

## Chapter-VI Durgapuja of the Ugra-Kshatriya

In this chapter, we shall discuss the rituals of Durgapuja of the Jogadya temple and in the localities of the Ugra-Kshatriya. Analysis of the rituals will be particularly on two topics namely, the relationship between the temple and the locality in the course of the rituals, and the ritual organization within the localities.

Durgapuja is the biggest annual function of Bengal. In the village, they perform five Durgapujas in the localities of the Ugra-Kshatriya as well as in the temple. Let us at the outset examine in detail the sequence of Durgapuja in the temple. The temple Durgapuja is regarded the a standard model for the other Durgapujas of the localities in the village. Nevertheless, each Durgapuja is closely connected in various aspects of the ritual course. These Durgapujas in the localities are integrated into the Durgapuja of the temple systematically. There is also a rotation system of the ritual organization of the Durgapujas. A case to be examined here is on a locality of the Ugra-Kshatriya called Uttar-para (Caudhuri-para) in the northern part of the village. The rotation system of the rituals of the lineages is called "*sola-anna-puja*", which has already been discussed in chapter-III. This topic is amplified further here.

### 1. The sequence of the Durgapuja

Table-18 presents a series of the ritual items of the Durgapuja at the Jogadya temple in their ritual sequence. Durgapuja is a popular urban festival in Calcutta. In this case, the Durgapuja is held for four days from the seventh to the tenth bright fortnight in the lunar month of Aswin (from *saptami* to *dasami* in *suklapaksha*). In the village, the Durgapuja in each locality is held as per the

ordinary schedule. But, in its traditional style in the old temple such as the Mrinmaymandir in Bishnupur of Bankra District, it takes sixteen days from the ninth of dark fortnight in the lunar month of Bhadra to the tenth bright fortnight of Aswin (from *nabami* in *krishnapaksha* to *dasami* in *suklapaksha*). The Durgapuja in the village Kshiragram has, however, the schedule of seventeen days from eighth dark fortnight in the lunar month of Bhadra (from *krishna astami* to *vijaydasami*) in the temple.

The first column of the table given the date of Durgapuja according to the lunar calendar which begins with the ritual of *belbaran* in the seventh of the dark fortnight to the *vijaydasami* in the tenth of the bright fort night. The next is the date in the Bengali almanac in 1994, which begins in the tenth of the lunar month of Aswin to the twenty-seventh of Aswin.

Table-18 Sequence of Durgapuja at the temple

Dark fort night/Lunar month of Ashwin/Calendar in 1994 A.D./Ritual names

7th	10th	Sep, 27th	<i>Bel-baran</i>
8th	11th	28th	<i>Bad-nabami/</i> <i>Puja(belphal) / sandhyarati/ tarpan/ durgaghat</i>
9th	12th	29th	<i>Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ tarpan/ durgaghat</i>
10th	13th	30th	<i>Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ tarpan/ durgaghat</i>
11th	14th	Dec, 1st	<i>Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ tarpan/ durgaghat</i>
12th	15th	2nd	<i>Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ tarpan/ durgaghat</i>
13th	16th	3rd	<i>Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ tarpan/ durgaghat</i>
14th	17th	4th	<i>Mahalay/</i> <i>Tarpansraddh/ Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ durgaghat</i>

The new moon

18th 5th *Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ durgaghat*

The bright fortnight

1st 19th 6th *Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ durgaghat*

2nd 20th 7th *Puja(ghat) / sandhyarati/ durgaghat*

4th 21st 8th *Caturthipatrikapuja (abbr. C.P.)*

*Puja(C.P.) / sandhyarati/ durgaghat*

5th 22nd 9th *Puja(C.P.) / sandhyarati/ durgaghat*

6th 23rd 10th *Sashtipuja*

*Puja(C.P.) / sandhyarati/ durgaghat/ Nabapatrikapuja*

7th 24th 11th *Saptamipuja (to Nabapatrika; N.P.)*

*Nabapatrikasnan/ Pathabali*

*Sandhyarati/ durgaghat*

8th 25th 12th *Mahastamipuja (N.P.)*

*Sandhyarati/ durgaghat*

*Sandhyipuja/ Panthabali*

9th 26th 13th *Nabamipuja (N.P.)*

*Moshbali/ hom/ Candipath/ sandhyarati/ durgaghat*

10th 27th 14th *Dasamipuja (N.P.)*

*Bisarjan/ Vijaypranam*

*Ugalpuja*

## 2. The Durgapuja in the Jogadya temple

### a) The tenth of the lunar month of Aswin; *Bel-baran*

*Bel-baran* is the first ritual step to invoke the goddess Durga through the worship of the *bel-tree* (*Aegle marmelos*) at the bank of Khelopukur. Formerly, there were planted one hundred and eight *bel-trees* on the bank of Khelopukur next to the Das-para on the western side of the village. The Durgapuja in the temple begins with the ritual invocation to the *bel-tree* on the seventh of the dark fortnight every year. In 1994, the day for *bel-baran* is on the day of the tenth of the lunar month of Aswin. In 1995, it is on the thirtieth of the lunar month of Bhadra.

After the regular *sandhyarati* at the temple, a Brahman-sebait belonging to the lineage of Sat-bhai marches through the street of the village from the temple to the Khelopukur with a Baiti playing his drum. At the base of the *bel* tree at the bank of Khelopukur, he sits in front of the tree and performs the ritual of *badan*. It is a ritual invocation to the goddess Durga inside the tree. People think that the *bel-tree* symbolizes the abode of the goddess Durga as a wife of the god Siva, and she usually stays with him. The ritual to the *bel-tree*, therefore, is the invocation to the goddess living in the tree to the altar of the puja on the earth once a year. The priest offers to the goddess sugar, sweets (*manda*), vegetables, incense, *sindur*, flowers (*durba-phul* and *jaba-phul* in particular), and leaves of *bel*. He uses the ritual utensils such as a small vessel (*kasakusi*), conch-shell, and bell, but without using the pot as in the *badan* in the other ordinary *pujas*. After the purification of himself, his seat, and the utensils, he starts the *sankalpa* (the proclamation of the beginning of the ritual) in the name of the Bardhaman Maharaja. Then, he performs the *Badan* to the *bel-tree*.

At the end of the ritual, the priest cuts down a pair of *bel* fruits on the tree to which he performs the *puja*. He carries them in his hand and marches back to the temple accompanied by the Baiti playing his drum. He enshrines the pair of

*bel* fruits on the altar of the temple. In every ritual occasion during the Durgapuja, the priests perform to the fruits at the altar until *bisarjan* in the final day of *dasami*.

b) The eleventh of Aswin; *Bodnabami*

The ninth of the dark fortnight is traditionally regarded as the first day of Durgapuja, although the village priests start their ritual two days before the ninth in the temple. In 1994, the ninth of the dark fortnight (*krishnapakshana-bami*) fell on the eleventh of Aswin, which means the twenty eighth of September, 1994. The ritual starts at the temple in the afternoon. At this time, the Brahman-sebait, the Baiti, the *paik* of Bagdi, and the Malakar assemble at the temple. They make a procession from the temple to the Khelopukur again. The front position of the procession is occupied by the *paik* beating the gong in his hand. The Brahman-sebait holding the ritual utensils follows him. The Malakar with the copper pot on his head and the Baiti playing his drum follow them. On both sides of the street of the village, many villagers are waiting for the arrival of the procession. The housewives (*ginni*) receive them with incense and votive lights. They make a deep vow to the street for the procession passing through them.

