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Highlights

- Analysis of Islamic Sermon
- Nabakalebara of Lord Jagannath
- Portrayal of Rohingya Women
- The Re-Embodiment of the Divine

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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The Portrayal of Women in Facebook Memes

By Nowshin Jahan Etee
Stamford University Bangladesh

Abstract- Facebook has become an integral part in this age of social media. Both the young generation and older adults nowadays use Facebook for social interaction. Facebook has become a global platform where anyone can create a Facebook account and share their ideas, thoughts, activities, and feelings. Moreover, they can share their photos and videos on Facebook. Sometimes they share photos with some written text to satire or to make fun of other people. These elements spread around the social networking sites and float from one person to another. People usually recognize them as memes. People use memes to get shared and liked by others. But sometimes these memes carry wrong perceptions and messages which can create false consciousness among the people. The notion of gender is culturally and socially constructed. Social media sites for long are reinforcing the concept of gender stereotyping through its content. These sites are invisibly controlling people's life by transferring the stereotyped ideology. Some Facebook memes are portraying women in the way gender roles have been represented until now in social media sites. This study aims to analyze the portrayal of women on Facebook memes. In this regard, this study used purposive sampling and selected 15 Facebook memes as samples.

Keywords: *facebook, memes, portrayal, stereotype, framing, gender advertisement.*

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The Portrayal of Women in Facebook Memes

Nowshin Jahan Etee

Abstract- Facebook has become an integral part in this age of social media. Both the young generation and older adults nowadays use Facebook for social interaction. Facebook has become a global platform where anyone can create a Facebook account and share their ideas, thoughts, activities, and feelings. Moreover, they can share their photos and videos on Facebook. Sometimes they share photos with some written text to satire or to make fun of other people. These elements spread around the social networking sites and float from one person to another. People usually recognize them as memes. People use memes to get shared and liked by others. But sometimes these memes carry wrong perceptions and messages which can create false consciousness among the people. The notion of gender is culturally and socially constructed. Social media sites for long are reinforcing the concept of gender stereotyping through its content. These sites are invisibly controlling people's life by transferring the stereotyped ideology. Some Facebook memes are portraying women in the way gender roles have been represented until now in social media sites. This study aims to analyze the portrayal of women on Facebook memes. In this regard, this study used purposive sampling and selected 15 Facebook memes as samples. As a theoretical framework, this study followed gender advertisement theory to analyze the stereotypical portrayal of women in the selected memes. This study followed a framing analysis method to unveil the depiction of women in Facebook memes. The analysis illustrates that women were portrayed in a stereotypical way where some specific attributes were imposed on their femininity.

Keywords: facebook, memes, portrayal, stereotype, framing, gender advertisement.

I. Introduction

Social media is a global platform where anyone can share their thoughts and feelings through photos, videos, etc. However, this can create some problems as there is no gatekeeping or filtering system to eliminate false or wrong perceptions. So the messages we get from various social media like Facebook are sometimes disseminating false ideas among people, which includes gendered behaviors and stereotypical portrayal of women. Facebook memes are playing significant roles in escalating this situation. We can see gender advertisements not only in mainstream media but also in social media. A popular form of social media is Facebook, where memes are directly or indirectly patronizing gender discrimination. Memes are made of photos, which also includes some texts. Photos ensure the longevity of impression in people's mind, while language plays a very important role and acts as a persuasive element in memes. Language can shape the perceptions of people. Language shapes people's thinking and influences their behavior. In this study, selected memes used not only photos of women but also gendered language to portray women's femininity. Gendered language is that which encourages bias towards one gender while at the same time establishing such bias further. This study finds out 15 frames which were established in the selected memes to portray women. These frames reveal the flawed and stereotypical portrayal of women in Facebook memes.

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II. The Concept of Meme

Usually, memes are an image, short video, or piece of a text that is typically humorous or funny and which is copied and spread rapidly by internet users, often with slight variations. Merriam Webster Dictionary defines a meme as "an amusing or interesting item (such as a captioned picture or video) or genre of items that is spread widely online, especially through social media." At first, English Ethologist Richard Dawkins coined the term "meme" in his 1976 book *The Selfish Gene* (Knobel and Lankshear, 2007:200). Dawkins referred to the meme as "a unit of cultural transmission or a unit of imitation" (Dawkins, 1976:206). He used this word to explain how ideas and thoughts replicate, mutate, and evolve. Distin (2005) defined memes as units of cultural information. He regarded the human mind as the mechanism where memes evolve and spread. Meme came from the Greek word Mimema which means, "that which is imitated." Later this word was abbreviated as 'meme' due to its similarity to the word 'gene.' Gene is a unit of heredity, simply known as characteristics that are transferred from parents to children. Similarly, a meme is regarded as a unit of cultural transmission. Gelb defined the meme as "self-replicating ideas that move through time and space without further effort from the source" (Gelb, 1997:57). Memes have been said to "replicate at rates that make even fruit flies and yeast cells look glacial in comparison" (Dennett, 1993:205).

Today, the memes we use in our popular culture is the internet memes. The term "Internet meme" refers to the phenomenon of content or concepts that spread rapidly among internet users. Bauckhage (2011) said that Internet memes propagate among people through email, instant messaging, forums, blogs, or social networking sites. These memes could be an image, video email, or anything. But the most common meme is an image of any person or animal or cartoon

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with a caption. Nowadays, different social networking sites are promoting the quick proliferation of memes. However, memes have also moved away from political and cultural topics to the topics that are related to popular culture or sarcastic life observations, making them related to people, funny in nature, and easier for them to spread across the web.

III. Women in Facebook Meme

From the very beginning, people made memes to make fun or satire life observations. People share those memes on social networking sites. Thus memes float from one person to another. But not all memes get longevity on the internet. Only those memes run for a long time, which could draw the attention of the audience by its content. At any given moment, many memes are competing for the attention of the host; however, only memes suited to their socio-cultural environment spread successfully, while others become extinct (Chielens and Heylighen, 2005). These memes can invisibly control social life by transferring the stereotypical hegemonic ideologies. Stereotypes are beliefs about a social category, especially those that differentiate genders. Stereotypes become problematic when they lead to expectations about one social category over another or restrict opportunities for one social category over another (Garu and Zotos, 2016:761). We can see stereotypical behavior mostly in gender. Gender stereotypes are beliefs that certain attributes, such as occupations or role behaviors, differentiate women and men (Ashmore and Del Boca, 1981).

This article followed Facebook memes that have used photos of women or text about women to portray them or their femininity in stereotypical ways. Femininity and masculinity are concepts that are constructed socially and culturally. Now memes are reinforcing stereotypical notions of femininity and masculinity through Facebook, which is a very popular social networking site. Shifman (2013) analyzed the characteristics of video memes on YouTube video streaming websites. He identified several common features such as ordinary people, portrayals of flawed masculinity, use of humor, simplicity, repetitiveness, and whimsical contents. Our society has fortified some specific gender roles for men and women, and our mainstream media, including social media, is trying to enforce those stereotypical ideologies and values. Thus people are practicing behavior according to those gender roles and creating flawed perceptions among people about femininity and masculinity. Several authors attempted to identify influential members in a community so as to contain the spread of misinformation or rumors (Budak, Agarwal, and Abbadi, 2010). In this article, the contents of selected memes show that still today, women are portrayed with stereotypical concepts of gender behaviors. This study tried to find out the dominant frames that were used to portray the characteristics of what we can regard as the femininity of women in Facebook memes. These memes are created and shared by both men and women. So it can be said that this study revealed what people generally think about women or the portrayal of women in our society.

IV. Theoretical Framework

Social media has been playing a vital role in disseminating information and knowledge in society. Moreover, social media can regulate the socialization process of people. In this study, 'Gender Advertisement' theory is used as a theoretical framework to disclose the portrayal of women in Facebook memes. Usually, gender advertisement refers to the images in different advertising that depicts stereotypical gender roles (Goffman, 1979). 'Gender Advertisement' theory is generally used to analyze the portrayal of women in the advertisements of mainstream media, including social media. Facebook memes are not direct advertisements. They are rather a humor oriented media contents. But gender advertisement theory can be used to analyze the portrayal of women in Facebook memes. Canadian born American sociologist Erving Goffman introduced gender advertisement theory. In his book *Gender Advertisements* (1976), he described how western media portray masculinity and femininity. Goffman analyzed different advertisements and found a huge contrast between the depiction of men and women in the media. Generally media depict men as confident, comfortable, aware of their surroundings, physically active, rational thinker, serious, and adventurous. On the other hand, women are depicted as vulnerable, sexy, and sexually available, soft, careless, fragile, seductive, powerless, dreamy, and childlike. Goffman argues that these characteristics are not biological or natural traits; rather, these traits are culturally imposed on men and women as their masculinity and femininity. This study followed gender advertisement theory as Facebook memes are also advertising gender-related false concepts in society.

V. Methodology & Sampling

This study followed Erving Goffman's frame analysis method to find out the frames used to portray women in different Facebook memes. Frame analysis can reveal the implicit aspects of any visual content. Usually, framing means choosing some elements of any content and highlighting them. This incident can happen deliberately, or it can happen unintentionally. Generally, framing occurs as an unconscious act of people. It can also happen because of social, cultural, or political orientation and attitudes, beliefs, ideology, and values of people. Thus they make that information or angle more

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noticeable to the audience and influence their choices to process the meaning of that content.

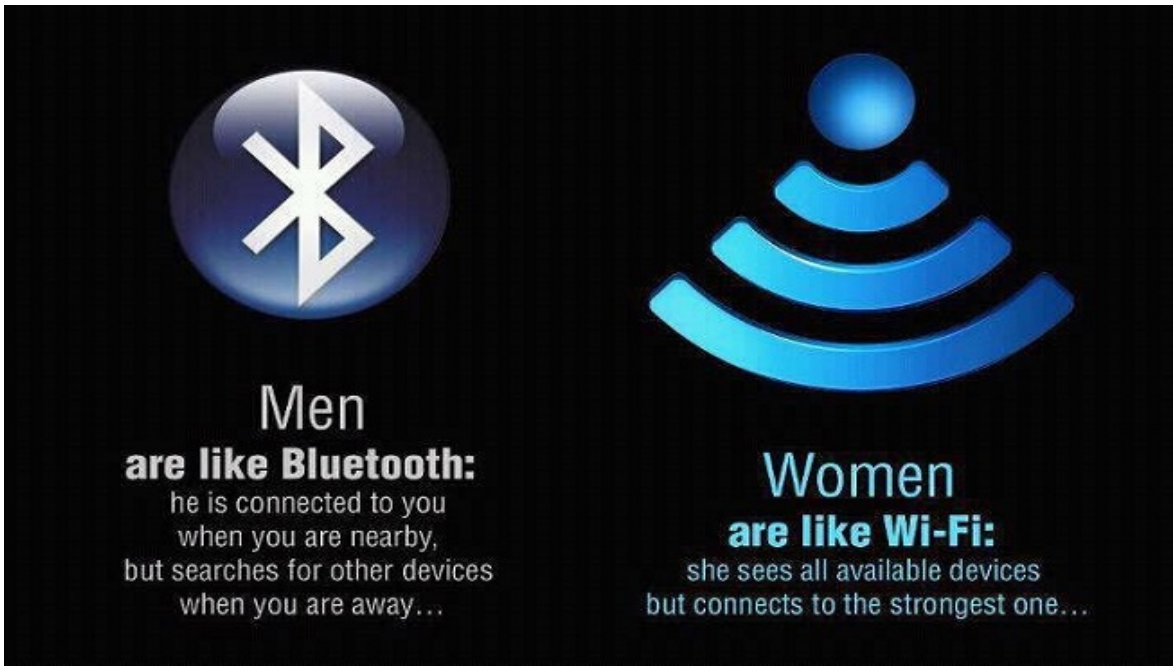
Erving Goffman is considered to be the architecture of frame analysis. Goffman says, "Frame analysis maintains that we all actively classify, organize and interpret our life experiences to make sense of them" (Goffman, 1975:21). Gitlin suggests that "We frame reality to negotiate it, manage it, comprehend it, and choose appropriate repertories of cognition and action" (Gitlin, 1980:6). It means we frame any issue or event to fulfill our purpose. Jim A. Kuypers says, "When we frame in a particular way, we encourage others to see these facts in a particular way. Framing, in this sense can be understood as taking some aspects of our reality and making them more accessible than other aspects" (Kuypers, 2009:181).

According to Entman, "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the items described" (Entman, 1993:52). In short, frame analysis helps to identify the various frames used to present specific characteristics of any content. In this regard, frame analysis is very much related to this study as selected Facebook memes are using certain frames to portray femininity.

This study selected 15 memes that were published on different Facebook pages or shared by people on their Facebook wall. These memes were chosen based on their contents. The selection process of the samples followed a purposive sampling method. Usually, purposive sampling means intentional selection of information that can demonstrate any distinctive theme, concept, or phenomenon. In this method, the subjects are selected from the population-based on their ability to meet certain specific characteristics or quality (Senam and Akpan, 2014:472).

Meme 01

Image: Meme 1 shows that there are two signs, which are known as the signs of Bluetooth and Wi-Fi. Bluetooth is a wireless technology that is used in mobile devices to share data over short distances. Bluetooth can share data in one device at a time. On the other hand, Wi-Fi is also a wireless technology that uses radio waves to provide wireless high-speed internet facilities. Numerous devices can use one Wi-Fi connection to get internet facilities.

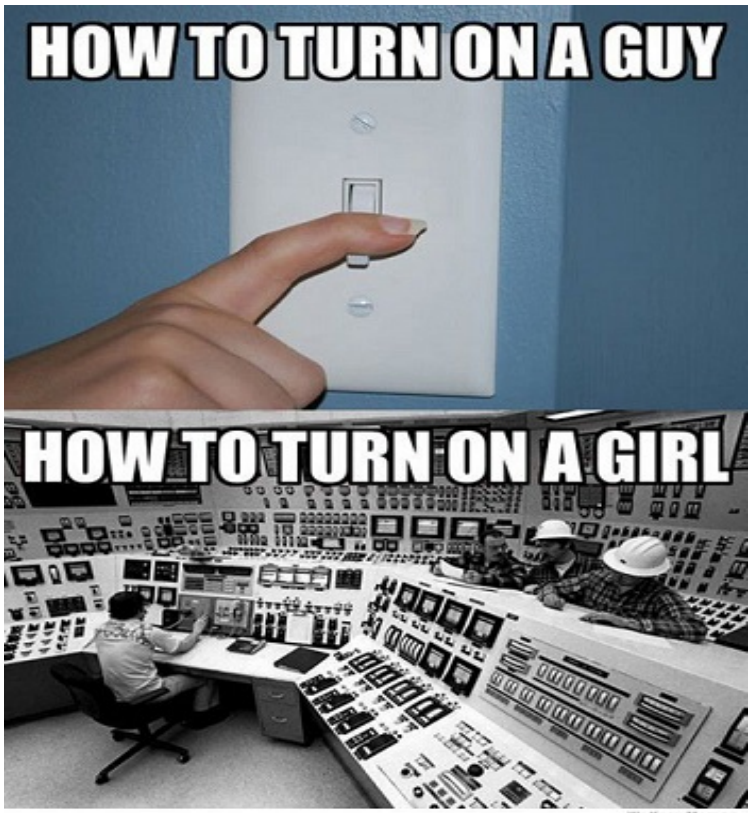


Text: Under the sign of Bluetooth, there is a text which indicates men. "Men are like Bluetooth: he is connected to you when you are nearby but searches for other devices when you are away." However, under the sign of Wi-Fi, there is a text which indicates women. "Women are like Wi-Fi: she sees all available devices but connects to the strongest one."

Meme 02

Image: Meme 2 has two sections. In the upper section, there is a simple switch, and a lady's finger is turning this switch on. In the lower section, there is a large panel of different types of switches, and three men are talking among themselves. Another man is sitting in front of the panel and working on it.

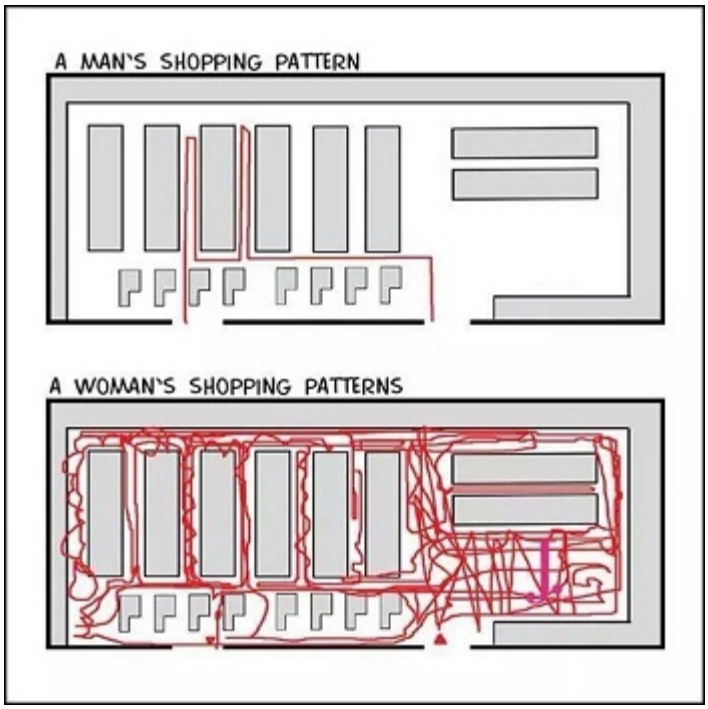
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Text: There are two sentences in this meme that say, “How to turn on a Guy” and “How to turn on a girl.”

Meme 03:

Image: Meme 3 illustrates two patterns of shopping. Firstly, there is a pattern of men’s shopping which seems very simple. Secondly, there is a very complicated pattern of women’s shopping where no one can find the beginning and end of the pattern.



Text: Meme three used two sentences, which says, “A man’s shopping pattern” and “A woman’s shopping pattern.”

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Meme 04:

Image: Meme 4 has a photo of a woman who is looking very pissed off or angry. This woman is Hollywood actress Angelina Jolie.



Text: Meme 4 has a text which is, "Arguing with a woman is like reading the software license agreement. In the end, you have to ignore everything & click, I agree."

Meme 05:

Image: Meme 5 shows that there are three people, two women and one man, where a woman is asking a question to the man. But the other woman is giving that answer on behalf of the man.

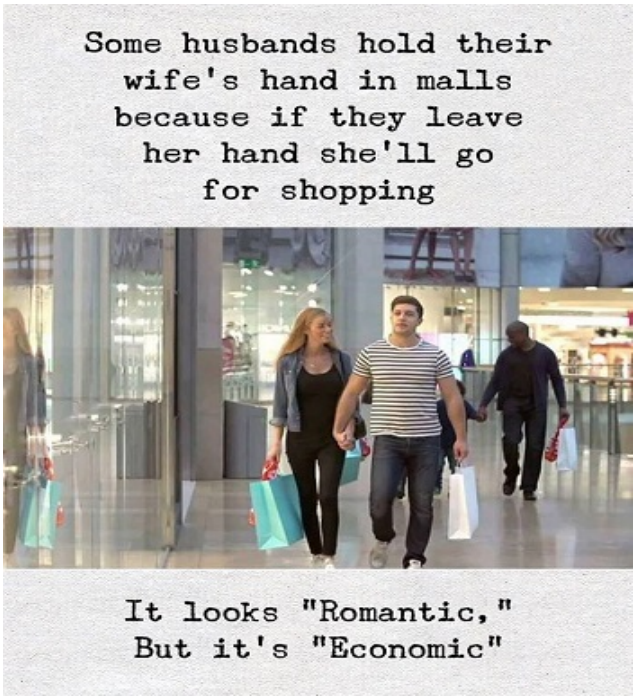


Text: A woman is asking the man, "Do you feel dominated by your wife"? The other woman is replying, "No, he doesn't."

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Meme 06:

Image: This meme shows a couple walking inside a shopping mall. Both of them are carrying shopping bags in their hands. The man is holding the hand of the woman, and they are looking happy together.



Text: There is a text used in this meme saying, "Some husbands hold their wife's hand in malls because if they leave her hand, she'll go shopping. It looks romantic, but it's economic."

Meme 07:

Image: Meme 7 has used a picture of Gigi Hadid and Kendall Jenner, who are well known as American models and media personalities. Both of these models are wearing black casual outfits and black sunglasses.



Text: In this meme, an opinion is used as text, which tells, "If women ruled the world there would be no wars. Just a bunch of jealous countries not talking to each other."

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Meme 08:

Image: Meme 8 shows a giant shark came out of the water and is going to swallow a girl. While the shark is about to eat the girl, the girl is taking a selfie with her phone.



Text: There is a text in this meme, which says, "Wait a minute, I need to post this."

Meme 09:

Image: In this meme, a girl is sitting on a bed and with great surprise and excitement looking at her bed where different types of cosmetics and makeup materials are placed before her.



Text: In this meme, there is a text above the photo, which says, "Every girl's wish!".

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Meme 10:

Image: Meme 10 has used two photos of two beautiful girls. One of them has curly hair, and the other one has straight hair. Below their picture, a cartoon is used who is saying something to the audience.



Text: In this meme, there are some texts, which say, "Girls with curly hair- I wish I had straight hair" and "Girls with straight hair- I wish I had curly hair." Below these texts, another text is used, which says, "Boys: I just want hair on my head."

Meme 11:

Image: Meme 11 has used a photo of a girl who is wearing a low cut t-shirt. People can see her cleavage through the low cut design of her t-shirt.



Text: In this meme, a text has been used, which indicates the girl is telling this to herself. The text is, "Maybe if I wear this shirt that shows my boobs, I'll meet a nice guy who wants me for my personality."

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Meme 12:

Image: Meme 12 has used two photos of a girl and placed it together. In this meme, the girl is taking a selfie in a mirror. She is dressed in jeans pant, and a white top.



Text: A text addressed above this meme says, "Girls be like, just got my hair cut, what do you think?"

Meme 13:

Image: This meme used two photos. Above, there is a girl in a pink dress, looking very happy. She is pointing at her wedding ring in her finger. Below this girl's photo, there is a photo of Gollum, a fictional character from the famous novel 'The Hobbit' by J.R.R Tolkien. In this meme, Gollum is looking at a ring with great pleasure.



Text: The texts used in this meme are, "How married women think they look on Facebook" and "This is what married women look like to single people."

