining its own identity through the occupations with exceptions and margins. Some aspects of social and economic life of Odisha under the Gangas are reflected in their inscriptions. There was a social evolution and each of the sub-castes was framing its independent regulations of professional and social character (Epigraphic India, XXVIII, PP. 235-58).

Though the system described by Manu and Parasa were followed by people of Odisha in their social customs, it cannot be denied that some modifications were made by some local canonists suitable to the local necessities. For example, while the northern and southern Indian Brahmins abstained from non-vegetarian food, the Brahmins of Odisha,

Bengal, Assam and Mithila (parts of Bihar) ate river fish. The doctrine of *tantrism* is old to this land and when the Brahmins came to settle in this land they started observing this doctrine. During the Dussehra festival in the month of *Aswina* irrespective of castes, almost everyone accepted *bali*-sacrificial animal's flesh. A Brahmin Commander-in-Chief named Vishnu (Maiti, P, Studies in Ancient India, Ch-XVII, P-342) fought with the Chedi king and Muslim rulers of Bengal on behalf of the King of Odisha. His strategical power is well depicted through a stone inscription in the temple at Bhubaneswar. Brahmins of the Ganga period had generally secured knowledge in Vedic lore, *Sastras, Puranas, and Itihasa*, etc. They got thorough knowledge in the *avadanas* like '*Jata*', '*Desa*' and '*Caraca*' of the Vedas. The Brahmins were recognized by the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras as their religious teacher. The Brahmins performed their religious rites and rituals and teaching of Vedas. (Manusmriti, Vol IV, Muslim rule in Orissa, Ph.D., Thesis Berhampur University, 1985, P-65).It is evident that though people confined to the profession demanded by their castes, number of Brahmins went beyond.

Next to the Brahmins, Kshatriyas occupied the second position in social hierarchy. The Gangas of Odisha belonged to the lunar race which is mentioned in copper plate inscription of Chodaganga. It was mentioned in the Epigraphs that the feudatory or the vassal kings of the Gangas such as Pallavas of Veeragottam, the Chalukyas of Elamanchali, and the Matsyas of Oddadi who

belong to the Bharadvaja Gotra. (S.I.I. Vol-VI, 998, 1101), Manavyagotra (Ibid, VI, 989, 1101) and the Kasyapagotra (IBID, vi, 976) respectively. The Kshatriyas occupied position in the military administration. Abul Fazl says that the Kshatriyas must perform the duties persuing the holy texts, the performance of the oblation and giving presents to others. (Allami Abul Faz, Ain-i-Akbari, Eng. To by H.S. Jarret , Vol-III, P-127). Though the king belonged to the Kshatriya caste, he definitely enjoyed the status higher than the Brahmins. Similarly ordinary soldiers were not necessarily Kshatriya and most of them were peasant- militia, later known as *Khandayat*.

Next to the Kshtriyas, Vaishyas were occupying third position in the society during the Ganga rule. The Dharmasastra entrusts the Vaisyas with the agricultural and commercial activities and the Sudras with servile and menial works of life. (Vasistha Dharmasastra, Vol-II, 18, 18, 20) Each family worshipped a goddess under different names to whom they offered non-vegetarian food of animal sacrifice or some vegetable which symbolized animals.

Among all the caste groups, the Brahmins were enjoying the highest rank and prestige in society. The Ganga copper plates clearly show that the Brahmins stayed at *agraharas* by persuing their traditional duties. The Bramhins were sub-divided into a number of clans (*Gotras*) mentioned in the copper plate grants of the Ganga period. Both administrative and military posts were also occupied by the Brahmins. *Sasana* Brahmins

enjoyed supreme posts in the country's administration. Vanapati, (E.I. Vol-IV, PP-315-17) acted as a commander-in-chief and got the victory over the Cholas in or before 998 A.D. when Raja Raja, the father of Chodaganga was the King of Kalinga. In the present day Odisha many titles like *Pati*, *Senapati*, *Mahapatra*, etc.are possessed by Brahmins, which indicate their position in the war field. (S-I-II, Vol-V, No.835). As the Brahmins were well acquainted with the *Arthasastra* written in Sanskrit by Chankaya (Smith V.A, Early History of India, P-157), the Ganga kings were taking their help for war strategy. During the reign of Rajaraja III of the imperial Ganga Dynasty, establishment of *Agraharas* or *Sassana* villages (villages occupied exclusively by Brahmins) was a new feature of Odisha. Though it is held that the Keshari dynasty invited the Brahmins from *Kanyakubja* (Kanauj) and settled them in and around Jajpur, it can't be said that all the Brahmins in Odisha are their descendants. The Gangas also definitely imported Brahmins from south India and established Sasanas (agraharas) and many Brahmins from Jajpur were sent to other parts of Odisha. Settlements of new Brahmin hamlets meant principally clearing of forests and spreading better methods of cultivation in tribal dominated areas with less developed agricultural practices. The tribals are still predominantly food-gatherers and not food-producers. Throughout the Ganga period the local priestly class was constantly raised to the status of Brahmins. Presently the Sasana Brahmins consider themselves a higher class

within Brahmins. Further the Brahmins in high royal service had no difficulty in occupying position in the military, revenue or any other departments assigned by the king.

A distinct class *Kalinga Vaisyas* residing between Chilika and Godavari, coastal Ganjam and Vizag emerged during the Ganga period. They were basically traders settled in the coastal districts at Ganjam (in Odisha) and Vizag (in Andhra Pradesh). They spoke a mixed language-Odia and Telugu. They identify themselves even today both with Odia and Telugu. They acted like a bridge between the southern states and Odisha. The link was spread to Andhra and Karnataka usually. Tungabhadra (Tunga+Bhadra) fell into Godavari and Godavari fell into the Bay of Bengal . The traders travelled through these three rivers to reach the sea and moved upward to Chilika and then traded on the coast of Andhra and Odisha. Dominant amongst them were the trader- *Komitis (Kumutee)* and the officials- *Sista Karanas*. They formed a good link between south India and north India not only in language but also through religious activities. Under the Ganga Kings of Kalinga, these people established a cultural link between the philosophers and preceptors of religions of two great halves of India. (Das, M.N. Glimpses of Kalinga History, PP-188-191.)

It is supposed that Sankaracharya, Ramanuja, Madhava of South India and Chaitanya, Nanaka, Sankara Deva, etc. of North and East Indian states were assisted by the *sistas* to propagate their theories in local languages among the people. To corroborate this aspect of social history, we have a large number of inscriptional records of the medieval age in the temples of Mukhalingam, Srikakulam and Simachalam.

The *Karanas* occupied an important position in Odia Society during the Ganga rule. *Karanas* were drawn from all castes- groups such as Brahmins, Khsyatriyas and even Vaisyas as is evident from the *Gotras*. They were acting as scribes under the royal authority. The Ganga records tell us the *sista karanas* were holding all types of government posts due to their efficiency. It is known clearly that Anangabhimadeva–III had appointed a *Srikarana*, chief official, namely Mahananda.

Gradually the *Karanas* improved a lot of their standard of caste and maintained the marital relationship with feudal lords and high officials of the Royal Court. The Vaisya *Karanas* are the original *Karanas* and the descendants of untouchable Sudras. (Praharaj G. ,O.H.R.J, Vol-XVI, P-19).

The Vaisya class was also divided into some sections to perform different duties mainly agricultural, commercial, milkmen and foot soldiers.

There were some sub-castes in between the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Brahmins and Vaisyas,who wore sacred threads like the Brahmans and were employed in Vaisya work. Among these mixed classes we may fix the *sistakarana* class who were appointed in religious institutions as superintendents and executive officers. They were also allowed

to study *dharmasastra* for religious purposes. This particular class of vaisyas were only found in Kalinga who got some distinction from the Ganga Kings. The Ganga records refer to one Gundas of *Vaisyakula* as *Mahasenapati* (S.I.I- Vol-VI, P-853). One Amaru (Ibid, Vol-VI, P-851), a Vaisya is described as, *padiryas* (O.H.R.J, Vol-XXVII, P-65) and another Vaisya as in-charge of Royal Store. The Ganga rulers donated *agraharas* as (Thurston, E., Castes and Tribes of South India- Vol-III, P-308),also to the Vaisyas.

The Kalinga *Komitis* were another social group in Ganga period which enjoyed a higher status in society on commercial grounds. They had business transactions and were going to foreign countries like Srilanka, Thailand and Malaysia. The Kalinga *Komitis* were non-vegetarians. It is stated that the Komitis were clever, learning the languages other than their own. They had a secret language of their own which was very useful for their business. Kalinga *Komitis* who lived in the northern part of Ganjam opted for many Odia customs in their marriages they used the Telugu tradition of *Tailibohu* or *Satamanam* (Ibid, Vol-III, P-333).

