the family then the turn for performing the *puja* for the family would last fifteen days for that family.\(^4\) This system might have been evolved to generate income for them as by performing *puja* for the pilgrim they would get *dakshina* (cash prize) for rendering services.

In the early morning, the *pujari*, whose turn it is to offer the *puja*, enters the sanctum and purifies the temple by sprinkling *Gangajal* (water of the river Ganges) in all the cardinal directions. The purpose is to welcome the goddess who is treated like a guest and has been invited, is offered a place to sit, welcomed and praised. Next, she is bathed, garlanded, ornamented, dressed in new clothes and offered, rice (uncooked), incense and flowers. The most important aspect of purification and the most important agent of purification, however, water, is poured from a container throughout the ritual and the objects are dipped in water which is also sprinkled on the items used in the ceremony. These rites are most integral part of the *puja*.\(^5\)

Thereafter, the temple is lit up and the goddess is invoked. Previously, it was lit by the *mashalchi* (light bearer). Here, in the Jawalamukhi, the goddess is only invoked, garlanded, incense, rice (uncooked), cardamom and vermillion are offered. The goddess is not dressed as there is no idol in the temple except the flames.\(^6\)

The daily worship comprises five separate “periods of worship”. Each consists of *aarti* and different names have been given to them. Each *aarti* takes about half an hour and attracts pilgrims. *Aarti* consists of a series of rituals like *abhiseka*

---

4. The interviews conducted with the priestly class.
5. Observed and seen during fieldwork
6. Ibid.
(bathing), alankara (decoration), navedya (food offering) and aarti (waving of lamps). The daily worship is done by the priests who are the hereditary servants. Nevertheless, it is assumed that they should have sufficient proficiency before they are permitted to render service. The daily worship starts at 5:00 AM in summers and in winters at 6:00 AM. Earlier, the timings were from 4:00 AM for the first aarti called “prabhat aarti” (morning aarti). Since the government take over, the little conflict has come up as they tried to change the timings of the temple but the Pujari Sabha resisted it and did not let it happen. In this aarti, the goddess is offered incense, rice, beetle leaf, cardamom, clove and sindoor. Daily worship takes place behind a curtain so that the devotees cannot see them. After the puja, the temple is open for sight and devotees move their hand over the aarti in devotion. In this aarti, the goddess is offered certain food items, mal pua (Sweetmeat made up of refined flour, it is deep fried and kept in sugar syrup) locally it is called chilu, misri (sweet candy), rabri (sweet thickened milk) and tabul (includes Almond, supari (Beetle nut), elaichi (Cardamom), long (Cloves). The people offer cash in the aarti plate (brass plate) while the plate remains in the hands of the priests generally, that cash offering is taken by the priest. Then the public is allowed to have darshan. It is observed that very few people

---

7. Ibid.
8. The timings are those given on the notice board inside the temple in the year 2005 and same is given in the Pamphlets circulated by the temple authority for the convenience of the pilgrims.
9. Newspaper ‘Jaagrat’, Published from Lahore dated 14-02-1947. Available in Urdu translated by Dr Zarin (guest faculty) in Hindi, Urdu Department, Panjab University Chandigarh, self translated in English.
10. Register of the Pujaris Sabha in which they record the agenda of their meeting. The meeting was recorded regarding the change in the timing of the temple dated 3-06-1991.
11. Newspaper ‘Jaagrat’ Lahore, op.cit and the same is seen and observed during the field work. Interviewed with pujaris of the Jawalukhi with special reference to pujari Himanshu Bhushan.
come for the first aarti. After the first aarti there is a custom to perform daily havan in a kund, which is within the temple. It is done by the pujaris at 7:30 AM for which the general public is not allowed.

