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Visnu's Sleep, Mahisa's Attack, Durga's Victory: Concepts of Royalty in a Sacrificial Drama

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ABSTRACT This paper deals with concepts of royalty as expressed in the annual Durga Puja of a local goddess in the Jagannatha temple of Puri (Orissa/India). This festival is first described as part of a system of royal rituals, which annually take place in the palace as well as in the temple. Next, the author presents his ethnographic data on Durga Puja in Puri and interprets it with reference to the Debi Mahatmya. In the final part of this paper, the author constructs a model of three different levels. These levels are said to be ordered hierarchically, i.e. on a superior level, one value encompasses others while on a subordinate level it is opposed to these values. The aim of this paper is to elaborate Dumont's ideas concerning Hindu ideology by studying the magico-religious functions of the king.

INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with ideas about the proper relations of a Hindu king as expressed in rituals. The word "king" (Raja) is used here in two senses. On the one hand it refers to Jagannatha, an incarnation of Lord Visnu, the king of gods. Jagannatha's main abode is located in Puri (Orissa) and is regarded as one of the four famous shrines (*dhama*) of Lord Visnu. On the other hand the word "Raja" is part of the title "King of Puri" held by the present representative of the once powerful rulers of Orissa. In the long history of royal institutions in Orissa, rulers were regarded as representatives, sons, elects, first servants and "walking images" of Jagannatha, the divine ruler of the state (Kulke, 1979). Having lost all their power and almost all their territory in 1803, the royal family moved to Puri town. They however retained their close relationship to Jagannatha. Nowadays, the duties of the Gajapati are twofold: he acts as a chairman of the temple managing committee and as a servant (*sebaka*) of Jagannatha in certain festivals. He has retained the title "King of Puri," which is not based on power and territory - he does not "rule" over Puri - but on his publicly enacted relations with the main gods of Puri. This "ritual kingdom" has a further dimension, because the Gajapati continues to celebrate his palace festivals, which are attended by representatives from different castes and monastic orders. These celebrations are reduced in scale and pomp, but there are still many reminiscences of the time when a large number of subordinates came to honour the king.

This article is divided into six parts. In the first part I will give a short introduction into some aspects of the Jagannatha cult and its relation to the Gajapati dynasty. The second part presents an overview of the system of royal rituals and their leading themes. Parts three and four contain brief descriptions of relevant events during the celebration of Durga Puja in Puri. These are interpreted in the fifth part of this paper. The article ends with some concluding remarks concerning the value levels that structure the royal rituals.

JAGANNATHA CULT AND GAJAPATI KINGSHIP: SOME INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The title "King of Puri" is a slightly euphemistic term for the present incumbent of the Gajapati throne. The name Gajapati, meaning "Lord of the elephants," has been in use by Orissa's rulers since the 13th century. An important base of their authority was the patronage of Jagannatha, whose name literally means "Lord of the world." In the 12th century a Ganga king called Codaganga induced the building of the famous Jagannatha temple. Nowadays, Jagannatha is worshipped in this temple along with his elder brother Balabhadra, his sister Subhadra and his pillar-shaped weapon Sudarsana. The cult of Jagannatha spread rapidly in Orissa and each new dynasty had to establish close ritual links with it if they claimed to

be superior to the many small kingdoms in the region.[1]

Jagannatha is considered to be the ninth incarnation (*avatara*) of Lord Visnu to whom are ascribed the ideal qualities of a ruler. It is therefore not surprising that the state cult of the Gajapati's is based on Vaishnava ideals (Kulke, 1979). This classification is derived from various sources from different centuries comparing the Gajapatis with Jagannatha. Admitting that this relation is a central part of the Gajapati ideology I would however argue against a tendency, particularly amongst historians, to relate all aspects of the state cult to Vaisnava ideas. The king keeps relations with different gods, which are renewed in ritual contexts. Written sources of the past like inscriptions, chronicles or epics as well as rituals that are performed today express sometimes similar sometimes divergent representations of royalty and only if taken together do they convey a complete picture of the Gajapati ideology. Since historical sources of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh have been examined extensively, for example by Berkemer (1993, 1997), Kulke (1978, 1979, 1987, 1993), and Schnepel (1992, 1997), I will try to complete the picture by focusing on ritual representations in this paper.

SYSTEM OF RELATIONS IN ROYAL FESTIVALS

In my approach to royal rituals in Puri I have been influenced by a study of Jean-Claude Galey (1989), who worked on a Hindu kingdom in Garhwal. For Galey the kingdom of Garhwal is characterised by three complementary elements: First by energy of a ritual seat (*pitha*) which the king acquires when he mounts the throne; secondly by the idea of the kingdom as a living realm (*ksetra*), which is being animated by the female power (*sakti*) of the goddess; thirdly by the concept of "crossing, ford, or passage (*tirtha*) wherein the cult of the avatar establishes the kingdom as a realm of order and the access to deliverance" (Galey, 1989: 170-71). Any one of the three elements gives the king a particular position in the kingdom. The ceremony of enthronement expresses the superiority of the royal clan. As a member of the Rajput caste, which has a particular relation with goddess Bhagavati, he receives his strength. And through the cult of the male divinity, the *avatar* Narasimha Badrinath, the king is lifted above all social categories, becomes a renouncer and obtains the qualities of the absolute sovereign.

Galey differs in his approach from his master, Louis Dumont (1980), in that he examines the magico-religious aspects of a Hindu kingdom. He deals with ritually constituted relationships and relates them to concepts of political authority. This approach seems to me useful in the understanding of the Gajapati kingdom. In applying his method to my own data I will take into account the qualities of the gods worshipped by the king as well as looking at the kind of relationship established between the participants of different ritual contexts. The following is a short summary of an analysis of complex ritual sequences which I presented elsewhere (Hardenberg, 2000).

At different occasions the king of Puri worships the three main gods of the Jagannatha temple which according to a dominant tradition are regarded as the three siblings Krisna, Balarama and Subhadra. But their identities are not fixed. According to Pancaratra doctrine, presumably introduced in the Jagannatha temple by Ramanuja (Mishra, 1971: 152), Jagannatha is identified with Krisna, Subhadra with Durga and Balarama with Siva. In tantric tradition all three become female deities: Jagannatha is Kali, Balarama is Tara and Subhadra is Bhubaneswari (Marglin, 1995: 327). The gods have various other identities, often expressed in specific costumes they wear during times of worship.

Not only the identities of the gods are changing according to context, but also the role of the king. It depends on the festival which relations of the king are stressed. The concepts of the Hindu kingdom can only be understood if we consider all important royal festivals together. These are the Car Festival in Asada (June to July), Durga Puja in Aswina (September to October), Gadinasinabhiseka or the enthronement of the prince (after the death of the king), Pusyabhiseka or renewal of the enthronement in Pausa (December to January) and the new royal year in Srabana (July to August).

