CHAPTER - ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1. MEANING OF THE CONCEPT "PILGRIMAGE"

The concept of pilgrimage is directly related with the concept of religion. Religion forms an important and a major aspect of Hindu in India. The concept of pilgrimage won one of the most engaging features of the middle age. In Hinduism, the institution of pilgrimage is of ancient antiquity and the textual evidences give an idea that even during the vedic period (4000 B.C. to 1000 B.C.) it was in vogue, although since then it has undergone relatively some minor changes. The practice of pilgrimage seems to have gained considerably after vedic period and increased popularity as referred to in the epics, the puranas etc. Pilgrimage is a sacred act. The practice of pilgrimage with its ancient and divorce origins as well as its description and different references in the sacred texts and other allied literature, continued to be popular among the Hindus. Gradually, the institution of pilgrimage has become more popular and more people now visit sacred centres than even before in the history of India.

From anthropological point of view, it is very important to study the concept of pilgrimage. Anthropologists recognise that "Pilgrimage" is a practice which can hold the belief and faith of religious communities for long period to study the ideology, cultural cohesion and social structure which are the most important aspects of society. Hence, anthropology of pilgrimage is highly useful both from the points of view of religious and social interaction. The institution of pilgrimage assumes an important role in generating a circular mechanism in which all the social strata of Hinduism has been described as religious tradition with many significant dimensions.
The institution of pilgrimage (Tirtha-Yatra) has closely been united with the linguistically diverse Hindu pilgrims (Tirtha - Yatrees) of different centres of India living even beyond the national boundary. Generally they come from different political and geographical regions as well as from various social and economic groups at the Hindu place of pilgrimage (Tirtha-Sthan). Hence, the importance of the function of pilgrimage, pilgrims and the place of pilgrimage all with their integrative networks and various social dimensions need an anthropological reappraisal for studying Indian civilisation in wider perspective. And within anthropology there was a tendency to represent social reality in a stable and immutable stage. The social and cultural performances are infinitely more complex in Hinduism.

Jha (1977) described that the innumerable Hindu sacred centres can be conceived as a system of nodes having varying degrees of socio-religious traits. The distribution of holy places of various sects throughout India has created an essentially continuous "sacred geography" in which various regional cultural diversities become less significant for the movement of pilgrims over long distances. Saraswati (1965) opined that the pilgrimage is a sacred act and hence those who go for pilgrimage are all sacred.

Numerous sacred places distributed in various parts of India attract millions of pilgrims, some places draw pilgrims from all over the country, others largely from neighbouring villages. Religion provides the basis of pilgrimage by offering the reward of purification of the soul & the attainment of objects related to the problem of mundane existence. From the most ancient civilisations, to the present time sacred centres have exerted a powerful pull on the believers.
In ancient times, the institution of pilgrimage was also an important part of Hindu life. People practised it with full devotion, faith and courage and also faced a lot of difficulties during their pilgrimage. Pilgrimage is considered as a sacred act, it is open to all. It is believed that there is a sacred aim with certain specific objects behind it to fulfill the desire of obtaining 'Punya' and to get rid of 'Paap' (Sin).

In India, the sacred centres generate a complex network of socio-religious elements regulating the entire Hindu population. The number of Hindu sanctuaries in India is so large and the practice of pilgrimage is so popular that the whole of India can be regarded as vast sacred kshetras organised into a system of pilgrimage centre of varied importance. At present, scholars emphasize the linguistic, geographical, regional and social diversity of India to minimise the multidimensional role of the institution like sacred centres and the organisation of different centres of pilgrimage.

However, more and more social scientists are beginning to be conscious of these indigenous forces of cultural integration and it would not be out of context to quote Mandelbaum who suggested that "Pilgrimage to super centres reinforce religious percepts but also impress the pilgrims with vastness, the diversity and seemingly paradoxically the oneness of the society". In Hinduism, the institution of pilgrimage is of ancient antiquity and the textual evidences give an idea that even during the vedic period (4000 B.C. to 1000 B.C.) it was in vogue, although since then it has undergone relatively some minor changes.

Hence, the importance of pilgrimage in the cultural evolution of the Hindu people can hardly be overestimated. From the remote past, this institution has
preserved the spiritual aspirations of the people and stimulated in the Hindumind a deep love for its culture and civilization inspite of its manifold diversities. Gradually the institution of pilgrimage has become more popular and more people now visit sacred centres than ever before in the history of India. In fact, people have not become more religious, rather it is because of modern means of mass transportation which made it possible for large number of individuals to undertake pilgrimage more conveniently.

1.2. ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES OF PILGRIMAGE

At present, anthropological studies of 'Pilgrimage' form an important aspect of civilization which has become an essential and current problem in the field of research both in India and in the World. The institution of pilgrimage plays an important role which ultimately strengthens the solidarity of entire nation. The basic role played by the institution of pilgrimage helps in generating an integrative circular mechanism in which all types of social stratas of the related groups take part irrespective of their class and caste, their status and position in society. The anthropological studies of pilgrimage should be able to contribute substantially to an understanding of roles played by religions towards the maintenance and modification of social systems and also to facilitate the inter-relationships amongst the members of different societies. Hence pilgrimage is not only the religious institution but it has many significant social dimensions which are being studied urgently now by the social anthropologists (Vidyarthi: 1961, Jha: 1971, Vidyarthi, Saraswati and Jha : 1978)

Anthropological research on pilgrimage has been started during past few decades. Anthropology is
comparatively a new comer to the field of the study of contemporary complex societies and civilization. Being an interdisciplinary subject, anthropological studies cannot be taken as a separate and a distinct field of enquiry unrelated to other branches of knowledge.