The *Karanas* got classified into two types on the basis of their service, in the Puri temple. They were Deula *Karana* and *Tadho Karana*. The *Deula Karanas* were in-charge of distributing 'Mahaprasada' (*Bhoga* or cooked food and offering to Lord Jagannath), on festival occasions. The *Thado Karanas* were maintaining up the store accounts,

jewelry, and the seal of the king and other documents. (S.I.I, Vol-V, NO. 1347, I.O.Vol-III, Pt, I, NO. 39, P-47). Emergence of *Karana* caste which is equivalent of Kayastha caste of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar , Andhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu is an important development. The *Karanas* were essentially recorders of account, revenue and store. They ultimately emerged as the second most important caste. Under the new structure the king stood at the top, Brahmins came next, followed by Kshatriya- high military officials (whose number was very small), *Karanas* , the Vaisyas (large farmers ,traders, oil pressers, dyers and cloth merchants, etc.) and the ordinary peasant militia (*Khandayats*).The share cropper, the landless farmers and others still occupied lower positions.

Another caste group emerged in Kalinga during the Ganga period were the *'Chasas'* a cultivating caste. The wealthier amongst them gradually raised themselves to higher standards of ceremonial role and purity. Some of them took up upper caste positions in society. (O.H.R.J , Vol-XVI, P-19)

The inscriptional sources of the Ganga period throw light on new caste groups which emerged during the Ganga rule. They were *Kalingis* and *Kalinjis* who are the genuine residents of *Kalinga Desa*. (I.O. Vol-III, Pt I.P. 168). These *kalingis* started wearing sacred threads like the Brahmanas. They were also employed as the temple priests in the temple of Madhukeswara of Mukhalinam. They performed the sacred duties being employed by the Ganga kings of Kalinga.

The *Kalingis* were divided into two groups namely *Kintal Kalingi* and *Buraga Kalingi*. At present both sets of the people wear the sacred threads. The titles used by them are *Naidu*, *Nailu*, *Chaudhury, Bisoi, Pradhan, Jena, Swain and Naik,* etc. (Thurston, E. Castes and Tribes of South India, Vol-III, P-49).

The copper plates of Ganga dynasty also give a glimpse of various castes of the people of different occupations. There were *Bhandari or Barika or Mangali* (Barbar*), Dhoba or Rajaka* (washerman), *Kumbhar* (Potter*), Teli* (Oil presser*) , Pallai or Kaivartta (*fisherman), *Tanti* (Weaver*), Gudia (*dealer in sugar*), Badhei (*Carpenter*) and Kamara (* Blacksmith) etc.

The people of Kalinga during the Ganga rule followed strict food habits. Every household person took the morning food after bath and prayed to god or goddess. The female folk prepared the food stuffs and offered food to family god or goddess after taking the bath before the sun rise. After this the elder male members had to take their morning meal and then followed by the female members of the family.

The main items of food were boiled rice, dal, one or two items of curries, (S.I.I, Vol-VI, 865) fried vegetable and some sweets or fruits. In some rich families they took many items of curries and pickles including fish and mutton after offering them to the Shakti (Goddess). In Odisha there was a system of taking "*pan*" or "*bidia*" (betel leaf) which was also offered to the deities. *Pokhala* (boiled rice added with water) was a special item among the Odia people which was also offered to gods. Similarly, an item called *Kanji*, which was almost fermented vinegar like liquid food was a special preparation not found in other parts of India. The most interesting topic regarding the items of food stuffs and sweet meal offered daily as the "*Bhoga*" (Mishra, B. Temple Cities of Orissa , P13) of Jagannath at Puri is given elaborately in Madala Panji. In Odisha the people took light food early in the morning such as *Chuda* (beaten rice*), Mudhi* (puffed rice) and *guda* (Jaggery) and fruits like *Panasa* (Jack-fruit), *Amba* (Mango) and *Kadali* (Banana) etc.

The drinks of Odia people consisted of various items. '*Pana*' was the most important drink which is mentioned in the epigraphs. (S.S.I, VI, 695, 731,914). People also prepared Khiri *Pana* mixed with cream and sugar. *Paida* (green coconut) was offered to the deity.

Female education was restricted in the Ganga Period. With an exception of few, women had no education. The Simanchalam inscription tells about a lady, Sivarani, who was related to the Ganga King and she wasnamed as Kalinga Saraswati for her knowledge. (Goddess of learning incarnate) S.I.I Vol-V, 1180; O.H. R.J. Vol-XXVII, P-67). She was devoted to the holy feet of king Purusottam. From the Bhubaneswar inscription (J.B.O.R .S Vol-XV, P280 E.I. Vol-XIII, P-150), it is known that Anangabhima-III had a daughter called Chandrikadevi, who was learned and

skillful in music and dance. The women in the Ganga period were robust and healthy as is corroborated by the images of women found in monuments at Konark and other temple of Odisha built in that time. (Bose P.N. Principles of Indian Silpasastra, P-31). It is difficult to determine the position of women during this period.

The Ganga Kings were patrons of music and dance in Odisha. The origin of the institution of *Devadasi* is assigned to the Bhaumakar period (Das. B. The Bhaumakaras, the Buddhist Kings of Odisha and their times, P-172). The Mukhalingam inscription (I.O, Vol-III, Pt-I, No. 220; PP 246-47; S.I.I , Vol-V. No. 1010) states that the introduction of *Devadasis* or *Devagonikas* (Dancing Girls) for musical performance in temples seems to have been established by the 11th century A.D. The Ganga kings encouraged the *Devadasi* system in the temples, which was specially mentioned as one of the items of worship in Madalapanji, the temple chronicle of Jagannathat Puri. The Simachalam inscription gives an idea that both the lower as well as the upper caste women were becoming *Devadasis*.

Music and dance flourished during the Ganga period. The *Gayaka* (singer), *Nati* (Female dancer), *Bhadaka* (the male who plays instruments), *Gayaki* (the female singer) found on the Konark temple points out the musical tradition and performances in Odisha during the Ganga Period. The Ganga Kings set up *Nata Mandapas* in the temples of Kalinga. The Construction of *Nata-Mandapa* (Dancing Hall) in the temple of Lingaraj and Jagannath by Ananghabhima is an outstanding example for the growth of music and dance. Flourishing dance and music traditions definitely had its social impact. Temples emerged as major centers of socio-religious life of people.

Monogamy was the prevalent practice in Kalinga during Ganga Period. Family life was healthy and affectionate. Polygamy was restricted to the royal society. The inscriptions of Srikakulam, Mukhaligan, Simanchalam and Draksharama mentioned many names of the queens of Chodaganga.

The different castes in society were following different types of marriage ceremonies. The *mantras* and *homas* were done by respected *purohitas* in accordance with Vedic rules. (Majumdar R.C, Ancient India, P-49) . Dowry System was prevalent in the society.

Very little information about dress and ornaments is available from the Ganga inscriptions. But we possess the satisfactory image, from the works of the great poets in Kalinga such as Sarala Das and Jagannath Das. Men wore *dhoti* and *uttarium*. It is narrated by the poets that there were a large number of *dhotis* in various columns of nice boarders during the Ganga period. The women had *saree* and *ravika* (bodice) as their common dress. Turbans were used as head dress generally almost by all men of Kalinga.

The inscriptions are focusing light on the good progress of evolution of ornaments of people through the ages. In the later Ganga period women used various ornaments (Mukharjee. P. the Gajapati Kings of Odisha Ch. IX, P-146), which is mentioned by the poets in their poems. The main ornaments were the same for both the sexes. In addition to dress and ornaments people were using other fineries such as paints, lac, unguents powders for toileting the body in different methods. In the Ganga Period turmeric was in common use for powder. The epigraphic sources tell about the canes and walking-sticks used by elders in their hands, to show their dignity of power and status. Use of umbrella was special importance in the society of the Gangas. The tropical climate of Kalinga was compelling the people to use it. The importance of umbrella still continues in the present day in marriage functions and other occasions. The procession of Raja with *Chhatra* (which was in big sized Umbrella) and *Chamara was* was also a prevalent practice. All the Brahmins were allowed to use *Talapatra Chhata* but the low caste people used *Talari* which was also called palm leaf umbrella. It was a big shape head cover made of bamboo and salleaf. Men were using Sandals. The sandals were designed with different ornamental work.

Regarding amusement the people under the Ganga rulers were fond of dance, music, hunting, chariot racing, boxing, kite flying, etc. Besides cock-fighting, bull fighting, swimming, riding and rowing etc. were the leisure time activities of the people during Ganga rule.

The people in the Ganga period had respect for the dignity of labour and they showed generous hospitality for the guests.

Fasting was a salient tradition during the festive days. People usually performed *Sradha* Ceremony on the day of death of their ancestors. After the function was over they feed invitees including *Atithis* (guest), *Abhyagatas* (Strangers). The *Sanyasis* (Hermits) were particularly honoured by the host, when they arrived without the intention of begging. It was an important item of duty of the family to honour them.