On different festive occasions the king of Puri presents the gods certain gifts, honours them in a royal fashion (*rajaniti*) and receives their auspicious glance (*darsan*). The publicly best know

occasion for this kind of worship is the annual Car Festival, at which the king mounts the chariots and sweeps the platform with a golden broom.[2] This is witnessed by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, who have come to see the gods and express their devotion to them. Similar to the cult of Narasimha Badrinath in Garhwal, this festival expresses the dissolution of social boundaries, because the gods can be seen by everyone, even the western visitors, who are prohibited to enter the temple. Anybody can enter into a personal relationship with the god and through his or her devotion attain all four goals in life, including the final one, liberation:

> "By thus visiting and bowing to Bala, Krsna and Subhadra, the devotee obtains virtue, wealth, love and liberation. [...] Those who observe Krsna, Balarama and Subhadra seated in a chariot and going in procession to the Mandapa called Gundika go to the abode of lord Visnu" (Brahma Purana: 55/1; 63/1).

The symbolism of the king acting as a sweeper on the divine chariots is obvious to all visitors: in relation to the gods everybody is as inferior as a sweeper in a Hindu community. The king acts as a representative of all humans, among whom he is a *primus inter pares*, a "first servant" (*adya sebaka*). In Vaisnava tradition selfless devotion to god offers a way to liberation for everybody. By sponsoring a cult which allows his people to attain liberation and by showing them the path to salvation through devoted service the king fulfils his *dharma* and becomes a true sovereign.

The second major festival involving the king is the worship of goddess Durga in her local appearance as Bimala. The theme of this festival is not primarily selfless devotion but military power, fight, sexuality and death. On this occasion the king does not act as a servant, but as a patron and a successful conqueror of the "ten directions," i.e. of the world. The focus of the ritual activities is a fierce goddess fighting against evil forces. The king assist her in her fight and thereby ensures that his kingdom is a place where demonic powers hold no sway.

Apart from these relations — devotional service to the three main gods and sacrificial assistance to the goddess — the king establishes three other relations in his palace festivals. On these occasions he is not merely a servant and patron of the gods but becomes an object of worship himself.

One such occasion is the ceremony of enthronement. It transforms the prince into a king, i.e. a legitimate successor of a long line of Gajapatis, and turns him into a god called Thakur Raja or Calanti Visnu. The question of the divine status of the king is problematic, because he is certainly not a divine being at all times. But at certain occasions, like the ceremony of enthronement, he is considered to be a god by some informants. For transforming the prince into the new Gajapati, the presence of representatives from various castes with different administrative functions is required. They stand in a relationship of mutual dependency with him: the brahmins through their rites and the witnesses through their attendance transfer authority on him and make him their leader and he subsequently divides his authority among them by giving them certain rights, functions and privileges. He is like the cosmic man, who by sitting on the axis mundi - the throne - encompasses all things and creates everything. Thus, Inden in his analysis of a text describing the enthronement of a Hindu king in medieval times writes:[3]

> "In the first half of the ceremony, the 'constituents' (prakrti) of the kingdom — the ministers or followers (amatya) of the king, the people of the royal city (paura), and the ordinary people (jana, praja) of the countryside had by means of affusions of water, transferred royal authority to the king. [...] The newly installed king could not, it was believed, rule without 'aides' or 'ministers' (amatya, sahaya, saciva); and so was to share out royal authority — and royal wealth — among his followers and dependants" (Inden, 1998: 77-78).

Like in medieval times, the enthronement must be repeated in Puri annually. The main reason seems to be the kingdom's renewal in spiritual and administrative terms. Even nowadays the king can use this opportunity to confer titles and honours to respectable persons on such occasions. In contrast to the first enthronement, the king must be anointed along with his wife during this festival called Pusyabhiseka. The important

rituals take place in the queen's part of the palace and are performed by male and female brahmins together. The events are regarded as auspicious and are connected with themes of fertility. Following this consecration of king and queen, the highest brahmins from the temple and from various villages come together in the palace for handing over the fruits of the land in form of rice and coconuts to the king.

A further important festival for the king is the annual minting of gold coins at the beginning of the new royal year. On this occasion craftsmen produce new coins which are ritually handed over to the king by brahmins. Afterwards the queen, the king's younger brother, brahmins, generals, feudatory kings, tax collectors, craftsmen and various servants of the palace present gifts, mostly money, to the king.

Comparing these festivals I consider the following aspects to be part of the ideal kingdom. First, it is a place where gods are worshipped in a proper manner. This allows people to express their devotion and to follow a religious path that may lead to liberation (*moksa*). Secondly, it is a place of order (*dharma*) guaranteed by a king who through his brahmins becomes a source of authority which he distributes among his people. This perfect order is expressed in the installation ceremony and on the day of the new royal year in gift giving and the distribution of honours and rights by the king. These two aspects of the ideal kingdom, *moksa* and *dharma*, do not always contradict each other. In the *bhakti* tradition the king must not escape his duties in order to attain liberation for himself and his people (Biardeau, 1982: 94). In this sense, *dharma* encompasses all other values including *moksa*. Through the king's devoted service in upholding *dharma*, particularly as a patron and servant of the gods, *moksa* becomes an integral part of his kingdom. Since it is only through him and not through any of the smaller kings that the pilgrims can worship Jagannatha in Puri, the concept of liberation makes him a real sovereign. Acting as a sweeper in a cult which he finances and regulates he overcomes the opposition between renouncer and ruler. Among humans he is first, but as a human he is only an untouchable in the eyes of the gods hoping to obtain liberation from his sins through service. Thirdly, an important part of his *dharma* is the protection of the people for which he needs the power of the goddess. His role as a warrior and destroyer of evil forces as well as his role as guarantor of wealth and prosperity are both connected with goddesses and female power (*sakti*) as expressed in the Durga Puja and the annual Pusyabhiseka. Like the goddess, who kills her enemies with her sword, the king punishes and destroys the evil forces. Finally, the themes of love (*kama*), eroticism and enjoyment are part of royal rituals, for example in the dances of Devadasi at various occasions, particularly in the night before the king retires to the queen's room (Marglin, 1985a). The Hindu king is considered to be the "husband of the earth" (Hara, 1973) and his love and sexuality guarantee the fertility of the earth:

> "Like husband and wife, the king and the earth were to act as a single, corporate entity guided by him, in producing good offspring and good crops. Every spring, for instance, the earth's menstruation was to be celebrated and the king was to perform a ceremonial ploughing (sexual intercourse) and sow seeds in (impregnate) her ploughed field (womb).\" (Inden, 1998: 44).

In this sense, when the brahmins on Pusyabhiseka day hand over rice and coconuts to the king, they give him a share of what has been produced by him. The king's enjoyment, even if pursued with self-interest, becomes a symbol of his fruitful relation with the earth which again is a prerequisite of the kingdom's prosperity.