The anthropological literature related to the study of Hindu pilgrimage is scattered, it varies tremendously in the degree and form of presentation. A number of studies have been conducted to ascertain the facts about the Hindu pilgrims and their pilgrimage at different religious centres of India during different time periods by different authors.

Vidyarthi in 1961 studied the sacred city of Gaya in the ancient cultural zone of Magadha which reveals that "the sacred complex in Hindu Gaya" is a totality if the trichotomous interrelated phenomena of "Sacred Geography", "Sacred performance" and "Sacred specialist" that it reflects the great and little traditions of Hindu Civilization and that it is adapting itself to the general changes taking place in an around India. Vidyarthi's analysis of the sacred complex in Hindu Gaya gave a new direction to the study of Indian civilization and introduced a new field of investigation in Indian Anthropology.

Jha in 1971 studies the sacred city of Janakpur which is a well known place of Hindu pilgrimage in Nepal in his book "Sacred complex of Janakpur". He concludes that although Janakpur today is located in Nepal where the spirit of nationalism and political awareness are of different types, due to the common cultural consciousness prevailing in both India and Nepal, the civilization of India has extended beyond the political boundary of India. This reveals that how the boundary of a nation is not the
boundary of a civilization. On this basis, he relates Janakpur with Ratanpur of Madhya Pradesh and illustrates how they functioned as both religious and secular capitals representing two distinct civilizational regions of ancient kingdom of Mithila and Mahakoshala. These civilizational regions stood as important units between the villages and cities and Indian Civilization. In his other book "Rising India", he discusses about Lord Jagannath at Puri as a great traditional centre. In his book "Dimensions of Indian Civilizations", Jha describes different aspects of Jagannath cult, its origin and development, pilgrims and pilgrimages of Puri etc.

Saraswati in 1962 in his "Institution of pilgrimage in Nimsar or ancient Naimisha in U.P.", discussed about the pilgrim networks, sacred specialists and present villages in relation to the holy place of Nimsar or ancient Naimsha in U.P. and shows how they together play an important role in the integration of Indian Civilization. He investigates the temple organisation in Goa and discusses how the sacred institutions play a significant role in the sacred as well as secular aspect of Indian civilization. Later, he examines the classical traditions of Kashi and finds out how a great traditional city of India reveals the different dimension of Indian civilization.

Narayan in 1974 analyses the sacred complex of Deoghar in West Bengal and points out how it forms a microcosm of Indian civilization and integrates people from different parts of India. The heterogeneous composition of pilgrims are analysed with reference to caste, class, linguistic regions and educational, political as well as social background.
Patnaik in 1977 discussed in his book "cultural Tradition in Puri", the traditional culture of Puri – as a cultural relations within the cult of Jagannath and between communities of Puri, which are at different levels of socio-cultural integration.

Bharati (1963 : 1970) has provided a cogent, well-documented and perceptive survey of the nature and growth of pilgrimage, its relationships with Buddhist, the Hindus, and the Tantric traditions in India. Diehl (1956) analysed systematically the nature and motives of pilgrimage which is constrained within cultural region of Tamil Nadu of India only. Cohn and Marriott (1958) examined the sacred places and gave analytical statements of "network" and "Centres" in traditional India. They recognised very clearly the significance of the networks of religion through pilgrim movements. Sopher's (1968) study based on field data, is needed outstanding. His findings that above average pilgrim activity is associated with service castes, reinforces use of caste groups in understanding socio-economic problems in India.

Bharadwaj (1973) has examined the institution of pilgrimage in its historical and social context. Based on both historical and extensive field data, he provides excellent materials with respect to pilgrim fields, caste-composition and hierarchical status of sacred places.

Eschmann and others edited the book "Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa" in which an extensive study was made on the history, origin and evolution of the cult of Lord Jagannath at Orissa. This book incorporates mainly the studies of Regional Tradition of Orissa, particularly with reference to Lord Jagannath, the State deity of Orissa. Different types of studies such
Temple policy and administration during the reign of Hindu Kingdom; evolution of priestly power during different periods etc. It also highlights as to how the Vedic Brahmins of Puri have evolved and formed the network of religious economy of Puri.

Turner (1974) in "Pilgrimages as social processes" (Dramas, fields and metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human society. Ithaca: Cornell U. Press) published as "The Centre Out There : Pilgrims' Goal". History of Religions (XII:3:1973) suggests that anthropological neglect of the practice of pilgrimage evolves from the disciplines traditional "Concentration.... on the elicitation and analysis of highly localized fixed and focussed "Structures" and "Patterns" rather than on patterns and processes on a national or international scale....". He transforms pilgrimage into a transcendental entity by elevating the theoretical assumptions of observers of particular pilgrimage into the status of primary data.

Burton Stein in his Ph.D. work on Tirupati, entitled as "The Tirupati Temple : An Economic study of a Medieval South Indian Temple", discussed the South Indian Temple as an institution for the redistribution of state resources. The wealth of the temple was derived from state grants and endowments and these in turn were utilized by the temple for carrying out for reaching economic improvements like irrigation. His study brings out the Tirupati temple as an important economic regional centre. This study does not deal with the institution of pilgrimage as such.

Vidyarthi, Saraswati and Jha selected Kashi for an all round re-testing of the concept of sacred complex because of its comparatively more complexity so far as the
continuity, co-existence, and varieties of sacred traditions are concerned. Viewed as the 'Microcosm' of Indian Civilization, the study of the "Sacred complex of Kashi" while reveals on one hand, the wider applicability of the trichotomic elements of sacred complex in the analysis of Hindu sacred centres towards integration of the core of Hindu civilization, on the other hand, it provides facts to conclude that there is a textual and contextual continuity in the 'Tirthas' of India. Moreover, the study of Kashi stands as an eye opener in conceptualizing and classifying the various aspects of sacred complex in certain sanskrit terms. Anthropological investigations in Kashi have revealed that the boundary and sacred scriptural description of Kashi Kshetra is a changing phenomena.