The second aarti takes place after one hour of the first aarti. This aarti is called the “mangla aarti” (well being) in which the goddess is offered yellow rice (cooked in saffron), and curd. Usually, it is found in the Hindu temples, after performing each aarti the dresses of the deities are changed but in the Jawalamukhi temple there is no idol, so, this activity is not performed. The third aarti takes place at 11:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. in which the goddess is offered, cooked rice with mixed pulses which include chana (gram), urad (Gram), hari moong (green gram) and khat ras (sour juice prepared by adding mango powder in water), madera (local dish prepared from curd and lentils), dahi (curd), aloo (potato), kheer, meetha chawal (sweet rice) and yellow rice and, lastly, she is offered a paan (Beetle leaf). After the completion of this aarti, it’s time to take the midday rest and the temple doors are accordingly closed and open in the evening. In the evening the “sandhya aarti” (evening prayers) takes place, in which purree, chana (gram) and halwa (Sweet pudding) is offered to the goddess. This aarti takes place in the summer between 7-8 P.M. and in the winters between 6-7 P.M. The last aarti is performed at 10 P.M. in the summers and at 9:30 P.M. in winters. It is called “shaya aarti.” The initial part of the aarti starts in the

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Newspaper ‘Jangal’ Lahore, dated 14-Feb-1947, and the same is seen and observed during the field work. Interviewed with pujaris of the Jawalamukhi with special reference to pujari Himanshu Bhushan. It has been found that nothing has been changed from 1947 to 2000.
15. Observed in other temples such as Mansa Devi temple in Chandigarh, Mansa Devi Temple in Haridwar, Brajeshwari in Kangra, Chintapumi in Himachal Pradesh etc.
main temple and the last part of the aarti takes place in shayan kaksha, which is located opposite to the main temple. This aarti is open to everyone. Devotees come from far off places to see this aarti. The pujari is assisted by tahlua and bhandari (treasurer).\textsuperscript{16} In this aarti they offer dudh (milk), malai (cream) and some seasonal fruit.\textsuperscript{17} This parshad is distributed among the devotees. This has been a tradition of the temple since long.\textsuperscript{18} It has been found that with the Himachal Pradesh government’s take over, not much change has taken place in the daily routine. Of the total offerings made in shaya aarti, 50 percent of the total offering is to be taken by the baridar.\textsuperscript{19}

In the Jawalamukhi temple, bhog prasad is not sold by the temple administration, as is the system in South India.\textsuperscript{20} Generally, the bhog is distributed among the servants of the temple \textit{i.e.} whosoever is associated with the temple. While performing this aarti, they sing the aarti, composed by the Shankracharya called ‘Sandya Lahri”, in which the mother goddess has been praised for her valour, supremacy and power.\textsuperscript{21}

In the early days, the bhog was arranged by the baridar. Later, it was given on theka (contract) for a year as already mentioned in the third chapter. Now, with the assumption of the right to governance by the government, twenty percent of the total

\textsuperscript{16} Newspaper ‘Jaagraf’ Lahore, op.cit and the same is seen and observed during the field work. Interviewed with pujaris of the Jawalamukhi with special reference to pujari Himanshu Bhushan.

\textsuperscript{17} Seen and observed during the field work.

\textsuperscript{18} The copy of Judgment regarding the claims of Baridars, In the court of Shri P.C Dogra IAS, Commissioner Shri Jawalamukhi Mandir Temple Trust, Tehsil Dehra, District- Kangra. Date of Entry 27.7.1987 and the date of decision. 31-8-1998.

\textsuperscript{19} A copy of Judgment regarding the claims of Baridars form the Commissioner. Shri Jawalamukhi and Temple Trust Kangra at Dharmshala. It was sent to the Assistant Commissioner. Shri Jawalamukhi Temple, Tehsil Dehra, Endst No. 5235/PER dated 3rd August 1988.p. 2.

\textsuperscript{20} In Tirupati, a system is prevalent for buying Parshad by the devotee and ticket is given to him. all this is done by the Temple administration.

\textsuperscript{21} Seen and observed during the field work.
income is set aside for the bhog and daily puja archana. 22 In the past, the bhog was offered five times and was distributed among the pilgrims. 23 Currently, this custom has been withdrawn, may be with the passage of time, the number of pilgrims has increased manifold and it’s difficult to distribute the bhog among them.

Among the Hindus, it’s found that whatever man does in his life, the same is true for the deity. The goddess, for example, is bathed each morning after she is gently awoken from sleep. She is invited to her morning meal and given an afternoon nap. At night, she is put to bed with loving gesture and gratitude is shown towards her. The entire day is spent in such a routine that it keeps everybody engaged and the daily routine makes the temple a complete unit in itself.