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Meme 14:

Image: Meme 14 has used a photo of Hollywood actor Leonardo DiCaprio. It seems he is at a party. A glass of wine is in his hand, and he is making a toast with his glass.



Text: This meme used two comments. These are "Men age like wine" and "Women age like cheese."

Meme 15:

Image: Meme 15 has used a photo of Hillary Clinton, the former first lady of USA. In this meme, Hillary Clinton is hugging a person meanwhile making a face at someone else.



Text: There is a text in this meme that says, "Strong independent woman, who got where she is by marrying the right guy."

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VI. Analysis

Memes are regarded to have the power to change the behavior and mentality of people. There is no doubt that Facebook memes have a socio-cultural influence on society. But some of these memes arguably encourage stereotypical ideology for women. They reinforce the age-old belief that a woman is supposed to act like the way they are usually portrayed. Humor has been used as a tool against oppression since ages (Kulkarni, 2017:13). People find relief in humor. But when someone uses humor to propagate false concepts about a portion of society, it simply can be regarded as a tool of oppression. There is no doubt that Facebook memes are helping in opinion formation. They persuade people and can make or change perceptions about certain things. But not all Facebook memes are unacceptable as many of these memes provide us with laughter and joy. It becomes alarming when substandard memes catch our attention, and we get influenced by them. In this study, selected memes were shared by many Facebook users. Though these memes may look very innocent and sometimes very funny or satirical, they are humiliating a portion of society, especially women. These memes are not only disgraceful for women, but also they are creating flawed perceptions of femininity. They are promoting imposed gender roles or gender behaviors for women. Erving Goffman showed that advertisements portray women with some specific characteristics in his book *Gender Advertisement* (1976). This study tried to find out the frames used to represent women and their femininity with the help of Goffman's gender advertisement theory.

In this study, meme 1 shows two signs popularly recognized as Bluetooth and Wi-Fi. On the other hand, meme 2 compares men and women to a switch and a whole panel of switches. Both of these memes objectified men and women. Though women were bluntly represented as commodities or sex objects in media for long but memes are portraying both men and women as objects. The question appears when the texts are taken under consideration. These memes put a judgment on men and women's characters in front of the audience. Meme 1 says men are like Bluetooth. They will be with their loved ones when they are nearby. But they will try for other women whenever they get a chance or when they are not together like the Bluetooth connection works. On the other hand, women are compared to Wi-Fi. Women have their interest only in influential and powerful partners like the Wi-Fi connection works. They will wait and look for men who can at best fulfill their demands. Only then will they get attached to men. The frame found in this meme is, "Women search for powerful partners, and they are very greedy in nature." Meme 2 compares men to a simple switch. It means men are easy to read. Anyone can get along with a man without any difficulties. But women are not as simple as men. They are very hard to understand. It will take huge efforts to understand what is going on in women's minds. The frame used in meme 2 is, "It's hard to get along with women." In meme 3, there are two shopping patterns which indicate how men and women do their shopping. Red marks show the time and quantity of shopping for men and women. The shopping pattern for men is short and simple. It means men are very organized and specific about what they need. They just go shopping, buy necessary things and finish their shopping as early as possible. They don't waste time. On the other hand, the shopping pattern used for women is very complicated to understand. There is no comprehensible way to find out where it started and where it ended. It simply means women are shopaholics, and they become confused when it comes to shopping. Again, they don't want to come out of the shops early. Women have no headache about wasting time. They will look at every item in the shop several times and will still be confused about whether to buy it or not. Thus they misuse time and do lots of shopping. The frame used in this meme to portray women is, "Women are confused about shopping, and when they go shopping they do it to a great extent." Meme 4 has used a photo of Angelina Jolie, who looks a little bit annoyed. The text in this meme means arguing with women is like wasting time because, in the end, men have to go by women's will. Same as people have to do when it comes to installing any software. It requires clicking on the 'agree or accept' button; otherwise, software won't be installed. Women are like software. They don't bother about others. They try to establish what they want. At first, men may try to express their opinion, but women are ignorant about others' right of expression. That is why men have to surrender to women's will. This meme establishes the frame, "Women are not reasonable, and they make men do whatever they want." Meme 5 represents the same theme in a different way. In this meme, a couple is talking to a lady who is asking the husband if he feels domination by his wife. The wife replied to her that he does not feel any dominance. It may look humorous, but it is portraying women as oppressors and men as oppressed. It seems men are helpless in front of women's dominance. Women dominate their husbands everywhere. They regulate their husbands like machines. The frame established in this meme is, "Women are dominators of their husband."

In meme 6, a couple is walking inside a shopping mall, and some shopping bags are in their hands. The man is holding the woman's hand. A text is used to make this meme humorous. The text indicates that men hold women's hands in shopping malls not because they are romantic; rather, they are concerned about spending money. They hold the woman's hand to prevent them from going for further shopping. This meme humiliates women as they have no sense of

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wasting money. It is not true that every woman spends or wastes money on unnecessary shopping. There are many women who do not like excessive shopping. But this meme is establishing a myth that women are fond of shopping, and they have no control over it. If there was no man to prevent women from wasting money, they might buy the whole shopping mall. But there are many men who do excessive shopping too. They do waste money on unnecessary things. However, this meme shows only women as having an extravagant personality. The frame found in this meme is, "Women do excessive shopping." Meme 7 tried to draw attention by using a photo of Gigi Hadid and Kendall Jenner, two renowned models. This meme used their photo to establish a concept that women tend to compete with each other over who is more beautiful. There is also a text in this meme, which recommends women having jealous personalities. It means women envy each other. They can't deal with other people's success. They tend to ignore other women if any problems come out between them. Women don't take any steps to exterminate problems; rather, they just ignore each other. This meme also indicates women don't have the diplomatic ability to solve issues. The frame established in this meme is, "Women are jealous of each other." In meme 8, there is a girl inside the mouth of a shark. The shark is about to swallow her, but she is busy posting this incident on her Facebook account than trying to save herself. This meme mistreated women very much. Though it looks humorous, it portrayed women as Facebook addicts. Men or women, anybody can be addicted to Facebook, but nobody will act like this meme in real life. The message this meme is trying to give is Facebook is the center of women's life. Women use Facebook all time, and they share every incident of their life on Facebook. Even if they are about to die, they will share this on social media like Facebook. The frame used in this meme is, "Women are ostentatious in nature."

In meme 9, a girl is sitting on a bed, and a lot of makeup products are placed in front of her. She seems surprised, and very excited. This meme demonstrates having so many makeup products is every girl's wish. But this is simply not true for every girl. It is just a stereotypical concept. There are many women who don't like to wear makeup. They love their natural beauty. Having makeup products is not a wish for most of women. They may desire to have a proper education, a satisfying job, or a healthy life and a loving family. There are many more important things in life that a girl can wish. Where men are busy with serving the nation and the world, women do not just sit and do makeup. They also work hand in hand with men in every sphere of life. This meme tried to impose a notion which is not right for most of the women. The frame used in this meme is, "Women wish for insignificant things in life." There are two women and a cartoon character of a man in meme 10. The text used in this meme says women who have straight hair long for having curly hair and those who have curly hair wish to have straight hair. On the other hand, men don't bother with straight or curly hair. They will rather be happy if they find some hair on their scalp. It may seem funny but this meme sets the notion that women are not satisfied with what they have. They hanker after things they don't have. On the other hand men don't want many things in life. They are content with what they get. This meme denies the idea that not only women but also the whole society is changing their age-old perceptions about women. Women are embracing themselves as how they are. Some women may desire to have curly or straight hair, but as it was said earlier, it is a stereotypical notion that women are not content with what they have and desire to have things what they don't have. Moreover, there are many men who can long for straight or curly hair. But this meme made this idea as a part of femininity. This meme set up the frame that, "Women are not content with what they already have."

Meme 11 has used a photo of a woman who is smiling. She is wearing a low cut t-shirt. This meme used a text, which means this woman wore that t-shirt to get attention from a man by showing her cleavage. However, she is trying to attract men by her body, but claiming that men will be attracted to her because of her personality. This meme certainly disgraced women. First of all, women draw attention from men by showing their body is a stereotypical concept. Women may wish to have attention but not by this. This meme is humiliating for women. It seems women don't have any talents or personality to attract people. Only what they have is their attractive figure. Again, there can be many men who may want to draw the attention of women. But this meme made women as its tool to make it humorous. The frame established in this meme is, "Women desire to attract men not by their personality rather by their physique." The same concept can be found in the following meme. In meme 12, there are two pictures of a woman who took photos on a mirror showing her hair cut. She is asking people, "How is it looking"? But this meme tried to draw the focus not on her hair but her hip. It seems this woman is trying to show her hip or her hip is more attractive than her hair cut. This meme indicates that people will notice her hip at first whenever they will look at her picture. It is disrespectful for women. This woman may not want to focus on her hip. But she is portrayed in this meme as if she wants this. No one should judge a woman for her skin tone, body shape, or even for her hair style. The frame used in this meme is, "Women want to attract attention by focusing on their specific body parts."

Meme 13 has used a photo of a married woman who is pointing at her finger ring and another photo of a fictional character known as Gollum, who is looking at a ring on its hand. This fictional character looks very old,

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whimsical, and ugly. This meme compared married women with this fictional character. Married women may think they are still beautiful, but this meme says single people think women who are married look very old. Married women lose their beauty, glamour, and charm. That is why married women should not share their photos on Facebook or any social media. The message this meme is giving is unsubstantiated, hostile, and nonsensical for women. Marriage is not a certificate of measuring age. Women suddenly do not become ugly or get old after their marriage. And certainly, not everybody thinks married women are ugly or aged. The frame this meme is trying to set up is, "Women lose their beauty and become old after getting married." Meme 14 applied the same view, where a photo of Hollywood actor Leonardo Dicaprio is used. The text used in this meme claims that men age like wine, where women age like cheese. This meme made a remark which is extremely offensive, malicious and unpleasant for women. First of all, this meme objectified women. Then it claims as cheese gets rotten, women also lose their qualities with time. But men flourish themselves and gain qualities with time. Same as wine which is considered most expensive when it gets old. This meme holds grudges, contempt, and disrespect for women. Age is just a number. There are many successful women who achieved their success after getting old. Rotten cheese may not have any use, but many aged women are serving the world along with serving their family. Women are playing active roles everywhere in every age. But it is a stereotypical concept that women are of no use when they get old. The frame used in this meme is, "Women become useless when they get old." The last meme selected in this study is meme 15. This meme shows Hillary Clinton is giving hugs to a person. The text used in this meme says women who claim themselves as strong and independent achieved their position by getting favored from men or by getting married to an influential and rich man. This meme means women don't have any quality to achieve significant positions. They are vulnerable, weak, and incapable of achieving higher positions. So, women seek men's support to fulfill their dreams. This meme used Hillary Clinton's photo to draw attention towards her husband and former president of the USA, Bill Clinton. It indicates Hillary Clinton got her today's position because of her husband. She married the right person who promoted her to this position. This meme neglected Hillary Clinton's years of work and dedication in politics. It is very typical not to acknowledge women's dedication and efforts. In our society, women are not appreciated for their success. They rather face questions and criticism. People tend to pass bad comments on them. This meme reflects this exact notion of criticizing women for their achievements. The statement used in this meme is misleading and fictitious which may lead people to believe in stereotypical concepts and can create feelings of hatred towards women. The frame found in this meme is, "Women are dependent on men to achieve success in life."

It has been widely recognized that the media can play a substantial role in promoting and disseminating information and are key players in the social and economic development of women (Mishra, 2015:123). Thus Facebook can play a role as an agent of social change or can be the reinforcer of the status quo. Memes are setting ideology by presenting misinformation against women which may bring a horrendous impact in the society. If this goes on day by day, our society would plunge into such a state where no women will be appreciated for their achievements. People will forget to think rationally and start to satire and laugh at women. Women are an integral part of our society. If we leave behind women, we will not be able to develop our society.

VII. Conclusion

Facebook memes not only impart joy and laughter, but also sometimes some statements which convey hatred, sarcasm, viciousness, and vulgarity to women. It is high time we think about the harmful influence of such memes on the thoughts and attitudes of people. Some memes are purely humorous, and those don't have hidden motives. But some memes make indecent remarks and unpleasant comments about female bodies and the clothes worn by them in the disguise of humor. This study found that Facebook memes portray women within some specific frames. But those frames are not applicable for entire women folks. Not all women are very complicated to understand, they may not do lots of shopping, they may embrace their hair or any body parts as they have, they may not freak about makeup products or social networking sites, they may not be jealous to other women, they may not dominate their partners, they may not present themselves as commodity or sex objects. These memes are establishing myths that are misleading and fabricated. Memes are using humor to conceal the disrespectful portrayal of women. Women worth some dignity like men. There are many women who are doing a wonderful job in their respective fields of work. They are working on upholding their nation and country. It is high time we give women their due honor.

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Socio-Historical Analysis of Islamic Sermon: The Genesis of *ẖuṭbat Al-Ǧumu'ah (Friday's Sermon)*

By Youssef Sbai

Abstract- In this article we will try to show the process of transformation that underwent the Arab oratory, the *ẖaṭâbah*, from its genesis up to the construction of the cultual model of *ẖuṭbat ṣalât al-ǧumu'ah* (sermon of Friday's canonical prayer) spread today among Muslims. Our brief socio-historical analysis of *ẖuṭbah* goes from the period called Ǧâhilliyyah (pre-Islamic, up to 610 AD) to the dominion of the Abbasid dynasty (750-1258 AD). We will see how the *ẖuṭbah* in Ǧâhilliyyah was situated in a precise space-time framework and had specific socio-cultural functions, how its producers had definite roles and its development possessed well-known characteristics. The arrival of Islam sacralized this social practice, turning it into a religious rite, and so the *ẖuṭbat al-ǧumu'ah* was born. The death of the prophet of Islam in 632 AD caused a charismatic emptiness that generated a conflict of a symbolic order (Pace, 20042). The protagonists of the discord used the *ẖuṭbah* as a communicative tool to launch their own theological-political invectives. With the Umayyad hegemony (from 661 AD to 750 AD), this practice entered a period of great transformations.

Keywords: khutba, sociology of religions, discourse analysis, sociology of communication, symbolic interaction.

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Socio-Historical Analysis of Islamic Sermon: The Genesis of *ẖuṭbat Al-Ğumu'ah (Friday's Sermon)*

Youssef Sbai

*"Without the use of history and without a historical sense of psychological issues, the social scientist can not adequately formulate those kinds of problems that should today be the orientation points of his studies" (*Mills, 2014, page 153)[1].

Abstract- In this article we will try to show the process of transformation that underwent the Arab oratory, the *ẖaṭâbah*, from its genesis up to the construction of the cultual model of *ẖuṭbat ṣalât al-ğumu'ah* (sermon of Friday's canonical prayer) spread today among Muslims. Our brief socio-historical analysis of *ẖuṭbah* goes from the period called Ğâhilliyyah (pre-Islamic, up to 610 AD) to the dominion of the Abbasid dynasty (750-1258 AD). We will see how the *ẖuṭbah* in Ğâhilliyyah was situated in a precise space-time framework and had specific socio-cultural functions, how its producers had definite roles and its development possessed well-known characteristics. The arrival of Islam sacralized this social practice, turning it into a religious rite, and so the *ẖuṭbat al-ğumu'ah* was born. The death of the prophet of Islam in 632 AD caused a charismatic emptiness that generated a conflict of a symbolic order (Pace, 20042). The protagonists of the discord used the *ẖuṭbah* as a communicative tool to launch their own theological-political invectives. With the Umayyad hegemony (from 661 AD to 750 AD), this practice entered a period of great transformations. It became the most remarkable communication tool used by antagonistic groups with the aim of convincing, dominating and discrediting rivals. Subsequently, during the period of the *ad-dawlah al-'abbâsiyyah* (Abbasid dynasty) from 750 AD to 1258 AD, great socio-cultural transformations took place: firstly because of the encounter of Arab-Muslim civilization with other civilizations, such as the Persian civilization and the Greek one, from which a great movement of translation of philosophical works, in particular Greek, was born. Secondly, new non-Arabian peoples entered the *dâr al-'islâm,* bringing their symbolic patrimony: new adaptations of the *ẖuṭbah* were necessary, mainly due to the contamination of new cultures.

Keywords: khutba, sociology of religions, discourse analysis, sociology of communication, symbolic interaction.

I. *Al- ẖaṭābah* in Ğâhilliyyah (Pre-Islamic Period)

We should initially specify the synonyms of the keywords we will use in our search. This is certainly not the place to deepen the reflection on the difficulties of translation and interpretation of Arabic terms into English and the problematic of finding precise synonyms. We will therefore choose the English terms that we consider more semantically effective to transmit the concepts we investigated.

We have chosen the word 'prayer', for example, to translate the term *ẖuṭbah,* knowing that it is a term that indicates a solemn and canonical discourse, aware that the word *ẖuṭbah* would have many more meanings and that it is also used to indicate other discursive genres. This choice is due to the diffusion of the common sense among Muslims to indicate with the term *ẖuṭbah* the speech that the imam pronounces at noon in the mosque during the Friday worship and which takes the official name of *ẖuṭbat al-ğumu'ah.* Based on the above, we propose below a list of English words that we consider most appropriate to translate the Arabic terms:

fann al-ẖaṭâbah: rhetoric (mastery)

ẖuṭbah: sermon (practice)

ẖaṭâbah: oratory

ẖiṭâb: speech

ẖaṭîb: orator; preacher

maw'iẓah: preach

dars: catechism

With regard to the birth of rhetoric and prayer it is possible to provide precise geographical and chronological indications. From the geographical point of view, we refer to the vast territory occupied by the Arab tribes which constitutes the Arabian Peninsula (Figure 18). On the chronological axis, however, we refer to the era called Ğâhilliyyah, which began about one hundred and fifty years before the birth of Islam and ended at the beginning of the seventh century AD.

La *ẖaṭâba* had deep roots in the history of Arab civilization, as a social practice, and was considered, together with poetry, one of the most effective and one of the most influential means of mass communication in the society of that time. (al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998).

Before taking up the study of this social practice it is necessary to take a look at the socio-cultural dynamics that influenced its development and its diffusion. The first factor was the tribal socio-political system (al-Hachimi, 1969), within which relations were regulated. Each tribe had its own well-defined territory (Fig. 19) and its own social structure within which the life of its members took place.

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[1] Our traductionfron Italian language

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Fig. 1: The position of the Arabian Peninsula[2]

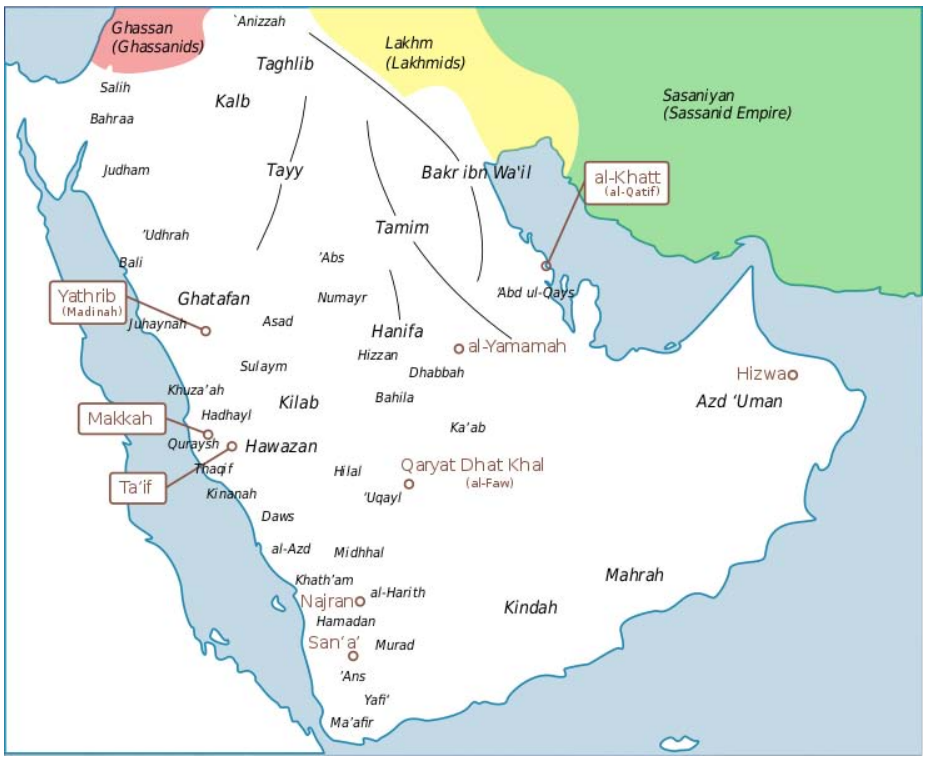


Fig. 2: The map of the Arab tribes of the Arabian peninsula before the birth of Islam [3]

[2] From WikimediaCommons, file "ArabianPeninsula (orthographicprojection) .png", author Afrogindahood, published under license Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arabian_Peninsula_(orthographic_projection).png).

[3] Da Wikimedia Commons, file "Map of Arabia 600 AD.svg", autore murraythebكيروم, pubblicodominio (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Arabia_600_AD.svg).

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a) Ar-râwî, the bearer-transmitter of collective memory

During the period of *Ğâhilliyyah*, Arabic literary transmission was oral: it relied on memory and not on writing (al-Bustani, 2014, p.29). This aspect gave birth to a very particular figure called *ar-râwî* (the narrator and conservator of collective memory) (Daif, 200812). This sort of actor had a specific field of action, his own status and a respective role within and outside the tribe. The *ruwât*[4] were divided into three categories: the narrator poets, the narrators of the poets and *ḫuṭabâ* ' and the narrators of the tribe (al-Asad, 1962). The first category contained the highest class of intellectuals, called masters: they were literary producers, and at the same time they narrated both their own poems and those of others. The second category are the *ruwâ t*of literary producers. They could be narrators of a specific *ḫaṭîb* or poet, or narrators of several authors; they were practically disciples of the masters and knew their production by hear and could then transmit it to the inside and outside of the tribe (ibidem). The third category, on the other hand, was composed of the *ruwât* of the tribe, who were the keppers of its collective memory, as well as being profound connoisseurs of its poems and its *ḫuṭab*. From the point of view of mass communication, both poetry and *ḫaṭäbah* were the most widespread media: they contained the history, events, glories, conquests and genealogies of the tribes. The *ruwât* of the tribe were, de facto, a polyvalent container, because they preserved the patrimony, poetic-literary and historical heritage of the tribes.