Huble and Vetschera (1976) in their work on the "Sacred complex of Madhi" focussed a new light on the pattern of unitary characters among several semi-nomadic tribes who assemble every year in the month of March in Madhi village of Ahmednagar district of Gujurat to take part in the fair of Saint Kanifnath. The entire discussion is on historical background, based on oral tradition of the temple Kanifnath where the Saint is Venerated by the muslim as well as Hindu. Both the muslim and Hindu officiate as the priest of the temple, being known as "Mujawar" and "Poojari" respectively. Here the discussion has been done with regard to the pilgrims as well as the temple priests which have not been reflected at the level of sacred geography and furthermore, the scope for an analysis of various sacred centres.

During 1980s, two world conferences on 'Pilgrimage' drew attention of many anthropologists towards the study on pilgrims and pilgrimage aspects of Hindu civilizational centres. Consequently a number of analytical as well as historical papers were presented to these
conferences. The world conference on 'pilgrimage' being held at the University of Pittsburgh, U.S.A. in 1981 to which Jha was the only Indian delegate who presented a paper on "structure and function of Hindu pilgrimage". The XIth International Congress of Anthropological and ethnological sciences, being held at Vancouver, Canada in 1983 under the chairmanship of Jha throws light on different dimensions of pilgrimage. Papers were presented by many authors; like "origin, type, spread and nature of Hindu pilgrimage" (Jha); "Anthropology of Pilgrimage" (Bowman); Jagannath of Puri and His pilgrimage" (Behura) ... etc.

Sundaram in 1969 discussed in his book "The Simhachalam temple", about the history, Origin and development of the Simhachalam temple of Waltier which is one of the important Vaishnavite shrines of Andhra Pradesh. He also studied temple administration and management and about different functionaries and rituals connected with the temple. His study does not highlight on different pilgrims and their pilgrimages.

Narayam Reddy in his Ph.D. work on "Sacred complex of Tirumala : An Anthropological study", analysed very clearly about Lord Venketeswara Temple from anthropological point of view. He covered all aspects of sacred complex of Tirumala including sacred geography, sacred performances, sacred specialists, of Venketeswar temple. He also discussed about different types of pilgrims - their socio-economic characteristics, and their pilgrimages. He also analysed the sacred - secular continuum including secular geography, secular activities, secular specialists etc.

From the general survey of the relevant literature, it is evident that although there is abundant
descriptive materials, analytical studies are only in their inception. The present study of Anthropology of pilgrimage of Lord Jagannath and Lord Narasimha of two different places like Puri and Waltier is definitely an unique problem, separated from all the above. This study concerns with different types of pilgrims coming from various parts of India, for instance, to study their purpose of visit, socio-cultural (including religious) concepts and beliefs of the pilgrims about pilgrimage, network and organisations of pilgrimage by the priests; relationship between priests and pilgrims; transport and accommodation of pilgrims during their pilgrimage at Puri and Simhachalam; the impact of the assemblage of large number of pilgrims during festive seasons. Hence, it is clear in this direction that scholarly effort is mostly needed for the above problems through anthropological enquiries.

1.3. DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF PILGRIMAGE

The concept of pilgrimage exists in all major religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Islamism, and Christianity etc. It is a pan-human phenomenon and its meaning may vary widely within the canonical structure of each religion (Bhardwaj, 1973: Jha;1978). In Hinduism as Bhardwaj states, "The institution of pilgrimage to holy places (Tirtha-Yatra) is an ancient and continuing religious tradition". Among Hindus, religion provides the basis of pilgrimage by offering the reward of purification of the soul and attainment of objects related to the problem and existence.

In Hindu religious tradition, the common term used for pilgrimage is 'Tirtha-Yatra', which does not mean only the physical act of visiting the holy/sacred places
but it implies also to the mental/moral aspect of human beings.

Regarding the origin and development of pilgrimage, there are varied opinions and one has to trace back to the early phase of Hindu cultural traditions. Its antiquity is evidenced by both Brahminical and the Buddhist literature. The nature and spread of the pilgrimage is found in the Rig-Veda where it has been suggested that in order to wash away 'evil' or 'sin', people used to undertake journey to the sacred rivers for purification and redemption from sin. Today, pilgrimage has the same ritualistic content on that of the vedic period - a conceptual similarity seems to be there.

In Vedas, the 'Mahatma' (religious importance) of rivers are described, known as Nadi-Stuti (river hymn) and in the Smritis, the sanctity of the rivers was stressed which used the term Tirtha (centre of pilgrimage) in describing them. The Aryan people of Vedic period revered the rivers and grew the concepts of Tirtha. The water of the mythological rivers, particularly the Ganges, the Saraswati, the Jamuna etc. was believed to have been endowed with special merit. The Visnu-Smriti gives us an exhaustive list of the Tirthas, spread over whole of ancient India; it recommends Tirtha Yatra (pilgrimage) which is equated with Ashvamedha Yagna (Vedic form of horse sacrifice), as the effective means of expiation for all sins. The Manu-Smriti also attaches a great importance to pilgrimage. A number of epics also mention about Tirtha-Yatra which were undertaken by the people. In Mahabharat, a section of Vanaprava (Chapter 78 - 158) entitled 'Tirtha-Yatra-Parva' is exclusively devoted to pilgrimage.