At the bank of the Khelopukur, the Malakar takes an ablution in the pond, and draws the water with the pot. Soon, the procession returns to the temple. Many villagers receive them again on the street. Inside the temple, the *Sabha-pandit* and the *Candipathak* are waiting for the procession. The pot is enshrined at the left side on the altar of the temple. They begin the ritual of *upacarapuja* and *candipath*. After the *puja*, the *Sabha-pandit* performs the ritual of reception (*arati*) with *pancha-pradip*, conch-shell, and flowers accompanying with the sound of the gong by the Malakar. Then, the Brahman-sebait stands at the threshold of the main temple and gives the garlands made of *sara* grass to the every lineage of the Ugra-Kshatriya. At first, he calls the name of "*Daraga babu*", and then

"*Pala-dhar*" . *Daraga babu* means the *Rajkachari* of the Jogadya temple. The *Pala-dhar* means the person who is in charge of holding the head of the buffalo in the sacrifice of *Nabamipuja*. The lineage which is in charge must offer the special offerings to the temple. Then, he calls the names of the nine lineages of the Ugra-Kshatriya in the same order as in the Jogadyapuja of Baishakh. Therefore, the calling order by the Brahman-sebait at this time is *Daraga babu, Pala-dhar, Datta, Samant, Malla, Sani, Bara-Ray, Cato-Ray, Josh, Cato-Samant, and Caudhuri*. Every representative of the lineage receives the garland in front of the door of the main temple from the hand of the Brahman-sebait and puts it over their heads. He puts *phonta* as of *sindur* (sacred symbol of vermilion) to their foreheads. From this day, the pot is enshrined until *bisarjan* at the end of Durgapuja and the Brahman-sebait performs the *puja* to it twice a day.

c) The seventeenth of Aswin; *Mahalay*

On this day, many villagers go to the bank of the Ganga at Katwa to have an ablution in a specified moment described in the almanac. This is still a very popular custom all over Bengal. In case of being occupied for some works, the villager take an ablution in the pond of Kshirdighi or sprinkle water of the Ganga over their body entering into the cow-shed. Some villagers make a group to visit Katwa accompanying their priest of the lineage (*kula-purohit*) and perform the ritual of *tarpan-sraddha*. Some others invite the priest to their houses in the village and perform the ritual. At first, the priest performs the ritual of *tarpan*, then the ritual of *tarpan-sraddha* for the spirits of the ancestors of his clients. This is followed by the ritual of *pitri-bhoj*. Villagers pay the priest with lunch or sweets. It is actually the first day of the ritual of *tarpan*. The priest continues to perform the ritual of *tarpan* every morning from this day until *bisarjan* at the end of Durgapuja. Further details of *tarpan* and *tarpan-sraddha* will be given at the appropriate content.

d) The twenty-first of Aswin; *Catruthipatrika*

Before the *nityaseba* in the morning, a Brahman-sebait of the lineage Sat-bhai prepares a *patrika* which is a bundle of plants, at the interior room of the temple. The *patrika* in the fourth of the bright fortnight is called "*caturthi-patrika*", which is made of the four kinds of plants, namely banana, *man* (arum), *kacu* (taro), and *dhan* (rice). The bunches of *man*, *kacu*, and *dhan* are put around a branch of banana tree with wide opened leaves. The people think that these plants together constitute a symbol of the goddess Durga.

All altars in the village does not have images of the goddess Durga as is generally found in the pandals in Calcutta. They enshrine only a bunch of the plants of the *caturthipatrika* and the *nabapatrika* at the altars and worship them as symbols of the goddess. The village Kshiragram being one of the 51 sakta-pithas, the people over have usually restrain from bringing any anthropomorphic figures connected with the ritual. They think that the temple Jogadya is the abode of the goddess for all the year round and the goddess Jogadya is an incantation of the goddess Sat, viz, Durga. As they have already the goddess in their village, they can not bring other the goddess into the village.

The Brahman-sebait carries the *caturthipatrika* in his arms and goes to the bank of Kshirdighi with *mula-paiks* striking a gong and a Baiti playing the drum. At the stairs of the ablution bank of Kshirdighi, they perform ablution of the *caturthipatrika* (*caturthipatrika-snan*) accompanying the beat of drums and the gong. The Brahman-sebait returns to the temple carrying the *caturthipatrika* and enshrines it on the altar of the temple. He performs the *nityaseba* (daily service) in the morning at the altar of the temple. After the *nityaseba*, the *Sabha-pandit* and the Brahman-sebait of the lineage of Sat-bhai take seats in front of the altar. The Brahman-sebait performs the *caturthipatrikapuja* and the *Sabha-pandit* assists the Brahman-sebait as a *nabapatrika* with the chanting of the sacred verses. They put

a simple mask of the face of the goddess on the *caturthipatrika* and dedicate a wreath to the neck of the *patrika* and put paste of *sindur* on the forehead. After the *puja*, they stand up and perform *arati* with *pancha-pradip*, conch-shell, flowers, and ritual brush (*camar*) to the *patrika* with the playing of drum and gong. Finally, they make a deep bow to the altar. From this day, they enshrine the *caturthipatrika* on the altar and perform the *puja* every day until the day of *nabapatirkapuja* on the ninth of the bright fortnight.

At the threshold of the main temple, the Brahman-sebait calls the titles of the nine lineages of the Ugra-Kshatriya again and gives the garlands of *sara* grass to the necks of every representative of the Ugra-Kshatriya in the same way as on the day of *bodnabami*. He also gives *phontas* of *sindur* on their foreheads. The Malakar gives *sindur* and sweets to the *paiks* and the Baiti.

e) The twenty-third of Aswin; *Sasthipuja*

After the *sandhyarati* on the sixth of the bright fortnight, the Brahman-sebait bundles the nine kinds of plants in the interior of the temple, which is called *nabapatrika*. The way of setting the *nabapatrika* is the same as in the *caturthipatrika*. The nine kinds of plants are banana, *kacu* (taro), *haridra* (turmeric), *bel* (stone apple), *jayanti* (egyptian sesban), *dadima* (pomegrante), *asok* (asok tree), *man* (arum), and *dhan* (rice).<sup>1</sup> The *Sabha-pandit* and the Brahman-sebait sit in front of the *nabapatrika* and put offerings to the altar and start the *puja*. At the directions of the Brahman-sebait inside the temple, the Baiti standing at the Natmandir plays the drum intermittently according to the course of the ritual steps. After the *puja*, they perform *arati* to the *nabapatrika* with the gong beating

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<sup>1</sup> The botanical names of these plants and the goddess associated with each plant are as follows: banna [*musa sapientum*; Brahmani], *kacu* [*alocasia indica*; Kalika], *haridra* [*curcuma domestica*; Durga], *bel* [*aegle marmelos*; Siva], *jayanti* [*sebania sesban*; Karttiki], *dadima* [*punica granatum*; Raktadantika], *asok* [*saraca indica*; Sokarahita], *man* [*colocasia esculenta*; Camunda], and *dhan* [*oryza sativa*; Laksmi].

by the Malakar standing inside the temple. The *nabapatrika* is left on the altar of the temple for the night. At every altar of Durgapuja in the localities of the village, they prepare *nabapatrika* the same way as in the Jogadya temple. The next morning, all priest of different altars of the village bring the *nabapatrikas* out of the temple or the altar in the localities and set out to the bank of Kshirdighi so as to give them ablution in water.