II

The essential ritual associated with any temple is the performing of puja. In Hindu temples puja /worship is generally, divided into two main categories-public and private. Public worship, comprising daily worship and periodic festivals is said to be performed “for the well being of the world”, whereas private worship is performed by or for the individual devotees and is intended to benefit them alone.24

The ultimate goal of the worship is to reach emancipation through identification with the deity. It is believed that it could

22. A copy of Judgment regarding the claims of Baridars, In the court of Shri P.C Dogra IAS, Commissioner Shri Jawalamukhi Mandir Temple Trust, Tehsil Dehra, District- Kangra. Date of Entry 27.7.1987 and the date of decision. 31-8-1998, p. 9.
Chapter-IV

only be attained through the recitation of the sacred text associated with the goddess.\textsuperscript{25} A greater number of visitors merely go to the shrine to pray before the gods, press their palms together in the Hindu gesture of greeting and obeisance (\textit{namaskara}) or prostrate themselves before the images.

There is a tradition in the temple according to which two of the \textit{pujaris} would sit in a corner of the temple and keep reciting certain part of ‘\textit{Durga Saptshati}’ (book deals with the worship of the goddess). One of the \textit{pujaris} would stand in the \textit{kund} and help devotees to have \textit{darshan} of the \textit{jyots} and would introduce each \textit{jyoti} to the devotees. The tradition has not been changed and it is the same as it was hence the same ritual is depicted in \textit{Jaagrat} newspaper.\textsuperscript{26} The most astonishing thing to be observed is that the \textit{pujari} who stands in the \textit{kund}, takes a pitcher either filled with water or milk and transfers the flame from its original place to that pitcher,\textsuperscript{27} probably, to make an impression on the visitors. In the interviews conducted with the pilgrims it was stated that this practice of impressing the visitors is an old time practice. Here, the most peculiar feature is that the devotee is allowed to touch the flames whereas in other Hindu temples, the idol is not allowed to be touched, it has just to be sighted.\textsuperscript{28}

People come from far off places to perform rituals. A large number of people stand in queues. The devotees, generally, buy coconuts, miniature silver umbrella, vermilion, \textit{chuni}, a packet in which there is a mirror, red ribbon, nail polish, \textit{khol}, bangles and


\textsuperscript{26} Newspaper ‘\textit{Jaagrat}’. Published from Lahore dated 14-02-1947. Available in Urdu translated by Dr Zarin (guest faculty) in Hindi, Urdu department, Panjab University, Chandigarh, self translated in English and same is seen and observed.

\textsuperscript{27} Seen and observed during the field work.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
sweet meat which specially includes Halwa and pede (sweetmeat) etc, considered very dear to the goddess. When the visitor enters the sanctum of the temple, it is found that the pujari, usually, applies vermillion on the forehead of the devotee but in the Jawalamukhi temple, a black powder formed by the burning of smoke flames is applied on the forehead of the pilgrim. The priest asks the name, gotra and the purpose of his visit. They chant some mantras while giving parshad, which are secret in nature.29 In return, the devotee gives donations which, he generally, puts in the cash box. At times, the devotee places it in the silver window which has been the tradition since ages.30

Half of the parshad offered to the goddess by the devotees is kept by the priest and rest is given back to the devotee. Formerly, it was a practice that the priest split the coconut and gave half of the coconut to the devotee as parshad. Now, this practice has been done away with.31 The coconut is taken back and another coconut is given to the devotee. These coconuts are bought by the priest at the rate of Rs. 3 a piece from the auction done by the government. These are given to the pilgrims by the priest as a symbol of blessings of the goddess which pleases the devotee.32

There are three types of pujas which are to be performed in the Jawalamukhi temple. The pujas are generally performed by the priest for the pilgrims either when their desires have been fulfilled or when they perform pujas to get the blessings of the goddess. The pujas are to be performed during day time. In case their desires have been fulfilled, they donate a lot of money to the

---

29. In the interviews with the pujaris, they revealed that they chant some secret mantra and do not tell it to anybody.
30. Seen and observed in the field work.
31. Ibid.
temple to express their gratitude towards the goddess. The *pujas* which are to be performed are named as *panchopar*. (Includes five items which are offered to the goddess), they are described as:  

33. Seen and observed during the field work. 

34. Interview with Pujaaris of the Jawalamukhi temple and same types of *pujas* are given in the booklets which are sold in almost all the shops around the Temple.