In most of the villages people were setting up a Siva or Vishnu temple or both including the goddess Durga or Kali. (Mansingh M. , History of Oriya Literature, Ch-I, PP-1-4)

From birth to death the Hindu Society followed different ceremonies namely the birth ceremony, naming ceremony, the *Brata* Ceremony or Consecration Ceremony, Wedding Ceremony and Death Ceremony etc. Every year the birth day ceremony was observed when the *purna kumba* was offered to five gods namely, Ganapati, Surya, Varuna, Indra and Grama Devata. After this *sasthi Devipuja* was followed. The boy or girl whose birthday function took place had to wear new clothes including ornaments etc. This was also the general practice of the Ganga period.

During the Ganga rule, the people of Kalinga were observing many auspicious socio-religious festivals around the year. These facts are corroborated by epigraphic records and literary works in Odisha under the Ganga Rule. (I.O, Vol-III, Pt-II, APP, V.P-XXXXII) Every month had a small or big festival in year. The new year day in Odisha falls on the full moon day of *Chaitra* according to the lunar system or on *Bisuba*

Sanskranti according to solar system. The months among Odias starts from the first day after the full moon day which is called *Purnima*. *Bisuva Sankranti* or *Pana Sankranti* is very auspicious day for offering sweet water to Mahavir Hanuman. People also observed the ploughing festival '*Akshaya Trutiya*' on the third day of *Baisakha* (April). The *Chandana Yatra* (Sandal wood festival) was also observed at that time in the same month. *Savitri Amavasya* was observed strictly by each and every woman on the *Amavasya* day of *Jyestha* Month. The Grand Festival '*Sitala Sasthi*' was observed as the marriage day of Viswanatha Siva in the same month.

Most of the festivals in Kalinga were accomplished according to the social activities in the rural areas particularly among the agriculturist . In the month of *Asadha* (June) *Devasnana Purnima and Raja Sankranti* were observed by the rural folk auspiciously. The car festival or *Ratha Yatra* of Lord Jagannath at Puri was the most important festival of the year which occurs on the second day of the bright fortnight in the month of *Asadha* (June-July). The return Journey of the car festival (*Bahuda Yatra)* was observed after nine days of the Car festival. People observed '*Maha Sivaratri*' festival with much enthusiasm. (S.I.I Vol-IV, No.1087, Vol-V, Nos.-48, 49,54)

Besides these festivals there were a number of grand festivals. The *Sankramanas* marking the equinox played on important role in the Socio-religious life of the people. Great gifts were made by the kings and nobles on the occasion of *masasankramanas* (S.I. I,

Vol-IV, No. 774,941, 1013,1077) and *Ayana Sankramanas* (Ibid, Vol-IV, Nos. 665,676, 680). The Ganga kings were following the auspicious days according to the movements of the *Grahas* (planets) and *Nakshatras* (Stars), etc. On the auspicious moments of *Sankrantis* they gave religious grants.

It is evident from the above discussion that the social life of Odia people almost got settled during the Ganga period. The most important development during this period was the emergence a complex caste system. The growing importance of Brahmins, emergence of Karanas (Kayasthas) and peasant militia were of far reaching consequence in the life of people of Odisha. The development of Odishi style of music and dance associated with temple was another important development. Temples as a whole emerged as centers of socio-religious life in the Ganga period.

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NABAKALEBAR

Sarbadaman Singh

Nabakalebar is an occasional festival observed in the Shri Jagannath Temple at Puri. Naba means new and the Kalebar is body. The Param Brahma Purushottam Lord Shri Jagannath takes a new body during Nabakalebar. It is the re-embodiment of Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarshan when the Lords relinquish their old bodies and assume a new body. But the Brahmapadartha, the soul remains the same. The soul or the Brahma is transferred from the old idols to their new bodies in a highly technical prescribed and secret method which is not very publicized and the technique is inherited generation wise by the Daitas, the Rakshaks or the up keepers of the Shriangas or the bodies of the trinity of the Grand Temple. The deities adoring the Ratnabedi of Shri Jagannath Temple Puri are called Daru Brahma[1] and they are different from any other deities of the world. Daru means wood. The idols of Lord Jagannath, his brother Balabhadra and sister Subhadra with the Sudarshan- the weapon of shriJagannath are made up of perishable material Neem wood. Though divine, the lords live a life of an ordinary human being. All the nitis or rituals performed inside the Grand Temple are of very much human in character. All the aspects of a human life from birth to death are performed for the lords of the Shri Mandir. They take birth like an ordinary human being, take their bath, have food, change dresses, go for picnic, they marry,

they fall sick and also have to go through the ordeal of death. The holy Gita says,

Basamsijirnaniyathabihaya;

nabanigrunhatinaroparani.

Thathashariranibihaya

jeernanyanisamyatnabanidehi.

(Gita- 2-22)

As the man discards the old clothes and changes the new clothes , the jivatma or soul discards the old body and accepts the new body. Even though the lord is immortal and Param Brahma he pretends like a simple Jiva and enters another body afresh. "Jathadehetathadebe." The God dies like a jiva but the only difference is that he dies at a younger age.The Nabakaleberniti is observed in a gap of 12 to 19 years. Most of the Nabakalebars are performed after a gap of almost 19 years as in 1912, 1931, 1950,1969,1977,1996 and of course the one which is going to be performed in 2015. As per the Hindu lunar calendar when there are two Ashadha[2] in a year called as Purusottam month, Nabakaleberniti is performed. Every five years there is an extra month making the year of thirteen months. The extra month can be any month. But the astrologers of the Shri Mandir announce the extra Ashadh after astrological calculations. Usually, every year before the RathaYatra, fifteen days from the Jyeshtha Purnima to the Krushna Paksha Amavsya is observed as Anasara or

Anabasara of Shri Mahaprabhu when he falls sick after taking bath in 108 Kalash holy water and goes into AnasaraGhara and the devotees cannot have his Darshan for those 15 days. But when there are two Ashadhs, this Anasara period extends to one and a half month and is known as MahaAnasara. Out of this one and a half month of three Pakshas or fortnight

1. Mrunmayi (Clay), Rekha (Painted), Darumayei (Wooden), Dhatumayei (Metallic), Mamisailamayi (Stone), Images are to be renewed at every month, year, 12 years, 1000 years and 10,000 years respectable.

2. This other Asadha is an extra month which is added to the Lunar Calender of the Hindus after every 32 months and 16 days in order to make up for the deficiency of a Lunar Month (29.5 days) against Solar Month (30.44 days) i.e. of 0.9 days every month. periods , first fifteen days or the KrushnaPaksha is dedicated in carving the idols from the neem wood and transferring the Brahma from the old idols to the new. The second fortnight is dedicated to the Patali or the burial of the old idols in the KoiliBaikuntha and observation of the AsauchaBidhi by the Daitas. The third fortnight is dedicated to the normal Anabasara of the new idols when they are given the final touch to their form and painting.

The Daru Debatas of the Shri Mandir are carved out of Neem wood. The Akhyara or Kutastha of the Darubrahma or the soul is imperishable but khyara part of the Darubrahma remains intact for few years and then starts perishing. Shri Angas or the bodies of the deities are covered with different materials during the anabsara period every year. These processes are known as Phulurilagi, Jhunalagi, Tailalagi, Khali lagi, Ghana lagi and Chaka apasaralagi etc. But still the idols wear out in course of time. The Darubrahmas are brought out for Snana Purnima and Ratha Yatra every year in Pahandi which is a rigorous process and the idols are tied with thick ropes and go through pulling, hanging, dragging, shouldering, poking, climbing and throwing by the Daitas[3] as they are quite heavy and the same old traditional methods are performed till date. The researchers are of the opinion that the Shri Bigrahas of the Shri Mandir never had a peaceful time and many times they were saved from the external attacks by doing Patali (underground burial). These are the few reasons that necessitate the Nabakaleber of the Shri Bigrahas at certain interval of time.

There are two types of re-embodiment ceremonies performed in the Shri Mandir. One is SampurnaNabakalebar and another is Shri Angafita. During Sampurna or full Nabakalebar the old idol is fully replaced by a new one and the Brahma is replaced in the new idol. But in the Sri Angafita Brahma is not touched at all. The Saptavaran or the seven layers of clothes covering the idols are removed and some minor repair is done as per the necessity and again it is covered with Saptavaran and pasted with the pastes of sandalwood,Kasturi, and camphor etc. and

painted like before , Shri Angafita is performed only during some special contingency.