I will now examine structure and events of the Durga Puja in more detail. This festival is barely described and analysed by Marglin, although it is particular concerned with the female power (*sakti*) of the king.

STRUCTURES OF TIME: DURGA PUJA

Annually, there are two festivals for goddess Durga and both are called Durga Puja. One falls into the first half of the month of Caitra (March to April) and continues for nine days. The other is celebrated in the month of Aswina (September to October) for a period of sixteen days. Local names of these two festivals either stress the season or the duration of the event. The festival at the beginning of the year is called Basanta

Puja (spring worship) or Nabami Puja (nine days worship), the other one is referred to as Saratia Puja (autumn worship) or Sola Puja (sixteen days worship). A similar dualism is reported by Galey for the kingdom of Garhwal, where people distinguish between a spring festival for goddess Durga (Durga Naumi) and an autumn festival for goddess Ganga (Ganga Dashera).

In the context of this article I restrict my analysis to the autumn festival, because it is celebrated in the palace, the Jagannatha temple and at many public places in Puri. It is clearly of greater importance to a majority of people than the spring celebrations. Name and duration of this festival corresponds to ritual practices in Bengal but differ from other areas in India. Thus, in north and in south India a festival called Navaratri ("nine nights") is very common. In contrast to the sixteen days of Durga Puja, it is considered as a festival of kings and warriors only. Following the nine-days celebration a one-day festival is held, which depending on region is sometimes called Dasai, Dasera, Vijaya Dasami or Dasahara. In Puri, the latter two words are in use. According to Frederique Apfell Marglin, who conducted her fieldwork in Puri during the 70s, informants derive the name Dasahara from the words for *dasa* ("ten") and *hara* ("destroying"). On this day, Rama, famous hero of the epic Ramayana, is said to have killed the ten-headed demon Rabana. According to another tradition, he is said to have begun his successful war against Rabana on this day. For this reason, the festival is also being referred to as Bijaya Dasami, the "victorious tenth day." On this day, which falls on the 10th day of the bright half of Aswina, kings are said to have begun their wars. The idea was that they will be as victorious as Rama when they start their war expedition on this day (Marglin, 1985a: 167). In certain areas of north India this day is the climax of the ten-day Ram Lila, when an effigy of Rabana is being burned. Galey mentions the use of the word Dashehra in Garhwal, which he translates as birth or descent of the goddess (1989: 177). In different areas of India the word Dasara is used, while in Nepal people refer to the festival as Dasai (Bennett, 1983). These expressions often do not refer to the tenth day only, but to the whole ten-day festival, including the nine nights of the goddess. In sum, we can identify at least four different time structures of the autumn celebrations: nine nights, ten days, tenth day and sixteen days. The whole affair becomes even more complex if we take into account festivals for local goddesses. For example, during my latest stay in Orissa I witnessed the autumn festival in honour of Samlei, a local goddess in Sambalpur District. It continued for half a month, from new moon to full moon in the month of Aswina. These timings are not by chance, but often carry meaning, as my interpretation (see below) of the Durga Puja in Puri will show.

The Durga celebrations in Puri are a combination of the above mentioned timings. They continue altogether for 18 days, of which only the first 16 days are called Durga Puja. Within these 18 days, three belong to the system of Navaratri. These are the "great seventh" (Mahasabtami), the "great eighth" (Mahastami) and the "great ninths" (Mahanabami) day. On these days, late in the night, animal sacrifices take place inside the Jagantha temple. The 16-day system does not fully encompass the nine-day system, because the "great ninths day" does not belong to the 16-days of worship. This corresponds to the rule that the responsible brahmins must be invited by the king two times to conduct the worship: first time, for the Sola Puja and second time for the Mahanabami. The following tenth day is considered to be Dasahara, the day of Rama's victory over Rabana.

RITUAL EVENTS

During Durga Puja, the king acts as a patron for two categories of goddesses. One consists of his personal goddesses who are mostly enshrined in the precincts of the old and the new palace. The others belong to a category of formerly 16 goddesses, whose temples are spread over Puri town and Puri-District. Within the first category, his family goddess (Ista Debata), Kanaka Durga, receives the greatest ritual attention, while in the second category Bimala, the local goddess (Grama Debata) of Puri, is the main focus of the celebrations. Kanaka Durga's shrine is located in the garden of the king's palace. The image is a small, golden statue with four arms. Considerably taller is Bimala's statue. Her shrine is situated in the south-western part of the Jagannatha temple. Because of Bimala's

presence, Puri is not only considered to be a famous place of Vaisnava worship, but also an important location of the Sakta tradition (Sakta Pitha). Bimala and her Bhairaba Purusottama (Jagannatha) are mentioned on 36th place in the list of 108 Sakta Pithas in the Devibhagavata (Sarkar, 1973: 27).

Most probably Puri was a place of tantrics even before the construction of the Jagannatha temple. According to H. K. Mahatab the temple of Bimala was built between 740 and 940 A. D. during the rule of the Kara kings (Ray, 1998: 255). In the 9th century Sankharacarya is said to have visited Orissa and founded the Gobardhana Pitha, whose Adyasakti is Bimala (Starza, 1993: 59). Even nowadays tantric worship (Sri Bidya) is practised during the morning ritual (*sakhala dhupa*) in the Jagannatha temple. However, pure substances are substituted for the five impure offerings of tantric worship (*pancha makara*): green vegetables mixed with asafoetida (*hingu*) for fish (*macha*), ginger cakes (*odapacidi*) for meat (*mamsa*), water of a green coconut for wine, a pudding made of flour and sugar (*kanti*) for finger gestures (*mudra*), and the dance of the Debadasi and the Aparajita flower for sexuality (*maithuna*) (Mishra, 1971: 153).

Non-vegetarian diet was part of the offerings in the Bimala temple before king Narasimha Deba stopped the daily offerings of fish in the 17th century. He ordered to restrict non-vegetarian offerings to the last three days of the Durga Puja (Katakarajavamsavali, 102), a decree which is still valid today. The same king also ordered to offer the temple food twice, once to Jagannatha and a second time to Bimala. This rule probably explains the particular qualities of Jagannatha's temple food (*mahaprasad*), which can be eaten by all from one pot regardless of caste distinctions. The reason might be sought in Bimala's qualities. She is identified with Bhairabi, whose worship dissolves caste distinctions: "In Bhairabi Chakra there is no distinction of caste, and there is no restriction about one eating the remnants of other's meals" (Bandyopadhyay, 1987: 60).