At night many Baitis visit the temple. They are employed from the other villages for playing drums during Durgapuja in different localities of the village. They form usually a group of four members which consists of two drummers and gong players. They stand at the Natmandir and play their instruments in order to dedicate their performances to the goddess of the temple. They visit the temple at first and then go to each locality of the village to play their drums in the *pujas*.

f) The twenty-fourth of Aswin; *Saptamipuja*

In the early morning of the seventh of bright fortnight, they perform the *puja* for the *nabapatrika*. Before the dawn, a Baiti plays *tengai* signifying the beginning of the *puja* for the *nabapatrika* of the seventh (*saptamipuja*). First, a Brahman-sebait brings out the *nabapatrika* enshrined on the altar of the temple to the front of the door of the main temple. The Brahman-sebait lays the *nabapatrika* down on a special palanquin made of bamboo and covers the same with a fine sari. At the signal of the sound of the drum by the Baiti at the Natmandir, the priests bring out each *nabapatrika* from the altars of every locality in the village the same way. The priests carry them on their shoulders. The Baitis accompany them playing drums and gongs. Boys from the localities carry the pots of the goddess Durga on their heads. The other followers hold the incense burners, brushes (*camar*), and large plates of offerings in their hands. All the *nabapatrikas* of

the localities of the village go towards the Jogadya temple together. They enter through the eastern gate of the temple and assemble at the Natmandir. The *nabapatrika* of the Jogadya temple is placed at the head of the line at the front of the door of the main temple. The other *nabapatrikas* form a line sideways on the floor of the Natmandir. When all the *nabapatrikas* have lined up, they start the march simultaneously to the bank of Kshirdighi accompanied by priests and Baitis playing drums and gongs. Many attendants holding offerings and other ritual utensils follow them. Then the other villagers follow. They go out through the western gate of the temple straight ahead to the stairs of the ablution bank of Kshirdighi.

At the bank of Kshirdighi, every priest holds the respective *nabapatrika* in hands, and stand in knee-deep water of the pond facing towards the bank where the *Sabha-pandit* stands. At the side of every *nabapatrika* the assistants for the priests are waiting. They hold the plates of *udhibas* for the purification of the *nabapatrikas*. At the signal of the *Sabha-pandit*, every priest performs the ritual of taking ablution of the *nabapatrikas* in the pond (*nabapatrika-snan*). According to the recitation of the sacred verses by the *Sabha-pandit*, the priests make ablutions ten times with a series of ten ritual items. Finally, they pour water thoroughly on the *nabapatrika*. Then, they bring them back to the bank again and cover them with sari. The attendants put the *nabapatrikas* on the palanquin to carry on their shoulders. The pots carried by the boys are filled with water of the pond and a twig of mango leaves put onto the mouth of the pots. Boys carry them on their heads again.

The procession of the *nabapatrikas* goes back towards the Jogadya temple. They assemble once at the Natmandir in the same manner as in the beginning. After making a line in front of the main temple, each *nabapatrika* returns to the altars in the localities. At each altar, the priests perform the ritual ablution called "mahasnan" to the *nabapatrika* with the water of the pot and the other ritual materials. The *nabapatrikas* are enshrined on the altars and regular services to the goddess in the morning starts. The order of the *saptami-puja* in the morning

is almost the same as the ordinary *puja* at the altar but the difference is a procession made for the sacrifice of goats to the localities after the *saptami-puja*. This procession for the sacrifices make clear the relationship between the temple ritual and the other rituals in every locality of the village.

Soon after the *saptami-puja*, the Karmakar of the village Jabagram performs the sacrifice of the goat at the ground of the Jogadya temple. With the sound of the drums and gongs, the *paiks* of the Bagdi hold the head and legs firmly at the block of the sacrifice and the Karmakar brings down his sword. The decapitated head and the body are offered to the altar. The Brahman-sebait starts the *arati* to the *nabapatrika* inside the temple. Immediately after the *arati* at the temple, the procession of the Karmakar, the *paiks*, and the Baiti set out from the temple to every altar of the localities of the Ugra-Kshatriya. At the head of the procession, the Karmakar is holding the bloody sword of the sacrifice up in his hand. The *paiks* of the Bagdi beat the gongs and the Baiti plays the drum. At first, they visit the locality of Malpukur-para in the north western extremity of the village. Then, they go to the locality of Malla-para, Ray-para, Kalibangra, and Samant-para in the end, which is on the eastern side of the village. When this procession moves, the participants virtually run.

At every altar of the localities, each priest performs the *puja* according to the same ritual time described by the almanac. At every altar, they finish the *pujas* at almost the same hour and await arrival of the procession from the temple. They stand ready with the goats to perform the sacrifice in front of the altars. When the procession arrives at the altar, they put the goats on the block of their altars. The Karmakar of the temple has the bloody sword ready in his hand. The *paiks* and the Baiti play their instruments. In the same manner as in the temple, the goats are sacrificed by the Karmakar. The blood of the goats are poured on the altars. Then the procession runs for the next altar without delay. The priests of the localities begin *arati* to their *nabapatrikas*. In this way, the sacrifice of the Jogadya temple is performed first, and then other sacrifices are performed at various altars of the village.

After *arati* in the Jogadya temple, the Brahman-sebait calls the titles of the nine lineages of the Ugra-Kshatriya again at the threshold of the main temple. Every representative receives garlands of *sara* grass from his hand. The order of calling the titles is the same as in *badonabami* and *caturthipatrika*. The Malakar offers sweets to the *pujiks* and the Baiti. In the evening, *sandhyaratis* to the goddess is performed at every altar in the ordinary way.

g) The twenty-fifth of Aswin; *Astamipuja*

In the morning of the eighth of the bright fortnight, some villagers observe the abstinence from food for a whole day. Otherwise, many of villagers at least abstain from boiled rice and *muri* and eat only *ruti* made of wheat in the afternoon. People in the village dedicate many offerings to the altars of each Durgapuja on this day. The three lineages of the Caudhuris (the Ray) in particular dedicate the fixed offering to the Jogadya temple every year. The contents are 20kg of *atop-caul*, spices, and vegetables per lineage. They dedicate these offerings in return for the right to hold the head of the buffalo at the block of the temple for the sacrifice of *nabami-puja*. Every three years, they select a representative from each lineage by turn for this role. They have the duty associated with this role to prepare a goat for the sacrifice in *Pat-nalan* on the 29th of Baishakh as well as the offerings on this day. The person and sometimes the lineage in charge of holding of the buffalo every three year is called *paladhar*. In addressing the titles of the Ugra-Kshatriya by the Brahman-sebait, this *paladhar* is the second to call aloud after *daroga-babu*. Then, it follows the titles of the nine lineages of the Ugra-Kshatriya in the same order as in the Jogadyapuja.

In the afternoon, the Brahman-sebait prepares *annabhog* on an unglazed pot at the hearth of the Bhogmandir in the same way as in *nabanna-utsab*. After boiling the rice, they break the earthen pot into nine pieces. They serve boiled rice, *tarkari* (vegetables), *dal* (bean soup), and cooked fish on them. They strike the

gong signifying the time of the *bhog* and call each title of the nine lineage of the Ugra-Kshatriya by turns standing at the veranda of the Bhogmandir. The order of calling is the same as in the other rituals. This food served to the Ugra-Kshatriya is called "*tiklabiri*". The *annabhog* with vegetables and fish on the plates is dedicated in front of the altar inside the temple. There is only one occasion to serve the *bhog* inside the temple each year. Otherwise it is served at the Bhogmandir.