The performance of the NabakalebarBidhi is a very critical and lengthy process. So it starts 65 days before the DebaSnana Purnima. On the 10th day of the Shukla Paksha of the month of Chaitra, i.e. on the day after Rama Navami, after the MadhyannhaDhoopa the Pati Mahapatra, Deula Karana, Tadau Karana, BeheraKhuntia, Biswakarma along with Badagrahi Daitas and others offer their due prayers to the ChaturdhaMurtis and obtain their permission in the form of Agnyamala[4] (garland of permission). A ceremony of tying the blessed sarees on their head, i.e. Saree-Bandha is performed in the Jagamohan and Natamandir. The First step of the Nabakalebar, the BanajagYatra starts. This group proceeds to the Srinahar of GajapatiMaharaj through SataPahach, Ananda Bazar, Baisi Pahacha, Singhadwar and BadaDanda in a procession with the music of conches, trumpets, drums and gongs. BadagrahiDaitas carry the Agnyamala and Lenka moves with the Sudarshan Chakra in front of the procession. In the Srinahar, Gajapati the first Servitor of the Lord adapts the Nabakalebar procedure by offering coconut and other puja items. Here as a token of his request to initiate the Nabakalebar process Gua-tekaBidhi is performed. The Rajguru on behalf of the Gajapati offers beetle-nut (Gua) with coconut and other items to the Biswabasu and does the Baran of ShrotiyaBrhaminAcharyas. From here the group not connected with the BanajagBidhi return to Shri Mandir. Others proceed to JagannathBallav Math on the Grand Road in a procession with lot of pomp and ceremony. PatiMohapatra,Biswabasu, Dalapati, BadagrahiDaitapatis,Brahman Acharyas, BadagrahiBiswakarmaMaharana, Tadaukarana and Deulakaran

3.   Examined in detailed by R.Geih, 1975.

4.   According to Record of Rights, Vol.-II, Page-64 are mainly responsible for investigation of Daru or the wood. They stay in the JagannathBallavmatha for one and a half day for initial preparation. The Math makes all the arrangements like Prasad Sevan for their comfortable staying in the Math. After one night halt next day early in the mornig they proceed for their journey to Kakatpuron foot via Baliguali, Ramchandi and Konark. It takes nearly two days to reach Kakatpur. Two bullock carts carrying the habishyanna and clothes for the daitas and instruments required to prepare the return Shagadi (carts in which Darus are brought to the Shri Mnadir) accompany them.

Maa Mangala of Kakatpur is the supreme authority for the location of Daru required for Nabakalebar. She gives the clue for the location of the Darus.The investigating team takes rest in the DeuliMatha, a branch of Emaramatha of Puri, at the outskirts of Kakatapur. Next day, early in the morning the team proceeds to the MaaMangala temple in a procession among the sound of all types of musical instruments. They offer a special Majana (ceremonial bath) with a saree and

flowers and Prasad provided by Jagannath Temple administration.

After this initial Puja the Shrotriya Brahmins of the Banajaggroup go on chanting the DurgaSaptasatiChandi to appease the Goddess and the PatiMahapatra and the Biswabasu chant swapna –manabak mantra[5] for 108 times daily till they get Swapnadesh or the clue about the location of the Daru. They remain in a trance till they get the clue in their dreams. In the day time they discuss and search for the Daru. Ones the supreme permission from MaaMangala is granted they start for obtaining the Darus.

The Neem trees required for Darus are not of ordinary type. They need to fulfill the specifications as mentioned in the NabakalebarBidhan. The specifications are as follows:

- The Neem tree must be very old with minimum four undamaged branches.
- The trunk must be straight of 7 to 12 cubic height.
- There should be a cremation ground near the tree.
- The tree must be by the side of a river or a pond or on a crossing of three roads or surrounded by three roads or three hills.
- There should be a temple of lord Shiva in the close vicinity .
- There should be an ashram or hermitage nearby.
- There should not be any nests on its branches and free from any creepers.
- There should be valmikas- ant –hills by the side of the tree.

- The tree should not have been struck by lightning or damaged by any natural calamity.
- There should be snake-holes nearby or symptoms of snakes around.
- The tree may be surrounded by other trees like varuna, bilva or shahada etc.
- The tree may be away from human settlement in a neat and clean atmosphere.
- The tree for Balabhadra may have the branches making a hood of cobra like canopy.

Besides these common specifications there are certain specific symptoms of the Darus of the each individual Bigraha.

- The Daru for Balabhadra is of white texture with seven branches and symbols of Plough and Pestle is clearly visible .

5. According to personal notes of K. Rajguru Prepared at the time of Nabakalebar-1969

It is an old mantra which is found in Panchatantra Samhita

- The Daru for Lord Jagannath is of blackish or dark texture with four branches and the symbols of Sankha(Conch) and Chakra is clearly visible on the trunk.
- Devi Subhadra's Daru is yellowish matching her body color with five branches and symbol of Lotus with five petals clearly visible.
- Sudarshan's Daru is of reddish texture with three branches and a chakra symbol on it.

Once the Darus are identified the Biswakarma measures the trees for exact size and on his clearance the process of identification is complete and confirmed.

The identification of the Darus at different places is followed by BanajagJagnya at each place with a lot of ceremony and recitation of different Vedic mantras and Suktas and playing of ghanta-kahali and mrudanga for three days. The Darus are cut first with a golden axe, then with a silver axe and ultimately with an iron axe. The required sized trunk is cut and covered with white silk cloth and loaded on the Daru Shagadi which is drawn by the people of the places from which they pass on their way to Puri among the sound of ghanta, conch and kahali etc. Once they reach the outskirts of PuriGajapatiMaharaj and the temple administration are intimated about their arrival. Next day morning the ghanta-kahali from the temple and the sankirtan groups from Radhakantamatha escort the Darus to the northern dwara of the temple through Badadanda and Lakshmibazar. They are temporarily kept in the KoiliBaikuntha in the temporary sheds prepared for this purpose only. Daily puja and Prasad is offered here till the DebaSnana Purnima.

The carving of the images starts in the dark fortnight after the Snana Purnima in the NirmanaMandap specially built in the Koili Baikuntha by the Pati Mahpatras, Badagrahi Daitas and Biswakarma Mahrana. Simultaneously the consecration of the new idols is performed on the Pratishtha Mandap

by the Shrotriya Brhmins. High secrecy is maintained while carving is going on. Not even the shrotriyabrahmins engaged in the Pratishthabidhi are allowed to enter the NirmanaMandap. Even the sound generated while the carving is done is suppressed and subdued by the sound of several musical instruments played outside the Nirmana Mandap.

And then the ultimate day of the transfer of the Brahmapadartha comes on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight. In the midnight of the KrushnaPaksha Chaturdashi, the Brahmapadarth is transferred from the old idols to the new idols by Patimahapatra and Badagrahi Daitapati in a very secret manner. It is covered with chandan, kasturi, karpur and tulsi and put on the khat in between. Patimahapatrasebaka performs Panchamrutsnana and a special Panti- bhog. Then the Brahmapadartha along with fresh chandan-kasturi, karpur and tulsi is placed within the new statues and the cavities are closed by the Brahmakapatas. Usually the servitors performing this secret ritual are old in age and quite experienced in temple rituals. Their hand and eyes are covered with layers of clothes so that they are unable to feel the exact material of the Brahmapadartha. Hence till date it has remained a mystery.

The old murtis are considered dead. They are brought to the KoiliBaikuntha in the same carts. They are buried in a pit of 9 hands deep and 12 hands of diameter. Old lagi-patabastras and red velvet cottons are spread out within the pit on which the old bigrahas are buried. Sri Purusottam goes into GolokBishram.

After the GolokBishram the daitas observe Asauch means unpiousness for ten days as for them Lord is the senior most family member. They leave their hairs and beard unsaved. On the tenth day they come to Muktimandap in the temple, apply oil to their body and take a dip in the Markandey Pushkarani. They cut their hairs, beard and nails, wear new clothes come back to Baishi-Pahach, wash their hands and legs there and then enter the temple. On the twelfth day Mahprasadseva is offered to thousands of Brahmins, Sadhu-sants, Baishnabs and ChhatisNiyogSevaks.

The last fortnight of the extra Ashadh is the normal Anasara period of the deities. The idols are now in the hands of the Patimahapatras, BadagrahiDaitapatis and Dutta Mahapatras who are the AngaRakshas of the deities. The new idols are now only the outer frames . They are given the final shape with SaptabaranBidhi. The idols are wrapped with stripes of clothes and applied different preservative and scented materials like some medicinal oils prepared in advance, sandalwood paste, Kasturi (musk), karpur (camphor) etc. These materials act like the the veins, blood, muscles, bone marrow etc. during the last two days of the KrushnaPaksha the idols are painted by the Dutta Mahapatra which is known as Banaka-lagi of the Lords. They paint the idols with indigenous colours. They leave the pupils for the BahminPujaks to do on the Pratipada or the 1st day of the Shukla Paksha or the bright half of the regular Ashadha. Painting of the pupillary by the

Brahmin Pujaks on this day is known as Chakhyu –Dan rite. This day is known as Netroschaba and people have Nabajauban Darshan. The Lords of Shri Mandir in a new Kalebar are ready for the usual RathaYatra or a car festival on the next day.

ParamPurusottam Shri Jagannath of Shri MandirPuri rules the heart of Odias and all his devotees of the world by doing such human leelas since the time eternal. And He will remain so for ever. His deeds are beyond the understanding of the common people. The bhaktas from all over the world visit Puri only to have a darshan of Shri Jagannath only because of the mystery shrouding the deities of the temple and it will remain so for ever. The mysticism attached to the festival will remain as a supernatural occurance till the end of the yuga/civilization .