Incense, Flower, earthen lamp, fragrant smoke, *navaidya*, these five offerings are considered rewarding. The next is *dashoupchar*: these include ten offerings, which are offered to the goddess to please her:  

*Padya* (seat), *Arghya* (water), *Archana* (*puja*) incense, fragrant fumes, earthen lamp, *navaidya* (flowers) and fruits, *paan* and beetle nut (supari), these are the ten oblations. The third one, is called *shodshopchar*: these include sixteen in number:  

These *puja* are, generally, performed by the priests for the pilgrims either when wishes of the latter have been fulfilled or they perform it if they have any wishes or they wanted the blessings of the goddess. The devotees offer a gift to please the goddess and to
show their gratitude towards the goddess. In the temple of the Jawalamukhi, the *havan* is performed daily at 10:00 AM in which the *pujari* puts ten *aahutis* (homage) everyday which is an old practice. Generally, a pilgrim can ask the *pujaris* to perform *havan* for him. The demand for this ritual increases during the *navratras*. A large number of pilgrims undertake this ritual during the *navratras*.35

The most significant ritual associated with the temple is to feed girls of less than 10 years of age. They are to be treated as mother goddess. They are fed, new clothes and *daksiana* (cash) is also offered to the girls. It is considered most auspicious to feed girls during the *navratras*.36

The ritual of animal sacrifice is widespread in the Jawalamukhi temple. It is widely believed that a person’s desire can be fulfilled by sacrificing an animal to the goddess. Here, in the Jawalamukhi, there is a tradition of sacrificing the goat. People also donate the goat in the temple. Prior to the government take over, the goat was either sacrificed or was taken over by the *bhojki pujaris*.37 Since the government has taken over the temple, the goats are reared and sold later and the healthy goat is sacrificed on the decided day.38 The decided day of the sacrifice is the first *navratra* of Sept-Oct and Mar-Apr, and on the eve of Diwali. The Holy water (Ganges water) is sprinkled on various parts of the animals’ body while the priest chants mantras to

35. Seen and observed during the field work and pilgrims and *pujaris* were interviewed.
36. Ibid and same is seen observed in other temple, such as Chintpurni, Vajeshvari etc.
37. The copy of Judgment regarding the claims of Baridars form the Commissioner, Shri Jawalamukhi, and Temple Trust Kangra at Dharmshala. It was sent to the Assistant Commissioner, Shri Jawalamukhi Temple, Tehsil Dehra. Endst No. 5235 PER dated 3rd August. 1988. p. 10.
38. Bakra register I,II, III and IV. Maintained by the management of the Temple trust.
release the goddess which is believed to reside in the animal pieces.\textsuperscript{39}

Then, the priest worships that goat by offering it flowers, incense, food and water. This is followed by a secret prayer, gently whispered into the ears of the animal, to sever the bond of its life and to liberate its soul. Finally, the sacrificial sword is worshipped to influence it with the presence of the deities. The goat is then placed in a particular position by a non Brahman specialist who would, sacrifice it with a single stroke. It is considered auspicious to kill the animal with a single, sharp well, placed stroke of the sword. The animal head is placed before the goddess and then the animal is cooked and distributed among the temple employees.\textsuperscript{40}

The daily routine binds the people and the rituals attract large number devotees to the temple. It can be asserted that the government did not make much change in the daily routine and the rituals which give immense pleasure to the devotee who has been visiting the temple since long. The ritual not only helps in sustaining the \textit{pujaris} and the shopkeeper from whom the devotees buy parshad but improves the economy of the temple also. The \textit{aartis} and rituals are so unique that they catch the attention of the people every now and then.

\textsuperscript{39} Seen and observed during the field work and interview of the \textit{pujaris} with special reference to pujari Himanshu Bhushan.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.