Each tribe had one *šâ'ir* (poet) and one *ḫaṭîb* (al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998; vol. 1, p. 241). In several cases the *šâ'ir* could be *ḫaṭîb* and viceversa, but generally who produced more poems was named *šâ'ir*, and who concentrated his intellectual activity on *ḫuṭbah* was appointed *ḫaṭîb*. We consider it important that the *ḫaṭîb* often also held other positions: the tribe leader or the prince, the judge or the military leader (al-Bustâni, 2014, p.29), but rarely the poet. This fact alludes to the use of the *ḫuṭbah* by these categories of social actors to transmit their ideas and to convince their listeners. The poet and the orator, in fact, were the spokesmen of the tribe, the transmitters of its culture, of its traditions, its social norms and above all of its collective pride and glories. Therefore, this actor was the protagonist of social episodes such as quarrels between tribes, glorifications (al-Asfahâni, 1905, volume 15, page 51), councils, guides (al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998; vol. 1, p. 401), the incitement of the warriors before the battles (al-Qâli, 1926, volume 1, page 92), the invitation to peace and truces (al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998, volume 1, page 384). Furthermore, the *ḫaṭîb* was the essential protagonist in various social events such as marriages, funerals, the celebration of alliances, the advent of the delegations, the visit to royal families or princes, ceremonies and especially in the *'aswâq*.[5] From another perspective, the very prestige of the tribe depended on them: having an excellent poet and an excellent *ḫaṭîb* meant having an authoritative spokesman and an excellent transmitter of the values of the tribe. As Muhammad Kurd Ali wrote (2012): "*Sometimes two or three generations passed without the tribe had a good poet and an influential ḫaṭîb; in this case the tribe lost its position of prestige among the tribes* ".

b) The ḫaṭîb role

In all the aforementioned moments, the success or failure of the tribe depended on the eloquence of the *ḫaṭîb*. He had to emphasize and transmit the prestige of his tribe, be convincing through rhetoric and its registers, exalt the *faḫr* (the deeds of his heroes), remember the *nasab* (genealogy), practice the *hiğâ* '(swearing against the opponents in war) and perform *riṯâ* ' (mourning the fallen).

c) The social position of ḫaṭîb

The literary production focused on the exaltation of the deeds and courage of their heroes (*faḫr*), and on the generosity of their own tribe. At the same time, it focused also on the denigration of the enemies, for whom the literary genre of the *hiğâ* ' was used insisting above all on two defects considered by the Arab symbols of meanness: avarice and cowardice. The *šâ'ir* and *ḫaṭîb* were considered means of communication to flatter the tribe, but above all to flatter the chiefs. At the same time, they were as feared as they were requested: it was enough actually not to reward well a speaker, or a poet and his tongue could become more dangerous than a sharp sword. As a result, these two actors were well rewarded and enjoyed a very prestigious social position. They were often close friends of the caliphs, governors and tribal chiefs. They were much more important than the warriors themselves (Zaydan, 1902, Volume 3, page 27). Both poetry and *ḫaṭâbah* had great influence on the society of the time, like our contemporary media. It is said of many wars and battles arisen from a *ḫuṭbah* or a poem, such as the battles of war named *Ḥarb al-Fiğâr* (War of the Sacrilege) (580-590 AD).

d) The social ground of the ḫuṭbah

The moment of the enunciation of the *ḫuṭbah* was a social moment with precise conventions, oratory and representation rules (al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998).

The *ḫuṭabâ* ' had the habit of enunciating their *ḫuṭbah* riding a horse during solemn ceremonies; it was also obligatory to wear a turban and make conventional gestures using a stick. Instead, there were a series of behaviors that discredited the authority of *ḫaṭîb*, such as

[4] Plural of râwî, the narrators.

[5] They were fairs that lasted several days and had different functions; later in this chapter we will dedicate a specific study to them.

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shaking, stuttering, showing fatigue and having a trembling voice. It was instead strongly advised not to touch the mustache, the chin or the lower part of the clothes. Among the virtuous behaviors, the appreciated *ḫaṭîb* had a strong tone of voice, a correct pronunciation, a great persuasive capacity, self-control, vitality and ability to fight tiredness (al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998). The physical position of *ḫaṭîb* had a symbolic meaning that conveyed the nature of the event: in marriages *ḫaṭîb* enunciated the *ḫuṭab* sitted, on the contrary, he stood up during the *ḫuṭab* of the truces, and rode his animal when it came to utter *ḫuṭab* in exceptional events, such as during *aswâq* (literary markets) (al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998, vol.3, p.6). Moreover, as al-Ğâḥiẓ wrote, the *ḫuṭabâ* ' of this period did not prepare their *ḫuṭbah*, but they improvised it.

e) The audience

The habit of gathering on certain occasions around a *ḫaṭîb*, to listen to his discourse concerns the social and communicative aspect that the *ḫuṭbah* and *ḫaṭîb* played in Arab civilization in this remote epoch.

f) The skills of ḫaṭîb

To be successful, personal preparation and gifts were necessary for the speaker to succeed: a beautiful presence, a loud voice, a good pronunciation, self-control, a fluent speech and a persuasiveness such as to convince anyone of his own reasons, regardless of the subject matter.

g) Considerations on the social position of the poet and of the ḫaṭîb

As for the social position of *ḫaṭîb* with respect to the poet, Shawqi Daif wrote that the field of action of *ḫaṭîb* was larger than that of the poet. They shared the same position during the quarrels and glorifications or in the incitements during the battles. However, during special ceremonies, such as the reception of the royals, the *ḫaṭîb* was the undisputed protagonist, as indeed when he welcomed princes or delegations, in marriage ceremonies or engagements, but above all in the pacification ceremonies between tribes in war (Daif, 1943). Nevertheless, the historical-literary narrative has preserved a number of poetic works much more considerable than the number of prose texts, and this is an explanation of why abu al-'Abbâs al-Qalaqšandi (756-821) wrote these words in his work *Subḥ al-A'šâ* (The morning of al-A'ša):

> "*And know that the Arabs were very concerned with prose and poetry and they produced more prose than poetry, but the fact is that more poetry was preserved [...] because the* ḫaṭîb *gave its speech to the Kings, to the governors, during the campaigns, to reconcile the tribes or during the marriage ceremonies. At the end of such occasions, only people with a good memory remembered the* ḫuṭab, *unlike the poetry that was transmitted and preserved* "(al-Qalaqšandi, 1922, vol.1, pp. 253-254).

h) Al-'aswâq al-'adabiyyah (the literature markets)

As previously mentioned, different circumstances offered the ideal socio-cultural context for the *ḫuṭbah*, but the *al-'aswâq al-'adabiyyah,* literally translated with "literary markets", was the place where they spread.

As-sûq (the plural is' *aswâq*), in addition to the socio-economic function, had a significant socio-cultural dimension. These were markets or fairs during which merchants exposed their different consumer goods: food, livestock, clothing, etc. Immersed in this context, the poets and *ḫuṭabâ* ' presented their own intellectual production in front of the public. Due to this, it emerges that *al-'aswâq al-'adabiyyah* were the most important opportunities to reach the general public and constituted an unparalleled fly-wheel. The audience in places was not composed, therefore, only by the merchants and their clients, but also by the elite and the intellectuals of the society of those times, or by the tribal chiefs, the sages, the poets, the *ḫakawâti* (storytellers), *ḫuṭabâ* ', the rich etc. Consequently, the success of a *ḫaṭîb* depended on the outcome of his performance in this space, which we can consider as a 'theater of competitions' for the *ḫuṭabâ*'.

i) Sûq 'Ukâẓ[6]

The most famous literary market in the period of Ğâhilliyyah was without doubt the Sûq 'Ukâẓ. It was an annual event that lasted twenty days and that the Arabs organized in the south of Mecca, at the beginning of the month *Ḏu-al-Qi'dah*, the eleventh month of the Arabic calendar (lunar calendar, which was adopted at the arrival of Islam and became the Islamic calendar). During Sûq 'Ukâẓ, consumer goods such as honey, wine, clothing, dates and animals were traded. It was also an opportunity to find a bride or a groom, but it was above all an opportunity for poets and *ḫuṭabâ* ' to spread their literary productions (ar-Rashid, 1977) in front of the best poets and *ḫuṭabâ*' of the time. Below is reported what it says al-Ḥûfî about the importance of this *sûq:*

> "*The poet sang his poetry from the confines of the world and no one noticed it or gave it importance until it was enunciated to the experts of the Quraiš, in the sûq of Mecca. If they liked them, he would have been cited and sung anywhere from then on and would have been written and attached on the walls of the* ka'bah[7] *becoming a source of pride and honor for the poet*

[6] The literal translation is 'the market', but as we can read in the paragraph it is rather a fair during which various commercial, social and literary activities were organized.

[7] It is an ancient building that is located inside the Masǧid al-Ḥarâm Sacred Mosque, in the center of Mecca, in Saudi Arabia, and which is the most sacred place in Islam.

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and his tribe. And if they had not liked it, he would have been forgotten "(al-Ḥûfî, 19522, p 129).

This attitude was not reserved only for poets, but also for *ḫuṭabâ* '.

The Quraiš, actually, developed a well-determined strategy to maintain supremacy over the Arab tribes, maintaining the monopoly of the religious management of Mecca on the one hand and sponsoring *al-'aswâq al-'adabiyyah* (literary markets) on the other (al-Wardi, 2013). Thanks to the *ḫuṭbah* and poetry, this event boosted the diffusion of the eloquence of the Quraiš and the socio-cultural contamination between the different tribes (al-Afghani, 19742).

As already mentioned, this sûq lasted twenty days, after which the Arabs moved to another location called Sûq al-Miǧannah, where they spent another ten days. Then they moved towards Sûq Ḏû-al-Maǧâz, where they spent eight days, and soon after the period of *ḥaǧǧ* (the pilgrimage[8]) began.

j) The most famous ḫuṭabâ' of Ǧâhilliyyah

ShawqiDaif (200812) lists the excellent names of the speakers of the Ǧâhilliyyah, Below some:

- QussibnSa'idah al-Iyâdi;
- QaisibnḪariǧahibnSanânah;
- 'UtbahibnRabî'ah;
- Suhailibn 'amr al-A'lam;
- Nufailibnu 'abdi al-'Uzzah;
- abû 'Ammâraṭ-Ṭâ'î;
- HânîibnuQubaisah;
- Sa'dibnuar-Rabî'.

k) Development factors of the ḫuṭbah

The *ḫuṭbah* developed thanks to the following factors: freedom of expression, contexts of conflict and truce, places of confrontation such as literary markets and social events like as weddings and funerals.

l) Types of ḫuṭbah in the Ǧâhilliyyah

We can say that the *ḫuṭbah* of Ǧâhilliyyah was a practice much more widespread than poetry and that it was used in well-defined social circumstances; the scholars established different types of *ḫuṭab* (al-Qalaqšandi, 1922): *ḫuṭab al-wafadât* (orations of ceremonies), *ḫuṭab al-ḥarbiyyah* (speeches of war), *ḫuṭbah iṣlâḥ ḏât al-bayn* (discourse of reconciliation) and other types, like the *ḫuṭabs* of funerals and marriages. The literary markets were an annual occasion to expose their production to the criticism of the experts, and the influence of the *ḫaṭābah* was evident to the point that it triggered wars and allowed reconciliations. All this leads us to think that the *ḫaṭâbah* was a widespread social practice and that its producers were influential people on the one hand, and they enjoyed great respect on the other.

m) The turn of ḫuṭbah in the Ǧâhilliyyah

The available literary heritage teaches that in the sixth century after Christ, more precisely in the period close to the birth of Islam, a great social change emerged in the Arabian Peninsula (Said, 2012). Several tribes began to move from nomadism to a sedentary lifestyle. In this way many populations of Yemen moved north, particularly to the actual Iraq and aš-Šam (the Levant: Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine). These Arab tribes settled on the borders with the Byzantine and Persian empires, with which they sometimes established loyalties or distrust. This transformation had a relapse on society providing an incentive for the formation of a system of individuals, instead of a tribal and patriarchal society (Abdesselem, 1977). In the ancient period of Ǧâhilliyyah, in the fourth and fifth centuries, collective values, such as pride, were reflected in the culture of patriarchal society; however, in the second half of the sixth century, the society began to address issues related to the importance of the individual in social life and its role as a citizen (ibidem). These social dynamics were influenced the literary production of that time, especially the *ḫaṭâbah* (Said, 2004). We have elements to suppose that at the end of the sixth century AD, a type of *ḫuṭbah* was born. It was different from tthe one diffused in the Arab society of the fourth and fifth centuries, and it will prepare the ground for the *ḫuṭbah* of the era of Islam. To deepen this concept, we will examine a model of *ḫaṭîb* represented by Quss ibn Sa'idah al-Iyâdi (about 500-600 AD), that was *ḫaṭîb* of the Iyâd tribe (Said, 2012). Quss was a poet and a *ḫaṭîb* with admirable eloquence, but he is considered by all the classics[9] of Arabic literature, one of the most illustrious *ḫuṭabâ* ' of Ǧâhilliyyah, since he produced more *ḫuṭab* than poems. The most significant datum of his khatabitic production is the total lack of any indicator of his tribal belonging, Iyad: this new practice consecrates him as a pioneer in breaking the custom of the *ḫuṭabâ* '. His tribal membership was only part of his name and a fact for tribal genealogy experts. This behavior was a sign of a new, gradual direction of belonging to wider circle not mentioned in classical literature which Mohammed Said (2004) called "social integration". One could therefore assert that the sixth century has seen a socio-cultural wind of change, which we will call "culture of change". The *ḫuṭab* of Quss indeed shows that a new culture was born, different from that of the traditional tribe. Quss did not stop announcing a political-social project that would allow people to live as individuals and not as singles belonging to a tribe. The pathos of his oratory aimed to

[8] The pilgrimage was a pre-Islamic religious practice that was confirmed by Islam with variations in rituals.

[9] al-Asfahâni, al-Ǧâḥiẓ, abuHilâl al-'Askarî, al-Qalaqšandi, ibnQutaibah, ibnSa'idal-Andalusî, al-Mas'ûdî and many others.

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empower the individual, beyond his tribal belonging, and to remind him of his end, death, using different forms of rhetoric. His statements were full of metaphors related to the end, the departure, the afterlife where the ancestors were. Furthermore, the new rhetoric in Quss production aimed the objective of drawing the attention of the listeners to the natural phenomena that surrounded them.

These data place us in front of a new type of *ḫuṭbah* that shows very specific characteristics. Firstly, death was no longer the symbol of courage and loyalty to the tribe or symbol of the sacrifice for the pride of the group to which he belongs, but Quss recalled death in its spiritual dimension. To emphasize this concept, he referred to past generations, the passing of time, to the fact that those who die do not return. All these references were new to the Arab culture of that time and were not present in the *ḫuṭab* of earlier times. Secondly, he used the elements of nature, to emphasize the splendor of its phenomena: the sky, the stars, the moon, the sun, the rain, the light, the darkness, the animals, etc., their beauty, their greatness, their splendor; all this was part of his language in order to convince the participants. The same communication strategy was adopted by one of his contemporaries called al-Ma'mûr al-Ḥârîṯî (Ṣafwat, s.d.). Finally, Quss *ḫuṭab* contained new rules of social justice beyond tribal membership, without forgetting that he was also a judge to whom different tribes referred (ibn Ḥabîb, 2009). This invitation to social justice out of the context of the tribe was a new fact in the Arab political culture of the time. From another perspective, the religious dimension in Quss literary production acquired a new element: the appearance of monotheism in the khatabic discourse, a simple monotheism. In this perspective we cannot but focus on the presence of monotheistic religions in the pre-Islamic Arabian Peninsula. Many scholars (Beaucamp& Robin, 1999-2000; Fisher, 2011; and others) agree on the presence of Christianity in the following territories: in the archipelago of Bahrain, in Palestine, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, in southern Arabia, especially in Najran, and in Hegiaz, while the presence of Judaism was more significant in Yaṯrib (later Medina). It is interesting to note that Christians and Jews usually appeared in Mecca as individuals, so it seems that a Christian or Jewish community in Mecca has never existed. However, Jews in pre-Islamic Arabia were long considered as a minority group, because of their distinct Jewish habits and customs with respect to local Arab culture. Through close contacts with the Jews some Arabs became familiar with Jewish religious customs, ideas, ethical concepts and homiletic tradition, and some Hebrew and Aramaic terms were learned by those Arabs (Wang, 2016). As a result, some scholars consider our ḫaṭîb Quss a Christian religious (Cheikho, 1888). Other scholars, however, consider him a *ḥanafî*, a traditional monotheist (al-Mas'ûdî, 2012), given the lack of rhetoric and Christian indicators in his *ḫuṭab* on one side, and given the spread of Hanafism among many Arabs of the time on the other.

On the other hand, Quss was a traveler *ḫaṭîb*: his travels included Šam, 'Ukâẓ (suburb of Mecca) and Najran (southern Arabia). Therefore, his continuous movement was a habit that allowed him to meet different tribes and populations and visit different places, but above all to participate in literary markets. If we add this to the lack of feeling of belonging to one's own tribe, it becomes legitimate to raise questions about the social status of Quss: was he a religious, a rebel, or an intellectual who preched a change? Or was he all these things together? Surely it was not the ideal type of *ḫaṭîb* of the tribe in the traditional sense of the Ǧâhilliyyah but became the *ḫaṭîb* of a cause.

In our opinion, this type of *ḫaṭîb* did not belong to any specific religious circle: his *ḫuṭab* emphasize many aspects of monotheism, such as death and life in the afterlife, but at the same time they transmit unanswered questions that allude to a state of mind in constant search for an exhaustive answer. For the first time the *ḫuṭbah* was used to get the crowd reflect on death through a spiritual approach, to look at nature through meditation, to face the cycles of human life, to think of a life of different dimension, without giving directives or rules though. The news brought by *ḫuṭbah* also concerned the discursive practice. It was Quss who used for the first time in Arab history a stick in his oratory performances, in order to extend the gestures that accompanied the enunciation. Another primacy of Quss was the formulation of the famous expression *'ammâ ba'd*, literally "after all" (al-'Askarî, 1987) which will become a rhetoric of all *ḫuṭab* until today. All these features were not exclusive of Quss. On the contrary, this model has become an oratory style of many *ḫuṭabâ* ' of the last decades of the sixth century, especially those coming from the Yemeni tribes who emigrated to the north, i.e Waki ibn Salâmah, Ri'ab ibn al-Barâ Ašanni and Baḥîrâ Rahib. These data allow us to say that the *ḫuṭbah* had an impressive effect that allowed it to broaden its argumentative boundaries and its socio-cultural and political functions. These expansions were connected to a new vision of the individual's position within the group and his responsibilities towards himself. This new vision was a point of contact among these populations, the Byzantines and the Persians in the Šâm, in Iraq. Quss and his fellows were interpreters of this transformation and were mediators who belonged to a multi-culture. This is not a religious discourse framed within a system of beliefs, but rather the picture of the "messianic discourse" similar to that born in the Middle East before the arrival of Christianity, as described by Albert Soued (2000). We can consider these *ḫuṭabâ* ' as intellectuals who, concerned themselves with the interests of society, its culture and the reproduction of its knowledge. At the same time, they represented the

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projection of the sociocultural needs of their society: both they and the poets turned their journeys and the spread of the word into tools to transmit a new culture and they played the role of promoters of change.

Quss lived a very long life and in spite of his advanced age, he continued to move from one side of the Arab world to another. Arabic literature (ibn Kaṯîr, 2010; vol.2, al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998) reports an episode of great importance in which a young Mecca citizen (he must have been between 10 and 20 years)[10] describes Quss riding his camel *Awrak* while inflames the crowd with his *ḫuṭbah* in the annual literary market of '*Ukâẓ* on the outskirts of Mecca. In 610 AD this boy will become Muḥammad, the prophet of Islam. At this point, the *ḫuṭbah* already had a form, a rhetoric and rules and will be handed down in this way during the period of Islam.

n) Consideration

So far, we can say that the *ḫuṭbah* of Ğâhilliyyah went through two precise periods. The first lasted for a hundred and fifty years before the arrival of Islam until fifty years later (from 400 to 550 AD approximately). In this period the *ḫaṭabah* had characteristics related to the glory of one's tribe and one's own people. In the second period (from about 550 to 610), however, the *ḫaṭabah* entered a new dimension related to the person as an individual. This transformation occurred in those places where several Arab tribes settled down, and between groups of people who abandoned nomadism and settled permanently. This new life allowed them to have very intense relations with local people who belonged to different cultures and religions, especially Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism (Hoyland, 1997).

II. The Sacralization of *ḫuṭbah* and the Genesis of *ḫuṭbat Al-Ğumu'ah*

a) Muḥammad's background

Going through the theme of the biography of Muḥammad, the prophet of Islam, we face with the scarcity of information related to his earthly life. There is a biography of him, *Sîrah*, written by ibn Hišâm in the ninth century, more than two hundred years later the time of Muḥammad, which referred to a first draft carried out more than one hundred years earlier by ibn Isḥâq, the first official biographer of the prophet, whose text, however, has not survived (Pace, 20042). To derive useful information necessary for the reconstruction of the figure of the prophet, we must rely on other sources (Lo Jacono, 1995): the Koran, the sayings and facts of the prophet (*ḥadîṯ*) and the texts after his death that describe, sometimes with aimpressive realism, the concrete human dimension of Muḥammad. The most important dimension for our research is the religious background in which is found the biography of Muḥammad, given the connection of *ḫuṭbah* with religion in general. Thus, these narratives tell us that Muḥammad became aware of his prophetic mission in adulthood (40 years). Furthermore, he became aware of the status of prophet gradually - not without uncertainty at the beginning - after an intense experience of meditation in solitude and in the silence of the desert (Pace, 2004, p.26). From that moment, he began his prophetic journey, announcing to have met God, and invited others to believe in what he himself had lived. From the first moment of the new experience, the prophet of Islam used *ḫuṭbah* to communicate his message to his fellow citizens. It is the same social practice of Ğâhilliyyah in all its details: the use of the stick, addressing all the fellow citizens, etc. During all this period and up to 622 AD the*ḫuṭbah* had these characteristics. The most famous example is the one reported by ibn al-'Aṯîr in his encyclopedia, *Ğâmi 'al-'usûl minaḥadîṯar-rasûl* (The collector of the foundations of the prophet's sayings), where he reports a *ḫuṭbah* that Muḥammad told above the "hill" as-Ṣafâ (Mecca), which begins with a reference to the representatives of the tribes gathered there, saying the proper name of the tribes: 'abdManâf,' abdŠams, 'abd ad-Dâr, etc. Everyone came with great curiosity to see why they were called. When Muḥammad took the floor, he began his speech by asking the following question: "*If I had told you that there is an army behind this hill that would conquer you, would you have believed me?*". After obtaining their consent he said: "*I am sent by God to warn you of great torment*". [11]During those years the Muslims represented, to use sociological terms, a counter-culture, or were even

[10] In one ḥadîṯ reported by ibnKaṯîr, Muḥammad said:

لما قدم وفد إياد على النبي قال: «يا معشر وفد إياد ما فعل قس بن ساعدة الإيادي».