Both categories of goddesses, the personal as well as the public, are put to sleep before the Durga Puja. This takes place on Radhastami, the eighth day of the bright half of Bhadra (August to September). After 15 days of sleep (Durga Sayana Paksa) the goddesses are awakened and consecrated with holy water from "one thousand pots" (Sahasra Kumbha Abhiseka). On the same day, the king receives those vedic brahmins who in his name will perform the worship of the 16 local goddesses. The Durga Puja of his personal goddesses will be performed by his spiritual preceptors, who also belong to the category of vedic brahmins. All these brahmins receive an official invitation (Brahmana Barana) from the king and afterwards move to their assigned shrine and start the 16 days of celebration (Sola Puja). At the end of these celebrations a second invitation from the king is required for the festival of the "great ninths day" (Mahanabami).

At each shrine, a minimum of two brahmins must perform the worship of the goddess. One offers food to her at least three times a day, the other recites verses from the Debi Mahatmya which narrates the story of Durga's victory over the demons. For the worship of goddess Bimala a larger number of brahmins is required who will read from various holy scriptures during the festival and thereby increase her fame. Her main priest during the time of Durga Puja should be the family priest of the former army general. He will be controlled in his ritual performances by a man who is being recruited from one of the four highest brahmin settlements in Puri-District, which are seats of tantric knowledge.

During these 16 days the goddesses are not only worshipped in their shrines but also taken outside in procession. Every evening in the palace a palanquin is being provided in which Kanaka Durga along with other personal goddesses of the king is seated and carried to a goddess temple in Puri town. A similar procession starts from the Jagannatha temple involving two deities, Durga and Madhaba. This Durga image is a small metallic statue with four arms, while Madhaba looks like a miniature of Jagannatha. On the first day of Durga Puja both are tied together like husband and wife. In the following eight days, they spend their days in the temple of Bimala and their nights in a "sleeping room" close to the main sanctum of the Jagannatha temple. During the next eight days they are not carried to Bimala's temple, but visit a shrine of a goddess inside Puri town. There they are offered food in the evening by a representative of the

king who is simultaneously a high temple servant (Bhitarachu Mahapatra), before they retire to their sleeping room.

From the seventh to the ninths day of the bright half of the month an additional ceremony takes place in the night. At some places in the town animals are sacrificed. Even Bimala receives these bloody sacrifices although her shrine is located in the precincts of the Jagannatha temple. Specials precautions must be observed for this purpose. Thus, the temple has to be completely emptied. No one except the ritual specialists is allowed to stay inside the temple. The usual gifts from Jagannatha and Balabhadra to Bimala are stopped. From the palace a Sari with yellow and black stripes is brought which gives Bimala the appearance of Bhadrakali. Cooks prepare a special fish curry which temple servants with a rather low status offer to her. Meanwhile, the sacrificial sword must have been taken to Bimala's temple. Next to the sword, a fire sacrifice (*homa*) is performed by vedic brahmins. Afterwards, two rams are brought. In the past, these rams were given by the king, later by certain monasteries and nowadays by the Indian state. After a ritual purification of the animals, the rams are beheaded with the sword by a blacksmith or a man from Khandayat caste.[4] The heads will be taken by the sacrificer, the bodies by royal brahmins (Rajaguru) on the first day and certain temple servants on the second and third day of the sacrifice. This meat is taken, cooked and eaten in a feast by family members and guests specially invited to this occasion. To the goddess the blood mixed with rice and banana is being offered. After offering this mixture to the goddess, it is taken to the temple doors where women wait to buy it from the priests. It is said this *prasad* helps against barrenness.

The tenth day is celebrated in temple and palace in a similar fashion. In both places the day starts with a worship of weapons. Inside the temple, the "weapons" (*ayudha*) of the main gods are carried around the main shrine (*ayudha pradaksina*), while in the palace pistols, arrows and bows are touched against the king's forehead. Afterwards, in both places a procession starts, which leads to a garden representing a field for hunting and fighting. In the garden of the palace, the king shoots arrows in the ten directions of the world. In Jagannatha's garden, located in a monastery about one kilometre from the temple, a priest shoots an arrow into a wooden sword on behalf of Durga and Madhaba. This sword is fixed into the ground and has the shape of a fish. With this act of violence the festival of the goddess is finished.

INTERPRETATIONS

What are the meanings of these ritual events? The most common answer one gets is that the Durga Puja is for the betterment of the world. To understand the implications of this answer fully, one must consider that the Durga Puja is about the fight with demonic forces. This fight is described in the Debi Mahatmya, a text which is being recited by brahmins through the whole festival.[5] The text actually contains three myths which deal with the fight against evil, but in its different incarnations. In the cycle of festivals it is laid down that this fight is repeated each year with the celebration of Durga Puja. The Debi Mahatmya is not an exact script for the ritual proceedings, but it contains certain themes, which play a central role in the festival of the goddess. One such motive is Visnu's sleep. The first part of the Debi Mahatmya reports about the time after the destruction of the universe, when Visnu sleeps in the form of a snake on the ocean. From his ear, two demons, Madhu and Kaithaba, appear. They tease Brahma, who sits on a lotus growing out of Visnu's navel. In order to get Visnu's assistance against the demons, Brahma praises the goddess of darkness who causes his deep sleep. Thus praised, the goddess withdraws, Visnu awakes and starts his fight against Madhu and Kaithaba. At the end of the fight the defeated demons beg Visnu to kill them at a place, where the earth is not flooded by water. After their death the new universe arises from the marrow of their bones (Coburn, 1991: 32-38).

In the month of Asadha, when Jagannatha returns from his journey to Gundicha like a warrior on his huge chariot and stops along with Balabhadra and Subhadra in front of the temple, he and his siblings are being dressed like kings with golden ornaments (*suna besa* or the golden dress). On the same day, the eleventh day of the bright half of Asadha, Visnu is put to sleep. While Jagannatha is still standing on his chariot, an

image of Visnu is brought and worshipped next to him. Afterwards, this image is taken back to the temple and put to sleep for four months (*caturmasya*). The message seem to be that the "Lord of the World," an incarnation of Visnu, withdraws from worldly affairs after he descended to earth in his chariot and showed himself to his devotees. Rainy season should start now and bring the people a good harvest. In my analysis, Visnu's sleep has a sexual symbolic. One of my informants was very straight on this point: the motive of sleep is associated with the idea that husband and wife are spending the night together and have sexual intercourse. In other words, Visnu is indulged and does not take care of the world any more.