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LINGUISTICS AND COGNITIVE PARADIGM IN MEENA ALEXANDER'S MANHATTAN MUSIC

Smita Jha

ABSTRACT:

Meena Alexander is a poet, writer who explores the inner as well as the outer voyage of her character in a very vivid manner. In the novel entitled Manhattan Music Sandhya Rosenblum, an Indian immigrant married to an American Jewish man, tries to make sense of her life in a time of turbulence. Being a poet Alexander knows very well to operate at lyrical level which really gives the feel of the situation. In this metropolis novel set in Manhattan and India, Alexander lyrically and poignantly examines the feeling and pain of crossing borders, the Indian diaspora, fanaticism, ethnic intolerance, interracial affairs and marriages, and what it means to be an American. The process of self-creation for Alexander has numerous facets: creating an identity despite a patchwork past; fighting against definitions demanded by greater society; and, also, fighting against traditions and definitions enforced within the community. It is through the power of words that she could be able to express herself and could be made her female characters to express. Sandhya raises her voice against her parents and the Indian tradition of arranged marriage and marries Stephen Rosenblum, an American Jew. It is only after moving to New York City and having a child, she realized that still she is an alien in a world where she comes leaving her home land to find meaning in her life. Alienated from both her native and adopted countries and from her counterpart, she becomes familiar with an Indian-African performance artist who introduces her to an Egyptian man with whom she has an affair. At times, the narrative is presented from the perspectives of Sandhya's friends, which can create a flaw.

It is against this background that I propose to explore the linguistics as well as the cognitive aspect of the prose in Manhattan Music.

Key words: *Identity, Immigrant, tradition, alienated, narrative.*

INTRODUCTION:

In order to appreciate properly how cognitive linguistics resonates in the context of Alexander's work titled *Manhattan Music*, it is necessary to outline some basic facts pertinent to the immigrants' psychology. Cognitive linguists recognize the crucial role the (structure and functioning of the human) brain plays in language and strive both to implement cognitive findings in their linguistic models as well as to inform cognitive science with their linguistic findings. Cognitive linguists study how the structure of language is dependent on our physiology, and our

interaction with the environment. Langacker (1987) argues that language-specific semantic structure, made up of "conventional imagery", must be distinguished from a universal conceptual structure. "Lexicon and grammar are storehouses of conventional imagery, which differs substantially from language to language. (…) It is therefore a central claim of cognitive grammar that meaning is language-specific to a considerable extent. It is this imagery that has to be described, not the presumably universal cognitive representations that these conventional images construe. Cognitive Linguistics is not a unified theory of language but rather a set of flexible and mutually compatible theoretical frameworks. Whether these frameworks can or should stabilize into a unified theory is open to debate. The recognition of the role of pragmatics in linguistics is a consistent theme in linguistics and likewise provides a point of contact for cognitive linguistics Close affinities between the ideas developed within traditional Indian linguistics and the assumptions of the cognitive paradigm are also clearly visible in diasporic linguistics. A *paradigm* is simply a belief system (or theory) that guides the way we do things, or more formally establishes a set of practices. This can range from thought patterns to action. Over the last three decades in mainstream linguistics the conviction has grown that language is not a purely formal, algorithmic system processed in a separate language faculty. Instead, our language capacity is considered an integrated part of human cognition. The description of language is thus a cognitive discipline, part of the interdisciplinary field of cognitive sciences. One of the fundamental qualities of human cognition that is most pervasively present in language is categorization. "Categorization is not a matter to be taken lightly. There is nothing more basic than categorization to our thought, perception, action and speech (…) An understanding of how we categorize is central to any understanding of how we think and how we function, and therefore central to an understanding of what makes us human" (Lakoff 1987). Meaning in a cognitive framework is no longer defined in terms of outside-world entities to which the expressions in question might refer, but rather in terms of conceptualizations they evoke in the minds of language users (Langacker 1987). A conceptualist approach to meaning facilitates a systematic recognition and principled treatment of the subjective dimension of language: when human beings conceptualize aspects of the world around them they are often preoccupied with their own role in the conceptualization process and their own relation to the entities they conceptualize. In other words, human beings often do not merely conceive of outside entities, but rather of *themselves conceptualizing the entities in question*. This peculiarity finds important reflections in language. : linguistic expressions that speakers employ in discourse are used not only to comment on states of affairs in the outside world, but also to convey the speakers' epistemic evaluation of what they are talking about, their assessment of their relation with their interlocutors, comments pertaining to the development of the current discourse itself,

etc. It is an explicitly conceptualist view of meaning that facilitates analysis of subjectivity in language in as a systematic and detailed way as the phenomenon in question deserves. The spatialization of psychological temporality in the novel functions as a metaphor for the formation of Asian American identification. It traces how South Asian women "have 'taken place' in the United States and how the United States itself bears the imprint of new spatialization" as David Palumbo-Liu has explored in Asian/American (7)

Meena Alexander says in one of her interviews how I write…It comes over me as waves, writing …I would have been delighted, surely, to be something, other than a writer , but I write because that's the only thing I really know how to do. I write to make sense of my life, of being in the world. It is essential to the rhythm of my life. I love the sense of life going on around me as I write….. Regarding plot of her novel she speaks out in the same interview…I try to rest in what is known…what emerges becomes in some sense inevitable…this is what we think of as structure in the text: the making of a piece so that the time works for us as writer, both the time in the story and the time we spend writing it…I know while writing I will be in great wave of thoughts and it is difficult to hold me back…

In the novel entitled *Manhattan Music* Sandhya Rosenblum, an Indian immigrant married to an American Jewish man, tries to make sense of her life in a time of turbulence. Being a poet Alexander knows very well to operate at lyrical level which really gives the feel of the situation. In this multifaceted novel set in Manhattan and India, Alexander lyrically and poignantly examines the feeling and pain of crossing borders, the Indian diaspora, fanaticism, ethnic intolerance, interracial affairs and marriages, and what it means to be an American. The process of self-creation for Alexander has numerous facets: creating an identity despite a patchwork past; fighting against definitions demanded by greater society; and, also, fighting against traditions and definitions enforced within the community. It is through the power of words that she could be able to express herself and could be made her female characters to express. Sandhya raises her voice against her parents and the Indian tradition of arranged marriage and marries Stephen Rosenblum, an American Jew. It is only after moving to New York City and having a child, she realized that still she is an alien in a world where she comes leaving her home land to find meaning in her life. Alienated from both her native and adopted countries and from her counterpart, she becomes familiar with an Indian-African performance artist who introduces her to an Egyptian man with whom she has an affair. As the mother of young Dora, Sandhya tries to locate as a Rosenblum: "Rosenblum" is what I am now, this bloom, this life, these roses"(9). Despite this reiteration, the pieces of Sandhya's life do not fit together easily. Unresolved feeling about Gautam, her old love in India and ambivalences towards her marriage, however, do not keep Sandhya from falling in love with Rashid, an Egyptian

immigrant. Furthermore, a sudden trip to Kerala to see her ailing father also express the protagonist to an indifferent and reclusive sister steeped in Christian evangelism that spans India and America. After coming back to America she realizes that Rashis does not want a future with her and this very realization compels Sandhya to commit suicide though she is saved by her friend Draupadi. The novel ends up with a hopeful note with Sandhya's return to the city after a period of rest with her cousin Sakhi in New Jersey with a feeling of new life, Sandhya is 'no longer fearful'(227) and realizes 'there was a place for her here though what is might be she would never have spelled out. And she, who had never trusted words very much, knew she would live out her life in America (228). Central to Sandhya's life in Manhattan are other characters such as Draupadi, her cousin, Jay, and cousin Sakhi. Of the three, Draupadi is very close to Sandhya as she is her aler-ego of mixed parentage born and brought up in New York, Draupadi is able to make 'it all up in the present tense'(119) while Sandhya is bogged down by her history and memory. Finally, the new world, hybrid Dopti, an incarnation of the old world; mythic draupadi saves Sandhya from committing suicide. Draupadi's words to Sanghya are poignant: "we each have to many women…after all, how many lives did the Mahabharat lady have? Crawling through a tunnel to save her life, wasn't she someone quite different from the princess in the palaces? And then, the women bartered in the dice throw between men, think of her shame, her rage' (222). Through the characters of Sakhi and Draupadi Alexander exposes the need to rewrite history from a feminist and diasporic point of view. In coming to terms with ethnicity and femaleness in America, Alexander feels the need to create a wholeness of being that resists the numerous fractures of migration but is left wondering. Answering to this aspect Rashid speaks to Sandhya 'the past is a rough instrument we have to play. People like us have to make up the past from little bits and pieces, play it. Imagine strings running through, playing it (78). Problematizing the notion of the past by terming it a 'rough instrument', Rashid points to underlying elements of memory not as nostaligia or documentation but as transformative exploration that provides the knowledge through which location is articulated and made to fit in present, multiplt, subjective positions. Through her characters who expose the notion of memory, Alexander puts forth a concept of memory that resists the American transcendentalism notion of the 'Americanself' as without memory, tradition or history. This particular aspects of history, tradition reminds us of Rushdie's protagonist in *Midnigt's Children* Salim Senai who ponders 'Is this an Indian disease, this urge to encapsulate the whole of reality?' Manhattan Music explores all these by touching on many different topics in many different places through various characters delineated in the novel.