قالوا: هلك يا رسول الله.

قال: لقد شهدته يوما بسوق عكاظ على جمل أحمر يتكلم بكلام معجب مونق لا أجدني أحفظه.

فقام إليه أعرابي من أقاصي القوم فقال: أنا أحفظه يا رسول الله.

قال: فسر النبي بذلك قال: فكان بسوق عكاظ على جمل أحمر وهو يقول:

يا معشر الناس اجتمعوا فكل من فات فات، وكل شيء آت آت، ليل داج، وسماء ذات أبراج، وبحر عجاج، نجوم تزهر، وجبال مرسية، وأنهار مجرية، إن في السماء لخبرا، وإن في الأرض لعبرا، ما لي أرى الناس يذهبون فلا يرجعون، أرضوا بالإقامة فأقاموا، أم تركوا فناموا، أقسم قس بالله قسما لا ريب فيه إن لله دينا هو أرضى من دينكم هذا.

"When the Iyad delegation arrived in Medina, the prophet asked them, 'What did Quss do?' And they said he was dead. Then he said: 'I saw him one day in the market of' Ukâẓ on a red camel, he said a speech, extraordinary and precise, but I did not remember it '. Then a member of the delegation said, 'I remember him'. The prophet was so pleased to hear the reply of that *ḫuṭbah*: 'O people, come and know that who dies disappears, and what is to come will come, the night passes, the sky is illuminated, the sea is immense, the stars bright , the balanced mountains, the running rivers. Do you know that a story is in heaven, and experiences are on earth, because those who leave do not return? Are they pleased about the afterlife or have they been ignored and sleepy? I swear an oath that will be respected ".

[11] The *Ṣaḥîḥ* of Muslin, *ḥadîṯ* number 339.

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considered a sect by the Arabs of that time (Peace, 2004).

b) The sacralization of ḫuṭbah

In 622 AD, before the hostility of the Quraiš tribes, Muḥammad organized the emigration to the city-oasis of Yaṯrib, later named Medina, a decision also due to the fact that the tribes of the oasis had proposed him to assume the *super partes* role of *hakam* (referee) (Lo Jacono, 2011). There is no doubt about the importance of this event in the story of the Prophet Muhammad and his first disciples, an importance manifested in considering it a significant turning point: so, 622 AD becomes the first year of the Islamic religious calendar. Therefore, in Yaṯrib the fracture with the social environment of origin - Mecca - took on a social and religious significance in different senses. One of these is the conception of the city-community of believers ('*ummah*) in the vision of a universal ethic against the principle of particularistic ethnic identification. In this new environment the prophet rewrote the rules of "social play" starting from an ethical-religious order founded on the extra-ordinary (the divine law) and guaranteed by the charismatic gift the prophet received (Pace, 2004). Unfortunately, we do not have certain information on how to insert the Friday rite into the new Islamic socio-religious order. In a narration by Murtadâaz-Zubaidî in his encyclopedia *Tâǧ al-'arûs* (The Crown of the Bride), he states that the Arabs of Quraiš, in the pre-Islamic period, honored the day of Friday, which was called *Yawm al-'Urûbah* (The day of Arabism), and during that day they gathered around Ka'b ibn Lu'ayi to hear one of his *ḫuṭbah,* he is told to have changed the name of this day to *ǧumu'ah (*Friday) (al-Alûsî al-Baġdâdî, sd: vol. 1, p. 273). Another naration, instead, reports that the first Muslims ofYaṯrib, even before emigration, changed the name of this day. Observing that the Jews celebrated the Sabbath and the Christians on Sunday, they asked their leader, Sa'dibnuZurârah, to make a speech after the Friday prayer.

At this point, it is worthlike to analyze the transformation of the *ḫuṭbah*from social practice to the sacred rite of the Islamic religion in the light of the interpretative tools of the social sciences. The new rules related to worship can be summarized in this order:

– The recommendation to emphasize the importance of participation in the rite of *ṣalât al-ǧumu'ah* in Sacred Scripture[12] as a symbol of belonging to the '*ummah*: a worshipper whod abstains for three Fridays without a legitimate reason is a *munâfiq* (hypocrite);
– Insert the ritual in a relevant space-time frame: the noon prayer and the Friday prayer in a sacred place, that is in the mosque;
– Define the normative framework of this rite and above all the value of silence - which is a duty during the *ḫuṭbah* - and of the purification in order to participate (*al-ġusl*);

There are other norms of minor importance and object of discord among the juridical-religious schools. Friday worship in practice is one of the socio-religious consequences of *hiǧrah* (emigration) from Mecca to Medina.

Despite the enormous religious importance of this cult, the historical-religious narrative has not transmitted to us the *ḫuṭab al-ǧumu'ah* of the prophet, which should be more than five hundred pieces. Within the large Muslim family there is in fact a very heated debate on why these homiletic productions have not been preserved, as on the contrary tens of thousands of *ḥadîṯ* (sayings of prophet) the have been preserved. We have generic*ḫuṭabs* such as the famous "*ḫuṭbah* of the farewell pilgrimage", called *ḫuṭbat ḥaǧǧat al-wadâ* ', but not those of Friday. This fact requires a deepening, but we do not consider this the place to do it. We limit ourselves to reporting a narrative considered doubtful (*ḥadîṯ marfû* ') which tells that in the first *ḫuṭbah* on Friday, Muḥammad said (al-Baihaqî, 2010; ḥadîṯ n° 809):

كانت أول خطبة خطبها رسول الله (ص) بالمدينة أنه قام فيهم، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه بما هو أهله ثم قال: «أما بعد أيها الناس فقدموا لأنفسكم، تعلمن والله ليصعقن أحدكم، ثم ليدعن غنمه ليس لها راع، ثم ليقولن له ربه، وليس له ترجمان ولا حاجب يحجبه دونه: ألم يأتك رسولي فبلغك وآتيتك مالا، وأفضلت عليك، فما قدمت لنفسك؟ فلينظرن يمينا وشمالا فلا يرى شيئا...

"*Oh, people, give priority to benevolence and know that death does not warn and separate the person from his flock that remains without the shepherd, to whom the Lord will ask, without the need for interpreter: 'Have we not sent you a messenger who has transmitted our word and have not we given you our gifts? What have you prepared for this day [of the judgment, n.d.r.]? '. The person will look to the right and left and will not find anything ... ".*

The first observation we can make is that the speech is addressed to all people and no longer addressed the tribes. This alludes to the new sense of the Islamic message, which becomes a universal message. Another important fact is the reconfirmation and strengthening of the conception, already internalized earlier in Mecca, which concerns the monotheistic creed and the trust in the prophecy of Muḥammad.

c) The ḫaṭâbah after the death of Muḥammad

The Umayyad dynasty seized power after a long conflict between 'Ali ibn Ṭâlib, son-in-law of the prophet, and Mu'awiyyah ibn abûSufiân, head of the Banî 'Umayyah clan. The latter, after the assassination of 'Ali, proclaimed himself caliph in 661 AD and moved the capital to Damascus. Despite the hegemony of the Umayyad dynasty, there were territories controlled by

[12] Quran, sûrah LXII, verse 9 (Ventura, 2010, p.351).

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sympathizers of rival groups. The antagonistic groups, on the other hand, were very active with multiple instruments. One of these was the *ḫaṭabah.* Both the Shiites and the Ḫawâriğ (separatists) and the Umayyads engaged their best *ḫuṭabâ* ' to persuade the populations of their right to govern and to respond to the opponents. This fact gave a very strong push to perfecting the eloquence of the *ḫuṭbah*. Moreover, the enunciation of the homiletic product was performed by the caliph himself in the mosque of the capital or by his governors in other cities; consequently, we assume that the population was very interested in participating not only in professing the cult, but also because it was the only means of weekly communication between the caliph and the population.

Returning to the ritual of worship on Friday, it is very important to know that the arrival of Islam in the new territories - Syria, Iraq and Egypt - brought with it the cult of Friday with the ritual frame that had emerged in the Arabian peninsula: above all the continuous placement of the ritual in a habitual space-time frame, the use of the *minbar*, the use of a stick by the preacher, the beginning of the sermon with precise religious formulas, dressing in a certain way, etc. The respect for these consensual norms provided and preserved the model of worship, but the *ḫuṭbah* as a religious product went through transformations in its social dimensions. These transformations become evident when we analyze the homiletical production of the *ḫuṭabâ* 'of the three antagonistic groups.

d) The Umayyad ḫuṭbah: the genesis of the ḫuṭbat al-ğumu'ah of the State

The first difficulty faced by the researcher in this matter is the abundance of *ḫuṭab* enunciated above the minbar, but the classics of Arabic literature that transmitted them did not specify if they were *ḫuṭab al-ğumu'ah* (Friday sermon) or *ḫuṭab* related to other occasions. Instead, the historian of Arabic literature Shawqi Daif, addressing this problem wrote: "*The Umayyad* ḫuṭabâ' *announced sermons on Friday and in the two annual festivals, such as the* ḫuṭab *of Ziyâd and* al-Ḥağğâğ [governor and military leader. *We also note that most of the caliphs were* ḫuṭabâ "(Daif, 1943). Let us now see examples of the Umayyad *ḫuṭab*, announced by the minbar, to realize how these political actors transformed a religious practice into a means of communication to convince the population to submit to the caliph, and how they religiously legitimized their power.

Ziyad ibn Abîh, governor of Basra on behalf of the caliph Mu'awiyyah ibn abûSufiân, enunciated a *ḫuṭbah* from above the minbar, beginning his sermon without *ḥamdalah* (religious formula introducing *ḫuṭbah*), so critics called it *al-ḫuṭbah al-baṭrâ* ', literally "the maimed *ḫuṭbah*". This critique indicates that *al-ḥamdalah* was considered an essential part of *ḫuṭbah.*

The context of this prayer was characterized by strong rebellions in Iraq, both by the Shiites and the Ḫawâriğ. The governor treated his homiletic speech very well and began to describe the behavior of the citizens of Basra, which was a behavior "*deviating from what Allah recommended*":

أما بعد، فإن الجهالة الجهلاء، والضلالة العمياء، والغي الموفي بأهله على النار ما فيه سفهاؤكم، ويشتمل عليه حلماؤكم من الأمور العظام ينبت فيها الصغير، ولا يتحاشى عنها الكبير كأنكم لم تقرؤوا كتاب الله ولم تسمعوا ما أعد الله من الثواب الكبير لأهل طاعته، والعذاب الأليم لأهل معصيته في الزمن السرمدي الذي لا يزول.

"*And therefore, the deepest ignorance, the blind deviance, the injustice that carries its executor to Hell, correspond in truth to what the licentious among us do, and also your sages are not immune. You behave as if you had not read the book of Allah [the Qur'an, n.dr.] and did not know the eternal reward that Allah has prepared for those who obey him and the eternal punishment for those who disobey his commandments.* "

It is significant to underline the absence of an introduction: this immediately attracted the attention of the worshippers and was an indicator of the importance of the message conveyed on the gravity of the situation and about how the governor was angry with the citizens of Basra. Of great impact was certainly the choice to use the rhetoric of heaven and hell as consequences of obedience and disobedience to Allah. It is very interesting to use the terms "obey" and "disobey" against Allah, to deserve His "paradise" or His "hell". The governor did not deal with a religious issue and did not criticize religious ethics, but he faced unacceptable actions against the Caliph: his goal was to convince the worshippers to end their hostility and their rebellion against the Caliph. With great skill Ziyad said:

أيها الناس، إنا أصبحنا لكم ساسة، وعنكم ذادة، نسوسكم بسلطان الله الذي أعطانا.

"*People, we have become your governors and we govern you with the power Allah has given us*". To govern the citizens, for Ziyad, is not an administrative or political fact but rather religious in the name of Allah. Therefore, it is as if he had said: "Whoever obeys us in truth obeys God and deserves heaven, and whoever disobeys us has disobeyed Allah and deserves the punishment of hell". Consequently, the 'citizens-faithful' had a moral obligation to respect this pact, imposed demagogically.

It was the first time in the history of Islam, in our opinion, that the ruler proclaimed himself a delegate of Allah and superimposed the religious sphere on the political sphere openly. This message was transmitted to the faithful in the mosque by the minbar. The *ḫuṭbah* became the instrument of the transmission of official Islam, the Islam of the state.

Shawqi Daif in his encyclopedia "*The art and its tendencies in Arab prose"* (1943) wrote that this *ḫuṭbah* of Ziyâd alludes to the cultural contamination that the

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Arab environment underwent with the encounter with the Persian civilization, which became explicit with the transformation of the religious language that led Ziyad to the concept of "delegated ruler" by Allah.

Another example of Umayyad *ḫuṭbah* is represented by the *ḫuṭbah* of al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ,[13] pronounced from the minbar of the mosque of Kufa during the caliphate of 'abd al-Mâlik. His famous *ḫuṭbah* was enunciated on his first entry as governor in the city of Kufa. It is a settlement *ḫuṭbah*, in which it presents and clarifies his politics to the citizens. In this period Kufa was the head quarters of supporters of the murdered caliph 'Ali ibn Ṭâlib (later to be called Shiites), but the most respected charismatic figure was Hussain, 'Ali ibn Ṭâlib son, who was killed by the Umayyads in a place called Karbalâ ', later became a sacred place for the Shiites. The arrival of al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ, therefore, took place in a period of conflict and rebellion of the Shiites against the Umayyads. The new governor, as soon as he reached the gates of Kufa with his thousands of warriors, he ordered them to camp and decided to enter the city alone. But before leaving, he devised a very specific strategy to realize his goal: to scare the citizens of Kufa and convince them to submit to the Umayyads. When al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ went to play his part in the mosque of Kufa, implicitly asked the citizens to take seriously what they would see happen before their eyes and how they would hear with their ears (Goffman, 1997). First, al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ decided to wear Bedouin clothes, to put a turban covering his face, and to ride his bareback camel (ibn Qutaibah, 1925, vol.2, p.224; al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998, Volume 2, page 308). In addition to the this, the language he used in his *ḫuṭbah* was also typical of the Bedouin: he cited many poems composed by Bedouins and unknown to the citizens of Kufa (Daif, 1943). Also the way of speaking and gestures during the performance were consistent with the role played: "*When he climbed on* the minbar *he talked softly*, *almost you could not hear his voice, then he raised his voice and drew his hand from the long sleeve and pointed with his hand and shouting out loud, until he frightened those who sat at the back of the mosque*" (Mubarrad, 1999, p.173). All the elements, of the "representation", using a Goffmanian word, were coherent, from the "facade" to the "setting" up to the "manner" (Goffman, 1997), to perfect his discursive production in order to frighten and convince his public. Al-Ğâḥiẓ reports the commentary of a great mystic, Mâlik ibn Dinâr, a contemporary of al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ, who said: "*I was hearing al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ preach and tell what Iraqis suffered and it occurred to me that he was the righteous and they were the transgressors, and this is due to his eloquence and his marvelous rhetoric*" *(*al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998, Volume 1, page 394).

All these background details provided the scenario and improvisation desired by the new governor during his settlement to intrigue citizens, but above all to scare them. The inhabitants of Kufa, in fact, were civil persons and enjoyed great wealth: the literary narrative informs us that every inhabitant traveled around the city with many servants and relatives, in some cases up to thirty and more. The presence of an unknown Bedouin was a frightful and unusual fact. With this 'equipment' al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ entered the mosque and climbed the *minbar*. Then he remained, for a long time, sitting without saying anything in front of the curiosity and the fear of the faithful who were entering. The scenario did not comply with the rules: the lack of an indicator of the charge of this actor, the Bedouin clothing, the turban covering the face, and then the long silence, were unusual practices. One of the faithful tried to throw stones at him, but he was stopped by his relatives, as al-Gharavi says (2008; vol.6) in his encyclopedia. Only once the mosque was crowded, he stood up and said:

أنا ابن جلا، وطلاّعُ الثنايا متى أضع العِمامة تعرفوني.

"*I am the son of transparency and the climber of the mountains, once I remove the turban you will recognize me*".

Once again, the new governor did not respect the norms: he began his elaboration without *muqaddimah* and without any religious expression. He also used two metaphors in the same sentence: son of transparency, in the sense that he was not afraid to identify himself or even to remain hidden; climber of the mountains, alluding to a strong and courageous person who, besides possessing great physical strength, also possesses great courage. The impression he conveyed, in the mosque from the top of the minbar, was that of a man of transparency, strength and courage. Surely not of a man of faith or religion.

In his speech, he immediately went straight to the point using again a series of metaphors to help the faithful's understandig and above all to specify the desired senses:

إنّي والله لأرى أبصارا طامحة وأعناقا متطاولة، ورؤوسا قد أينعت وحان قِطافها! وإنّي صاحبها

"*I swear to you that I am seeing envious looks, long necks, mature heads ready to be collected, and I will be the collector*".

Let's analyze the three al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ metaphors. The envious eyes could have two meanings: the first could be the curiosity of the participants in seeing the

[13] *al-Hajjâjibn Yusuf* (661 - 714) was an Arab general, the most important general at the service of the first caliphs of the first Umayyad period, for whom he led various war operations against ' Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and eventually defeated him. Later he was sent by the Umayyads to pacify Iraq, of which he was governor for twenty years. A skilled strategist and administrator at the same time, he managed to expand the territory of Islam in India and Central Asia, but he gained a bad reputation due to his the cruelty and numerous brutalities he was capable of "(Wikipedia, entry" Al-Hajjajibn Yusuf ", Https: //it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Hajjaj_ibn_Yusuf, consulted on December 8th, 2017 at 4:50 pm).

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governor, and the second could refer to people who aspire to leadership. The second metaphor reinforces the first: the necks are stretched so as to raise the heads and the gaze to see and discover the speaker. The third metaphor considers the heads of the participants as the ripe fruits that have arrived at the time of being harvested and the governor does not hide (son of transparency) he will gather the heads. The Arabic version of the text is much more violent than the English translation, in which the true intention of al-Ḥağğâğ does not transpire: he was ready to cut the envious heads that rise from that crowd. Al-Ḥağğâğ considered the refined citizens of Kufa eager to know him, but at the same time deserving the highest possible punishment for their rebellion. In this picture of psycho-affective tension, his goal was to convince them to submit to the caliph.

Analyzing the enunciation from the point of view of meaning, we can say that the functions of the *ḫuṭbah* widen and take on new symbolic meanings. For the first time the *ḫaṭîb*begged God during the enunciation, asking to protect the caliph. At the same time, he tried to brainwash the listeners to push them into submission to the caliph's regime. In the enunciation scheme the symbolic meaning of the spplication to God on behalf of the caliph has a very important relapse on the political level: the power of *ḫuṭbah* marks the political loyalty of the territory to the caliph's regime. We could say with other words that when a *ḫaṭîb* pronounces an supplication in favor of a caliph, that territory is automatically subdued. In this way a new practice was born which consolidated itself in history and still persists today. Instead, analyzing the *ḫuṭbah* from the point of view of the impact on the social-political framework gives us an explanation of the custom of cursing 'Ali ibn Ṭâlib.[14] This fact has a significant symbolic meaning: it clarifies that the *ḫaṭîb* and the faithful are not only allies of the Umayyads, but also enemies of 'Ali.

e) The Ḫuṭbah of Ḫawârič

The kharigite opposition also had excellent *ḫuṭabâ*'who dedicated careful preparation to the production of their *ḫuṭab* (Daif, 1943). The governor of Iraq, on behalf of the second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, Yazîd ibn Abîh, said of them: "*Their speech is faster to the hearts than the straw fire*" (ibidem). The Khariginteḫuṭabâ' were writers as well as preachers. One of the differences between their homiletic production and that of the Umayyads consists in the fact that their *ḫuṭab*, in addition to the political dimension that they transmitted, dedicate much space to the religious senses. Actually, they invited the faithful to asceticism, to the renunciation of wealth, to dedicate themselves to spiritual life and to thinking about the afterlife. Moreover, they asserted that they possessed the truth and that all other Muslims were diverted from the prophet's message.[15] The best example of their *ḫuṭab* is the one pronounced in Mecca by Ḥamza al-Ḫârigî, in which he described the followers of the Kharigite movement as follows:

شباب والله مكتهلون في شبابهم غضيضة عن الشر أعينهم، ثقيلة عن الباطل أرجلهم، أنضاء عبادة وأطلاح سهر، ينظر الله إليهم في جوف الليل منحنية أصلابهم على أجزاء القرآن، كلما مر أحدهم بآية من ذكر الجنة بكى شوقا إليها، وإذا مر بآية من ذكر النار شهق شهقة كأن زفير جهنم في أذنيه، موصول كلالهم بكلالهم: كلال الليل بكلال النهار.. حتى إذ رأوا السهام قد فوقت، والرماح قد أشرعت والسيوف قد انتضيت، ووعدت الكتيبة بصواعق الموت، وبرقت استخفوا بوعيد الكتيبة لوعد الله، ومضى الشاب منهم قدما حتى اختلفت رجلاه على عنق فرسه، وتخضبت بالدماء محاسن وجهه، فأسرعت إليه سباع الأرض، وانحطت عليه طير السماء، فكم من عين في منقار طائر طالما بكي صاحبها في جوف الليل من خوف الله، وكم من كف زالت عن معصمها طالما اعتمد عليها صاحبها في جوف الليل بالسجود لله.

"*I swear to Allah that they are young sages as the elders, their gaze is far from evil, they do not engage in futile things, their bodies are consumed by a constant religious practice, they are tired of their long vigils. Allah looks at them at night as they bend over the Quranic readingsw, whenever one of them reads a verse describing heaven cries with a strong desire to enter, and whenever one of them reads a verse describing hell cries as if he hears the screams of punishment, this is their state both day and night ... until they see the arrows thrown, the spears flying and the swords out of the scabbard. At that moment the battalion goes to the promise of Allah and the young man performs his duty until his legs turn around the neck of his horse,*[16] *until the blood paints his face and the wild beasts do not eat his body, and until the birds rest on his remains: the same eyes that cried during the long prayer vigils the are now in the beak of a bird and the same arms that have supported the bodies in prostrations to Allah at night are now amputated* "(al-Asfahani, 1905).