#### h) *Sandhyipuja*

The liminal moment between the eighth and the ninth of the bright fortnight is called *sandhyi* in Bengali. This literally means border and occupies an important place in the ritual of Durgapuja. In the village, the *Rajkachari* gives the signal of the moment of *sandhi* in the Jogadya temple to all the altars in the village. Every altar of Durgapuja follows the direction of the *Rajkachari* in their procedure of the *sandhyipuja*. This is another case to show the close relationship between the temple ritual and the rituals in every locality.

At the Jogadya temple, the Brahman-sebaitis perform *sandhyipuja* inside the temple. On the middle point of the floor inside the room of the temple, they prepare a stack of sand with piles of offerings on plates and perform the sacrifice of a goat on the stack. The *Rajkachari*, the *Sabha-pandit*, the *Candipatak*, and the Brahman-sebaitis prepare for the *puja* inside the room. The ritual of *sandhyipuja* starts at twenty-four minutes (i.e., one *danda* in Bengali traditional calculation) before the moment of the *sandhyi*, which is described on the Bengali almanac. The Brahman-sebaitis make many devotees come out from the interior room of the temple. Without the Brahman caste, the other people are prohibited to enter inside the temple during the ritual of *sandhyipuja*. The Brahman-sebaitis close the door from inside and cover the window of the temple by a cloth. A few minutes before the time of *sandhyi*, the Brahman-sebaitis light flaming torches of straw inside the room.

Being filled with the smoke of torches, they perform sacrifice of the goat on the stack of sand. A little while before the moment of *sandhyi*, two of the Brahman-sebaitis put the goat into position and tie the head and legs with ropes on the stock. A Brahman-sebait holds the sword of the goddess in front of the altar. The others Brahman-sebaitis surround the goat holding the torches in their hands. The *Rajkachari* stands beside them looking at a watch in his hand. At the signal of a shout by the *Rajkachari*; "O! Ma!", the sword is brought down onto the stack at one stretch. The spouting blood is dedicated to the altar. Immediately after the sacrifice, they open the door of the temple and give the signal of the sacrifice to the Baitis waiting at the Natmandir. The Baitis begin to play at the Natmandir all together. At the sound of the drums from the temple, every priest at the altars in the localities know the time to start their sacrifice to the goddess. At every altar, they already finished their *sandhiyapujas* and was prepared for the sacrifice in front of the *nabapatrikas*. They are standing ready to perform the sacrifice at the signal from the Jogadya temple. Immediately after the sound of the drums from the temple, the sacrifices are performed at each altar.

Formerly messengers were posted in the fields of the village in every direction. They used to relay the signal of the time of *sandhi* shouting; "Ma!" from Kshiragram to all villages around. The people who stood in readiness for the sacrifice at every altar of the villages, executed the sacrifice at the moment they heard the signal of the time of *sandhi* from Kshiragram. It is also known that they used to employ an earthenware and a small plate which has a very small hole at the bottom for their measurement of the time. They set afloat the small plate on the surface of the water that the earthenware is filled with. They measured twenty-four minutes (one *danda*) by the time of a sinking of the plate. They grasped the exact time of the *sandhiyapuja* with this measurement of a *danda* and the almanac sent from the court of Raj.

At the Sarbamangala temple of the Maharaja at the town of Bardhaman, they fire a cannon at the time of *sandhi* still now at the Kamantala in front of the temple. It is called "*kamandak*". All the altars neighboring the town of.

Bardhaman followed their time of the *sandhyipujas* at the sound of the cannon from the temple of the Maharaja. Even in Kshiragram, which is sixty-four kilometer distance from the town of Bardhaman, the people could hear the sound of the cannon if the time of *sandhyi* is in the silence of the middle of the night.

After the sacrifices, the Baitis set out from the temple to go round the altars of the village playing their drums. Within the next twenty-four minutes every priest at the altars must finish their *arati* to the goddess Durga in their respective localities and the Baitis return to the Jogadya temple again. After arrival of the Baitis at the temple, the Brahman-sebait starts *arati* at the altar inside the temple. Hence, the *arati* in the Jogadya temple is the last one of all the *aratis* in the village.

After that, the Brahman-sebait addresses the titles of the nine lineages of the Ugra-Kshatriya again and offers necklaces of *sara* grass to them. This is the end of the ritual of *sandhyipuja*. After all rituals are over people rush to receive remnants of torches and ropes used to hold the sacrifice inside the temple and bring them back to their houses.

i) The twenty-sixth of Aswin; *Nabamipuja*

The ritual in the morning of the day of *Nabamipuja* is almost the same as in the other days of the *puja* besides the sacrifice of a buffalo, which is performed in the afternoon at the temple. The *paiks* of the Bagdi bring the buffalo to the temple. In front of the Natmandir, they set a special block for the sacrifice of a buffalo. The people of the village surround the place. The Brahman-sebait purifies the block and the large sized sword for the buffalo sacrifice. The *Sabhapandit* chants sacred verses at the block. The Karmakar holds the sword in his hand beside the buffalo. A *paik* of the Bagdi holds a copper pot of the goddess on his head with a twig of mango inside. Surrounding the buffalo at the block, a crowd of youths gather and jostle each other. Most of them belong to the lower caste of

the village such as the Bagdi, the Muci, and the Bauri. They are all half-naked wearing a short piece of cloth (*gamca*) on their waists. A large crowd of the villagers make a wide circle further around them. The courtyard of the temple overflows with people during the occasion.

After the chanting to the buffalo, the priest makes a purification of the buffalo with the sacred water. He throws a piece of fresh cloth (*gamca*) over the body of the buffalo and puts the paste of *sindur* on the forehead and the horns. He makes the same to the sword with the water and *sindur*. Before the time of the sacrifice, the excited youths enclose and hold the buffalo. But the person who holds the head at the block is the representative from the lineage of the Caudhuris. People swarm the roof of the Natmandir and the eastern gate of the temple for watching the jostling youth. At the centre point of the block, the Karmakar raises the sword and brings it down. At this moment the people reach the peak of excitement. The drums and gongs are beaten vehemently. The half-naked youths cry and dance boisterously lifting up their hands at the floor of the Natmandir. Some rush to the block of the sacrifice and make a deep bow and tumble about on the ground soaked with the fresh blood of the buffalo. Some others scramble for the freshly severed head of the buffalo and puts it on his head and joins dancing. Others struggle for the beheaded body and bring it to the locality of the *mula-paiks* of the Bagdi.

After a little while, a dancing march sets out from the temple to the village with wild striking of drums and gongs. The Bagdi *paik* with the head of the buffalo on his head and the Karmakar lifting the sword in his hands are at the head of the parade of the excited people. They go round the streets in the village and visit altars in every locality of the Durgapuja. The route of the parade is the same with the procession for the sacrifice of *saptamipuja*, that is the locality of Malpukur-para, Malla-para, Ray-para, Kalibangla, and Samant-para. When the parade has arrived at the altars, they begin at once to perform the sacrifice of their goats. They already await for the arrival of them. The parade comes in the square of the locality with great excitement. The people of the locality treat the dancing

youths with country liquor. The Karmakar proceeds in front of the block of goat sacrifice, and holds the sword up, which was used for the sacrifice in the Jogadya temple. After the sacrifice in the locality, they go to the next altar. The decapitated heads are carried on the shoulders of the Bagdi *paiks* who join the dancing parade on the streets of the village.