The myth of Visnu's sleep seems to tell us that this is a dangerous time, because evil forces can spread without hindrance. It is a rule in the Jagannatha temple that in addition to Visnu goddess Durga is put to sleep in the month of Bhadraba. As Chris Fuller argues (1992: 109-11) this time of sleep falls into a period of time which is considered to be inauspicious. The year in the sun calendar is divided into two halves. The first half starts with the winter solstice and ends with the summer solstice. It is regarded as auspicious and as the day time of the gods. In contrast, the second half begins with the summer solstice and ends with the winter solstice and is considered to be inauspicious and the night of the gods. The halves are marked by festivals in the Jagannatha temple. On Makar Samkranti, the winter solstice is celebrated by a festival called Uttarayan Yatra. This name derives from the idea that the sun starts moving to the north (*uttara*) on this day. The opposite movement to the south (*daksina*) is the theme of the Daksina Yatra held on Karkata Samkranti. Thus, one year in the sun calendar corresponds to one full day and night of the gods. The same idea can be found in the festive calendar based on the moon. In the Jagannatha temple, four festivals mark Visnu's cosmic movements. They are celebrated in four different months on the eleventh day of the bright half which is considered to be particularly holy to Visnu. In the month of Kartikka (October to November) Visnu's awakening is being celebrated (Uthananotsava). Four months later, in Phalguna (February to March), people start Visnu's swinging festival (Dola Yatra) and after a lapse of another four months he is put to sleep in Asadha (Savanotsava). Two months later, in Bhadraba (August to September), he is turned in his sleep (Parsva Parivartana), before he awakes in Kartikka. Visnu thus sleeps for four months and is awake for eight months. The time of his sleep, although being calculated according to the moon calendar, corresponds to the inauspicious night of the gods in the sun calendar. Durga Puja falls exactly into this period, when the divine king does not watch the world because he is sleeping and when inauspicious forces, like demons, attack.

The second myth of the Debi Mahatmya describes such a situation. The world is endangered by the growing powers of the demon Mahisa and his armies. The gods decide to transmit all their powers and weapons to the goddess so that she can destroy the demonic forces on their behalf. She overcomes the demon's generals and several of his fighters until she is confronted with himself. She beheads several of his animal and human forms, before she wounds him with her spear in his appearance as a buffalo. Mahisa's head appears from the buffalo's mouth and the goddess, being intoxicated and enraged, chops off his head with her sword (Coburn, 1991: 39-48).

The third myth of the Debi Mahatmya presents a variation of this theme. It deals with Durga's victory over the two demons Sumbha and Nisumbha. Twice, the fierce goddess Kali enters the scene. First, when Durga has to fight against the army's generals, Canda and Munda, Kali springs out of her head. She is black, wears a necklace made of human skulls and is dressed in a tiger costume. Kali attacks the two generals and beheads them with her sword (Coburn, 1991: 66-67). She joins the fight a second time when the demon Raktabija cannot be killed. After her army first worsens the situation, she finally kills the demon by drinking his blood. This prepares Durga's triumph over Sumbha and Nisumbha.

Durga Puja should be interpreted within the framework of these myths, which are recited by brahmins throughout the sixteen days worship of the goddess. At the time of Durga Puja, the world is endangered by the growing activities of demons. Like in the Debi Mahatmya, the goddess is

called for help. She is awakened, bathed and armed with weapons before brahmins start worshipping her on behalf of the king, whose duty it is to activate her powers for the protection of the kingdom.

The last three days of the festival are dominated by the theme of the fight between the goddess and the demons. It seems to me that the three "great nights" correspond to the different myths of the Debi Mahatmya, but I do not have any concrete statements by informants concerning this matter. Some, at least, say that the "great eighth day" is celebrated in memory of the day when Durga killed the buffalo demon Mahisa. I also heard statements that the following ninth day is associated with Siva's attempt to tame the wild goddess, an episode which belongs to the third myth.

The animal sacrifices have several meanings which can be derived from comparing ritual and myth. First, the animals seem to represent the demons. Always pairs of animals are being sacrificed in the Jagannatha temple and this corresponds to the killing of pairs of demons in the Debi Mahatmya. Thus, in the first and in the third myth, the following pairs of demons are killed by Visnu and the goddess: Madhu and Kaithaba, Canda and Munda, and Sumba and Nisumbha. The first two are beheaded by Visnu's discus, the second by Kali's sword and the third by Durga's spear. In the second myth only one demon, Mahisa, is destroyed, but he has a double aspect: he is an animal and a human and he is wounded and beheaded by a spear and a sword. In the ritual, the goddess sacrifices pairs of rams through her "right hand," the temple servant called Kateita. Through this act, she repeats her triumph over the various incarnation of evil. This interpretation is based on the idea that on the one hand the rites repeat the myths and that on the other hand the myths are thematically and structurally based on the practise of sacrifice.

A further similarity between ritual and myth can be seen in the fact that the animals are offered to the goddess. After sacrificing the rams, their blood is taken to her, or according to one informant, to her helpers (Yoginis). Blood plays a central role in the Debi Mahatmya. The goddess is greedy for blood, because her fight against evil requires the shedding of blood. Blood is an expression of her powers as well as the source of these powers: the more blood she drinks, the more enemies she kills and the stronger she gets. The interrelation of these aspects is best illustrated by the third myth of the Debi Mahatmya which narrates the story of the demon Raktabija ("blood-seed"). Whenever a drop of his blood fell on earth, a new demon was being created (Coburn, 1991: 66). It is only when Kali drinks all his blood that this process is brought to an end. One could also argue that by drinking all blood, which is the source of new life, she incorporates fertility. Women are generally said to have more blood with which they nourish their unborn children. Menstruation is interpreted as a sign of this abundance of blood. In the Bimala temple, the blood (*rakta*) is mixed with rice, which is identified with seeds (*bija*), so that she actually repeats the swallowing of Raktabija. Similar to this victory over the demon, which in my analysis represents the transformation from death into life, Bimala becomes a symbol of regeneration and fertility by consuming the blood of the sacrificial victims. It fits into this picture that the blood and rice mixture is particularly desired by women who long for children. According to one informant it is also dried and kept inside the house as a protection against evil spirits. This is an excellent example of the double nature of Durga's power (*sakti*): it protects from evil and guarantees fertility. Similarly, demons have a double nature: they are evil, but when being destroyed they become a source of fertility. This is a good illustration of what Marglin calls a "transformative principle" (1985b: 80).

Kali is often depicted with her tongue lolling out of her mouth, a gesture which some interpret as her desire for blood. During a worship for goddess Samlei, which I witnessed in 1999 in a small weaver village in Sambalpur District of Orissa, I saw how a priest, who was possessed by the goddess, danced in the centre of the village. His tongue was lolling out of his mouth and he waited for the sacrificial animals. About a dozen of rams were sacrificed to him, one after the other. As soon as one of the animals was beheaded, it was taken to him and he bit into the neck of the victim drinking some of its blood. This had two effects on the medium. In the beginning, its fury and desire for more blood increased, while towards

the end it appeared to be satisfied, since the dance and the gestures became slower. A local observer of the scene explained to me that the goddess asks for so many animals because her thirst for blood has to be satisfied. After about a dozen of victims were given to her, she calmed down and was ready to accept her devotees' pure, vegetarian offerings. A brahmin of the king of Puri explained to me that the sacrificial offerings to Bimala are also a means to calm down the goddess. This is why they refer to the animal sacrifice at the end of Durga Puja as the "gift of peace" (*santi bali*). The goddess is again peaceful, but has also brought peace by destroying the demons.