As we can see, the*ḫuṭbah*emphasizes the religious dimension in a transgressive way. The model of the young ogḪawârič is well defined in this construction as a warrior monk, and whoever wants to be on the right path must follow this pattern. It is an invitation to a series of religious actions of great spirituality on the one hand and emphasizes the sacrifice on the other. The *ḫaṭîb* describes the young kharigite who goes towards fearless death as an act of benevolence, and he transports the listeners from spiritual religious practice to a religious practice in which the young person is submerged by the blood of his sacrifice.

[14] Among the historians who reported this fact: 'Ali ibnHazm al-'Andalusî in the *Al-muhallâfîšarḥ al-muğalla bi al-'iḫtisâr*; al-Qurtubi in the *Al-mufhim limâ uškila min talḫis kitâb muslim*, Yaqût al-Ḥamawî in *Mu'ğam al-buldân* and many others.

[15] During this time many disciples of the prophet were still alive. Many were considered diverted by the Ḫawârič

[16] It is an Arab saying that indicates the inability to stay on the horse due to tiredness.

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In this period al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ was governor in Kufa on behalf of the Umayyad caliph and hisarchenemy was Šabîb ibn Zayd, head of the Khawarigites, who entered the city with a thousand warriors together with his wife Ġazâlah, who headed two hundred women warriors. The Kharigite warriors entered the mosque of Kufa and Šabîb brought up Ġazâlah on the *minbar*, from which he enunciated a *ḫuṭbah* (Kahhala 19845, pp. 7-8). The Kharigite women were warriors, intellectuals and activists. In other words, they shared all the areas with men. The ascent of this woman warrior on the *minbar* of the mosque of Kufa was a great affront and at the same time a message of superiority of the kawarigites: one of their women dared to preach from the *minbar* defying al-Ḥaǧǧâǧ in 'his' city, in 'his' mosque, and above all she enunciated a *ḫuṭbah* from the top of his *minbar*.

This episode leads us to reflect on the existence of women *ḫuṭabâ* 'in the history of Islamic civilization. The information on this topic is scattered in the classics and represents an object of research of enormous importance along with another theme: women caliph in the history of the Islamic world.

f) The Shiite ḫuṭbah in the Umayyad period

The classics of Arabic literature do not give much importance to the Shiite literary production of the Umayyad period, and consequently the khatabitic productions of this group are rare. Another reason for this scarcity could be the fierce repression they suffered by the Umayyads and the effects on their activities, which became increasingly secret and far from public space.[17]

We limit our research, therefore, to the description of the *ḫuṭbah* of Hussain ibn 'Ali, nephew of the prophet. It is a *ḫuṭbah* that Hussain announced on the day of his assassination and that became a model of *ḫuṭbah* for the Shiite ḫuṭabâ '. The *ḫuṭbah* begins with a *muqaddimah* in which the *ḫaṭîb* praises Allah and prays for Muḥammad citing verses from the Qur'an and *ḥadîṯ* of the prophet. He then asks his opponents to listen to him and let him speak. Then he uses a series of blood descendants from the prophet: "descendant of the prophet", "nephew of the prophet", "nephew of Ḥamza" (uncle of Muḥammad) and "son of the prophet's daughter". The goal of using these indicators was to emphasize two factors: the first was to convince them of the immense importance of being the prophet's nephew, so he did not hesitate to mention a *ḥadîṯ* which tells about himself and his brother Hussain who are the best among the young people of paradise;[18] the second concerned Hussain's right to rule on the basis of the request of Kufa citizens, who had given him their written *bay'ah*(solemn act of recognition of the status of Caliph).

The other Shiite *ḫuṭabâ* ', on the other hand, used their explanations to spread their criticism to the "deviated" works from the Islam of the Umayyads, who subtracted *ḫilâfah* (the caliphate) from the hands of its legitimate owner 'Ali ibn Ṭâlib, heir of the prophet and bearer of the sacred guided message, and of the hidden imams (aṭ-Ṭabarî, 1967, vol 2, p.1961).

g) Considerations on ḫuṭbah in the Umayyad period

To conclude our brief analysis of the *ḫuṭab* of this time frame we can list its most important transformations as follows:

- The *ḫuṭbah* is done in the name of the caliph;
- The *ḫuṭbah* contains the pleading of the caliph and the curse of the rivals;
- The *ḫuṭbah* becomes a means of spreading official Islam;
- The *ḫuṭbah* becomes a means of communication between the caliph and the people;
- The *ḫuṭbah* is a tool to spread the reasons for the rebellions;
- Practice the *ḫuṭbah* in a mosque has the symbolic meaning of local political authority.

On the other hand, the homiletical production of the three groups is characterized by distinct and well-evident rhetorical forms:

- *Umayyad ḫuṭbah:* Obeying the caliph is part of obedience to Allah; the rebellion against the caliph is a disobedience to Allah; the Umayyads govern thanks to the power that Allah has given them; the communication strategy is based on political pragmatism with the use of the stick and the carrot;
- *Shiite ḫuṭbah:* The ruling is legitimized by the blood lineage of the prophet; the Umayyads have stolen what does not belong to them. The communication strategy is based on belonging to the descendants of the prophet;
- *Kharigite ḫuṭbah:* The Umayyads and Shiites have deviated from true Islam, therefore they are apostates and the only ruler is Allah. The communication strategy is based on the emphasis on the 'warrior monk' and on distinct and well-evident rhetoric.

[17] To find *ḫuṭab* of the Shiites we had to look in the books of this current. Even ShawqiDaif when he addresses the *ḫuṭab* of the Umayyad period in his encyclopedia he cites the names of the Shi'a ṭuṭabâ and the characteristics of their *ḫuṭab* but in a few lines and without giving examples as, on the contrary, he does with the *ḫuṭabs* of the Ḫawâriǧ or the Umayyads;

[18] This *ḥadîṯ* is cited in many encyclopaedias of the collection of the sayings of Muḥammad: *Sunanat-Tirmidî* n° 3781; Musnad imâm Aḥmad 5/391; *Ṣaḥîḥ ibn Ḥibbân* 15/413; *al-Mu'ǧam al-Kabîr Liṭṭabarânî* 3/37, and many others. *Tirmidî* classifies this saying as *ṣaḥîḥ*, ie authentic.

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h) The school of ḫaṭâbah

In the Umayyad period the teaching of *ḫaṭābah* was born. The most evident example is the activity of Hasan al-Baṣrî, who taught various subjects, including *ḫaṭābah*. One of the teaching methods he developed consisted of asking a disciple to preach on a subject and then asking others to answer him, as he did with Wâṣil ibn 'Atâ' and 'Amr ibn' Ubaid when he asked them to make a *ḫuṭbah* to describe the one who performs a bad action (*murtakib al-kabîrah*) (Daif, 1943). When the disciples showed deficiencies, the teacher showed them the gaps and how to overcome them, as did Šabîb ibn Šaibah when he said to his students: "*People wonder about the introductions, but I am surprised at the conclusions, if the* ḫaṭîb *addresses an argument that lengthens the sermon he should not prolong to the point of confusing listeners* "(al-Ǧâḥiẓ, 1998, volume 1, page 112). Another teacher, Ḫâlid ibn Safwân, told his followers: "*Know that Allah blesses you, eloquence is not the speed of language and the abundance of information, but it is reaching meaning and focusing the demonstration*" (ibn 'abd Rabbuh, 1953). As you can see, the masters *ḫuṭabâ*' aimed to convey to their students the communication strategies to be clear, concise and above all convincing.

This social practice of the *ḫaṭābah*, reached an importance that it had never had before during the Umayyad dynasty. This was due to the widespread political-religious conflict throughout the region. The actors of this scene did not rely only on their swords to subjugate, convince and delegitimize the enemies, but relied on the *ḫuṭabâ* 'and the spread of their *ḫuṭab*. This intellectual production arrived where the weapons did not and produced what the sword could not do, to the point that the Arabs used this metaphor to indicate the skill of a speaker: "*his tongue is sharper than a sword*".

i) The ḫuṭbah in the Abbasid period (750-1258 AD)

The *ḫaṭâbah* has experienced great success and development in the early part of the Abbasid dynasty, from about 750 to about 940, and then began its decline until the fall of the dynasty in 1258.

The *ḫaṭâbah* was considered the effective weapon, along with the sword, to stabilize the kingdom and convince people of "good rights", to rule the '*ummah,* as they descended from Muḥammad (Ali Mohammad, 2016). The day of the proclamation of the first caliph, abû l-'Abbâs, called as-Saffâḥ (the Bloodthirsty),[19] he pronounced a discourse that became famous in history because its hardness and oratory art. In fact, the first Abbasid caliphs were famous speakers as well as being brave fighters. The most famous were abû l-'Abbâs (al-Humaymah, 722 - al-Anbar, 754), abûǦa'far 'abdAllāh ibn Muḥammad al-Manṣûr (al-Humaymah, 712 approximately - Baghdad, 775) and Hârûnar -Rašîd (Al Raay, 766 - Tus, 809). The *ḫaṭâbah* reached its peak in this period, and as Hussein Ali al-Hindaoui wrote: "*At the beginning of their dynasty Abbasids like the Umayyads gave a great importance to the* ḫaṭābah *and put it in the forefront of the defense of their kingdom*".[20] We can summarize the oratory characteristics of the homiletic productions of the first Abbasid caliphs in these points:

- The beginning of the discourse with divine praise, the witness of faith and the greeting to the prophet;
- An invitation to the faithful to fear Allah and to perform pious actions to gain the divine reward and to avoid his punishment;
- The memory that death could strike the faithful at any moment and that we must prepare ourselves for the afterlife;
- Warning people not to take care of the richness of terrestrial life because it does not last
- The warning to people not to listen to the whispers of Satan and the devil that embellish evil and wickedness and delay repentance until death does not surprise the faithful;
- The seduction of the faithful with what awaits them in paradise;
- The imploring to God for the preacher and for the faithful and for the perseverance of his gifts.

These characteristics, in the absence of sociological studies on this subject, could allude to the communication strategies and rhetoric adopted by the Abbasid caliphs to convince people to respect a code of behavior desired by governors: people should not deal with collecting the wealth, the population had to be convinced of the correctness of the Abbasids and above all no rebellions were triggered. To describe the splendor of the khatabitic art of this period we hear what a great expert of the subject told us:

[19] "*His hardness was shown shortly thereafter. As the last desperate resistances in Egypt of the last Umayyad caliph were bent, the brave Marwān II, the neo-caliph, gathered at Nahr Abī Fuṭrus (the Yarkon River, near the present Jaffa) the members of the large Umayyad family, for a "reconciliation" banquet. The historians say that he instead suppressed the guests while feasting merrily with his faithful friends. Then he sent his emissaries to all the burial places of the dead Umayyad caliphs with the task of unearthing the corpses - with the only one exception of the "pious" 'Umar Ibn 'Abd Al-'Azīz - to mercilessly insult the remains. Perhaps from all this derives the erroneous translation of his laqab, still frequently rendered as "the Bloodthirsty", where the term actually means "bloody" but in the sense of the sacrificer who kills with his own hand the victims designated for a sacrifice to Allah , to then dissect the parts and distribute them to the participants to the rite. The fact of being inevitably "bloody" therefore has the precise meaning of "generous": this is more if we take in to account that all the laqabs of the Abbasid caliphs have a laudatory and positive meaning and never grim or negative* "(Wikipedia, entry) Abu l-Abbas al-Saffah ", https: // it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_l-Abbas_al-Saffah, consulted on January 14th 2018 at 11:09).

[20] Intervention on the *Multaqa Rabitat al-Waha aṯ-Ṯaqâfiyyah* website of 11 July 2016 (http://www.rabitat-alwaha.net/moltaqa/showthread.php?84700 ف-نن-اخل-اطب-قت-في-اعل-رص-اعل-ياس-لما-راش-تسم-أدل-اي-بيد-حي-نيس-عي - ادنلا, consulted on August 29th 2018 at 18:23).

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"*Those who elaborated it [the* ḫuṭbah*] and climbed above the* minbar*, and turned their mill among the population, were mostly the great men of letters, the masters of the word, because they were caliphs, princes, ministers, kings of knowledge, ethics,* fiqh *[religious jurisprudence], masters of linguistic purity, and eloquence, and in parallel were Arabs of language, rhetoric, goals, trends. And there are no characteristics that can characterize the* ḫaṭābah *and give it more life and strength than these characteristics of original Arab nobility"(*al-Khashab, s.d, p.560).

In this period, the Abbasids adopted the strategy of appointing *ḫuṭabâ* ' paid by the caliphate and the preacher of the army: his role was to encourage the soldiers to fight courageously for God's glory, as the case of *ḫaṭîb* abû al-'Abbâs aṭ-Ṭabarî. In practice two types of *ḫuṭabâ*' saw the light: the *ḫaṭîb* of the army and the fixed *ḫaṭîb* of the mosque.

The second part of the Abbasid dynasty saw a slow decline to slowly reach a total stagnation. From 850 AD the influence of non-Arabs began to manifest itself in both the army and government buildings, and so the Persians (the Seljuks) and the Turks became the new rulers in the vast territories of the Abbasid empire. Their influence entered the palace of the Abbasid caliphs and consequently in the management of religion and homiletic production.

j) ar-Râḍî bi-llâh, last ḫaṭîb chaliph of ṣalât al-ğumu'ah

The first effect of these changes was the withdrawal of the caliph from the *ḫaṭābah* in the great mosque. The last caliph who made the *ḫuṭbat al-ğumu'ah* was ar-Râḍî bi-llâh (907AD- 940AD) but was in fact only an instrument in the hands of his *vizirs* and his courtiers. His effective power was barely reduced to Baghdad and the surrounding regions. Because of the scarce resources available to him, the caliph fell into the hands of a cruel but skillful and efficient vizir, ibn Râ'iq, for whom the caliph created the title of *amîr al-umarâ* '(commander of the commanders). He de facto held the power, so much that his name was made in *ḫuṭab al-ğumu'ah*, along with that of the caliph (Lo Jacono, 2003, p.259). In this way, the direct relations that the caliph and the governors had with the people were interrupted due toto the enunciation of the *ḫuṭbah*; this weakened the influence of *ḫuṭbah* (al-Hindaoui, 2016). A second significant fact was the appointment of *ḫuṭabâ* ' and non-Arab imams who, in the absence of a profound knowledge of language and knowledge, began to copy *ḫuṭab* of great masters and repeat them every Friday from the *minbar*. This phenomenon spread for centuries, until the beginning of the nineteenth century (Ali Mohammad, 2016). As a result, the *ḫaṭâbah* weakened, and so the status and role of *ḫaṭîb*. Many of them read their *ḫuṭabs* from written papers, in some cases elaborated by oratories. This trend already began with Hârûnar-Rašîd, when he asked al-'Aṣmaî to make a *ḫuṭbat al-ğumu'ah* for his son al-'Amîn[21](al-Hindaoui, 2016), but spread largely after 940 AD. On the other hand, many *ḫuṭabâ* 'no longer struggled to prepare their elaborations, for example the ḫaṭîb of Bassora Muḥammad ibn Sulaimân al-'Abbâsi had a short ḫuṭbah that repeated every Friday (al-Ğâḥiẓ, 1998). On the other hand, the *taṣawuf* movement (mysticism) found more scope and many mystics introduced a mystical rhetoric in their speech, both in the one addressed to the rulers and in that addressed to the common people. These new figures were designated by the caliphs themselves and had the role of reminding the caliph of his religious and social responsibilities. The narrative of the literary heritage offers mention of many episodes during which these religious actors would have made the caliphs cry with their sermons, as they tried to do the following ḫuṭabâ ':' Amr ibn 'Ubaid al-Mu'tazili, Ṣâlih ibn 'abd al-Ğalîl and ibn as-Sammâq (ibidem). During the long period of the Abbasid dynasty, from 750 to 1258, the *ḫuṭbah* standardizes itself in different forms and styles still used today. These are multifunctional *ḫuṭabs*, pronounced by the paid religious personnel and designated by the governor and enunciated in his honor. The goal of the ruler becomes to project the official Islam of the state through the *ḫuṭbah*. From the sociolinguistic point of view the new standard of *ḫuṭbah* is influenced by the diatopic variations of the local dialects. In this period a figure is born that today we would call ghost writer: the professionals of the oratory who prepare the *ḫuṭab* on mandate. Today, however, this role is no longer covered by a person, but there are websites that offer a permanent archive to draw on.

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[21] This fact reminds us of the Greek practice, when ordinary people relied on judicial oratory professionals to prepare their hearings. It is important to add that during the Abbasid dynasty the translation of the works of Greek philosophers came to its peak; because of lack of specific studies we can not know, for the moment, if the figure of the professional speaker who writes the *ḫuṭbah* for the imams has been influenced by the Greek civilization.

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Portrayal of Rohingya Women in the Newspapers of Bangladesh

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Abstract- The study has been conducted to find out how Rohingya women are being portrayed in Bangladeshi newspapers. The Rohingya problem is one of the major problems in the world today. Naturally, Rohingya women are one of the biggest victims of this problem. The study has been conducted with several objectives such as getting an idea of how Rohingya women are being portrayed in the newspapers of Bangladesh, determining the relative rate of committing crime, vulnerability or success stories in the news reports about Rohingya women and gaining an idea of the socio-economic status of Rohingya women who came to Bangladesh as refugees from newspaper reports. The news items on Rohingya women have been analyzed in four leading newspapers in Bangladesh in terms of circulation. The news reports have been analyzed into three categories: crime, vulnerability and success. From the analyzed data we found that *Bangladesh Pratidin*, which has the largest circulation, published 72 news items regarding Rohingya women, *Prothom Alo*, the 2nd largest circulated newspaper, published 37 news items, *The Daily Jugantor* published 76 news items and *The Daily Star,* the largest circulated English newspaper published 47 news items.

Keywords: rohingya women, newspaper, Bangladesh.

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Abstract- The study has been conducted to find out how Rohingya women are being portrayed in Bangladeshi newspapers. The Rohingya problem is one of the major problems in the world today. Naturally, Rohingya women are one of the biggest victims of this problem. The study has been conducted with several objectives such as getting an idea of how Rohingya women are being portrayed in the newspapers of Bangladesh, determining the relative rate of committing crime, vulnerability or success stories in the news reports about Rohingya women and gaining an idea of the socio-economic status of Rohingya women who came to Bangladesh as refugees from newspaper reports. The news items on Rohingya women have been analyzed in four leading newspapers in Bangladesh in terms of circulation. The news reports have been analyzed into three categories: crime, vulnerability and success. From the analyzed data we found that *Bangladesh Pratidin*, which has the largest circulation, published 72 news items regarding Rohingya women, *Prothom Alo*, the 2nd largest circulated newspaper, published 37 news items, *The Daily Jugantor* published 76 news items and *The Daily Star,* the largest circulated English newspaper published 47 news items. The news stories published from the point of view of vulnerability of Rohingya women are about rape, women trafficking, forced marriage, health risk, involvement in prostitution, being victims of physical torture, death etc. On the other hand, the reports published from the point of view of crime of Rohingya women are about illegal immigration, passport forgery, drug dealing, theft, trying to create fake birth registration certificate etc. In contrast to these negative stories, the number of positive news report is very poor. Also, those articles highlighted some of the Rohingya women's achievements particularly, not a revolutionary change.

Keywords: rohingya women, newspaper, Bangladesh.

I. Introduction

The media is called the 'mirror of society'. It is sometimes called the 'fourth pillar of the state'. It can play a strong role in setting the agenda of society. It even has the irresistible power with a view to drawing the attention of the international community to any important issue.

The Rohingya crisis is one of the most talked-about issues in the world nowadays. They are called 'stateless people'. According to the United Nations, the Rohingya are one of the most persecuted minorities in the world (UN, 2013). Although this is an internal matter of Myanmar, they have entered Bangladesh as refugees at different times after being tortured in their own country. As a result, the Rohingya crisis now has a significant impact on the social, political and economic life of Bangladesh. The Rohingya crisis is not a new issue in Bangladesh. But it has become complex since 2017. Different news about them have also been broadcast and published in different media at various times.

Women are a very significant part of the Rohingya population. In the context of the socio-economic conditions of developing countries in the Third World, women are generally seen as neglected, abused and dependent on men (Chowdhury & Jhuma, 2014). Needless to say, the situation of Rohingya women as a neglected and backward people is even more deplorable. At various times they have been the headlines of newspapers- sometimes as positive, sometimes as negative. Therefore, how the Rohingya women have been portrayed in the mainstream newspapers of Bangladesh will be explored through this research.

II. Historical Background

The Rohingya are a stateless Indo-Aryan people in the Rakhine state of western Myanmar. Most of the Rohingyas are followers of Islam and some of them are followers of Hinduism. The United Nations and Human Rights Watch have called the repression and torture of Myanmar's Rohingya 'Ethnic Cleansing' where evidence of crimes such as genocide has been found (UN, 2017a).

Until the annexation of Chittagong to the Mughal Empire in 1616, Arakan (Current Rakhine) and Chittagong was a separate independent state. Arakan remained an independent entity for more than a hundred years after the Mughals annexed Chittagong. In 1784, the Burmese king led a military campaign to capture Arakan. Since then Arakan has been a part of Burma. The Rohingyas think that the Arakanese are aggressors and deprivers of the freedom of the Rohingya community (Shikdar, 2018). So the onset of Rohingya grudge against the Burmese is very old.

There was coexistence between the Rohingya and the Burmese during the British rule. However, during World War II, the Japanese invaded Burma under British colonial rule. British were defeated and left power. This resulted in widespread clashes. Notable among these was the communal riots between the Buddhist Rakhine and the Muslim Rohingya. During the creation of India and Pakistan in 1947, the Rohingyas held several meetings with the Governor-General of

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Pakistan, Jinnah, and expressed their desire to remain with Pakistan. Other ethnic groups in Arakan could not accept this action. They considered the Rohingyas as 'unfaithful'. Jinnah, meanwhile, rejected the Rohingya's offer (Saha, 2017). Then the Rohingyas themselves formed the 'Rohingya Muslim Party' and started an armed struggle for the independence of Arakan and tried to carry out an armed rebellion against the government. When the military government came to power in Burma in 1982, the persecution of the Rohingya increased. In 1982, the Myanmar government revoked the citizenship of the Rohingya and officially labeled them 'infiltrators'. They were deprived of their right to vote, social and political rights in their own country (Myanmar Nationality Law, 1982).