Soon after the sacrifices, each priest of the altars perform the ritual of *arati* to dedicate the fire to the goddess and the ritual of *puspanjali* to dedicate flowers to the goddess. Then, another priest performs the ritual of *homas*. In the Jogadya temple, a Brahman-sebait performs it in the style of Tantaric *homa* inside the room of the temple. After the *homa*, the *Candipathak* starts the *candipath* (the ritual recitation of the passages of the *Mahisasramardini* in the *Devimahatmya*) in front of the altar. The Brahman-sebait calls aloud the titles of the nine lineages of the Ugra-Kshatriya again and offers the necklaces of *sara* grass to them. At every altar in the village, the people of the localities participate in the ritual of *puspanjali* to dedicate flowers to the goddess in accordance with the recitation of the sacred verses by the priests. The rituals of *tantra homa* and *candipath* follows afterwards.

#### j) The twenty-seventh of Aswin; *Dasamipuja*

The final stage of Durgapuja is the ritual immersion or *bisarjan* of the goddess Durga, which is performed after the *Dasamipuja* in the morning at each altar. In the village, *bisarjan* for the *nabapatrikas* is performed only after they complete Bhagabatipuja, which is a ritual for cows in cow-sheds. After all the Bhagabatipujas in the village are over, the Baiti of the temple plays a drum announcing the hour to perform *bisarjan*. At the altars in the localities, every priest completes the final ritual for the pot of the goddess, which is also called *bisarjan* according to the *Durgapujapaddhati* (the ritual text for the Durgapuja in Bengal). People gather at the altars and bid farewell to the *nabapatrika*, the symbol

of the goddess.

At the signal of drum by the Baiti, people move the *nabapatrikas* carefully from the altars to the palanquins of bamboo with the sound of conch-shell and *ulu* by the women. Persons carrying the palanquins on their shoulders at both ends swing the *nabapatrikas* back and forth several times. People think that this gesture means the farewell to the goddess at the altar, which is her temporary abode on the earth. They dress a fine sari over the *nabapatrika* on the palanquin. With the white smoke of incense burners (*dhunuci*) and using fans for the palanquin, the *nabapatrika* set out to the temple Jogadya. Already many *nabapatrikas* have assembled at the temple. The priests and followers attend to each palanquin holding the plates of offerings, incense burners, and brushes (*camar*) in their hands. Some carry pots and flowers of the altars. From the locality of the Brahman of the village, many people bring trees of Manasa from their garden and join the parade of the *nabapatrika*. These were planted on the day of Manasapuja in the lunar month of Bhadra. The family who enshrines a Durga-pot in their household altar brings out the pot putting a twig of mango in it and participate in *bisarjan*. In the same manner as in the *nabapatrika-snan* of the day of *saptamipuja*, each *nabapatrika* form a line in the Natmandir once and then the procession of the *nabapatrikas* set out to the bank of Kshirdighi.

At the stairs of the ablution bank of Kshirdighi, every priest hold the *nabapatrika* in his hand and stands in a line in the water of the pond. All the priests look toward the *Sabha-pandit* who is standing on a raised ground of the bank. According to the recitation of the sacred verses by the *Sabha-pandit*, they perform the ritual of *bisarjan* of the *nabapatrika*. At the same time, the other utensils used in the ritual such as for carrying flowers, incense, and the pots of water are thrown into the pond. The trees of the goddess Manasa and the pots of Durga (*durga-ghat*) are thrown too. After the *bisarjan*, the priests give a vine of *aparajita* (butterfly pea) to the people, and put it around their left hands at the bank. Some receive a mark of *sindur* on their foreheads from the priests in exchange of a deep bow made to them.

From the bank of Kshirdighi to the Jogadya temple, they used to perform *mayurnac* after *bisarjan* of Durgapuja in the same manner as in the ritual of Jogadyapuja . At any rate, people return to the temple to make a bow once and then go back to the altars of their localities. At the altars, the people accept *prasad* which is called *dadikarma*. It consists of *muruki*, *cire*, *khai*, sweets such as *gur* or *misthi*, and yogurt as offerings to the goddess Durga. At the end of the ritual, the villagers celebrate the triumph of the goddess over the demon Mahisasura, and drink a kind of juice mixed with water, sugar, lime, salt, and *siddhi*.

In the evening of the day of Dasami, people perform *Vijay-pranam*. The people of the village visit the elder persons of their locality, relatives, and the house of the family priest (*kula-purahita*). They celebrate the day of *Vijay-dasami* (the day the goddess Durga's triumph over the demon Mahisasur) and make a deep bow at the feet of the elder person, and embrace each other three times. This manner of embrace is called "*kalakuli*". They embrace, if they are friends of the same locality or relatives in the same generation. The people belonging to the lower caste of the village visit the house of their masters belonging to upper castes. They dedicate a pair of small fish in a sieve of bamboo to the master. The master puts paste of *sindur* on the fish and offers it to the household altar. Afterwards they cook them and eat. Nevertheless, they offer *prasad* of *dhadikarma* in exchange of the fishes to the lower caste who visit them. The custom to visit the house of the upper caste or the master by the tenants or agricultural labours continue till the day before Kalipuja in the village. Within this period, the people of the lower castes of the village visit many houses of the upper castes simply to receive food such as *cire* or *muri*.

### 3. Durgapuja in the localities of the Ugra-Kshatriya

#### a) Patronal lineage

As already mentioned, there were five Durgapujas in 1994 in the village beside the puja in the Jogadya temple. These pujas are organized by the five Ugra-Kshatriya lineages of the village. Each lineage forms a small local community in the village society. The following is the list of the Durgapujas in different localities held in 1994.

Table-19 Duragapujas of the Ugra-Kshatriya

Locality	Patronal lineage	Priest	Place
1)Uttar-para	Bara-Ray	Kalacand	Durgabangla
2)Uttar-para	Na-Ray	Kalacand	Ray-para-mandir
3)Moarpukur-para	Caudhuri	Taradas	Moarpukur-para
4)Malla-para	Malla	Kalacand	Malla-para-mandir
5)Samant-para	Chotasamant	Sat-bhai	Samant-para-mandir

All of the Durgapujas are thought to have the founders who belong to the particular lineages of the Caudhuri (the Ugra-Kshatriya) in the village. With regard to the Durgapujas of 1), 2), and 3) in Uttar-para and Moarpukur-para, it is possible to trace back the lineages of the founders of the ritual five generations before. For the Durgapujas at Malla-para and Samant-para it is difficult now to trace back the generations from the original founder. Nevertheless, they regard it as an exclusive ritual to the other lineages.

The locality Samant-para is divided into the two sub-localities, namely the

Bara-Samant-para and the Chota-Samant-para. According to their oral tradition, they share common ancestors among the members dwelling in the present two localities. Once they branched off into the two sub-lineages, they can not trace back to the name of their common ancestor through their genealogy. But, they think that it is obvious from the fact that all of them have the common title Samant live in the neighboring two sub-localities in the eastern side of the village. They have, now, even marriage relations in a few families between the two sub-localities. Some villagers regard that the members within the seven generations as a lineage (*bangsha* in Bengali) are not allowed to have marriage relations among them. If it is beyond the seven generations, however, they could marry one another, although they still think they have the common ancestor as an agnate (*gashti*).