These themes of war, death and sexuality are also central to the "secret journey" (*gupta bije*) of Durga and Madhaba. They are tied together like a married couple and stand in contrast to Bimala and Jagannatha, who are spatially and ritually separated. During the day they are worshipped in Bimala's temple, while they spend the night inside a storeroom, where a god and a goddess of sleep (Sayana Thakur and Sayana Thakurani) reside. As argued above, the time of divine sleep is closely related to fertility. On the last eight days of their secret journey they are taken to a temple, where the sexual union of Siva and Durga is represented. There they receive "cool" food offered to them by the Bhitarachu Mahapatra, an important leader in the Jagannatha temple who has been appointed by the king. This resembles a scene depicted on the outer walls of Jagannatha's dinning hall (Bhoga Mandapa). It shows the king worshipping Durga along with Madhaba (Starza, 1993: fig. 44 and 45). This ritual belongs to the tradition of Orissa's foot soldiers, who usually started their war expeditions in autumn. Probably in memory of this tradition, the "secret journey" of Durga and Madhaba is also referred to as "autumn journey" (*sarata bije*).

The theme of war becomes particularly important on the tenth day (Dasahara). On this day weapons are worshipped in two places, the temple and the palace. In the temple the weapons consist of symbols (*ayudha*) belonging to Jagannatha and his brother and sister, while the weapons used in the palace are worshipped in the shrine of the family goddess during the previous Durga Puja. These weapons are touched to the king's forehead, a ritual which according to my analysis is meant to transmit the inherent power, *sakti*, to the king. Being full of energy, the king takes bow and arrows and shots them into a specially prepared field in his garden. With the help of these weapons he symbolically conquers the whole world. His arrows are said to "bind" the guardians of the ten directions, which obviously means that they protect his realm from all sides. Afterwards he receives a turban from Jagannatha. His spiritual preceptors tie this turban around his head in front of the goddess shrine in the palace garden. Additionally he is given two royal paraphernalia, an umbrella and an elephant hook. In this way he becomes a legitimate king, authorised by Jagannatha and empowered by Durga. Now the time has come for the procession of three goddesses from the palace to a shrine in Puri, which may be interpreted as a symbolic conquest. At the end of this procession, a Rajaguru shoots an arrow into a wooden fish.

The meaning of these ritual actions may be derived from similar events which are part of the Jagannatha cult. On Dasahara day, the weapons of the three divine siblings are carried around the main shrine of the Jagannatha temple, thereby symbolically conquering and protecting the world. This corresponds to the "binding" of the ten directions by the king. Afterwards these weapons are returned to their owners, who wear royal costumes made of gold on this day. Following these preparations, the gods are ready for a triumphal procession (*bijaya bije*), which is done in memory of Rama's victory over Rabana. Flower garlands from the bodies of the main gods are given to smaller "moving images" (*calanti pratima*), who than take part in a procession on their behalf. The destination of their expedition is the garden of Jagannatha, where a statue of Hanuman stands, who according to the epic helped Rama in his attempt to recover Sita from Rabana.[6] He also receives a flower garland from Jagannatha, which makes him part of the victorious expedition. Another member of the "triumphal procession" is a temple servant called Bentha Binddha ("hunter who pierces"), who carries a bow and an arrow. In this context the garden of Jagannatha can be considered a hunting place for the Bentha Binddha as well as a

fighting place of the gods. After arriving at this place of hunting and fighting, the king's ritual representative, Mudi Rasta, worships Durga and Madhaba in a royal fashion. He then touches bow and arrow upon Madhaba's forehead, thereby repeating the worship of weapons in the king's palace. Just like the king, Madhaba becomes a warrior and hunter possessing the power of the goddess inherent in her weapons. The weapons are then given to the Bentha Binddha, who belongs to Khandayat caste ("sword carriers") and who shoots the arrow into a wooden sword which is pierced into the earth and has the shape of a fish. Several symbols are condensed in this object and the accompanying ritual action. A sword is an object used in war and sacrifice. The fish is a symbol of fertility and re-production and often appears in auspicious rites like marriages. Piercing this object has in my interpretation the same meaning as sacrificing rams to the goddess. The sword may be seen as representing the enemy, in this case the demon Rabana, who like in the epic is being killed by the magic arrow of Rama. This act of killing ensures peace and thus fertility, represented in the fish.

At a time, when Orissa's kings were still ruling over a territory and leading wars against enemies, the cyclic repetition of killing the demon must have been a representation of the king's ability to conquer new land and protect his kingdom. This is why the festival involves the king as a warrior and representative of the gods. But although royal symbolism still plays a major role, the idea of a kingdom does not. Other collectives have taken up its role, ranging from the state which sponsors the sacrificial animals and the Jagannatha cult to the street assemblies, who organise the festival in their neighbourhood. In varying contexts, different agencies may organise the festival, who either share common territory, like villagers, or common interests, like shop owners. My hypothesis is that with the abandonment of "princely states" more and more communities started celebrating Durga Puja and any former hierarchical order, connecting the various levels of authority expressed in the festival, disappeared. For example, Fuller describing the former festival of the goddess in Mewar reports that local rulers and vassals had to come to the palace of the king of Udaipur to show their respect and subordination. He also mentions the rule that royal meetings had to be held during the whole period of the festival in Mysore (Fuller, 1992: 125-26). I do not have any historical information concerning the interrelation between the Gajapatis and the feudatory kings during Durga Puja, but I doubt that they were completely independent. One fact in favour of the existence of a former order is the system of 16 goddesses for whom the king of Puri traditionally acted as a sponsor. Some of these goddesses belong to territories of formerly important feudatory kings or Zamindars like Arunei-Barunei in Khurda, Carchika in Banki, Mangala in Kakatpur or Bhagabati in Banapur.

This seems to indicate that there existed an order based on the idea that authority of a local ruler was related to a goddess and her territory. The rulers claim for authority depends on his patronage of certain local goddesses. These goddesses maintain hierarchical relationships which are expressed in courtly behaviour. For example, goddess Mangala of Kakatpur is said to hold a court assembly with inferior local goddesses each night. Afterwards, Mangala herself is supposed to visit her overlord Jagannatha, in whose temple all important gods and goddesses of the world are said to assemble like vassals in front of the king. I suppose that the authority of a ruler depends on the position of the goddesses sponsored by him as well as on his position in the hierarchy of kings and vassals. These two hierarchical orders allowed the king a double strategy for increasing his authority: he can increase his status through territorial expansion, suppression of other dynasties and a skilful policy of marriage and gift giving and thereby rise in the order of rulers. Along with him the status of the goddess patronised by him would increase. He can also try to raise the reputation of his local goddess or to build up relations with more important goddesses and thereby gain prestige as a sponsor of powerful female deities. In any case, a shift on one axis of power will lead to a change on the other.