The 'Puranas' and 'Upa-puranas' are the main sources of information on pilgrimage. The 'Tirthasthala',
the place of pilgrimage and Kshetra-Mahatma, the importance of the centre of pilgrimage are the two important parts of puranas dealing in great detail with the efficacy of pilgrimage and the righteous way of life a pilgrim is required to lead during Tirtha-Yatra (Pilgrimage) (Vidyarthi; Jha; Saraswati: 1979: 126). Besides the epics and purans, the writers of the Nibandhas (digests and commentaries) emphasized on the types, nature and importance of Hindu pilgrimage of medieval India.

It has been also mentioned in the Indian history about the reports of the foreign travellers like Meghasthenese (3rd century B.C.) Fa-Hien (5th century A.D.), Hieun Tsiang (7th century A.D.) who have clearly described about the various places of pilgrimage in ancient India.

Thus, the beliefs and practices of the institution of pilgrimage with its ancient origin continue to be very popular among Hindus since vedic period which described in different sacred texts and other allied literatures.

As regards the origin and development of pilgrimage, there are many opinions by different social scientists crooke (1956) observes: "The origin of the modern practice of pilgrimage may be traced to the revival of Brahminism and its absorption of local cults. Every place where a local spirit was propitiated or worshipped soon came under the control of a body of local priests, interested in attracting visitors because their offerings formed their means of livelihood". Diehl [quoted by Bharadwaj (1973)] described the motives of pilgrimage under two categories. First, there is commitment or vow to the deity whose blessing is sought for the solution of a problem the pilgrim is afflicted with. Here there may be improvement of such rites as the first hair cut of a male
child or expiation of a ritual impurity that an individual may have acquired. The second motive is to earn religious merit, which may include a holy bath, sight of a deity, or visiting holy men.

Bharadwaj has brought into relief the significant dimension of pilgrimage as an integrative network and this aspect has very well been demonstrated by Jha (1977) by giving examples of Janakpur (Nepal) and Kashi (India). Bharati believes that pilgrimage proper is not mentioned in the vedic literature but Bhardwaj believed that the Aryan people of vedic period revered the rivers (Nadistuti) which have ultimately given the concept of Tirtha.

However, now more and more social scientists are beginning to be conscious of indigenous forces of cultural integration and in this context, one may refer the suggestion of professor Mandelbaum (anthropologist of America) that pilgrimage to super centres reinforce religious precepts but also impress the pilgrim with the vastness, the diversity and seeming by paradoxically - the oneness of the society (1970: P402).

Numerous Hindu places of pilgrimage spread all over India. Although there are a large number of sects in Hinduism, out of them three sects i.e. Vaishnava, Shaiva and Shakta are more dominant and popular Hindu sects. The sacred centres belonging to these three sects of Hinduism are distributed all over India of holy places of various sects throughout India has created an essentially continuous "sacred geography" in which various regional cultural diversities become less significant for the movement of pilgrims from long distances.

In India, the sacred centers have exerted a powerful pull on believers beginning from the most ancient
civilization to the present time. The sacred centres of India patronised by different sects are Puri, Dwarika, Prayag, Kashi, Kanchi, Ayodhya, Mathura, Ujjain, Nasik, Kamakhya, etc. which are well-known by almost all sections of the Hindu society. In Hinduism, there is no caste and sex restriction for undertaking pilgrimage at different sacred centres. Hence, pilgrimage centres, belonging to different sects and traditions, are nicely distributed in India, which ultimately strengthens the national solidarity. Both at the textual and contextual levels, the pilgrimage rules are liberal so also democratic in nature. So Hindu pilgrimage is an indigenous institution and the most popular religious practice among Hindus today.

1.4. PILGRIMAGE IN INDIAN (HINDU) CIVILIZATION

The study of pilgrimage forms an important dimension of Indian civilization; therefore it touches the borderline of history, theology and indology. In India, Anthropology was born and brought up under the predominant influence of the British anthropology. It took a new turn after the second global war and particularly after India's independence. It no longer remained confined to the tribal world, it took to folk and urban anthropology as it aims at studying an aspect of Great tradition of India. It is to illustrate the range and diversity of the regional variations while deriving certain meaningful generalizations of Indian civilization.

Both Redfield and Singer have been deeply concerned with the theoretical and methodological problems of civilizational study. Redfield's concept of 'Great' and 'Little' tradition provided a new perspective in understanding of the Indian civilization. It led to the beginning of an anthropological approach to the study of civilization by studying great and little communities. With
village as a point of reference, the higher and intellectual influences that come from outside are termed as the "Little Tradition" (Redfield: 1955). According to Redfield and Singer, the most important cultural consequence of primary urbanization is the transformation of the little tradition into a great tradition.

The concept of levels of communal relations traces the passage of the folk community towards "Indigenous" civilization which is opposite to "Secondary" Civilization. Urban Communities and Urban culture in secondary civilization are different from society and culture of indigenous folk. Secondary civilizations are heterogenetic in origin and in manner of growth (Redfield and Singer: 1954: 181).

Redfield and Singer clarified the concept of 'Primary' or 'indigenous' civilization as one which grows out of its own folk culture by an orthogenetic process - by a straight line of indigenous development. The "great tradition" is characteristically developed by such a primary civilization is a carrying-forward of cultural materials, norms, and values that were already contained in local little traditions. An indigenous great tradition remains in constant communication with its own little traditions through a sacred literature, a class of literati, a sacred geography, and the rites and ceremonies associated with each of these. Redfield introduces the term "Cultural Specialist", which includes literati, for such organised groups of people who mediate between the great and little traditions. He writes about civilization as a great whole in space and time by virtue of the complexity of organization which maintains and cultivates it tradition to many and varied small local societies within it (1955). A great tradition describes a way of life and as such is a vehicle and a standard for those who share it to identify with one another as the member of a common civilization. An
element of traditional culture is a potential trait to become a symbol of national identity.