It is said that the two sub-lineages of the Samant have branched off before seven generation, and the originator of the sub-lineage of the Chota-Samant is the founder of the Durgapuja of their locality. This fact suggests that the Durgapuja of the locality in the village are basically based on the member sharing the common founder of the ritual and this means the supporters of the Durgapuja in charge of the year are always the descendants of the common ancestor of the lineage. The case of the Durgapuja in the Caudhuri of the Uttar-para would be effective to examine as a further example.

#### b) On the genealogy of the lineages of Caudhuri

It is no longer remembered by anyone in detail the genealogical relationship of the lineages of the Caudhuri as a whole from their origin in the village. They, in fact, consist of four sub-lineages now name after the four main localities in the northern part of the village. This is collectively called Uttar-para. The three lineages of them are already mentioned as the lineages participated in the temple ritual as the Bara-Ray, the Chota-Ray and the Caudhuri. The other one is the lineage of the Na-Ray, which is one of the patronal lineages of the Durgapuja in

Uttar-para. At present, each of them introduce themselves with the title of Caudhuri, although the three lineages of them have the title Ray in the ritual discourse in the Jogadya temple.

Some elderly persons still remember the genealogy of a few generations of the Caudhuris. According to the persons belonging to a branch of the Jaykali, for example, they can tell about the founder Jaykali and his four sons. Now, most of the children of these four sons are the heads of each family of the branch. There are more than twenty households within this branch of Jaykali. They could recognize the kinship relations among them easily. Jaykali had a younger brother named Nahar. Nahar had two sons and the descendants of them counts more than ten households now. It is also easy to acknowledge the kinship relations among the lineage members of Nahar, although only a few elderly persons in the locality can exactly recognize the kinship relations between the two branches, namely the Jaykali and the Nahar. What is called the lineage of the Bara-Ray, however, is the descendant of these two branches collectively and it could trace back their ancestry from the father of Jaykali and Nahar. According to an elderly person, Haradan was the father of Jaykali and Nahar. Thus, Haradan is the original founder of the lineage Bara-Ray. This is one of the titles which consist of the nine lineages of the Ugra-Kshatriya of the village and the four lineages of the Caudhuris as well. In the rituals of the Jogadya temple, the Brahman-sebaitis call aloud the names of these titles. Diagram-2 helps to explain the detailed genealogy of the lineages of the Caudhuris. The following discussion shall make clear the relations of the Caudhuris according to this Diagram.

Diagram-2 The genealogy of the lineage of Bara-Ray and its *angshidar*

The first is "De" Title

The Bardhaman Maharaja endowed with the titles of "Caudhuri" & "Ray Caudhuri"

Raja Udaycand Ray

Lakshancandra Ray (Eruyar; 1746/7)

Badancandra Ray (Kshiragram; 1774/5, Bararam Raycaudhuri)

Bara Ray ⇒ Haradan

Meja Ray ⇒ migrated

Seja Ray ⇒ migrated

Na Ray ⇒ Dubraj ⇒ Bancharam ⇒ Bara, Meja, Seja, Na, Chota

Chota Ray ⇒ Gopal Caudhuri

[Bararay]

Haradan(16)

Jaykali(8)

Kunjyabihari(2)

Lakshinarayan(1)

Rajkrishna(1/3+1/6)

Rajkumar(1/2)

Parimal

Ratindrakumar

Danday

Prankrishna(1/3+1/6+2)

Tarakanath(5/4)

Santanu(5/4)

Bishwanath(5/4)

Anilkrishna(1/3) → Rajkrishna/Prankrishna

Kartikgaswhar

Gopeshwar

Shushibhusan(1)

Bamukeshi(1)

Kamarkant (1/5+2/15)

Unknown(1/3)

Ganapati (1/5+2/15)

Siddhinath(1/6)

Madusdan(1/6)

Basudeb(1/5) → Kamar/Ganapati/Nimai

Minarkant(1/5) → Kamar/Ganapati/Nimai

Nimaicand(1/5+2/15)

Tapas(1/6)

Tarun(1/6)

Ramlal(2)

Debnarayan(2)

Atul(1)

Jagatbandu(1/2)

Apurba(1/10)

Ashok(1/10)

Ashishu(1/10)

Kalyan(1/10)

Anupu(1/10)

Kripashindu(1/2)

Shupriya

Shushoban

Abhaykali(1)

Jageshwar(1/4)

Mukreshwar(1/4)

Dipankal(1/4)

Shwarbeshwar (1/4)

Samacaran (2)

Mahadeb (2) → Prankrishna (2)

Matilal (2)

Ketranath (2/3) → share with all Angshidars

Anukulal (1/3)

Anant (1/3)

Subasu (2/3)

Jyogyesh (2/3)

Bagubat (1/6)

Prbasu (1/24)

Prakas (1/24)

Anangamahan (1/24)

Rajibracan (1/24)

Shamarket (1/6)

Ashokkumar (1/6)

Shibakali (1/6)

Candasekar

Krishnakali (1/6)

Hemantkanak (1/18)

Basantbikas (1/18)

Jayant (1/18)

Sharat (2/3)

Tulusicaran (2/3)

Shudanshusekar (1/6)

Manik (1/6)

Sasthicaran (1/6)

Keshab (1/6)

Nahar (8)

Gasthabihari (1)

Ekkari(1) → Dulal (1/2)/Renupad (1/2)

Dulal (1+1/2+1/2)

Basudeb (2/3)

Jyatirma

Paramshuk (2/3)

Tanumay

Rabindnath

Cinmay

Budeb (2/3)

Jayant

Sumant

Acint

Nandadulal (1) → Dulal (1/2)/Ratancand (1/2)

Renupad (1+1/2+1/2)

Dhanakrishna (2)

Ratancand (2+2)

Unknown (1+1)

Arindam (1)

[Bhaktimati] (1/2+1/2)

[Shanti] (1/2+1/2)

[Kanti] (1) → [Bhaktimati]/[Shanti]

[Unknown]

Unknown (1+1)

Radagabind (2)

[Jamuna] (1)

[Narayani] (1)

Unknown (1) → Unknown/Unknown

Unknown (1) → Unknown/Unknown

Let us now examine the historical evidence referring to the origin of the lineages of the Caudhuri in the village. The family of Raycaudhuri is scattered over the pargana Dhenya ( "pargana" is a collection boundary of taxes in the Mugal period), which roughly corresponds to the Mangalkote block at present. This has handed down the main family of Raycaudhuri in the village Caitannyapur near Kaicaur at the eastern part of the Mangalkote Block. According to the chart, the actual founder of the lineage of Caudhuri in Kshiragram came from a lineage entitled "De" in the village Eruyar situated in the Bhatar block of today as shown in the following quotation:

*The chart of the lineage of Raycaudhuri family...*

*The original founder of this lineage (bangsha) is the Raja Udaycand Ray Deb Tatri Barnman. The people of him were a family entitled "De" in the pargana Dhenya, and their original gotra was "Bishnu" ...*

*The original founder in the village Eruyar was Lakshan Candra, who came into the village in 1154 (Bengalisan; B. S.)...*

*The original founder in the village Kshiragram was Badan Candra (his wife's name is Parbbati), who came into the village in 1182 (B. S.)...*

*Ram Candra (his wife is Harasundari) lived in the village Caitannyapur in 1202 (B. S.)...*

These descriptions indicate that the original family of Raycaudhuri came into the village Eruyar around 1746/7 A.D. and they migrated from the village Eruyar to the village Kshiragram around 1774/5 A.D. and then to the village Caitannyapur around 1794/5 A.D. These suggest that Badan Candra Ray De is the original founder of the lineages of the Caudhuris of today in the village Kshiragram. Many of the elderly persons in the village say that all those who are called Caudhuri now used to be addressed as Ray by the other localities a few decades ago. Just after Independence, most of the members of the Ray in the village began to introduce themselves as the Caudhuri. This is supported by the fact that in the ritual of

the Jogaday temple, the Brahman-sebaitis still call aloud their old titles such as Bara-Ray and Chota-Ray referring the present lineages of the Caudhuri.