This leads me to a final point. The above mentioned examples show the king in relation to goddesses, either as a worshipper - sometimes represented by Mudi Rasta or Bhitarachu Mahapatra - or as a sponsor of their rituals. But

as mentioned in the introductory part of this paper, the word "Raja" has a double reference, the Gajapati and god Jagannatha. What are Jagannatha's relations with goddesses and what do they tell us about the concept of Hindu kingship? One approach to this question is the analysis of ritual proceedings involving Jagannatha and various goddesses.

Two complementary aspects of a Hindu king are expressed in his relations. On the one hand, Jagannatha appears in daily worship as a peaceful ruler, Krisna, preserving the order as long as he resides in his temple. From his temple throne (*simhasana* or "seat of the lion") he rules over the world and distributes his riches in the form of holy food (*mahaprasad*) to his people. Marital life and sexuality play only an inferior role. His wives, Laksmi and Bhudebi, are only small idols at his feet and sexual themes, like the ones found in the Gita Gobinda, are restricted to rituals in the evening and night. The same holds for the gift giving relationship between Jagannatha and his wife Bimala, which is restricted to the night. During the day, Jagannatha stands at the side of his sister and brother and like Krisna enjoys the various sweets prepared for him by the temple servants. The relation between him and his sister changes in autumn, a season regarded as the night of the gods. Subhadra gives her flower garland to Durga, Jagannatha his one to Madhaba. Afterwards both are tied together like a couple during the wedding ceremony. The relation between Durga and Madhaba, although they are Subhadra's and Jagannatha's representatives, has contrary features. They do not stand peacefully on a throne, but move in a chariot to places of war and hunting. It is not love between brother and sister that connects them, but the love between husband and wife. Each night they are put together in a sleeping room and for eight days they worship a goddess which is having sexual intercourse with Siva. Similar aspects characterise the relation between Jagannatha and Bimala. In contrast to Subhadra, Bimala is not a virgin sister but a wild, fierce and destructive wife. This again is not part of her character, but of her relations, or I should better say of her lack of relations. During Durga Puja, Bimala is identical with Durga, but in contrast to Durga she does not have a husband (Madhaba) next to her. During her worship, when she is alone and Jagannatha is put to sleep, she becomes particularly aggressive and turns into Kali.

CONCLUSIONS: CONFIGURATION OF VALUES

As the above analysis of the Durga Puja shows, ritual contexts stressing the importance of war, productivity, wealth, and enjoyment, i. e. the regeneration of order, belong to one ideological level. I hesitate to identify this level with the value of *artha* or self-interested action with the aim to increase wealth and prestige. We are here concerned with rituals which by definition belong to the realm of collective rules (*niyama*) and tradition (*parampara*), not of individual interests. *Artha* may influence the way, a ritual is celebrated, but it does not define its ends. Rather these are defined by *dharma*. If we, however, understand *artha* as the sphere which is concerned with well-being in the temporal world (*samsara*), these rituals certainly aim to increase prosperity and in this way we can agree with Carman (1985: 115) that "economics and politics are in this sphere, both included in the single concept of *artha*, for the power to rule and the fruit of rule are so closely connected."

These rituals of regeneration involve certain activities usually considered to be impure[7] and are governed by the principle of *ksatra* or "imperium" inherent in the king and the energy (*sakti*) he derives from the goddess. These forms of power are necessary for the king to produce security, well-being and prosperity and they are associated with goddesses, warriors, hunters, female priests and the queen. The most important relations in this sphere are the relation between king and goddess and between husband and wife (e.g. Durga and Madhaba). This conclusion is in correspondence with Marglin's suggestion that there is a close connection between royal and female power (*sakti*) (1981: 156) and that actions of both, women and kings, are ordered by the values of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness (ibid.: 179).

A second level is expressed in rituals where the proper order is established, like in the gift giving ceremonies during Sunia and Pusyabhiseka. In these contexts the king acquires and distributes his authority with the help

of brahmins. These activities involve no impurity and are governed by the spiritual principle or *brahman* (see Dumont, 1980: 288ff). This also holds for the ceremony of enthronement, in which the aspect of death is removed by transforming the dead king into a stranger, whose death rituals are completed before his successor mounts the throne. The most important relations in this sphere are those between the source of order (brahmins) and the ruler (king).

I agree with Marglin's suggestions that the king has access to status through the brahmin only, just like the women depends for her status on her husband (1981: 156). This, however, does not mean that royal and female power stand outside the domain of purity and impurity, as Marglin claims (1981: 179), but rather that on a lower, impure level, the transgression of boundaries (i.e. impurity) is higher valued than their strict separation.[8] In contrast to Marglin (1981: 174) I do not regard the axis of purity and impurity as completely independent from the opposition of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness.[9] When in rituals of regeneration a transformation from one state into another takes place, these actions are impure because a mixing between pure and impure as well as auspicious and inauspicious times, events, things and persons takes place. On the lower level, this transgression guarantees fertility and prosperity.[10] The difference between my argument and Marglin's may be the result of how we define impurity. To me, the rituals involve activities which at other times are considered impure, like killing a living being. It may, however, be the case that the participants themselves deny the existence of impurity in the sacred sphere of temple rituals, and in this sense Marglin's interpretation holds. For instance, the Daita of Puri claim that during their rituals of regeneration purity does not matter, so that they can perform their ritual task even if they are polluted by the death of a family member. To me this statement does not mean that they are indifferent to the values of purity and impurity but that they do not bother to keep pure and impure things and persons separate. For example, the low (i. e. impure) Daita work hand in hand with high (i.e. pure) brahmins and consider themselves to be one group called Daitapati, which performs inauspicious and auspicious rituals of the death and birth of the gods (see Hardenberg, 1999). I do not know whether the killing of the sacrificial animals in the Jagannatha temple is said to be impure or not[11] and Marglin's observation that tantric rituals show a concern for purification also holds for the Durga Puja. Again, I would argue that killing an animal which has been extensively purified is an intended mixing of categories. Like in the case of the ritual actions of the Daitapati, many precautions are taken to keep these transgressions secret during the Durga Puja. To me, this represents an attempt to allow a dangerous but highly potent condition, but to keep it separated from the normal order so that it does not spread and destroy this order. Therefore, whether or not the informants say that certain activities are impure, the transgression of boundaries is in opposition to the fixed order and thus "impure," i.e. of lower value.