Singer in his comparative analysis of cultural performance described that the performances regarded as the most concrete observable units of Indian culture, the analysis of which might lead to more abstract structures within a comprehensive cultural system. Through an analysis and comparison of cultural performance and their constituents i.e. media and theme, the place and occasion of performance, the performers, the audience - it is possible to infer the structure and organisation of particular kinds of performances. Then, by tracing the linkages among these structures and organisations, it is possible to arrive at the more comprehensive and abstract constructs of cultural structure, cultural value system and a Great Tradition. It is also possible to analyse continuities, trends and processes of change in these structures and organisations. By giving such persistences and transformations of cultural traditions, it is possible to relate these continuities and changes to urbanisation and other relevant causal conditions (1972 : 65).

Three important books on Indian villages come out which brought out several thought provoking views and arguments on Indian villages i.e. (i) Indian village by Dube (ii) Village India by Mckim Maiot and (iii) India's Villages by Srinivas out of which "Indian Village" is based on interdisciplinary approach, "Village India" is an outcome of a traditional approach i.e. holistic analysis of Indian village as a dimension of Indian Civilization, "India's Villages" has helped in an understanding of the folk and peasant communities in India as dimensions of Indian Civilization.
These theoretical concepts and propositions as given by Redfield and Singer tend to widen the scope of Anthropology to study the sacred centres. India is a land of temples. Religion has been the basis and guiding principle of Indian culture through the ages. The temples the specialists, the sacred performances and the holy texts have constituted into a configuration to bring into sharp focus the religion and spiritual wisdom of India as a dimension of Indian Civilization.

Vidyarthi has put forward his theory of "Sacred Complex" after being influenced by the theoretical and methodological contributions of Redfield and Singer towards an understanding of Indian Civilization. He limits his study of Indian civilization to a part of it namely Hindu Civilization. Within this framework he modifies the terms used by Singer and develops a set of analytical concepts and descriptive terms to describe sacred centres. Vidyarthi used the word "Sacred" instead of "Cultural" to define the analytic concepts like "Sacred geography", "Sacred performances", "Sacred specialists" because the word "Culture" has a very broad meaning in Anthropology and the word "Sacred" has religious meaning in the context of studying a Hindu Place of Pilgrimage. Vidyarthi calls the totality of the "Sacred geography", Sacred Performances" and "Sacred specialists" as "Sacred complex" of a place of Hindu pilgrimage. According to him, in India, the Sacred complex of a place of Hindu Pilgrimage itself is an intricate combination of the great and little traditions (1961). Sacred specialists of a place of pilgrimage maintain a district style of life and transmit certain elements of the great tradition to rural population of India by popularising certain texts, by organising pilgrimages and by officiating as the ritual and temple priests.
The sacred complex in general and the sacred specialists in particular have been in the process of modification and transformation as a result of general developments in the larger universe of Hindu Civilization of which they are a part. So the sacred complex the sacred centres, the sacred performances and the sacred specialists of a Hindu Place of pilgrimage reflects a level of continuity, compromise and combination between the great and little tradition (Vidyarthi: 1961).

The present study of pilgrimage of two important Hindu sacred centres i.e. Puri and Simhachalam, the two neighbouring states, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh of India, provide an appropriate area of research for the application and testing of some of the above mentioned concepts related to the sacred and urban complex. Puri is a well-known, world famous place of pilgrimage in eastern India and simhachalam is an important centre of pilgrimage of Southern India to which a large number of pilgrims come for pilgrimage from all over India, even from abroad all along the year. Hence the main point of interest is confined to the study of the socio-cultural, economic and religious aspects of different types of pilgrims who flock at Puri and Simhachalam from all corners of India. The main concern is to study those pilgrims in an anthropological context.

Puri is treated as one of the great Hindu religious centre and people come to Puri on pilgrimage at least for once during their life spans. Puri is famous for the best pilgrim centre of Eastern India. Puri is popularly known as "Srikhetra" i.e. a sacred centre or Kshetra; which is having a number of beautiful temples, tanks, ponds and an attractive sea-shore. Puri is a famous Tirtha (place of pilgrimage) as per the tirtha yatrees (pilgrims) are concerned. The presence of temple of Lord Jagannath attracts innumerable Hindu pilgrims for Tirtha purpose. A Hindu pilgrim can be able to complete his Pancha - Tirtha only after placing his feet on the sands of Srikshetra.
which one is taken as his last Tirtha.

At Puri, the place of pilgrimage, where even the Orthodox Hindus forget the distinction of the castes and untouchability. Here the rigour of orthodoxy is completely loosened, and Hindus dine together, forgetting all sorts of distinctions of castes. The most interesting part of pilgrimage as practiced in India, particularly at Puri, seems as highly diversified motives of the pilgrims. Every pilgrimage has a strictly defined purpose and scope; and the procedure is exactly prescribed with rather little leeway for the individuals' ingenuity in matters relating to travel. Bathing at religious centres is always meritorious and essential to spiritual welfare. The sacred place Puri is associated with the Sraddha ceremony, i.e., the obligatory obsequies for the dead. And it is a very common sacred performance observed by the pilgrims of Puri.

Besides Puri, Simhachalam of Andhra Pradesh is also an important centre of pilgrimage of South India. Pilgrims from all over India, even from abroad, come to Simhachalam temple for different purposes. The decorative architecture and sculpture of Simhachalam temple are very much famous in India and attracts people from all over India even from abroad. Lord Narasimha is the main deity placed in Simhachalam temple. The ritual of the Simhachalam temple does not differ in essentials from the ritual of other Vishnu temples of South India.