Hundreds of thousands of Rohingyas were deported from Myanmar for the first time in 1977-78 and for the second time in 1990-91 and took shelter in Bangladesh. Then more and more Rohingyas started entering Bangladesh at different times. As of December 2017, about 7,00,000 Rohingya refugees took refuge in Bangladesh with a view to escaping the genocide that began on August 25, 2017 by Myanmar's military. In all, at least 11 lakh Rohingyas have taken refuge in Cox's Bazar at different times (Shikdar, 2018).

The first deadline for Rohingya repatriation was set for November 15, 2018. But at that time no one could be sent to Rakhine as the Rohingyas did not agree. The Myanmar government recently sent a list of 3,540 names from 1,033 families for repatriation. Despite ongoing repatriation efforts, the Rohingya have refused to return and are distributing leaflets demanding five points. The points are:

1. Rohingyas are natives of Arakan (Rakhine). That is why the law has to be passed in the parliament with the recognition of Rohingyas as 'local'.
2. Rohingyas living in Arakan State have to be given 'Citizen Card'. Also, Rohingya refugees living in Bangladesh and other parts of the world should be repatriated with citizenship cards and given the status of local citizens.
3. Rohingyas have to be taken back to their villages. Land confiscated from them should be returned to them with proper compensation.
4. UN peacekeepers must be deployed alongside Rohingya police to protect the lives and property of Rohingya in Arakan.
5. The perpetrators will have to be judged in the International Criminal Court instead of the local court in Myanmar (BBC News Bangla, 2019).

III. Objectives

i. Getting an idea of how Rohingya women are being portrayed in the newspapers of Bangladesh.
ii. Determining the relative rate of committing crime, vulnerability or success stories in news about Rohingya women.
iii. Gaining an idea of the socio-economic status of Rohingya women who came to Bangladesh as refugees from newspaper reports.

IV. Literature Review

No direct work has been found on the portrayal of Rohingya women in the media during the Rohingya crisis. Therefore, some research articles that have been done on the representation of the Rohingya crisis in various international media have been reviewed here. At the same time, some research works on differences in the approach and frame of presenting the news stories in the media of different countries are also reviewed here.

Osama Kanaker, Mohamed Oklah Abughazli & Mohd Faizal Kasmani (2020) in their study *'Media Framing of Minorities' Crisis: A Study on Aljazeera and BBC News Coverage of the Rohingya'* explained how framing theory has been implemented to discover the frames used by Aljazeera and BBC in framing the causes and ramifications of the Rohingya crisis. Two frames 'powerlessness' and 'responsibility' have been used to frame the selected news items. Both media presented the principal causes of this crisis which are security and military campaign whereas the prime ramification is deportation. Throughout the sample news reports, the struggle and sufferings of Rohingya were highlighted using the above mentioned frames, but the fundamental right of living in the region of Arakan was ignored. Rohingya people started to flee as they found no other way out, and these ramifications showed the powerlessness of Rohingya. On the one hand, 'responsibility' frame has been used while referring to politics and United Nations as two causes.

Md Khadimul Islam (2018) in his thesis titled *'How Newspapers In China, India & Bangladesh Framed The Rohingya Crisis Of 2017'* explored how the media in China, India and Bangladesh portrayed the Rohingya crisis from different perspectives in the light of normative theories. Analyzing 258 news reports from three different countries on the Rohingya issue, he found significant differences in the style of covering the issue by the media of China, India and Bangladesh. According to his analysis, the human interest and protest frame were emerged as the most important frame in Indian and Bangladeshi newspapers. In contrast, Chinese newspapers used the conflict and security frame most. Moreover, in Bangladesh, aid agencies appeared to be the most cited sources in newspapers, while in Indian newspapers, national officials were cited most. In Chinese newspapers, the Myanmar government appeared on top of the list of sources used.

Similarly, Mumtahin Awny (2019) in her research titled *'The Rohingya refugee issue: Differences in media framing in Bangladesh and India'* compared the Rohingya crisis in the news reports published in

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Bangladeshi and Indian newspapers categorizing the reports in a few frames such as victim frame, intruder frame, responsibility frame, administrative frame and return home frame. After her analysis, she concluded that Bangladeshi newspapers are more likely to use the victim frame while Indian newspapers are more likely to use the intruder frame. This study also found that Bangladeshi newspapers more often feature refugees, spokespersons for NGOs and other media/journalist as sources, while Indian newspapers more often feature their domestic officials as sources. These two research articles are very effective in understanding how the portrayal of the same event in the media may differ in the light of the economic, social and political conditions of a country.

Ma Y, Pan Z, Yu F, Shi Y and Siu YY in their *'Constructing Rohingya Identity: An Analysis of Media Process and Self Representations'* tried to present the whole issue from three different perspectives — the western mainstream media, Rohingya activists and a Rohingya family. The common denominator from all perspectives is that they were portrayed as poor and stateless. However, researchers have expressed the view that the image portrayed in the media is somewhat one-sided. After analyzing the reports from the western mainstream media, the researchers said that the representations of Rohingyas were shaped and depicted as impoverished, stateless, and inhumanely treated. They were tagged as 'the most persecuted people in the world'. On the other hand, in most cases, the general Rohingya people feel confused about the cause of their current situation and the attitude of the Myanmar government. Through the interviews with a Rohingya family, the researchers came to know that they were optimistic and having strong hope for their future. Moreover, while some news and reports described Rohingyas as extremists, Rohingyas themselves did not want to have violence and fights but peace and equality. They would like to stay in their motherland and fight for their identity and recognition. We find some similar facts in Kunnawut Boonreak's (2008) research article *'Beyond Merely Impoverishment: Representation of Rohingya in Thailand through Alternative Media*'. While analyzing the representation of Rohingya, Boonreak investigated how alternative media in Thailand represented Rohingya. Mainstream Media showed one-sided story by portraying Rohingya as a group that faces statelessness, impoverishment and inhuman treatment. But there is another side of the coin where Rohingya people expressed optimism for a better future and desire to live a peaceful life in their motherland and it had been upholding by two alternative media named *White Channel* and *Amnesty International Thailand*. These representations were not emphasized or shown in the mainstream media, but they were also the representations of Rohingyas. So these two articles are also relevant to my research.

Zarqa S. Ali (2014), in his research titled '*Visual representation of gender in flood coverage of Pakistani print media'* highlighted gender representation in the visual news coverage of the 2010 floods in Pakistan. He said that media often represents women as victims to gain their own interest. The researcher observed that the print media flood coverage showed gender stereotypes such as men as leaders with women being dependent, men as active and women as passive, women as weak and emotional while men are strong both physically and emotionally etc. He pointed out some clear explanations of why Pakistani media represented women as dependent and subordinated while women had a great role in facing that crisis. He found the politics of sympathy, sexiest stereotype, commodification of pain of the female and economic interest of media were the main reasons behind it. The research is very relevant to find out how the media portrays women in crisis during a disaster and how gender affects there.

V. Theoretical Framework

The following two theories will be used in this research:

a) *Representation Theory:* Representation refers to the use of language to convey meaning to the world. This language can be photography, film, literature, painting etc. Stuart Hall, known as a cultural theorist in the United Kingdom, provided this theory. The meaning of anything is actually created through representation. Because meaning does not exist in the object. It is manufactured and produced. There are three approaches to explain how meaning is represented through language. They are Reflective approach, Intentional approach and Constructional approach. How Rohingya women are being portrayed in Bangladeshi newspapers will be analyzed in this research through the theory. It will show how media represents a positive, negative or neutral outlook on Rohingya women.

b) *Framing theory:* The conception of framing was first propounded by Gregory Bateson in 1972. The framing process contains media packages and presentation of information to the public. The media enlightens certain events and then turns them into a particular context of words to encourage or discourage certain notions. Thus, the media focuses on people's point of view of reality. The Media selects the contents they want to let people know and decides how they will be portrayed to a common person. What kind of frame has been used to portray Rohingya women in Bangladeshi newspapers will be explored here through this theory.

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VI. Methodology

The content analysis method will be used here for data collection in this research. The content of the news items published about the Rohingya women in the newspapers of Bangladesh will be analyzed. The news reports will be categorized into three categories: success, crime and vulnerability.

The first four newspapers of Bangladesh in terms of circulation (Both in Bengali & English language) will be selected as samples in this research. These newspapers are: *Bangladesh Pratidin, Prothom Alo, The Daily Jugantor* and *The Daily Star* (Bangladesh Film and Publication Department, 2019) Three of these newspapers are published in Bengali language and one in English language. All the news items related to Rohingya women published in these newspapers during the time of the emergence of the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh (from September, 2017 to October, 2019) will be selected as sample.

Presentation and Analysis of Information

বাংলাদেশ প্রতিদিন

Name of Newspaper: Bangladesh Pratidin

Total news report: 72		
Success: 01 (1%)	Crime: 41 (57%)	Vulnerability: 30 (42%)
➢ Success in personal life	➢ Illegal immigration ➢ Passport forgery ➢ Theft ➢ Trying to create fake birth registration certificate ➢ Yabba (drug) dealing	➢ Death ➢ Forced marriage ➢ Health risk ➢ Involvement in prostitution ➢ Rape ➢ Victims of physical torture ➢ Women trafficking

We can see from the table above, a total of 72 news items on Rohingya women were found in the *Bangladesh Pratidin* newspaper within the stipulated time mentioned in the sample.

Of the 72 reports, 41 (57%) were related to crimes committed by Rohingya women. These crimes include illegal immigration, passport forgery, drug transactions, theft, fake birth certificates etc. Out of the total 16 news items published on illegal immigration, nine news items showed that Rohingyas were detained from different places on their way to Malaysia by the sea illegally and one of them was detained from the airport. The rest of the news reports also mention that Rohingyas were detained at different times from Rajshahi, Narsingdi and India's Tripura border. According to these reports, most of the detained Rohingyas are women. According to their information, they had planned to go there illegally by sea in the hope of getting married and settling in Malaysia. According to police, the main target of the dealers is unmarried Rohingya women. Married women are being taken to Malaysia by showing the temptation of marriage. Besides, we found 12 news reports on passport fraud. According to most reports, the arrested criminals were caught from Hazrat Shahjalal International Airport. Apart from this, some similar incidents had taken place in Manikganj, Benapole border, Barisal, Khulna and Bogra. Rohingya women are on the list of crimes with involvement in drugs. A total of 12 reports were found in this regard where Rohingya women were directly involved in drug trafficking. Apart from this, some reports reported that Rohingya women were arrested for stealing and for trying to create fake birth certificates.

On the other hand, 30 news reports (42%) have expressed the vulnerability of Rohingya women. Some of these news items are about the rape of Rohingya women. A news report published on August 24, 2019, was titled *"Rape of Rohingya with the intention of genocide in Myanmar: UN"*. The report cites the United Nations as saying that Myanmar's military raped and sexually abused Rohingya women and children in 2017 with the intention of genocide to eliminate the Muslim minority. The report further states that 80 percent of rapes were intentional. The Myanmar army is responsible for 82 percent of all gang rapes. A report published on September 23, 2017, was titled *"Armies are raping women by entering the house in the dark of night"*. According to this report, women who were sexually abused are unable to seek medical care for the fear of public embarrassment. A report published on October 6, 2017, shows the arrest of a local political leader for trying to rape a Rohingya woman in Ukhia. Four news items cover the rescue of Rohingya women during their trafficking to Malaysia. We found 10 news

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reports each containing news of the death of one or more Rohingya women. In most cases, they drowned at sea. In some cases, Rohingya women died due to local quarrels. In addition, there were some reports regarding the health risks of Rohingya women. The title of the report published on May 26, 2018, was "*Secretly serving unmarried mothers and rape victims*". According to the report, out of millions of pregnant women, 20 percent were victims of sexual violence in Myanmar. A huge part of the victims were children and unmarried girls. The Rohingya people were in dire straits with these unmarried pregnant women. Other headlines on their health risks included *"More than 50,000 Rohingya women are pregnant and breastfeeding"*, *"Two Rohingyas infected with HIV in hospital"*, *"Hundreds of Rohingya women give birth in Nomansland"* etc. In addition, four news reports have mentioned that Rohingya women are involved in prostitution. After escaping from the camp, they are getting involved in various immoral activities and prostitution. A report published on August 29, 2018, was titled *"Locals' marriages with Rohingya girls are on the rise"*. According to the report, marriage rates among local youth and Rohingya women have increased in Cox's Bazar, Rangamati, Khagrachhari and Bandarban. Therefore, local administration issued special warning in this regard.

In contrast to these negative news reports, only one news item has the context of the success of Rohingya women. The report, published on October 19, 2019, was titled *"Jasmine, a young Bangladeshi woman on the list of the most influential women in the world"*. The news is that Jasmine, a young Rohingya girl, was included in the list of 100 most inspiring and influential women in the world published by the British media BBC. She has been able to change her destiny with great difficulty. Although this is a personal achievement of a Rohingya woman, not of the entire Rohingya women's community.

Name of Newspaper: Prothom Alo

Total news report: 37		
Success: 02 (6%)	Crime: 16 (43%)	Vulnerability: 19 (51%)
➢ Success in personal life	➢ Illegal immigration ➢ Passport forgery ➢ Physically assault ➢ Trying to create fake NID ➢ Yabba (drug) dealing	➢ Death ➢ Forced marriage ➢ Health risk ➢ Involvement in prostitution ➢ Rape ➢ Victims of physical torture ➢ Women trafficking

The table mentioned above shows that we found a total of 37 articles on Rohingya women in the period specified in the sample in '*Prothom Alo'*. In terms of news numbers, this number is less than the news published in *'Bangladesh Pratidin'*. 16 (43%) news reports are related to Rohingya women's crimes. These crimes included illegal immigration, passport forgery, Yabba drug transactions, assaults, making fake NIDs etc.

Out of the total five news items published on illegal immigration, three of them show that Rohingya women were detained from different places on their way to Malaysia by sea illegally and in one article they were detained from the airport while going to Kuwait. In addition, a news item highlighted the interviews of six Rohingya women who fled to Bangladesh from India. According to the information obtained from the detained women, there is a demand for Rohingya women in the marriage market in Malaysia. Because a part of the country's labor market is occupied by the Rohingya youth of Myanmar. There is a shortage of Rohingya women compared to Rohingya men.

Besides, a total of five news items were published on passport fraud. These incidents took place at some places in Bangladesh such as Chittagong, Kurigram, Mymensingh and Manikganj. The report raises issues such as the arrest of suspects and misinformation of names and identities. Another report found the direct involvement of Rohingya women in drug trafficking. Apart from this, the news of the arrest of a Rohingya woman and her husband for attacking a police officer also found a place in the pages of the newspaper. Four news reports related to fake NID were published. A Rohingya woman who visited her husband in Saudi Arab more than once using a Bangladeshi

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passport was arrested in Chittagong district election office with NID as she went to collect her smart card.

On the other hand, 19 news outlets (51%) highlighted the vulnerability of Rohingya women. Among these news reports, four were about the rape of Rohingya women. A news report published on May 2, 2018, was titled *"How many children are going to be born in Rohingya camps?"* According to the report, everyone in the Rakhine state knows that when the military attacks they go from house to house and rape women; a woman confessed to being raped twice and became pregnant. The report further stated that as of February 25, 2018, around 224 pregnant women were treated. On September 24, 2017, a news item reported that the United Nations received evidence of 'being raped' of Rohingya women. A total of 25 rape victims said members of Myanmar's military were responsible for this heinous act. On October 10, 2017, a news item titled *"Life of Rohingya Women"* was published. According to that report, women fled to the camps to save their lives, but the situation in the refugee camps was not conducive for women. Several women inside the camp complained of sexual harassment.

On January 09, 2018, the news titled *"Teenager girls are housebound in their own camps"* presented the issue of women's safety. According to the report, one million Rohingyas were living in Bangladesh back then. 53% of them were women. 54% of them were under 18 years of age. Two news outlets were reported on the rescue of Rohingya women during their trafficking to Malaysia. The issue of Rohingya women's health risks came up in 5 news. The report, published on 24 September 2017, was titled *"Focus on Women Refugees"*. According to the report, Rohingya women and adolescents could be provided with such 'dignity kits' so that they can protect their own privacy during periods. If condoms could be distributed among men for birth control, then it is much more logical to distribute free sanitary pads among women. There was also a headline in other published news report about health risks, *"Crying for water"*. Two news items were published on child birth and health security. In addition, other articles were on Rohingya women's involvement in prostitution. The report mentioned incidents of being picked up on the way from Myanmar to Bangladesh. One news reported the death of more than one Rohingya woman. The death occurred at sea in a boat sinking. In September 23, 2017, a report was published *"A Rohingya woman was tortured"*. It was about a Rohingya woman who was brutally tortured in Maungdaw, Rakhine, Myanmar. *"Rohingya women cried and made others cry*", it was about Rohingya women breaking down in tears as they were describing genocide, gang rape and child murder in the report, which was published on February 28, 2018. A report was published about Rohingya camps' growing social problems which are related to women on August 26, 2018.

Amidst of these negative news reports, only two news items upheld the success of Rohingya women. First one is already mentioned above which title was *"Bangladeshi young lady Jasmine in the list of influential women in the world"*. Another report, published on May 20, 2018, titled, *"Rohingya women are becoming caliphs to change fortunes in Cox's Bazar"*. They earn money by sewing clothes at home. Forty-five Rohingya women were given sewing training in two batches every day at the shelter. Although it is a success story, the amount of positive news is legibly low.

সত্যের সন্ধানে নির্ভীক THE DAILY JUGANTOR

যুগান্তর

Name of Newspaper: The Daily Jugantor

Total news report: 74		
Success: 04 (5%)	Crime: 23 (31%)	Vulnerability: 48 (64%)
➢ Success in personal life ➢ Women leadership in camp committee	➢ Illegal immigration ➢ Passport forgery ➢ Yabba (drug) dealing	➢ Death ➢ Forced marriage ➢ Health risk ➢ Rape ➢ Victims of Physical torture ➢ Women trafficking

We can see here that out of the total 76 news items received from *The Daily Jugantor* during the period mentioned, 48 news items (64%) focused on the vulnerability of Rohingya women, 23 news items (31%) focused on their crime and four news items (5%) focused on their success.

This newspaper has published the most 48 (64%) news reports on the vulnerability of Rohingya

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women. There are 14 reports on trafficking of women, nine reports on physical torture of Rohingya women and nine reports on deaths of Rohingya women.

We found seven news reports on rape in this newspaper with great importance. The headlines translated into English are as follows, *"70,000 pregnant Rohingya women seek refuge in Bangladesh", "Rohingya women gang-raped in Rakhine are being divorced", "Rohingya women have been gang-raped by the Myanmar army", "Suu Kyi avoided the issue of rape of Rohingyas"* etc. The headline of a report published on May 1, 2018, was *"Rohingya mothers who have been raped give birth to children"*. There, Human Rights Watch cited a survey that found that two-thirds of women were victims of sexual violence but did not report it to authorities or charities. They did this in fear of shame and stigma. The headline of the report published on December 11, 2017, was, *"AP's investigative report: Myanmar army's rape of Rohingya is arbitrary and planned"*. According to an investigative report of AP, the Rohingya women were raped sometimes in front of their husbands, and sometimes after their husbands and children were killed. The AP reporter also came to know about the incidents of inserting gun barrels into the vaginas of Rohingya women before and after the rape. The report was based on separate interviews with 29 Rohingya women in refugee camps in Bangladesh. The number of women who were raped has surprised the AP's reporter. However, the AP did not respond to a request from the Myanmar army for comment. Earlier, three separate investigations by the United Nations and the two British media outlets, the BBC and the Guardian, revealed a similar reality.

The report, published on February 2, 2019, was titled, *"I have to be shot here before I can be sent to Myanmar," the raped woman told Angelina* (Angelina Jolie, special envoy of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and a Hollywood actress, visited the Rohingya camp in Cox's Bazar). The issue of health risks for Rohingya women was also highlighted in various news outlets. At various times, the headlines of this reports were *"Rohingya women and children are at extreme health risk", "Two Rohingya women infected with HIV admitted to hospital", "30,000 women are waiting for the delivery of children in Rohingya camps", "Rohingyas are not interested in birth control"* etc.

On the other hand, out of 23 news stories on crime, 21 news stories were about illegal immigration and passport forgery. There were also reports of Rohingya women being detained while carrying drugs.

In contrast to the negative news items of Rohingya women, four positive news items were published. Among them were *"Bangladeshi cricketer of Rohingya descent in list of 100 most influential women"* and *"Rohingya woman elected head of asylum camp"* which were discussed in previous newspapers. Two more success stories had been added. The news item titled *"Razia Sultana Receives Brave Woman Award of America"* was based on the nomination of Razia Sultana, a lawyer and human rights activist born in Maungdaw, Rakhine State, Myanmar. Also, another story was found on January 9, 2019, under the headline *"The story of a Rohingya girl going to university from a refugee camp"*.

The Daily Star

Journalism Without Fear or Favour

Name of Newspaper: The Daily Star

Total news report: 47		
Success: 05 (10%)	Crime: 10 (22%)	Vulnerability: 32 (68%)
➢ Ceasing of child marriage ➢ Success ➢ Women leadership in camp committee ➢ Women's training	➢ Illegal immigration ➢ Passport forgery ➢ Yabba (drug) dealing	➢ Distress ➢ Health risk ➢ Rape ➢ Victims of physical torture ➢ Women trafficking

The Daily Star published a total of 47 reports on Rohingya women in the sample period. Of these, 32 (68%) cases were about the vulnerability of Rohingya women.