The Car festival (*ratha yatra*) introduces a third level.[12] During this festival, the king acts as an untouchable, the gods can be touched by everybody when standing on the chariots, obscene songs are song and erotic gestures made by the charioteers, Jagannatha leaves his wife Laksmi and the brother-sister relation between Jagannatha and Subhadra becomes an object of Laksmi's jealousy and suspicion (see Marglin 1985a). It reverses the ideal order by making the king impure, by separating husband and wife, by polluting the brother-sister relation and by dissolving the boundaries between gods and humans and between the pilgrims. It also reverses the relation between husband and wife and the connected themes of sexuality and fertility. The latter point becomes clear when we consider Marglin's data concerning Jagannatha's stay in the Gundicha temple (1985a). This place is considered to be Brindaban, a place where Krisna enjoys the company of the Gopis (ibid.: 276). It stands in opposition to Dvarika, the place where Krisna — like Jagannatha in his main temple — lives with his wives. Krisna's play with the Gopis is different from normal sexual relations in that he does not loose his semen. Marglin's outstanding analysis of this idea may be supplemented by one further aspect. In Marglin's analysis, the retention of semen is interpreted as an unconcern for the future reward of liberation, which goes along with the denial of hierarchy and

marriage (ibid.: 203). It might, however, be argued that the retention of semen can be seen as an interruption of the continues cycle of births and rebirths. It thus becomes a symbol of liberation.

To sum up, the level presented by the Car festival is governed by the ideals of equality between all humans in relation to gods and by eroticism without re-production. Here we clearly encounter the ideas of the renouncer, who opposes the hierarchy of the caste society and is not concerned with family and offspring. On this level, *moksa* is not seen as an encompassed element of *dharma*, but in opposition to it. Different from *dharma* it does not order the relation between men, but between men and God. Hierarchy receives a different place: where *dharma* is concerned, it exists between men, when *moksa* is referred to, all men become equal in relation to the superior divine sphere.

What Lynn Bennett (1983) correctly summarises in the slogan "dangerous wives and sacred sisters" may here be used for both sexes: Jagannatha and Subhadra represent the "sacred" sibling relationship, while Durga and Madhaba as well as Bimala (Bhairabi) and Jagannatha (Bhairaba) reflect the two sides of the "dangerous" marriage relation. The qualities of both types of relations may also be said to be fundamental to Hindu kingship. The king must establish order in his realm, but also defend it against enemies and guarantee its prosperity through good administration, generosity and reproduction. Relations within the family and within the state are comparable in this point: restorative towards the inside, expansive and protective towards the outside. Siblings are intimates, foreigners potential marriage partners as well as enemies. This double aspect of outsiders as partners and enemies corresponds to the two faces of Durga as a wife of Madhaba and as fierce Kali who kills her male counterpart, the demon. These relations between Jagannatha and various goddesses can be seen as part of different Hindu cults. During the day, Vaisnava practices of worship dominate. In the night and early in the morning, when the public is excluded from the temple, rituals of the Sakta tradition are practised. The rituals of Durga-Madhaba, which take place during day and night and inside as well as outside the temple, combine modes of worship of both traditions. These relations are finally contrasted with the individuality of the renouncer, exemplified by Jagannatha when going on a pilgrimage in the famous Car Festival of Puri. Here Subhadra is neither clearly a sister or a wife of Jagannatha, sexuality without reproduction is stressed and the rituals in the Jagannatha temple are stopped, i. e. normal time and order are suspended.

In my final analysis, these different relations are ordered hierarchically. The sibling relationship, Jagannatha's role as a peaceful "Lord of the world" and the brahmanical function in establishing the kingdom's order represent the higher level of relations. The sibling relationship is as pure as the brahmin and the peaceful order of Lord Krisna. The marriage relation, Bimala's thirst for blood and Madhaba's (i.e. Jagannatha's and the Gajapati's) role as warrior and hunter are part of a lower, encompassed level of relations, because making war, hunting and sexual intercourse are necessary in the local view, but are impure activities governed by the principles of *ksatra* and *sakti*. The same subordination holds for the negation of social relations by the renouncer. *Moksa* may potentially be dangerous to society if it is not integrated into *dharma* through the ideals of *bhakti*. The change from the superior to the inferior level is marked by reversals (see Dumont, 1986: 252-53) like the at other times inconceivable sacrifice of living beings inside the Jagannatha temple complex or the dissolution of all caste barriers during Car Festival. This shows that rituals can not be understood in isolation and without reference to a particular configuration of ideas. Marglin's more "flexible model of the Hindu world" (1985a: 288) has the advantage of giving emphasis to the formerly neglected ideas and values connected with the royal and wifely domain. But to deny a fixed hierarchical relation between this domain and the domain of status, in which the pure must be kept separate from the impure, is to deny that life processes and actions pertaining to them are often kept secret in the Hindu world.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank William S. Sax (Heidelberg University) for his helpful comments. For technical reasons, diacritical marks are omitted in this paper.

1. A major work on the Jagannatha cult is a publication edited by Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi, 1978. Presently, a new Orissa Project sponsored by the German Research Foundation is taking place. Its focus is no longer the central cult in Puri but the social and geographical "periphery," i. e. little kingdoms, subaltern studies or tribal society.
2. For a detailed description of the rituals see R. Mishra, 1994: 141-50.
3. The enthronement in Puri differs from this description as found in the Visnudharmottarapurana in several respects, most notably in the fact that to my knowledge only the brahmins, not the other attendants, confer royal status on the prince by sprinkling him with holy water while reciting mantras. It could, however, be argued that the brahmins, ideally four, act as representatives of the four varna. This analogy can at least be found in the Visnudharmottarapurana (Inden, 1998: 64)
4. I have received divergent information on this point.
5. In this article I use the translation by Coburn 1991.
6. Hanuman is worshipped by the wrestlers of Puri, who are organised in youth houses called Jagagarha. Each Jagagarha has a statue of Hanuman, who must be worshipped before the young men start their exercises and fights.
7. Certain activities, like killing or hunting, are considered impure, but it is not always clear if these same activities are also regarded as impure when they are part of a festival. For a further discussion of this point see below.
8. Her own example (Marglin, 1985c: 45-6) of the story of goddess Laksmi being turned in an untouchable illustrates my point very well. In her impure state, her power to nourish others becomes most important to her husband and his brother when wandering around as destitute beggars.
9. For Marglin, certain things can be auspicious and pure, but also auspicious and impure, like menstrual blood. Thus, for her there is no necessary connection between both domains of value. I do not doubt that many combinations are possible, but if auspiciousness and inauspiciousness come together in one place or situation, this involves impurity.
10. For an elaboration of this argument see Hardenberg, 1999: 398-405.
11. I met several people outside Puri who refused to believe that animals are sacrificed in the Jagannatha temple. I interpret this as a expression of the idea that killing an animal is such an impure act that it can never take place inside the absolutely pure Jagannatha temple.
12. Carman (1985: 114-5) also speaks of three "axes of values" which he arranges in a diagram in three concentric squares. I hesitate to identify the second axes (or in Dumont's sense 'level') with auspiciousness and inauspiciousness. It is the level of impurity on which things are mixed, boundaries between two states are transgressed and female and royal powers (*sakti* and *ksatra*) are of importance. When inauspiciousness is transformed into auspiciousness, for example when killing the demon, these values belong to the second level.

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