We have some further clues from the materials inside the village to examine the origin of the lineages of the Caudhuri. It may be noticed that in the ritual discourse the titles of the lineages of the Caudhuris have five names. At the Jogadya temple, the Brahman-sebaitis call aloud three titles of the Caudhuris; these are "Bara-Ray", "Chota-Ray", and "Caudhuri". In addition to these titles, there is another one lineage called "Na-Ray", which is one of the lineages of the Caudhuris organizing Durgapuja in the village. The old tradition in the village tells that the branches of "Meja-Ray" and "Seja-Ray" had migrated out from the village long time ago. These mean that the lineage of Caudhuri, which used to be called "Ray", is composed of the five sub-lineages originating from the five brothers at a point of time. It is, therefore, possible to assume that each branch of the four lineages of Caudhuri of today had a common ancestor although now it is difficult to recognize them as of the same lineage. The upper lines of Diagram shows the reconstructed relationship about the original founder and the descendant of the Caudhuri.

As reported by an old man of the lineage Bara-Ray, their lineage began with Haradan who had two sons, namely Jaykali and Nahar as already mentioned. The younger generations of the lineage of today regard their ancestor as four brothers, namely Kunjalal, Ramlal, Shamlal, and Matilal. The father of the four brothers is Jaykali. Who is the father of Haradan could not be traced.

Their legendary ancestor was a local chief in former times. The name of the chief is Bararam Raycaudhuri and his original title was De. He came from the village Eruyar and had five sons. Bararam is the actual ancestor of the branch of Bara-Ray in Kshiragram and the eldest son of Bararam Raycaudhuri corresponds to the original founder of the Bara-Ray. These lead us to an assumption that the other lineages of the Na-Ray, Chota-Ray, and Caudhuri in the village share the same traditions as their ancestor with the Bara-Ray. The Chota-Ray had Udaynarayan Raycaudhuriit as their ancestor, who is supposed to be related by birth with

Bararam Raycaudhuri. This is the same case with the lineage of the Caudhuri of the village. According to a written document preserved in a family of the Caudhuri, their original ancestor is described as the Raja Bararam Raycaudhuri. Thus all can draw an inference that the members of the lineages holding the title Caudhuri at present in the village have the common ancestor, Bararam Raycaudhuri, as is shown already in Diagram.

The branches of "Bara-Ray", "Chota-Ray", and "Na-Ray" among the lineages of Caudhuri have performed the Durgapuja for generations. The ritual organizations within them bear the distinctive rotation system (*sola-anna-puja*) to maintain their rituals. The following discussion regarding the case of this system in the lineage of Bara-Ray shall indirectly support this assumption through the genealogy of the Bara-Ray.

#### c) The *Sola-anna-puja* of the Bara-Ray

The lineage of the Bara-Ray performs their own Durgapuja every autumn on the yearly shift among each head of the lineage. As is already discussed in chapter-III, it is the duty for the Brahman-sebait to perform the daily service every day without interruption, but in the case of Durgapuja, it is the responsibility of each lineage to continue their ritual every year for generations. This sort of organization of Durgapuja is also called "*sola-anna-puja*" in the village, in contrast to the modern style of Durgapuja in the towns, which is usually called "*barayaripuja*", or "*sarbjainipuja*". Let us now look more carefully into the inner system of the ritual organization of Durgapuja in the localities.

The shift assigned to each head of the lineage means the duty to perform the Durgapuja in the allocated year according to the quota of each member. The quota (*angsha*) of each *angshidar* (holder of the quota) of the Bara-Ray is shown after each name in parentheses in the Diagram. Every member recognizes his own ratio, and their sons inherit the ratio attached to the duty and the right to perform the ritual of the lineage evenly from the father. The three sons of Rajkumar, for example, Parimal, Rathin, and Danday in the upper lines of Diagram think their

share of the ratio will be  $1/6$  *anna* each, after inheritance from their father. The quota of each member is always connected to the total sum (sixteen *anna*), and indicates the position of their own among all the members of the lineage. Parimal's ratio from  $1/6$  *anna*, therefore, will represents of  $1/96$  proportion of the total, if we calculate *sola-anna* as the unit ( $16:1/6 = 96:1$ ). This means his duty to perform their lineage Durgapuja is once in every 96 years. In 1993, Rajkumar performed in practice the Durgapuja on behalf of the lineage. Because of his ratio of  $1/2$  *anna*, the next turn of his family in the lineage will be after thirty-two years ( $16:1/2 = 32:1$ ). If the three sons have succeeded this duty, the sons would perform it every 32 years by turn. This means once in 96 years each. That is the quota of  $1/96$ , namely  $1/6$  *anna* ( $1:1/96 = 16:1/6$ ). In the extreme case of Bagubat in the middle of Diagram, his four sons will succeed  $1/24$  *anna* each. This means the duty to perform the ritual will be in once in 384 years ( $16:1/24 = 384:1$ ). It is not possible to discharge his duty during his lifetime.

Usually, the holder of the quota (*angshidar*) is the head of the household. Each head recognize the quota (*angsha*) of his own, which indicate directly his position among the members of the lineage. The duration to bear the duty as an *angshidar* is since the death of his father till his own death. During this period, when his quota falls under the sift of the yearly Durgapuja, he has to make all arrangements for the ritual and performs it pompously on behalf of the lineage. Only after the death of the head, the sons can succeed their own part of the quota. Then, he becomes an *angshidar*. But, about their potential position in the lineage, they can easily presume by way of the peculiar calculation system of *sola-anna*. In case of the family without successors such as no sons, they can transfer their quota to the other branches of the lineage. Normally, it is transferred to one's near kin. In the case of Rajkumar, his grandfather is Lakshinarayan held one *anna* as his quota of the ritual. He had three sons, and they succeeded to  $1/3$  *anna* each after his death. One of the sons, Anilkrishna, wanted to give up his duty and the quota on some personal reason. Then, he divided his quota into two ( $1/6$ ) and gave it to his two elder brothers. As the result of this transfer, his two brother held

$1/2$  *anna* ( $1/3 + 1/6$ ).

If any one *angshidar* of the lineage is missing, they can not continue to perform the ritual in its total form. Reckoning the quota of each *angshidar* of the lineage, each member can recognize easily the position of the ancestor as well as the other members in the lineage. For example, the father's quota is the sum of the quota among his brothers. The quota of the grandfather counts the total sum of his brothers and cousins. In this way, he can understand easily his position in the patrilineal relations of his lineage, if he knows the quota of each member. His upper generations always possess a relatively larger ratio and ultimately the original founder of the ritual holds the total amount of the quota, namely *sola-anna*.