Among these, 14 news items were on the rape of Rohingya women. News published on December 12, 2017, was titled *"Nightmare in Rakhine"*. The report described 21 women's and girls' stories who were raped. A 13-year-old girl was raped in front of her brothers, a wife was raped after the husband and child had been killed. A pregnant woman was raped. When the military set their house on fire, the husband and the children escaped but she could not and got raped afterward. After being raped, there were incidents like

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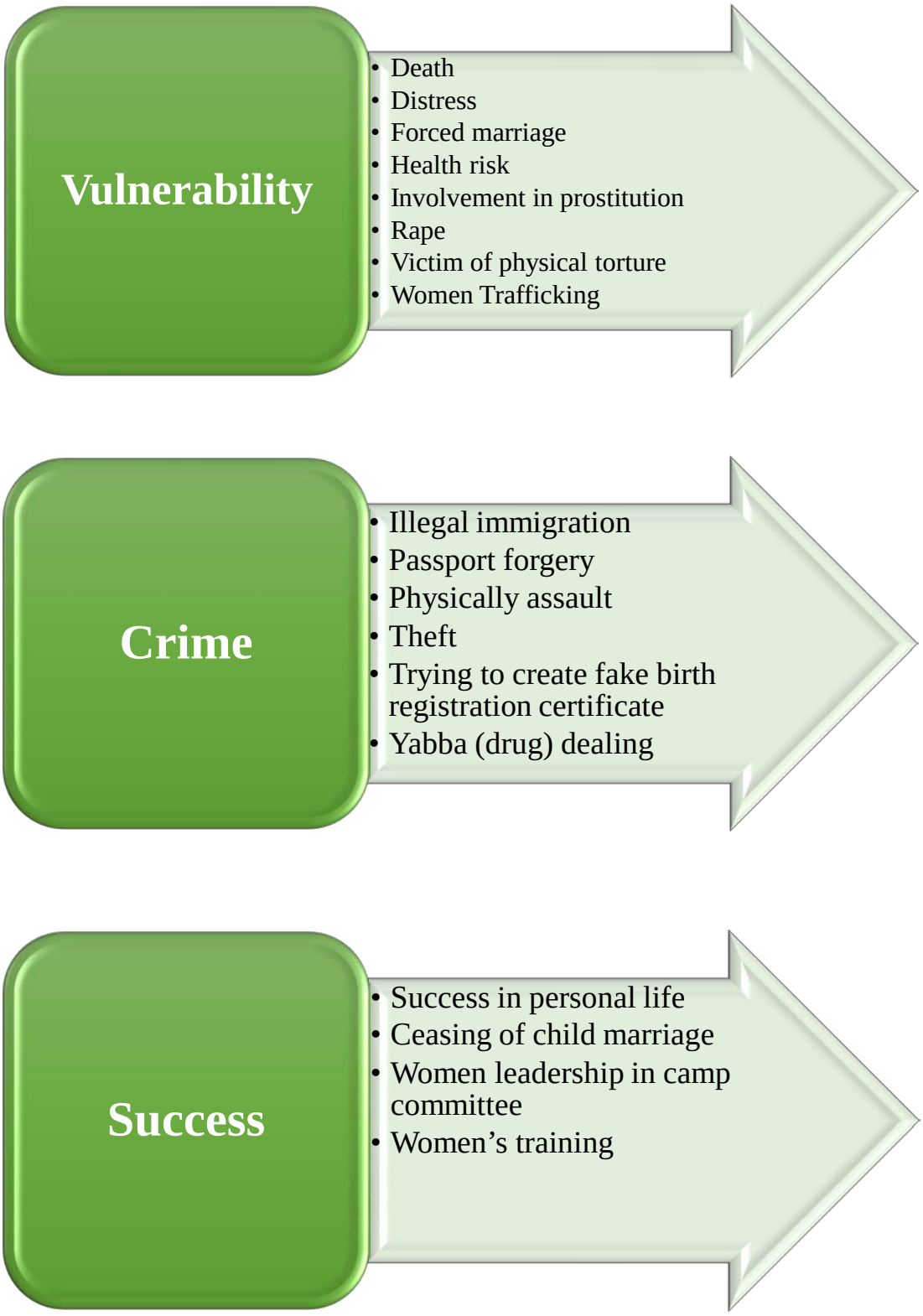
walking naked in the field and so on. There was an article titled *"Myanmar troops' sexual violence against Rohingyas 'genocidal intent': UN report"* published on August 22, 2019. The report stated that hundreds of Rohingya women and girls were raped, with 80 percent of the rapes corroborated by the Mission being gang rapes. The Tatmadaw (Myanmar military) was responsible for 82 percent of these gang rapes. It indicated that the military intended to destroy the Muslim ethnic minority. Another story titled *"Licence to rape"* published on December 13, 2017, stated about women being raped by Myanmar military. There are many more news titles regarding women being raped such as, *"How much more evidence is needed?"*, *"Myanmar troops committed mass rape of women"*, *"Raped, killed because they are Rohingya"*, *"Rape alarm for Rohingya women"* and so on. The issue of Rohingya women's health risks came up in 8 news item. News published on September 12, 2018, titled *"Rohingya Refugees: Women face risk of abuse, health issues"* stated that Rohingya women were facing health problems due to unsafe and unsuitable facilities of refugee camps. The report titled *"Rohingya women, children still at acute risk: Unicef"* represented the shortage of water, sanitation and hygiene facilities in the refugee camps. It was published on October 23, 2017. There was another story on Rohingya women's health especially the new mothers. *"Rohingya refugee crisis: Family Planning: Too important, yet ignored"* published on November 03, 2017, showed the challenges of health problems, family planning and suggestions. In the report titled *"Over 16,000 Rohingya women are pregnant: Health minister"* showed that more than 16 thousand Rohingya women were pregnant and according to health minister. They were under treatment at camps. Report published on September 17, 2017, titled *"Water, Sanitation Crisis: Roadside refugees suffer the brunt"* upheld the unsafety of going to nearby jungle for evacuating as there is no latrine and no facilities for women's bathing in camp. Women were giving birth to children and both mother and children were not getting any health facilities. UN Women prepared a report with testimonies 51 percent of the displaced people were women and girls. They live in terrible conditions and lack adequate food, water, sanitation, medical care and access to their livelihoods and assets in the news titled *"Rohingya refugee crisis: Almost everyone is survivor or witness"* published on October 31, 2017. There were two more news items titled *"Birth Control: Rohingyas lack awareness"*, and *"Focus on Rohingya women's health"*. There were six news reports which represented the clear distress of women. The news titled *"The uncertain fate of Rohingya"* showed women are the targets for trafficking, raping, sexual harassment and there is no hope of getting proper safety. The report *"what hope is there for Rohingya women and children?"* published on September 23, 2017, stated that women were dying due to lack of treatment and their children were becoming alone. There was no proper arrangement and security for women. Other news reports were *"Violence at Home, Insecurity Here, Uncertainty Ahead"*, *"No Woman's Land"*, *"Polygamy in the CAMPS"*, *"Hiding from traffickers in 'prison-like' tents, Rohingya girls dream of school"* etc. There were two news items on women trafficking and one news item on physical torture.

10 (22%) were related to their crime. A total of five articles were published on passport fraud and was already mentioned in *Prothom Alo* and *Bangladesh Protidin*. Four articles were published on women's drug dealing. One article was about illegal immigration.

On the other hand, there were five success stories about Rohingya women which included leadership and training. There was an article of remarkable achievement titled *"Rohingya refugees elect women leaders in camp committee polls: UNHCR"* published on June 28, 2018. According to this news, in the first camp committee election they elected 12 leaders in which half of them were women. A story about a volunteer Rohingya woman titled *"For the good of the community"* published on June 22, 2019, who went home to home and spread the lifesaving message. There was an article about Rohingya women's training titled *"Providing refugee women, girls with life skills"* published on March 05, 2019. This report stated that as Rohingya women and girls had very opportunities to become self-dependent, the UN launched a project to provide Rohingya women and teenage girls with life skills and vocational training in the camp. There was another success story titled *"Let Rohingya women decide their future: Amnesty"*. It was about a mother and a daughter tailoring in camp to become independent. Another one was *"Child Marriage of Rohingya girl stopped in Malaysia"* published on March 08, 2019.

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The following is a summary of news reports from four newspapers:



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VII. Conclusion

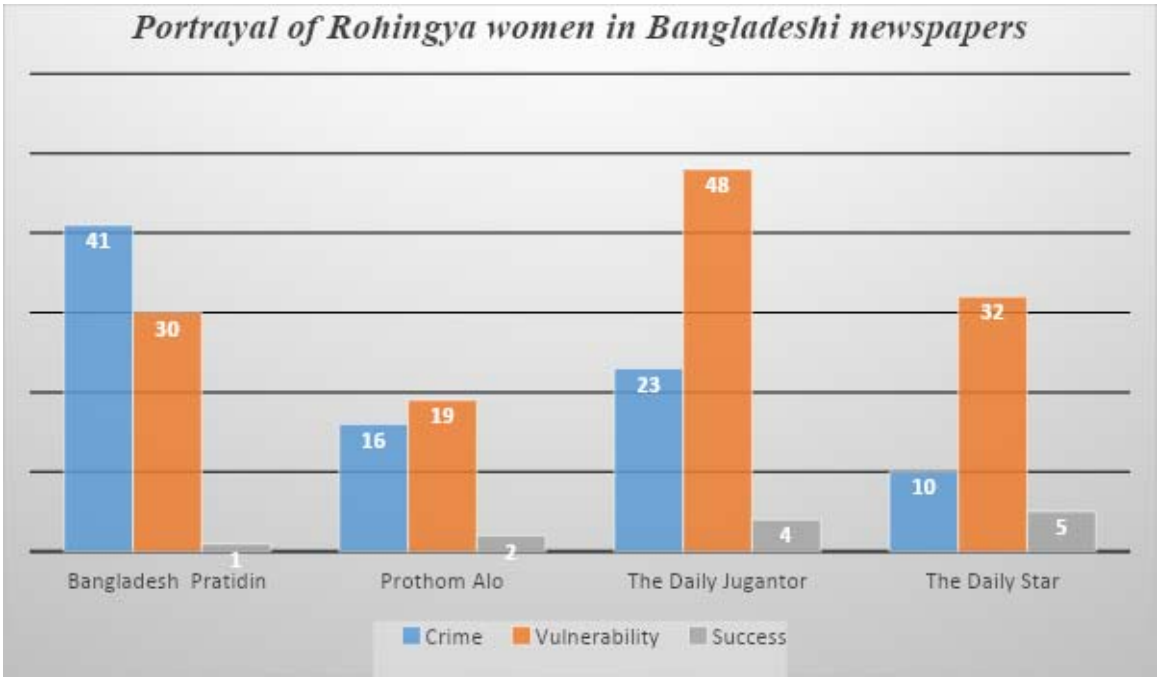


Chart: Comparative rate of news reports on Rohingya women in various newspapers

The content analysis of this study shows that all of these newspapers upheld the helplessness of Rohingya women and acceptance of their fate. The fourth pillar of state created the standard of women's reaction during a humanitarian crisis, which is being vulnerable and not doing anything for changing their fate. Through the Framing Theory, we can see that all these newspapers framed women in that way they wanted to present women and spread the news. *Bangladesh Pratidin*, which has the largest circulation in Bangladesh, published 72 news reports regarding Rohingya women, whereas the 2nd largest circulated newspaper *Prothom Alo* published only 37 news items, *The Daily Jugantor* published 76 news items and *The Daily Star*, the largest circulated English newspaper in Bangladesh, published 47 reports. *The Daily Star* and *The Daily Jugantor* published five news items regarding Rohingya women's success or stepping on the path to better days. On the other hand, *Prothom Alo* and *Bangladesh Pratidin* published three and one reports respectively. These news stories are much less than other news stories, which are regarding rape and crime. Most of the news item of these newspapers were about Rohingya women's being raped, caught while fleeing Malaysia and smuggling drug etc. The amount of news report about health risks is very low which is one of the major problems of the camp.

Through the Representation Theory, we can say that *Prothom Alo* comparatively seemed to be very sensitive while writing about Rohingya women amidst these newspapers. Besides *The Daily Star* tried to represent women's suffering which might be sympathy politics. (Hankins, 2019). On the other hand, *Bangladesh Protidin* tended to represent the crime of Rohingya women. Every newspaper mentioned about Myanmar military being responsible for rape, sexual violence of Rohingya women. But there was no news report on Rohingya women's fundamental rights which should have been there as common people are dependent on newspaper to know about the Rohingya issue.

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Nabakalebara of Lord Jagannath in the Temple at Puri in Odisha India: The Re-Embodiment of the Divine

By Dr. Chinmayee Satpathy

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Abstract- Lord Jagannath is an ancient deity of the Hindu religion in the Indian sub-continent. He symbolizes the Lord Krishna and Lord Vishnu. This article illustrates about the Nabakalebara Ceremony of Lord Jagannath in the grand temple of Jagannath at Puri in Odisha. This is a very grand and unique ritual which is not found in any other Hindu shrine and temple in India and elsewhere in the world. This is a non-recurring ritual which takes place once in every 8th or 19th year when intercalary Odia month of Asadha falls. As per the tradition of the Jagannath Temple in Puri during this period it is convenient to perform the Nabakalebara Ceremony of the Chaturdha Murty i.e Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan which are worshiped as the main deities of the temple. The deities are made up of Neem wood which necessitate renewal of the deities within a definite time span through performing the Nabakalebara Ceremony. This write up broadly narrates about how a series of rituals are observed during the Vanayaga Journey which continues for nearly three to four months in searching and identifying four sacred Neem trees from which the four idols of Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarshan are constructed. Thereafter, the core ritual of Ghata Paribartan i.e transforming of Brahma Padartha or the soul substance takes place secretly inside the main temple in the midnight in closed door by the intimate servitors of Lord Jagannath such as Pati Mahapatra and Daita Servitors. Apart from this, it throws light upon the social cultural and religious significance of Nabakalebara Ritual and how the great ancient tradition is maintained till date.

I. Introduction

India is well known across the world for its rich spiritual heritage, diverse cultures, and sacred inheritance since time immemorial. Odisha is a premier state located in the East India. Since ancient times, the geographic territory of the state had been extended from the belt of river of Mahanadi in the East to the Godabari in the South during the reign of royal dynasties like the King Kharavela, Emperor Ashoka and others. The state had a long maritime history since and trading relationship with the South East Asian Countries like Sri Lanka, China, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam and islands of Indonesia like Bali, Java, Borneo, Malay and Sumatra etc. In terms of history, it is a heartland of powerful kingdoms of Kalinga, Utkal, Odra, Kosala, Tosali and Kangoda. From early fifteenth century onwards, it is called Orissa and now Odisha. The state was formerly known as Kalinga which is associated with its rich sculptural and artistic excellence in the subsequent periods, the two names are still evoked with honour to designate the whole of Odisha. (Pradhan 2003). However, despite many upheavals and cataclysm faced by the state in the past, it has still retained its ancient glory and cultural identity alive for generations blooming within the pan-Indian culture and heritage. The mushrooming of innumerable ancient shrines, intricately designed temples and monuments in beautiful Kalinga style of architectures, art and artifacts, dance and music, folk and classical literatures which have made the state splendid and magnificent. Besides, the presence of diverse communities like the Hindus, Buddhist, Jain and sixty-two tribal communities have made the land so diverse and distinct. Besides, the state has abundant natural resources, wide varieties of flora and fauna, long coastline and hill ranges. It has been rightly said by the great men that, in the land of Utkala situated inn Bharat (India) is Purusottam Dham which is like a paradise on earth Here Lord Jagannath in the wooden form is residing to grant fearlessness to the devotees. Just like within a full bloomed lotus, after the petals have formed, there is the stigma, stamen, and kesara, the filament of the flower, with honey or ambrosia which emits a wonderful aroma that delights the mind of the people similarly the Antarbedi is like the core of the lotus and everything surrounding, like the devas and devis are the lotus petal In the centre in the form of Kesara there is the presence of Lord Jagannath with Balabhadara, Subhadra and Sudarshan. Because of the auspicious presence of Purusottam Dham the land of Utkala has attained incomparable glory throughout the entire world (Das 2012).

'Sri Jagannath is worshiped as the Presiding Deity (*Ishtadevata or Kuladevata*) of Odisha, in India. Besides, the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains in the East Indian states like the *West Bengal, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar* and North-Eastern states like *Assam, Manipur* and *Tripura* worship Lord Jagannath with great devotion. The culture, religion, and philosophy of the land are surrounded by the enliven deity of 'the Purusottam Lord Jagannath' who remains the pivot of Odia life and culture. The story of Jagannath has been inextricably interlinked with the history of Orissa, its people, cultures, sociology, religion, politics and

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philosophy. It is a magnificent synthesis of beliefs and ethics down the centuries and in the process wielding varied influences into an integral scheme of living. The Jagannath Culture in the final analysis has acquired a distinctive identity of its own blending aspects of belief of low culture with lefties religious and metaphysical expectations of high culture (Dash 2003). Further, it is pertinent to say that, Lord Jagannath is not simply an icon of wood, but is a perennial source of inspiration for all Indians and Odias of all caste, class, race and gender. The multi-stream flow of Jagannath Consciousness is a powerful inter-connecting link deeply rooted in the Odia psyche and emotion which is intensely felt and realized in all spheres of life. Whether it is an artistic invention or literary creation, or cultural expression in the form of dance, music or theatre, every facets of Odia life is enriched with the essence of Lord Jagannath.

After all who is Lord Jagannath? Jagannath is a combination of two words i.e Jagat (world) Nath (Lord/master) of the universe. In totality, Lord Jagannath is the Lord of the universe. It is said "*Sarbam Rahasyam Purusottamasya*" which denotes the origin of Purusottama Jagannath is mysterious and enigmatic. In the Hindu Sanatana Dharma, Jagannath is considered as a divine form of Lord Vishnu and Lord Krishna. If anyone seek to visualize Purna-Brahma, the absolute, one can perceive Lord Jagannath as a simple crude wooden idol with two wooden stumps as hands, conspicuous absence of legs with two big round eyes indicating sun and moon emerging from a big black face which symbolizes the Universe. Lord Jagannath is worshiped as the Daru-Brahma. The auspicious presence of mysterious divine substance called Brahma Padartha considered as the soul i.e installed within the wooden idol of Jagannath has made him unique and different from the other deities of the world. It is also interesting to note that, the construction of four wooden deities of Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarshan is mysterious which does not follow any prescribed form of idol making in the Shilpa Sastras and traditional Hindu scripture. Lord Jagannath has accepted the wooden form in order to relieve the humanity from the pains and sufferings of the material world. The word Daru is derived from Da-Dukha or sorrow and Ru-to give. "*Khandanat Sarba Dukhanan Akhandat Dana Anandam*" -i.e which offers infinite bliss removing pains and sufferings of the world and devotee, seeker or common men who can perceive him easily and instantly. Being of wood the images require periodical renewal, and this is a matter about which there is considerable mystery. A neem tree is sought in the forests, on which no crow or other bird has even perched, it is known to the initiated by certain marks (Malley 1908). The wood is taken from a chosen neem tree from which the idol is constructed by the Viswakarma or the carpenters and then entrusted to certain servitors called Pati-Mahapatra who do the most secret and ritual of transferring the Brahma-Padartha from old idols to the new-idols and concurrently on the same night the old idols are buried in the Koili-Baikuntha in the temple premises by a group of Daita servitors of Lord Jagannath. The new idols are then installed on the Ratna-Simhasana and are worshiped.

The Brahma is the core concept of Hindu Philosophy which is the highest Universal Principle and the ultimate reality. It is all pervasive, infinite, eternal bliss and ultimate truth which remain unaltered and intact from the beginning till the end but is the cause of all changes in the universe. The concept of Brahma is connected to Lord Jagannath. He is worshiped as Daru-Brahma, the Patta Painting worshiped during Anasara Ritual every year are venerated as Patti-Brahma, Mahaprasad, the offering of Lord Jagannath is known as Anna-Brahma, the chanting of his auspicious name is Sabda-Brahma, the script of Saura tribe is worshiped as Akshayra Brahma which is connected to lord Jagannath. The worship of Purusottam Jagannath as the Daru-Brahma i.e Brahma within wooden idol is rare and auspicious. Purusottam or the Brahman is described as "Na Stri Na Puman na Sandah", neither feminine, nor masculine nor even neuter. It has transcended the Jiva - dharma by transcending the genders. Lord Jagannath therefore does not contain any indication of gender and is very different from men. That is why he is Purusottama for the Vedantis and conveniently interpreted hi as Krishna Vasudeva or Dakshina -Kalika. But, basically the form symbolizes the first attribute of Brahman as genderless (Rath 2019). Lord Jagannath symbolizes the Pranava, the essence of all Vedic thoughts. The Pranava appears as the supreme consciousness or Purusottama Consciousness representing Lord Jagannath (Panigrahi and Bibudharanjan 2015). Further, Puri was known as Purusottam Puri and Jagannath Puri once upon a time. The word Puri or Pura has several meanings such as house, country, city or body. So, the soul dwells in everyone's Pura i.e body is called Purusha. As Puri is a dwelling place of Lord Jagannath it is known as Purusottam Puri and Jagannath Puri. Later the name is shortened to Puri (Mahapatra 2018). So, Puri is considered the holiest of the holy pilgrimage destinations of India. The national reverence for holy places has been for ages concentrated in the city, sacred to Vishnu under his title of Jagannath the Lord of the world. Here, in Puri situated the national temple whither the people flock to worship from every province of India (Sahu 2005).

The crude wooden idol of Lord Jagannath with two hands and absence of legs with the mysterious divine substance signifies the Daru-Brahma Jagannath who is known as *Purusottama* or Lord Krishna in the Bhagavat Geeta told Arjuna in the battlefield of Kurukshetra: "*Since I am beyond the perishable world of matter or kshetra, I am superior even to the imperishable*

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soul; hence I am known as Purusottama in the world and in the Vedas"'. Lord as Cosmic Being is imperishable and wields control over the three worlds, upholds and maintains all. The four-fold celestial idols of the Chaturdha-Murty represents oneness in four-idols. Sri Jaganatha is the '*Nirakara Param-Brahma'*, Sri Balabhadra is the '*Shravana'* (hearing power), Devi Subhadra is the '*Ichhashakti'* (Will power) and Sri Sudarshan is the '*Chalat' Shakti* (Working power). Further, the scholars perceive the fourfold divine idols as four Vedas, i.e. Sri Balabahadra (*Shama Veda*), Devi Subhadra (*Rig Veda*), Sri Jagannath (*Yajur Veda*) and Sri Sudarshan (*Atharva Veda*). Lord Jagannath is worshiped as the *Lokayata Brahma* (God of People), and Jagannath Dharma is Gana Dharma (religion of mass). The 'Brihat Samhita' and 'Vishnu Samhita' say when God is worshipped as *daru*, the four aspirations of the worshipper such as *Aygu* (longevity), *Sri* (wealth), *Bala* (strength) and *Vijaya* (victory) are fulfilled.