At times, the narrative is presented from the perspectives of Sandhya's friends, which can create a flaw. The entire interpretation is based on the personal experience of the

author. It is here that we may apply the conceptualized approach which highlights the thought process of the main protagonist. United States after receiving a PhD in English literature at the United Kingdom and teaching at universities in India, Alexander knows from her own diasporic and migratory experiences the immense difficulty of taking up this self-assigned task. Not only does she have to work through the postcolonial shadow of the British Raj, in the land of her immigration Alexander also needs to reorient herself to the identification of a South Asian American woman and participate in the struggles of the larger ethnic community called Asian America. What distinguishes the novel from most of immigrant literature is the way in which Alexander insists on specializing the consciousness of her protagonist by providing specific geographical locations to her memory, what I would like to call composing "memory of geographies." Through representing the "memory of geographies" that attests to Sandhya's consciousness or inner voice. In the course of her narrative, the novelist weaves into it many social and political incidents from India and America, like Hindu-Muslim riots in Hyderabad, the threats of Muslim fundamentalist terrorism in Manhattan, assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, Racism towards Indians in New Jersey.

The novel opens with a title 'Overtrure: Monsoon Flood' in the voice of Draupdi, an artist of Indo-Caribbean heritage. From then on the chapters are often captioned as in 'sitting'. 'stirring', 'turning' and so on to indicate stasis and motion as if initiating moves towards negotitation that is an inevitable and integral part of immigrant life. Negotiating identities is a major part of the novel. In the writings by Indian women today, language becomes not only a feminist issue but also a post-colonial one. We see that speech and silence become powerful metaphors in feminist and postcolonial discourses. These help figure the number of ways in which Women/the displaced/the exiles are denied the right or the opportunity to express themselves freely. Writing becomes a means that can offer the individual a means for transcending extreme and oppressive circumstances. Meena Alexander too faces the same sort of predicament. In her essay "Outcaste Power: Ritual Displacement and Virile Maternity in Indian Women Writers", she writers of Toru Dutt's unease when she becomes conscious of:

The double bind in which she found herself, a woman from the Colonized World — working in a language, which even as she refined it for poetry, was not truly hers, this sense tormented her. (Journal of Commonwealth Literature, Vol. 12, 15)

Alexander too becomes conscious of her writing in English. The way out of this double bind is a very difficult and hazardous task. Alexander in her prose piece entitled "Exiled by a Dead Script" provides both phenomenological and ontological reasons for the daring act of an Indian writing in English. She identifies related terrors "the terror of babblen and "the terror of non-sensen (Without Place VII). These terrors are

essentially linguistic and if they are not exorcised through the very language, which creates them, the consequence would certainly be exile: In order to make poetry in English in India and yet resolutely refuse exile, language must contort itself to become mimetic of muteness — or their muteness, which is appropriated as the poet's own, under an oppressive order— so poetically subverting the hidden ideology of our contemporary Indian English ("Exiled by a Dead Script," Without Place IX). In the same essay she goes on to say that the post- colonial writer writing in English is locked in a ceaseless battle between the body and the script in which case the writer is left with no other option other than to make the "outworn script of English" (IX) to: Open its maw and swallow, swallow huge chaoses, the chaoses of uninterpreted actuality. In return language will turn rigid and grow into a veritable barrier between the body of the poet and the objects and others around him. But its very existence as a barrier must be imaged, through its own diction. Then language will turn to flame and threaten in its rage to consume both the self, which utters and the objects, which it invokes. The body of the poet, no longer a phantom, now turns into a burning brand, consuming both itself and all that it touches. (IX) Alexander's arguments are basically valid for the question that the Indo-English writer faces is one essentially linked with language.

She talks of the transformation that took place in her regarding her writing like this:

. . . When I first started to write . . . . There was often a slavish kind of imitation . . . of early things I had read. And then I understand

. . . that to make a poem you have to put in your own experience. So if I write about mango in English, that could be fine . . . so I think that what took place was a species of translation of a landscape in to a language, yet it has also become an Indian language. (R. Raja Govindaswamy, "In Conver-sation: An Interview with Meena Alexander, Kavva Bharati, No.7, 1995: 91)

Thus we see Alexander knows that she must create a new medium, which can carry the burden of their own experience in a manner, which is singular to them to captivate their readers. They agree with Ashcroft et al when they say:

The crucial function of language as a medium of power demands that post-colonial writing define itself by seizing the language of the center and replacing it in discourse fully adapted to the colonized place. (The Empire Writes Back **38)**

They talk of two distinct processes by which language does this, firstly 'abrogation' or denial of the privilege of 'English'. This involves a rejection of the metropolitan power over the means of communication and secondly 'appropriation' which calls for a reconstitution of the language of Centre. The language is captured and remolded and rendered anew. New usages and techniques often change the very texture of the language. This becomes a token of the resistance offered by the writers to the "site of colonial privilege" (The Empire Writes Back 38). Alexander and Roy exercise abrogation by a refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its

aesthetics, its prescribed standards of correct usage, and its assumption of a traditional and futed meaning inherent in the words. It is a vital step they take to decolonize the language and give shape to their variety of "English' and appropriation is done through a process by which the language is taken and made to bear the burden of one's own cultural experiences, or, as Raja Rao puts it, to "convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own (Kanthapura, Introduction, 1938: VII). Alexander and Roy appropriate the English language by bringing it under the influence of the vernacular. Appropriation also includes their attempts to abrogate the aesthetic assumptions of the centre. They defamiliarize the language by making it carry the burden of the indigenous culture as a devise to destroy the colonial and patriarchal power structures. Untranslated words are knitted into the fabric of the text to convey truth of the Indian culture and myths. Malayalam words embedded in the English text reflect the selfassertiveness of the oppressed culture, just as the surrounding English words bear the taints of their colonial origin.Sara Mills in the essay "The Ciendered Sentence," talks of the long standing debate within feminist circles which is concerned with "whether women writers produce texts which are significantly different in terms of language from those of males" (The Feminist Critique of Language 65). Mills is of the opinion that this debate began with Virginia Woolf when she asserted that there was a sentence that women writers had developed which she termed 'female sentence' or the 'sentence of the feminine gender' — a type of sentence, which is looser and more accretive than the 'male sentence'. This is an idea echoed in the writings of Luce Irigaray and Helene Cixous (Irigaray, "This Sex Which Is Not Onen(1985), and Cixous, 'Le Sexe ou la teten(Summer 1976). This kind of 'female sentence' or in more recent feminist terminology 'ecriture feminine' was defined positively by Woolf for the first time. She states: It is true that before a woman can write exactly as she wishes to write, she has many difficulties to face. To begin with, there is the technical difficulty — so simple, apparently: in reality, so baffling — that the very form of the sentence does not fit her. I t is a sentence made by men; it is too loose, too heavy, too pompous for a woman's use. Yet in a novel, which covers so wide a stretch of ground, an ordinary and usual type of sentence has to be found to carry the reader on easily and naturally from one end of the book to the other. And this a woman must make for herself, altering and adapting the current sentence until she writes one that takes the natural shape of her thought without crushing or distorting it. (Virginia Woolf, "Women and Fiction," The Feminist Critique of Language 50) The question often discussed in feminist deliberations of language is how women can write authentically in such restrictive cultural and social conditions. Most feminists are of the opinion that it is not enough for women to be able to write as men do and if they do write having accepted the traditional, that is, the masculine norms regarding the what and how of literature, then they would be just exchanging one kind of silencing for another.

They advocate that women should find ways of writing that acknowledge and attempt to express women's difference. Shoshana Felman categorically states the radical nature of the linguistic strategies of the French Feminists thus:

The challenge facing the women today is nothing less than to re-invent language . . . to speak not only against but outside of the phallogocentric structure . . . to establish a discourse the status of which would no longer be defined by the phallacy of male meaning. ("Women and Madness: The Critical Phallacy," Diacritics 10)

Perhaps Spender too is of the same opinion when she says that language is literally 'man-made', and so somehow women fail to put their ideas and expression into a language, which has been constructed according to the needs of the males. She says:

Males, as the dominant group, have produced language, thought, and reality. Historically it has been the structures, the categories, and the meanings, which have been invented by males — though not of course by all males — and they have been validated by reference to other males. In this process women have played little or no part. (Dale Spender, "Man Made Language: Extracts,"The Feminist Critique of Language 97)

In order to overcome this inherent weakness in the very nature of language that women writers use, Spender suggests that:

. . . in order to live in the world, we must *name* it. Names are essential for the construction of reality for without a name it is difficult to accept the existence of an object, an event, a feeling. Naming is the means whereby we attempt to order and structure the chaos and **flux** of existence, which would otherwise be an undifferentiated mass. By assigning names we impose a pattern and a meaning, which allows us to manipulate the world. ("Man Made Language: Extracts," The Feminist Critiaue of Lanmage 97).