In the medieval times, Simhachalam and its environs grew into importance. Simhachalam - The hill of the Lion, is a famous centre of pilgrimage for great Man - Lion, Narasimha, the fourth incarnation of Lord Vishnu. The hills and dens are generally conceived to be the abodes of lions, so the temple is dedicated to Lord Narasimha; placed on hill tops. The idea of a deity on a hill signifies again
the position of the dweller in Transcendental Abode (Paramdhaman) assigned to divinity in Hindu religion.

Pilgrims who come to Simhachalam on pilgrimage have different motives and purposes. Devotees visit the temple, are taking a dip in the Gangadhara the bathing Chat (Tirthavari) and undergoing the tonsuring ceremony before entering the temple. Just above the spot of the spring, an image of Yoga Narasimha in a seated position is installed. The tonsuring ceremony is the most attractive sacred performance at Simhachalam temple, for which most of the pilgrims come on pilgrimage to Simhachalam.

The institution of pilgrimage has a great cultural bearing on the life of the Hindu population of India irrespective of caste and language. Its comprehension will widen the scope of study and analysis of Indian civilization. This type of comparative study will facilitate in bringing out the similar and dissimilar features of pilgrimages of two different centres of pilgrimage in India. Further, it will show the differnce of regional culture of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Study of pilgrimage of Lord Jagannath at Puri and Lord Narasimha at Simhachalam will constitute the study of a constellation of interrelated phenomena which are functionally interrelated and interdependent.
1.5. PURI - A CENTRE OF PILGRIMAGE:
A TIRTHA : DHAMA : KSHETRA

In Hindu India Puri is treated as one of the most important centre of pilgrimage. In Hindu texts and allied literature, Puri which is the place of Lord Jagannath has been described as Nilachal, Purushottama Kshetra, Shankha Kshetra, Shrikshetra, Dhama, tirtha (centre of pilgrimage). Puri forms one of the four great Dhamas of the Hindus, renovated according to tradition, at the instance of Adi Shankar (788 A.D. to 820 A.D.), the great teacher and revivalist of philosophic Hinduism, situated at four corners of India - Puri Dhama, the place of Lord Jagannath (Krishna - Vishnu incarnate) is located in eastern region of Indian territory. Puri is described as Jagannath Dham whose sculptural and archaeological heritage signified its sanctity since early days.

The Kshetra of Jagannath had already become a centre of pilgrimage (Tirtha) of inter-regional fame since 10th century (Kulke, 1978 : 200). In order to patronise the autochthonous cult of Jagannath, Chodaganga and Anangabhima constructed the bada-deula at Puri for the deity sometime in the 12th century, preferably after 1135 A.D. Chodaganga and Anangabhima extended royal patronage to Jagannath for the vertical or external legitimation of the Orissan kingship manifested itself in the monumental imperial temple at Puri and the recognition of its deity as the "King of the Orissan empire" (Kulke, 1978). They accelerated the process of Hinduization and Brahmanization of the cult of Jagannath (Echmann etal, 1978). During this time, Jagannath was known as Purushottama or the "Supreme Being" under the royal patronage. As it was the principal seat of Lord Vishnu or Purushottama, Puri was called as Purushottama Kshetra, the sacred place. Lord Vishnu has been described iconographically as having Shankha (Conch Shell) in one of his hands so to say Puri being the place of Lord
Vishnu, was called as Shankha Kshetra. Also as Puri was taken as the most beautiful sacred place or a religious centre of India having a beautiful Sea (Bay of Bengal), it was described as "Srikhetra".

In earliest days, the existence of Puri was believed to be in a forest having blue (Nila) hill. Hence, it was called as Nilachal (blue-hill). Hence this Vaishnavite name and fame of the deity became very much famous and Puri became popular as an important centre of pilgrimage (Tirtha). And the most important and world famous festival 'Rath Yatra' (car festival) of Lord Jagannath is held at Puri every year during the month of Asadha (June - July). About more than five lakhs pilgrims from all over India even from abroad congregate here to observe the occasion. This large gatherings of all people from different regions, religious groups, sects, castes, creeds, sex[es], highlight the unity in diversity in Indian society.

Hence the above facts are to be considered to prove Puri as an important centre of pilgrimage (Tirtha) of all-India importance.

1.6 OBJECTIVE AND DESIGN OF RESEARCH

The present enquiry of pilgrimage at Puri of Orissa and Simhachalam of Andhra Pradesh - the two very important Vaishnavite Shrines of India with all complexities provides an appropriate area of research for the application and testing of the following hypotheses which have been precisely formulated.

The present study of pilgrimages of two sacred centres of India is directed to test the following assumptions expressed in terms of abstraction and generality.
(1) To ascertain regular visits of pilgrims which reinforce their sense of religiosity and repose their faith in the supernatural power symbolised herein pilgrim centres.

(2) To ascertain the socio-economic status of the pilgrims who come on pilgrimage occasionally/regularly.

(3) To ascertain the nature of ritual and economic relationship between the pilgrims and priests of the temple.

(4) To ascertain the nature of organisation and functioning of pilgrimage at Puri and Simhachalam.

(5) To ascertain the sincerity, devotion, and attitude of priests towards their profession.

**DESIGN OF RESEARCH**

Social research is a systematic means of exploring, analysing and conceptualising social life in order to extend, correct or verify knowledge, whether that knowledge is in the construction of theory or not.