In the case of the Bara-Ray, each *angshidar* recognizes precisely their own quota of the ritual still now, though they do not know who is the actual founder of the ritual. Through the quota keeping among the members, we can calculate the quota holding by the upper generations. As far as the villagers know, Lakshinarayan has one *anna*, and he had one younger brother. So that, we can estimate easily the father of Lakshinarayan had two *anna*, and Jaykali, the grandfather of Lakshinarayan, had eight *anna*, because he had four sons. Then, we can see that the holder of the *sola-anna* of the lineage was the father of Jaykali and Nahar, whose name is Haradan. All these make it clear that the actual founder of the ritual is Haradan, who is supposed to be the original founder of the lineage Bara-Ray as one of the lineages of Caudhuri in the village. This calculation on the ritual quota of the Bara-Ray supports what the old man of the Bara-Ray had said. All the members of the Bara-Ray are branched off from this original ritual founder and they can recognize the patrilineal relationship among them by way of the calculation of the quota of Durgapuja.

On the occasion of Durgapuja, the *angshidar* represents all the members of the lineage. As an *angshidar*, he is regarded as the symbol of totality of the lineage. If he fails to perform the ritual successfully, all the members of the lineage would think that they have to miss the favour of the goddess.

d) The offerings

At the altar of Kalibangra in Uttar-para, the lineage of Bara-Ray performs their Durgapuja jointly. It is the patron of the shift of the year among the people of the lineage who prepare the offerings by turns as mentioned below.

The sacrifices prepared by the *angshidar*

Male goat not emasculated

1 head	<i>Saptami</i>	Jogadya temple
1 head	<i>Dasami</i>	<i>Ugal-puja</i>
3 heads	<i>Saptami</i>	Kalibangla
	<i>Sandhyipuja</i>	Kalibangla
	<i>Nabami</i>	Kalibangla

Share in the three goats of *saptami*, *sandhyipuja*, and *nabami*

The hind legs for the *Candipath* and the *hom*

The heads of the three for the Karmakar

Sheep

1 head *Nabami*

Wax gourd

1 head *Nabami*

The other offerings

*Bhujhu* for the all households of Brahman in the village

*Siddha-caul*, vegetables 82 plates

*Naibedy*a for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak* at the altar

*Atop-caul* (2.5Kg per day), vegetables 8 plates (for four days)

*Dadibandya* for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak*

*Siddha-caul*, *purna-patra*, *syajyeru-hari* 1 plate per day

*Baran-bastra* for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak* in the day of *sasthi*

*Dhuti* 2 pieces

*Utsarga* for four days

Sari 4 pieces for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak*  
Gamca 4 pieces for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak*  
Cadar 2 pieces for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak*  
Gamca 2 pieces for the Candipatak and the *homa* in Nabami  
Dakshina 5 Rs each for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak*  
Kalapata-naibedya 1 plate per day for the *homa*

*Bara-naibedya* in the day of *astami*

*Atop-caul* (21Kg, 3 plates )

2 plates for the *pujari*, 1 plate for the *tantradharak*

Sweets and fruits for four days

for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak*

Banana 1 *kafun* for the *pujari* and the *tantradharak*

*Dhādikarma*

*Cire, murki, gur, dai, and siddhi*

for the assemblage, the *pujari*, and the *tantradharak*

The others

Baiti	<i>Naibedya</i>	4 plates
	Money	180 Rs
<i>pujari</i>	Money	151 Rs
<i>tantradharak</i>	Money	150 Rs

*Naibedya* donated by the *paladhar* of the year

*Annabhog* for the temple

*Atop-caul* (20Kg), vegetables, and spices

#### e) Durgapuja in the households

During the period of the Durgapuja of the temple Jogadya, the village people

have several ritual practices in their households. Mainly these rituals are performed by the dominant caste groups of the village such as the Brahman and the Ugra-Kshatriya, although some parts of the rituals are held by all the villagers.

i) The *puja to durgaghat*

The housewives of each household perform the ritual to a small pot, called "*durga-ghat*" (pot of the goddess Durga), at their household altars every day during the Durgapuja. In the day of *badnabami*, which is the ninth of the dark fortnight in the lunar month of Aswin, they bring out small copper pots in the houses at the signal of the sound of the drum by the Baiti in the temple Jogadya. Soon a procession of the pots starts from the Jogadya temple to the Khelapukur. They ordinarily draw water from the ponds neighboring their houses. But ritual march of the pots from the temple to draw the water from Khelapukur has become a part of the tradition. The housewives at the northern locality of the village hold the pot in their hands and stand on both sides of the street from the Khelapukur to the temple. They light incense and votive lights, and make a deep bow to the march of the pot on the street. Then, they bring back their pots to their houses to enshrine on the altar and put a twig of *bel* onto the pots. They perform same ritual associated with the pots every morning and evening. Most of the households of the dominant castes of the village enshrine them in their houses except for the families belonging to the lineages which organize Durgapuja of the locality such as the Bara-Ray and the Na-Ray.

They bring out the pots to the neighboring ponds again in the day of *caturthipatrika*, which is the fourth of the bright fortnight, and replace the water at the signal of the *caturthipatrika-snan* by the Baiti at the temple. In the day of *nabapatrika-snan*, which is on the seventh of the bright fortnight they repeat the performance for the third time to the sound of the Baiti. They continue to perform the *puja* to the pot twice a day until the day of *Vijay-dasami*, which is the tenth of the bright fortnight. At the time of *bisarjan* of the *nabapatrika* at the altars, they bring out the pots along with the procession of the *nabapatrika* and

throw the water inside the pots into the ponds.

Some households of the Brahman-sebait in the village perform this ritual in a little different way. They draw the water in the day of *bodhan*, and throw the water in the early morning the next day. They draw again in the day of *caturthipatrika-shan* and throw it the next morning. They perform the *puja* to the pots only during the four days from the day of *saptamipuja* to *Vijay-dasami*. They throw the water at the time of *bisarjan* in the end.

ii) *Tarpan*

After the *nabami-bodhan* in the day of the dark fortnight, the households of the Brahman perform the ritual for the ancestors of the seven generations. That is called "*tarpan*". The Brahman-purohits perform *tarpan* every morning from the day of *Nabami-bodhan* till the day of *Mahalay* in their houses. Some devout families of the dominant castes perform it too, although they need the guidance of their *kula-purohits*. The day of *Mahalay* is in the new moon before Durgapuja. It is generally supposed as the day of beginning to recite the sacred teach of the goddess Durga (the story of the *Mahishasramardini*) and the final day of *tarpan* for ancestors as well. On this day, the *kula-purohits* bring the heads of the jajman families to the ablution bank of the Ganga and perform the ritual called *tarpan-sraddha* to them. The sequence of the *tarpan-sraddha* is as follows in the village, 1) *risitarpan*, 2) *debtarpan*, 3) *manushtarpan*, 4) *bistatarpan*, 5) *jamtarpan*, 6) *ramtarpan*, 7) *lakshantarpan*, and 8) *agyattarpan*. These rituals consist roughly of the three steps of reception, namely, reception for the spirits of the seven generations of their ancestors, the various kinds of deities, and the reception for the *kula-purohits*.