Both Alexander and Roy realize that it is only they who have the power, to name the world, who are in a position to influence reality, and the only way to undermine patriarchal male dominance is by making available for users of the language more than one set of names. And this is exactly what they do in their writings. They take care to see that meanings are not given but that they are produced and reproduced, negotiated contextually. Alexander is basically a poet who also writes fiction as well. Her excellence lies in the deft use of symbols so intricately networked into her writing that it becomes artfully evocative and suggestive. At times the images and symbols become very private, and then the readers are teased into guessing and coming to their own meanings. Her fiction is a sort of exercise in the stream-of-consciousness technique,the mind of the protagonist is always moving forward and backward at will as though she were in a dream. The dream like quality of her writing

is enhanced by the lack of syntax and the total defiance of the rules of prescriptive grammar. In her poetry and fiction readers are introduced to all kinds of ellipses but her language also displays a strange sort of control and lyrical intensity. Her intention being that in doing so she will be successful not only in building a house for herself but in remolding the acoustics of the world so as to accommodate the other too. Her writings often bear a sad, melancholy strain but the warmth of feeling and the intensity of passion in them are remarkable qualities that remind the readers of the philosophical heights of Eliot's Four Quartets. The images employed indicate a clear conception and a firm grasp of the subject. They are vivid and hold images that effectively bring out the grimness of the Indian social scene or the alienation that an exile suffers in a foreign environment. The following passage from Fault Lines brings out the strange predicament of a writer/ an exile who is caught between two cultures, between two or more spaces, between two time zones — the past and the present. The rendering is absolutely moving. The readers themselves get caught at the interstices between these opposites, groping their way into the future while rendering the past usable:

Ever since I can remember, amma and I have been raveled together in net after net of time. What was pulled apart at my birth has tensed and knotted up. Without her, I would not be, not even in someone else's memory. I would be a stitch with no time, cap less, gloveless, sans eyes, sans nose, sans the lot. Lacking her I cannot picture what I might be. It mists over, a mirror with no back, where everything streams in: gooseberry bushes filled with sunlight, glossy branches of the mango tree, sharp blades of the green bamboo where serpents roost.To enter that mist, I put both hands as far as they reach.My right hand reaches through the mirror with no back,into a ghostly past, a ceaseless atmosphere that shimmers in me even as I live and move. Within It I feel the warmth of the sun in Tiruvella. I smell the fragrance of new mango leaves.But my left hand stretches into the present. With it I feel out a space for my living body. I touch rough bricks where the pigeon perched just an instant ago, on the wall at the corner of 113" Street and Broadway in Manhattan — Turtle Island as it once was in a sacred geography. (Fault Lines 6-7)

By a careful choice of words and by the use of unusual, though apt metaphors, Alexander prompts her readers to partake of the alienation, the isolation, the doubts and the othering that an exile faces in a land where one is a migrant. The expatriate writer becomes "a woman cracked by multiple migration, uprooted so many times, she can connect nothing with nothing. Her words are all askew" **(3).** And for such a person "the house of memory is fragile, made up in the mind's space" (3). The migrant soon realizes that there is not that expected sanctity or refuge in memoq for as she says:

. . . even what I remember best . . . what has flashed up for me in the face of the present danger, at the tail end of the century, where everything is to be elaborated, spelt out, precarious, reconstructed. (Fault Lines 4)

Both Roy and Alexander make a very unconventional use of a conventional language. Their use of language bestows it with an added virility that forces it to break through all the silences and the margins that are imposed normally on the speech and writing of writers who do not belong to the mainstream. Their choice of language is not just an act of aesthetic or political option loaded with historical meaning; but they write in the only language in which multiple layers of culture in their societies find expression. Their writings often establish that English can become very pliant in the hands of writers from India.

The words and phrases used are so fresh and uniquely different from the usual ones that the readers are just carried away by the unfamiliar but apt descriptions provided in the narrative. And sometimes, with deliberate intention, the authors also leave the readers with a sense of *deja vu.* The ultimate effect is that the readers experience a sense of belonging, a sense of identification, with the world of the texts. It is the language that carries the readers from one end of the text to the other as though engaged in a discovery journey.

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WORKING WITH WRITING: AN APPROACH THROUGH THE 'WRITING BOOK'

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ABSTRACT:

A renewed interest in the subject of writing is evident today. It is manifested in the establishment of writing departments in various universities across the globe and the institution of writing as a subject in its own right in the academia. Writing is increasingly practised from an activist point of view. The shift of focus from Oratory and Rhetoric (which was prevalent in the earlier era) to the more recent professional study of literature has led to a passive consumption of literature and the consequent downgrading of writing. There has been an attempt to make up for the loss by offering courses in composition which have not risen beyond the remedial level. Of late, however, there has been a return to writing in a creative sense. This production-oriented writing turn is enabled by the 'Writing Books'. This paper presents a compact history of the fall and rise of writing and outlines the new approach mediated by the writing book.

Key Words: *writing, ecriture, writing books, oration, rhetoric, drafting, brainstorming, writing tools etc.*

Of all the turns that literary studies has taken in the last few decades - such as the semiotic, the cultural studies and the translative – one turn is less often mentioned. This is the writing turn. Yet we know that a new self-consciousness about writing, about what it means to write has contributed to the image makeover of the literary studies in the recent decades. It has been reconstituted as a field of writing, often incorporated writing as a subject and where the pressure is great, splitting off into a new Department of Teaching Writing focused on the new genre of the "Writing Book". However tenuous may be the link between this idea of writing that emerges from the writing book and what the French texualists called 'ecriture', there decidedly is a connection between the two. French theory in the 1960s swore by writing or 'ecriture'. The newer approaches that have followed have retained this as a reference point and have gone on to develop a more activist sense of writing.

A more specialized aspect of the new scholarship, focusing on literary studies and energized by this recovery of writing as an active agent, has traced a much longer lineage. In this study, literary studies with its current focus on reading has been shown to be of a fairly recent origin, brought about by the shift from the earlier regime of Oratory and Rhetoric to the professional study of literature in the Universities. Let me throw some light on the lineage of English before it was given a formal status in the academia. William Riley

Parker has discussed this development in his essay *Where Do English Departments Come From* (1967). He traces the origin of English studies to Oratory and Philology. Parker uses the metaphor of matrimony to show the birth of English language:

English was born about 100 years ago. Its mother, the eldest daughter of Rhetoric, was Oratory- or what we now prefer speaking or, simply, speech. Its father was Philology or what we now call linguistics. Their marriage, as I have suggested, was shortlived, and English is therefore the child of a broken home. (Parker 340)

After tracing the sad and unhappy beginning of the English language Parker points out that before the institutionalization of English, there was a rich heritage of criticism on English language and literature. Before English gained prominence Latin occupied the pride of place in the academics. It was adopted by the "grammar schools (which) were originally designed to teach Latin grammar…"(Parker 342) Rhetoric and Oratory continued to get importance, while composition was increasingly taught by the universities. Robert Scholes says in his seminal book *The Rise and Fall of English*(1998*)*, "Though all the students were required to write, their compositions were designed as oration, some of which they were expected to memorize and deliver before an audience."(Scholes 5). No significance was attached to the activity of writing per se. Even the oral performance itself and regarded the written texts primarily as rough drafts" (Scholes 6). The main motto of academia as

such was to create orators and eloquent speakers in a public forum:

Prior to the late 19th century, a four-year college education was primarily rhetorical and was directed toward the production of a religious and secular elite. College education aimed to create leaders who could speak eloquently and articulately from the pulpit, in the chambers of government, or among the leaders of commerce…The education was comprised largely of making oral recitations and studying principles of rhetoric in a liberal arts curriculum as preparation for careers in law, medicine, or theology (qtd. in Bazerman et al.14).

Latin was the main mode of teaching in all the educational institutions. It took a considerable time for English to get into the system. English slowly gained its prominence and as Robert Scholes says, "English rose rapidly at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first decade of the twentieth century"(2). There was a considerable rise in the number of educational institutions and these institutions offered instructions in English. The then famous professor of Belles Lettres, Hugh Blair, who was also known as the famous Edinburgh preacher, also started giving his lectures in English.

There were various other factors which were also responsible for the spread of English as a major language in the academicians both America and Britain. One crucial factor was the sudden proliferation of universities in England which made it a point to give formal instructions in other languages including

English. In America the important factor was the opening of John Hopkins University in 1876 which "insisted on the English professor's need to fuse both the literacy and oratorical skills and the genteel acquaintance with literature" (Parker 344). Another important reason for the spread of English in the American context is the Morill Act of 1862 which established the new mechanical and agricultural colleges. The role of English in educational institutions was thus changing rapidly the scenes of academics. At one level the vocational courses changed the role of English by giving to it a utilitarian function. Thus English became a gateway, not to the flights of poetic fancy but to a job. Thus English found itself pegged to a programme of teaching writing skills and composition. When confronted with this situation, spread of English encountered the deficiency of writing skills which marred the intellectual and creative growth of the student. There was then the gradual shift from teaching English to teaching writing in the academic institutions. Further research shows that, the star of modern language rose with the decline of the American power and prestige. There were some other very important factors which were responsible for the rise of the modern language in America. The different factors like the American spirit of utilitarianism or pragmatism, the exciting new dream of democracy, popular education etc. were responsible for the upsurge of the new found language. Composition which was earlier a part of the curriculum involved oratory in addition to writing in the curriculum and gradually there

started a metamorphosis of English which gradually turned utilitarian and popular. Teaching of composition was entrusted to the teachers of English Literature. Writing was practised with induction of composition into the curriculum. Harvard was the first one to implement entrance examination in written English in 1874. Thus there was a fresh interest in the subject of writing.