The social researcher, either guided by desire to gain knowledge or by an urgency to solve a problem scientifically works out a plan of study of socio-cultural life. Working out a research plan consists of those considerations which enter into the discussions regarding what, where, and when, how much data and by what means data are collected. These together constitute a plan of study or the design of research.
The present enquiry is an exploratory and descriptive type of study. In general the approach of study has been largely synchronic. And sometimes diachronic approach has been followed wherever necessary and possible. So the present study is an exploratory type being synchronic with diachronic perspective. Relevant historical evidences have been collected from the religious texts, historical documents, mythology and folk beliefs to bear upon the ethnographic data. The study is largely an empirical one as most of the data have been collected through interview and observation. And of course some data have been collected from secondary sources.

1.6. METHODS OF STUDY

Methodology is the logic of scientific procedure. It is not bound up with sociological problems. Researchers must be aware of the design of investigation, the nature of inference and the requirements of a theoretic system.

The methods of data collection are purely based on fieldwork of Puri and Simhachalam, the areas of investigation of present research. An anthropologist is basically a field workers, has to apply the techniques according to the people's mind and heart, otherwise he may not be successful in data collection. He has to keep his patience upto an unlimited extent with great enthusiasm to prove the result. Anthropological approaches differ from that of other social scientists. A friendly and harmonious relationship should develop between the fieldworker and respondents.

COVERAGE OF STUDY

The present study covers two important and well known vaishnavite temples of India. The main focus of study will be on pilgrims who are coming to Puri and Simhachalam on pilgrimage from different corners of India, irrespective
of their caste, creed, sect, religion, language, age, sex, education and income group. Pilgrims of both the types i.e. regular visitors and casual visitors are also covered. This study also concerns about sacred specialists (temple priests) of Puri and Simhachalam to known about the origin, history, development and administration of temple distinguishly.

Sampling frame

Sampling frame is done on a cross-section of pilgrims that will represent the totality. In data collection, sampling method has been followed, which is essential in the study of large universes. "Sampling" is the study of a part of the population with a view to making generalisations about the entire population. Out of different methods of sampling I have followed stratified random sampling method for selection of informants for data collection. In this method, the entire population which is of heterogenous type is divided into certain sub-populations called as "strata" and samples are drawn independently from each stratum following same specified procedure and each stratum is treated as a population in itself. Openended questionnaires were also administered to the educated pilgrims and necessary data were collected.

Sampling size

The sampling size is of 1000 cases, out of which 700 cases of pilgrims, 200 cases of priests, the sacred specialists, 100 cases of different types of shop keepers, and administrators of temples. Out of 700 pilgrims, 500 pilgrims from the place of Lord Jagannath and 200 are taken from the place of Lord Narasimha. And 150 cases of priests are taken from Puri temple and 50 cases from Simhachalam. 75 cases of shop keepers and 25 cases of temple administrators are taken from both the places.
Types of data

Different types of data are to be collected from pilgrims and priests of Puri and Simhachalam. From pilgrims, mainly data are collected on their purposes, aims and objectives of visit, their sacred performances, transportation, accommodation, their food and dress pattern while they are on pilgrimage. Sacred specialists (Priests) are asked about the temple, their contributions towards pilgrims, their network, organisations and overall administrations of temples.

The present study is of structural-functional type. The selection of informants is done on the basis of region, caste, income, and educational statuswise. The respondents are from both the sexes, mainly coming from different states of India like Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, Rajastan, Gujurat, Maharastra, Karnatak and Tamilnadu. The approximate number of questions to be asked from each respondent is about 100 which takes one hour duration for one interview.

DATA COLLECTION

At the time of data collection, different types of methods and techniques such as preparation of schedules, observation, interview, case-study, photography etc. are followed. The schedules framed for data collection are of both closed and open-ended types. Schedules are framed to get the informants properly. The method of observation is of non-participant type but observations have invariably been carried out on natural situation. Interview was of both individual interview and group interview. Key informants for interview are also selected. A number of case-studies have been taken from different types of pilgrims and priests to get data properly. Appropriate photographs are also taken in different situations from different angles during different time periods.
1.5. AREA AND PLACE OF STUDY

In India religion has been the basis and guiding principle of Indian culture through the ages. The present study covers two important pilgrim centres of India i.e. Puri of Orissa and Simhachalam of Andhra Pradesh; having Vaishnavite temples. Puri, the abode of Lord Jagannath, is the topmost centre of pilgrimage in India. The sanctity of the place exists from a proto-historic period where traditions can not properly reach. In fact, the sanctity of the place is dated anterior to the growth and rise of Buddhism in Puri. However, it must be admitted that Buddhism brought an immense change in the details of worship and religious rites (Jha : 1979). Puri has been a centre of both Hinduism and Buddhism - a synthesis of the two.

The tradition in Puri is a cultural complex consisting of various institutions which are integrated with one another and form an organic whole. The tradition is in the process of continuous change and the institutions which comprise the complex, are not isolated entities.

Puri is the seat of Lord Jagannath, where the deity takes birth, spends the childhood, becomes adult, then marries and lastly dies at an interval of 8 to 19 years regularly (Jha : 1979). People from all parts of India resort to this place. The holy city of Puri, Nilachal, Purushottam Srikhetra, Samkhakhetra, the place variously called, is sacred to Hindus of all lands and of all dimensions.

It is to this place of Puri and to this temple and the idol of Jagannath that for several centuries, Hindus of various sects (Sampradaya) have thronged - weary, foodsore and feverish, yet ever patient under fatigue and hardship to get the sight of their God to obliterate the
transgressions of whole life (Mukherjee). One of the distinguishing features of Puri or for that matter of its presiding deity Jagannath is, its non-ancestralism. N.K. Bose has rightly observed that Hinduism is a federation of religious beliefs and practices.