The earlier regime in the academics focused on the active production of speeches based upon the model which the speaker was supposed to emulate. The students were expected to be fluent in their orations and the pieces that they needed to memorize were generally extracted from canonical writing. In this emulation of the classical literary models by the students, there was an element of creativity which was, however, absent in a later era where departments of English taught literature and practiced criticism. In other words, the modern regime of literature suppressed the active sense of making that characterized the earlier regime of Oratory, thereby promoting the consumerist habit of reading or what Scholes has revealingly termed 'hypocriticism' (81).

The writing, that French theory stressed was in fact a return to this production-oriented practice. Roland Barthes speaks for this activist point of view in his famous article *From Work To Text*. Here is Barthes: "Rhetoric, the great literary code of those times, taught one to write (even if what was then normally produced were speeches, not texts). Significantly, the coming of democracy

reversed the word of command: what the (secondary) School prides itself on is teaching to read (well) and no longer to write."On the face of it, the drift of Barthes's argument seems headed in the direction of composition, of the teaching of the functional skills of writing. But Barthes actually takes this purely functional notion of writing to task when he remarks parenthetically: "consciousness of the deficiency is becoming fashionable again today: the teacher is called upon to teach pupils to express themselves, which is a little like replacing a form of repression by a misconception." If Barthes were alive today, he would have roundly condemned the manifestation of this 'misconception' in the form of the widespread practice of Communication Skills teaching which has resulted in the exponential rise of the Soft Skills industry. He would have detected in it the consumerism that the concept of work represents and not the production orientation that he associates with the text. How would Barthes have reacted to the relatively modern notion of writing as inscribed in the writing book? If he has fervently tried to argue that the practice of producing the text can diminish the distance between reading and writing, he would have welcomed the writing book and stopped short of the final deconstructive agenda which his doctrine of radical textuality demanded. It is time, therefore, to examine the new notion of writing incarnated in the writing book in some detail.

The writing book, as the name suggests, focuses on writing as act and process and sets out to unravel its mechanics as well as dynamics. Its distance from the compositional principle is indicated by its decided break with the commonsensical notion that writing, as John Seely points out, is a "one-shot process that flows uninterrupted from start to finish (56)." Basically these books instruct the amateur writers to write by following certain tenets on writing. It is about working with writing, what it means for someone to write physically, psychologically and philosophically. Writing books speak about the craft of writing, the development of a structured process, the rules of writing well which generally take into account the grammar, sentence structure and vocabulary. They lay down a series of dos and don'ts which keep the writer on track. These books imbibe the activist point of view which believes that "If you teach writing, you should write"(Hairstone 62). But this is only the tip of the iceberg as it were. To read writing books such as *Successful Writing*, *The Professional Writing Guide*, *Easy Writer*, which are among the best in the genre, is to realize that they not only confine themselves to the mere tactics and rules of good writing, but also speak of a holistic process which, as has been already suggested, encompass muscle, mind, self and place.

Inspite of the fact that a single thread runs through all the writing books around the world, these books have come a long way in giving the right fillip to the art of writing. The history of writing instructions can be traced back to the ancient Greek Tradition. In the ancient traditions writing instructions came to be associated with the oral tradition as oration was the most important aspect of education

at that time. Writing instructions at that stage was centered around the rhetorical tradition. With the increase of the reading public and the decrease of the importance on oratory tradition "writing manuals and textbooks became more and more numerous to serve this reading and writing public, helped by new printing technologies that cheapened production costs."(Murphy 179) The present writing instructions have come a long way from their earlier counterparts. The evolving aim of teaching writing and the changing face of the society in the 1900s also played great role in changing the structure and component of writing instructions. The present day instructions have come a long way after going through the various social, political and economic changes.

Going back to the sense of the mind-body continuum of writing it is important to use the following observation made as an *obiter dicta* in an obituary essay about a passionate writer, Tony Judt, written by his wife: "Writing involves the physical self—pens, paper, keyboards—the touch connecting minds to the page; it has a rhythm, a feel, a posture and pacing, a pulse through the body." This brief account manages to pack a whole philosophy of writing. Hairston seems to echo this when she says - in a more instructional tone of course – that "Professional writers consistently work in the place with the same tools—pencil, typewriter or word processor. The physical details of writing are important to them so they take trouble to create a good writing environment for themselves." (Hairstone132) Reading this one is better able to understand

what Francis Bacon meant when he said that "it is writing which maketh a man exact" while reading and conference make him 'full' and 'ready' respectively.

Thus the fare that the writing books offer goes way beyond the tried and tested methods of brainstorming, preparing outline, drafting, making necessary changes, redrafting, keeping clarity and precision in writing, avoiding grammatical mistakes, keeping the write-up well organized, crisp and concise etc. These constitute standard fare in almost all the writing books. The technology is, however, not without its deep-seated link with the psychology. The writing tools are a projection of the unfathomable depths of the writing mind. As revealingly put by Stephen Harvey about one such tool, the blinking cursor on the screen of the computer, "the cursor is a perfect metaphor of the writing mind."?(Harvey 135) It does not mean that we are not going to make any extra effort to acquire the skill. To read Steven Harvey's brilliant essay "*The Empty Page*" is to be aware of the mechanics as well as the mystery of writing. Harvey says that the writer has learnt how to sift through the irrelevant thoughts and zero in upon the important ones that will, to cite another suggestive quote, "make the words slide into slots ordained by syntax and make them glitter with meaning." Harvey has conveyed through his anecdotal style and through the unconventional metaphors (cartooning, ballooning, kite flying etc) used by him that writing is indeed not a 'one-shot process', but is recursive and iterative.

The writing book, as I have earlier maintained, offers a three-part breakdown of the stages of writing. They are pre-writing, drafting, and revising. It can even fine-tune it to include a 'voyage out' and a 'voyage in' (Durham and Petelyn), 'incubating' (McLaren), 'refining' (McLaren) and 'multistage revising' (Durham and Petelyn). We can notice Harvey's playful and creative presentation of this in which the stages of writing appear not as isolates but as steeped in the textures of his daily task of writing:

I begin clustering thoughts, jotting ideas on a blank page and circling them as I go connecting related thoughts with lines. When I'm done, the page looks like a sky filled balloons, each bearing the advertisement of some musings, waiting to be tethered to a paragraph…Next to polishing the sentences at the end of writing an essay, this cartooning is my favourite part of composition. The hastily drawn balloons lend a feeling of loftiness and freedom and playfulness. (Harvey 134)

The physical aspect of writing and the tactile aspects in writing like that happy feeling of touching the pen, the paper, the realization of their existence, is just as imperative for the act of writing.

Thus writing as an act is not to be confused with the finished product that is before us in the form of a write-up or typescript or a printout. It is a process, a structured process of intertwined parts. Further, it involves both the mind and the materiality of the medium. We have heard Judt and Hairston on the importance of the tools

and the scene of writing. McLaren can help illuminate the crucial role of mind in the act of writing. McLaren devises a three-week schedule for the completion of a writing task. He clinically puts down what needs to be done each day of the week. But he slips in recreational activities which, on the face of it, contradict the 'hebraistic' tenor of the clinical listing. These, he says, help in the 'incubation' of thoughts before they crystallize as ideas: "Party, play tennis, swim or go for a bushwalk. Let those ideas incubate, that is, let them slowly develop of their own accord (McLaren 12)." McLaren does not only show us the path of how to stimulate the intellectual veins of our minds but also advises us about the nitty gritties of editing and how to be meticulous before the submission of the final assignment: The mystery guides the mechanics at an important stage of the writing process. But there of course is a return to the clear light of day with the page printed and ready to be turned in.

This paper has traced the process of how writing fell from its productive height in the ancient era of Oratory and Rhetoric to become reading in the modern regime of literature and attempted a partial recovery of its status as composition before once again lapsing into a functional skill. Scholes has observed that the Departments of Literature in the US and Britain have regularly banished composition to the margins so that the literature can stand out as the domain of higher values, measure against this 'other' of skills of composition. He has rued the consequences that have followed from this division between values and skills. The writing book, representing as it does

a fusion and synthesis of the functional and imaginative, the utile and the beautiful, is rightly positioned to overcome the divide even as it restores the production dimension that writing had lost. It is a welcome change in the scene of writing.

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