The tradition in Puri is a cultural complex consisting a sacred and secular institutions with their religious and social functions, cultural values and symbolic configurations. The axis of this complex is the titular and symbolic relationship between the paramount deity and paramount king of Orissa. With this God-king system, many sub-systems are associated such as monastic order, pilgrimage, kingship and secular government and ritual service organisations. The cultural roles of these sub-systems in respect of the main system, which forms the core of the cultural complex are the major aspects of this study. The roles performed by these sub-systems are essentially in the capacity of guardians, specialists, policy makers and preachers of cultural traditions.

On the concrete level of observation it is seen, throughout the length and breadth of Puri hundreds of Gods and Goddesses, deities, divinities that find symbolic expressions through various sacred objects like images, idols, tanks, trees, stones engravings and paintings on walls.

Representation of deities through images is a common characteristic of the Hindu world. For more than 1200 years, this place has been a famous pilgrim centre as per recorded history. Puri not only provides a forum for the textual and contextual analysis of the social structure and organisation of the tradition, but it serves for the synchronic and diachronic studies of the various problems of the cultural complex.
Today, just as in the past centuries, the Brahmin sub-culture provides maximal gratifications for administrative, literary and ritual leadership on the general community. In Puri, many different kinds of Brahman literati, temple priests, domestic priests, Pandas, gurus and Pandits specialising in vedic learnings and teaching who are engaged in transmitting the elements of great tradition to the masses since time immemorial. It is apparent that Puri confirms to Redfield's concept of "Great Traditional City".

The worship of Jagannath is for the highest minds among the Hindus, a pure system of theism. To the polytheistic attitude, it offers the infinite phases of divinity as object of worship, and provides for their delectation, an infinite number of rituals and ceremonies. It supplies the spiritual requirements of different classes of Hindu in different stages, of their intellectual development.

The Simhachalam temple is also taken as the area of study for comparison, where Lord Narasimha is placed. The hill on which the temple of Lord Narasimha stands, is locally known as the Simhachalam. It is a natural valley which runs along the north-western slope of the hill covering almost half of the height of the hill. And in course of time a small village grew round the temple and steps were built along the course of water sloping down to serve as an approach both to the village and shrine.

Etymologically the word "Simhachalam" means "the hill of the lion". It is the hill of the great Man-lion, Narasimha, the fourth incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Generally the temples dedicated to Lord Narasimha are placed on hill tops. Besides Simhachalam temple, shrines dedicated to Narasimha are to be seen on the hill tops at Yadavadri (Yadugiri, Karnataka State) and Vedadri (Andhra Pradesh).
The population of inhabitants has been increasing day-to-day which has grown round the temple proper. All these people look to the temple for their living. Some of them live by looking after the needs of pilgrims, and others by securing leases of plantations, gardens and lands on the hills. The office of the Executive Officer of the Simhachalam Temple, the quarters of a number of priests and other staff of the temple, the school for training the priests (Agama Pathasala) and the pilgrim sheds and choultries maintained by the administration, are all located in this village. Most of the people are either employed as the staff of the temple or cultivated lands of the temple.

The Simhachalam temple attracts a number of pilgrims from all over India to fulfil their votoarees. The natural attraction of the beautiful site on which the temple is located endowed it with a capacity for the reoccupation and renewal. Also Visakhapatnam which is situated at a distance of 15 Kms. from Simhachalam became a prosperous commercial and industrial city and expanded towards Simhachalam. Many offices of the Governments are located on the route to Simhachalam. So the Phenomenal development of Visakhapatnam resulted in the growth of Simhachalam. The "Zamidars" of Vizianagaram have been greatly responsible for the continued prosperity of the temple in modern times (Sunderam : 1969).

The Simhachalam temple is the most important Vaishnava Shrine of Andhra Pradesh and the most popular among the temples of Visakhapatnam District. People believed that Lord Simhadri Appanna is capable of giving progeny to women. To understand the influence of Simhadrinath over the common folk of the district, one has to visit the temple in the early hours on Saturdays and on festive occasions.
Thus, the Simhachalam temple as well as all the villages surrounding it, are very much alive and grow vigorously. Only in the medieval times, Simhachalam and its environs grew into great importance. From 4th century A.D., broad political divisions of ancient times pertaining to these tracts of land were mentioned. However, Simhachalam and its environs formed part of Madhyama Kalinga and the region above it Uttar Kalinga and below it Dakshina Kalinga. Its history is connected with the past of Kalinga (Sunderam : 1969).

Thus the above mentioned concepts regarding the sacred towns of Puri and Simhachalam as well known centres of pilgrimage provide an appropriate area of research for the study of Hindu Pilgrims and their pilgrimage to Simhachalam and Puri, the two neighbouring states of India.
BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTERS

With the theoretical and methodological considerations, the materials have been organised into eight chapters which in turn are divided into several sub-chapters.

The first chapter discusses the objectives of the research, design of research, hypotheses taken, literature survey and methodology followed.

The second chapter gives an outline of the sacred towns of Puri and Simhachalam which includes the geographical locations. The interior settings and population etc. It also includes history and origin of Lord Jagannath and Lord Narasimha and their State as well as National level importance. And finally their positions in Hindu scriptures are described.

The third chapter focuses on the important annual and periodical festivals and sacred performances of Lord Jagannath and Lord Narasimha.

The fourth chapter describes about sacred specialists of Puri and Simhachalam their typology network, organisation and mechanism.

The fifth chapter traces out different types of pilgrims and their purposes of pilgrimage at Puri and Simhachalam.

The sixth chapter discusses about cultural concepts and beliefs and practices of pilgrims of India during their pilgrimage.
The seventh chapter describes the sacred-secular continuum including the types of accommodation, the modes of transport and other amenities available for the pilgrims in both the places, at Puri and at Simhachalam.

The last chapter briefly summarizes the findings of the proceeding chapters and concludes the writings.

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