II. Lord Jagannath in the Vedas and Upanishads

Lord Jagannatha is worshiped as Saguna Brahma (with definite form and quality/attribute) and Nirguna Brahma (without any form and quality/attribute) as well. Though, there is no reference of any deity or Jagannath in the Vedas, a Vedic prayer of Purusha-Sukta of the Rig Veda says '*Brahmadaru Smarami*' which indicates an '*Apuruseya Daru'* (log of wood) or '*Adi-Brahma*' floating in the ocean since time immemorial. Lord Jagannath is known as Purusottama, the symbolic representation of Great Purusha as conceived in the Vedas which signifies the great man who is the creator of the world. The Vedic Purusha is one and the non-dual. A hymn of *Purusha Sukta* of *Rig Veda* also illustrates that: "*Om Sahasrashirsha Purushah Sahasrakshah, Sahasrapad Sa Bhumim Vishvato Vritva atyatishthad Dashangulam*" - which says manifestation of a Giant *Purusha* i.e a cosmic entity having thousand heads, thousand eyes and thousand feet enveloping the whole universe yet hyphenated with a space of ten angulas" The *Purusha Sukta* of the *Rigveda* is recited in all religious worships of Lord Jagannatha which denotes that he symbolises Lord Vishnu and Lord Krishna. The Yajurveda also describes *Parama-Purusha* which is similar to the shape of Jagannatha. The 'Tapering Flame' a U-shaped (vessel of Agni in the Vedas) on the forehead of Lord Jagannath is the '*Atmajyoti'* is the '*Kundalini'*, awakened consciousness i,e a fiery power of Lord Vishnu. The Atharva Veda also mentions about the '*Apuruseya Daru*'.

Further, the Upanisads designate Him as the *Sat-Chit-Ananda* (Truth-Sense-Bliss) Swarupa of the Brahma, the Eternal Entity pervading the whole Universe. The description of the '*Apada Sirsha*' in the *Mundaka Upanishad* signifies that God has neither foot nor head which symbolizes Lord Jagannath. The *Svetasvatara Upanisad* describes the Brahman: *Apanipada Javanograhita, Pasyatyacakshuh Srunotyakarnah*" which means that the Brahma sans feet moves faster, sans hands accept everything, sans eyes see all around and sans ears hears all sounds. The lore that the world has been created from the body of a *Primordial Purusha* is ancient and is illustrated in many Hindu scriptures. Lord Jagannath is conceived as Maha-Vishnu who is always in the company of his celestial wife Maha-Laxmi who is said to be there in three forms Sri Bhu and Nila while revealing the nature of Virat Swarupa or the Cosmic God. The Purusha Sukta of the Rig Veda says that Lord Vishnu possesses Bhu-Devi and Sri Devi as two wives who are two forms of Goddess Laxmi. So, Sri or Laxmi is used a prefix (Pattanaik 2015). Lord Jagannath symbolising Lord Vishnu is worshiped with Bhu-Devi and Sri-Devi in on the Ratna-Vedi in the Jagannath temple in Puri which is known as Sri Mandira.

III. Lord Jagannath and Ten Incarnations of Lord Vishnu

Some scholars hold that Lord Jagannath is the Maha Vishnu who is '*Avatari*', from whom the Dasabatara the ten *Avataras (*divine incarnations or fundamental entities) like *Rama Krishna* and others have been originated. In the *Satya Yuga.* Matsya (Fish) and Kurma (Tortoise), Baraha (half animal and half human form), Nrusimha (half animal and half human form). In the *Tretaya Yuga* Bamana (Dwarf God), Parsurama (God with Bow and Arrow) and Rama, the King. In the *Dwapara Yuga,* Balaram and Krushna, the King and in the *Kali Yuga* (Present Age) the Baudha (Enlightened) and Kalki (War God). Further it is said that Lord Jagannath as Lord Vishnu represents the four deities in the four Yugas i.e Nrusimha in Satya Yuga, Rama in Tretaya Yuga, Krishna in the Dwapara Yuga, Lord Jagannath in the Kali Yuga. He is Vishnu under whatever for and by whatever title men call upon his name (Hunter 2018). It is said that, though the leelas of the deities of three Yugas Satya, Tretaya, Dwapara in three Dhamas like Badrinath Dham, Rameswaram, Dawraka Dham have been completed, the leelas of Lord Jagannath in Puri Dham is continuing till date. It is said that Lord Vishnu takes bath in the Rameshwam eat food in Puri, administers in Dwaraka, and sleeps in the Badrika Dham. Therefore, the fifty-six varieties of food offerings of Mahaprasad offered Lord Jagannath is called Abhada as it is not distributed but taken by all together without any bar of caste or class. The holy land of Puri is located in the South East corner of Odisha and the Jagannath Temple is located in South East Corner of Puri. The temple represents the fire (Agni moola) in Vasthu Sastra which is fit for placing kitchen facing towards East which represents prosperity

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where the sun rises to give energy and breeze of happiness and bliss from southern direction.

Jagannatha is perhaps the most inclusive manifestation of the Hindu faith. In the syncretic character of Jagannath faith are included the five main strands of worship in the Hindu system and much more (Pani 2017). He is considered as a paramount deity seated on the Ratna Simhasana in the innermost part of the temple in Puri (Patnaik 2006). The *Chaturdhamurti* (four-fold divine idols) comprising *Sri Jagannatha* (symbolizing Vishnu), his elder brother *Sri Balabhadra* (symbolizing Siva) and his younger sister *Devi Subhadra* (symbolizing Shakti) are the centre of religious worship in Sri Mandira situated at the navel of Sankha-Kshetra Puri which comprises most of the religious centres. The shape of Puri as Kshetra is like that of a conch shell (Sankha) which is one of the Aiyudhas (weapon) of Vishnu who resides in the naval or central part of the Conch shell in the form of Lord Jagannath as Lord Vishnu. The Jagannath Trio worship three fundamental deities of Jagannath, Balabhadra Subhdra and *Sri Sudarsan* (symbolizing Surya and weapon of Lord Vishnu) is fourth divine manifestation. Besides, the deity of '*Madhav'* (moving image of Jagannath which is taken out of main temple during some rituals), '*Shri-Devi'* (Goddess of Wealth) and '*Bhu-Devi'* (Goddess of Land) are worshipped with them. So, the Saptadha Bigraha (seven idols) worshiped on the '*Ratnavedi*' (Jewelled Platform) in the main temple in Puri are unique, enigmatic and unparallel to any other Hindu shrine in India in terms of iconography and religious worship as well. The trio worship of Jagannath is more than religious (Padhi 2015). It is said, that the tri-coloured deities represent three colours -white, yellow and black represent three major races of the world. Lord Jagannath represents black i.e people of India and Africa, Balabhadra represents white i.e people of England and America and Subhadra represents Yellow i.e the people of Mongolia and China. The distinctiveness of the temple religious worship are also found in other aspects such as the *Nitis* (rituals), the *Veshas* (dresses and ornaments), the *Dwadasa Yatra* (twelve festivals), the *Chhapan Bhoga* (fifty six varieties of foods offering to the deities) the temple architecture and the *Nabakalebara* Ceremony (renewal of deities) are the distinct features of Sri Jagannatha culture and philosophy. While it has all the trapping of highly ritualised worship conforming to the traditional Vedic rites and later forms, it is primarily based on a very simple principle of a loving relationship of the devotee and the divine based on the foundation of complete, intimate and unconditional surrender by the worshiper before the worshiped (Pani 2017).

IV. Lord Jagannath in the Epics and Folk Literature

Sir Jagannatha was worshipped by the Aryans and the non-Aryans together in the Utkala (Odisha) during ancient times. So, He is equally claimed as the original deity of the Hindus and the tribes as well. He is not treated simply as a religious icon but as a magnificent divine force influencing the state, society and culture of India. Sri Jagannath remains a great cultural unifier who symbolizes the Odia identity. From Ramayana it is known that the family deity of Ikshvaku was Jagannath, Similarly, the Mahabharat, Vishnu Purana (7th Century AD) and Trikandadesa (9th Century AD) mention the other name of Vishnu as Jagannath. In Saura literature reference to the Sun as Jagannath is well known (Mishra 1995). Besides many epics, folk literature, mythologies and history mention about Lord Jagannath. However, the Utkala Khanda of *Skanda Purana* and *Brahma Purana* give elaborate account of the '*Jagannathapuri'* during the reign of King *Indradyumna*. The '*Purushottama-Mahatmya*' in *Utkala Khanda* of the *Skanda Puran* illustrates '*Sisho Manuso Leela*' i.e Lord Jagannatha is manifested in the Purusottama Kshetra Puri to exhibit humanly leelas. It says that in early times Jagannath was worshipped by the Sabara tribal community especially *Viswavasu* Savara as Nilamadhav a 'Indranilamani Vigraha' crafted in a precious jewel, which was the earlier form of Lord Jagannath. *Indradyumna*, the king of Malwa or *Malab* (known as Avanti or Ujjain located in Madhya Pradesh) sent his minister *Vidyapati* to bring *Neelamadhava* from *Viswavasu* to find the Lord and Vidyapati after locating the Lord, informed the king Indradyumna about Lord's presence. But, when the king visited the place the Lord disappeared. With disappointment, the king performed Aswamedha Yajna and while offering final oblation the Lord evolved from the sacrificial fire as *Nrusimha*. The king was advised by the Lord in dream to salvage a log of wood from the *Chakrateertha, Puri*. Accordingly, the wooden log was brought and the divine idols were constructed in the king's palace in a sequestered room by a strange carpenter named Anant Maharana. When the king opened the door before the contract period of 21 days, the king saw the half-made four-fold image of *Chatrudha-Murty.* From that day the structure of the four divine idols remain un-altered and are being worshiped in the main temple of Jagannath in the *Neelachala-Dham* (Puri) today. Some scholars hold that at first Lord Jagannath was a unitary primordial deity and later transformed into four deities and are worshiped in Puri temple.

The great Odia scholar, Sarala Dasa in his *Odia Mahabharat* in 15th century has written that Jara Savara wounded Lord Krishna and after Krishna's death, His last rites were performed by the Pandavas. But, the soul of Lord Krishna remained unburnt and floated by Arjun

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into the sea which later transformed into a wooden log and found floating in the sea near Puri. From this wooden log the Jagannatha trio was constructed in the King *Indradyumna* which are worshiped in the temple till date. The *Madala Panji* (Temple Chronicle (Mohanty 1940) narrates about the transformation of *Neelamadhava* as Lord Jagannath. The *Savara* connection of Lord Jagannath is also revealed in the *Daru-Brahma Geeta* of *Jagannatha Dasa* and *Deula Tola* of *Sisu Krishna Das*. Even today, the Neelamadhava Temple is found on the bank of Mahanadi River surrounded by hills and forests in the *Kantilo* area of the Nayagarh District of Odisha. The '*Neeladri Mahodaya', 'Bamdev Samhita'* and *'Sri Kapila Samhita'* have also give the same references. The '*Vishnu Puran', 'Matsya Puran', 'Agni Puran', 'Padma Puran'* and '*Kalika Puran'* have referred about the *Odra, Puri, Nilagiri, Nilachala Dhama, Jagannatha Kshetra*. Two main Hindu scriptures like the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharat* have also described about the holy shrine of *Purushottama Kshetra* and the word Jagannath is cited many times. In the Ramayan, Lord Rama advised Bibhishana to worship Jagannatha "*Aradhaya Jagannatham, Iksvaku kula daivatam.*" In the Mahabharat it is said that the Pandavas came to Puri to worship Lord Jagannath. The Buddhist scholar Indrabhuti (9th CenA.D) in his '*Gyan siddhi*' (Vajrayana Treaty) has mentioned that "*Pranipatya Jagannatham Sarvajina Bararchitam"* -I bow down before Lord Jagannath who is the Lord of the Universe. In Odisha, the Pancha Sakha, the five eminent scholars like *Jagannatha Das, Ananta Das, Balaram Das, Acthyunanda Das* and *Jasobanta Das* popularised Jagannath culture through their writings. These are early references of Lord Jagannath in the epics and folk literatures of Odisha. But they do not present unanimous views about the origin and ancientness of Lord Jagannath. So, it is presumed that before *Indradyumna* legend gained credence, Lord Jagannath might have prevailed in the folklores of Odisha.

The eminent Odia Scholar Jagannath Dasa in his Odia Bhagabata has written that Lord Jagannath possesses all six divine attributes like knowledge, power, majesty, strength, energy and self-sufficiency. When Jagannath is worshipped alone with only his face devoid of his arms and torso, He is known as '*Patitapavana'* (the redeemer of the destitute), the merciful aspect of the God. In the 19th century, the British used the term '*Juggernaut'* for Lord Jagannath which refers to a massive inexorable force or enormous entity with powerful crushing capabilities which cannot be stopped. Some scholars hold that Sri Jagannatha is an incarnation of Lord Vishnu or Lord Krishna, while others claim that He is the embodiment of 'Buddha' or 'Jina'. Others maintains that He is a Lord of tribal origin as many facets of Jagannatha culture are identical to tribal culture. So, the metaphysical and philosophical confluence of many religious streams like Buddhism, Jainism, Saktism, Saivaism etc. are assimilated within the grand spectrum of Jagannatha consciousness enhancing it spiritual eminence over the centuries.

V. Sacred Wooden Idols of Chaturdha-Murty

The 'Skanda Purana' and 'Sarala Mahabharata' have given description about appearance of the Lord Jagannath as a 'daru' or sacred wooden log from which four new idols of Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan were constructed which are worshiped in the main temple at Puri today. The historians like Satyanarayan Rajguru opine that earlier the idol of Sri Jagannath was made up of stone and later transformed into wood. The 'Skanda Purana Purushottama Mahatmya' has also mentioned about the '*daru*' or wooden structure of Lord Jagannath (Das 2012). In the 'Vrihat Samhita' of Varahamihira. In the Shilpashatra' of Kashyap, wood is described as the best material to construct the deities. In 'Bhavishya Purana' the use of wood is stressed for constructing the idols of Suryanarayana or the sun god. In this epic' it is also said that '*Nimbadyah sarvavarnanam vrikshyah sadharanah smrutah*'. which means the idol made from neem wood' can be worshiped by all sections of society. It is mentioned that though the logs of peepul, mahua, deodar, sandal, bel, khadir, anchan, neem, sriparna, jackfruit tree, arjun and raktachandan (red sandal) are suitable wood to construct the idols, but choosing Neem wood for constructing the deities of Sri Jagannath temple is quite meaningful. Further, it is said that 'Pratima Lakshana Soudhagama' says '*Nimba pradhanmetasham pratima cha binirmitou*' which says among all wood, the *Neem* is the best. In Sri Jagannath temple the servitors of all class like the successors of Brahmin Vidyapati, Kshatriya King Gajapati and the tribal inheritors of Biswabashu play key role in performing different rituals of the deities. So, the idols made of the Neem wood can be worshiped by all caste and class of the society. The tree worship and idol making in wood is a distinctive feature of world's ancient civilizations like the Greek, Mesopotamian, Indus Valley and Mayan civilization. Further, the trinity is considered as the state deity. The Raja or king of Puri is the Sevayat of the present day. The trinity is the Kula-Devata or Family Deity of the Raja or the king. So also, it is State Deity, because the family whose Kuladevata it has the position of a ruler of a kingdom (Servorum 2015). The concept of state deity is as old as the Egyptian civilization. The scholars say that the Rath Yatra of Lord Jagannath and the Opet Festival of Egypt are very similar. The explanation signifies the ancient origin of Lord Jagannath. Presently, Lord Jagannath has taken the center stage of global pantheon of all gods and presently He is worshiped in and around 3000 Hindu Temples across the world and his Ratha Yatra is

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celebrated in all major cities of the world which signifies the transnational significance of the Jagannath consciousness.

VI. Nabakalebara of Lord Jagannath: The Re-Embodiment Ritual

The Nabakalebara signifies the renewal or re-embodiment ritual of the wooden idols of the Chaturdha-Murty of Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan. Like human, the wooden deities are subjected to decay for which they take up new '*kalebara*' or body in definite interval of Nabakalebara. The Jagannath temple in Puri, Odisha is the only temple in India and the world where the Nabakalebara Ritual takes place once in every 8th or 19th Year when the intercalary month of Asadha (Odia month) falls when it is convenient to perform the Nabakalebara of the deities as per the Jagannath temple tradition in Puri. The timing for performing the Nabakalebara of the deities in the temple is done as per the astronomical and astrological calculation.

a) *Ritual Experts and Functionaries Performing the Nabakalebara Ceremony*

The traditional servitors of the Jagannath Temple constituting four major castes such as the Brahmin, Kshyatriya, Vaishya and Sudra take part in the Nabakalebara Ceremony and perform their roles as traditionally prescribed in the Nabakalebara Ceremony. For centuries, the Gajapati Maharaja or the King of Puri who has been the traditional ruler is the main sponsor of the Jagannath Temple remain the first servant called Adya Sevak of Lord Jagannath. During Nabakalebara Ritual, the king who is a Kshatriya serves as the head or Jajamana makes official commencement of the Nabakalebara Ritual by performing the Gua Teka Ritual by handing over the Arcenut and Coconut to his Rajguru or Royal Counsel in his palace. The king invites two ritual experts to perform the Nabakalebara Ceremony. One is the Srotriya Vedic Brahmin who promises before the King by accepting Akhyata or raw rice and coconut to act as Acharya to perform all the Vedic rituals and fire sacrifices with a group of Brahmin Priests near the four holy neem trees. The Second Ritual functionary or expert who is officially invited by the king is Viswavasu who promises before the King by accepting Akhyata or raw rice and coconut to move into the forest in order to identify the Neem tree having sacred symbols of the Sankha (Conch-Shell), Chakra (Wheel), Gada (Mace) and Padma (Lotus) from which the deities are to be constructed. The Viswavasu symbolises the tribal descendent of the savara devotee who were early worshiper of Nilamadhaba the former form of Lord Jagannath. Besides, a group of carpenters known as Viswakarma also used to go to the forest to cut the selected neem tree and subsequently construct the deities in the temple. It shows that all the four categories of servitors belonging to four different castes perform their traditional roles and the ancient tradition of Nabakalebara Ceremony is maintained.

The Nabakalebara Ceremony observed in Shri Mandira, Puri, is generally of three types.

A. *Sampurna Nabakalebara (Complete Renewal):* This is complete renewal of the four wooden deities of *Chaturdhamurti* and transferring the '*Brahma-Padartha'* divine substance into the new bodies from the old ones. The new idols are given '*Purna-Rupa'* or complete shape like the human forms in '*Saptavarana Vidhi'* i.e covering the idols with seven layers like the '*Netapata*' (red silk cloth), *Phulurilagi or Tailalagi* (medicated oil), '*Chandanlagi'* (sandalwood paste), 'Jhunalagi' (resin), *Khadilagi (quicklime), Khalilagi (white flour paste)* which are pasted on the idols and Gada (loin cloth), *Ghanalagi* (silk ropes) are covered and the *Chaka-Apasaralagi* (circular cushion) takes place which symbolizes the feet of the idols. This is done by the 'daitas', the up-keepers of the bodies of the deities.

B. *Sri-Angaphita (Partial Renewal):* This is minor repairing of the four wooden idols without touching the *Brahma-Padartha* within the deities. Since Nabakalebara is a very expensive affair, *Sri-Angaphita* of the deities is performed at times instead of complete renewal of the deities. During the *Anasara* Ritual every year, *Sri-Angaphita* of the deities is done in *Saptavarana Vidhi* as per the necessity. Finally, the idols are painted by *Datta-Mahapatra*, a temple servitor followed by the *Chakshyu Dana (painting eyes* of deities) and *Nabayauban Darshan* of the *Chaturdhamurti* is made by the devotees in Sri Mandira.

C. *Special Nabakalebara:* During some special contingencies the Nabakalebara Ritual of the four-fold divine idols are performed in Shri Mandira, Puri. At times due to the foreign invasions on Shri Mandira by the Hindu and Moghul Kings, the Sri Bigrahas are shifted to different places by the temple servitors for protection of their iconic sanctity. These incidences necessitated the Nabakalebara of the deities before re-installing them on the *Ratna Singhasan* or the divine platform in the sanctum sanctorum of Shri Mandira Puri.

b) *Timing of Nabakalebara*

The Nabakalebara is an established ritual of the Puri temple as it is necessary to change the wooden deities for definite reasons. Though, it is very difficult to trace the origin of Nabakalebara, the *Madala Panji* (Temple Chronicle) holds that the Nabakalebara Ceremonies are being held in definite intervals from the time of King Ram Chandra Dev (popularly known as *Duti Indradyumna or Avinav Indradyumna)* of the Bhoi dynasty

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since 1575 A.D. During the twentieth Century, the previous Nabakalebar Ceremonies are conducted during the year 1912, 1931, 1950, 1969, 1977, 1996; and the latest is being held in the year 2015 which is the first Nabakalebara Ceremony of the twenty first century.

The *Nabakalebara* Ceremony is a complex ritual of Shri Mandira, Puri which includes a series of rituals that continue for three to four months starting from the month of March or April to July. The Nabakalebara Ritual usually begin aftermath of the Ram Navami on '*Chaitra Sukla Dasami'* i.e 10th Bright Full-moon Day of Odiya month of '*Baishakha'* (April). The Nabakalebara Ceremony in the Puri Temple normally takes place in every 8th, 12th or 19 years when '*Joda Asadha'* or when the intercalary month of '*Asadha*' falls. The extra '*Ashadha*' is also known as '*Mala Masa*' or '*Purusottama Masa*' or '*Adhimasa'* which is considered auspicious to perform the Nabakalebara Ceremony of the deities. As per the Puri temple tradition, when a leap month of '*Asadha*' falls, it is convenient to perform the Nabakalebara Ceremony as one extra month is available for constructing the new idols. The astrologers of Shri Mandira announce the extra Ashadh after calculation. According to the lunar Hindu calendar in every three years a lunar month is excluded from calculation to strike a balance between lunar and solar years. However, the Nabakalebara of the deities is not necessarily performed whenever a intercalary month of Asadha falls in a year. So Nabakalebara of the deities is performed only when necessity arises.

c) Necessity of Nabakalebara Ritual

The worship of the wooden idols of Jagannatha Trinity in Sri Jagannatha Temple is an exception. Unlike the Hindu deities, generally made of either metal or stone, the four deities are made of neem wood which is subject to decay over a period of time which necessitate the Nabakalebara of the deities. The Srimad Bhagabata has prescribed eight types of idols eligible for religious worship namely, stone, wood, metal, painting, drawing, sand pictures, psychic and gem considering the longevity of these materials which varies from one another. The longevity of photo or painting or drawing is one year, for wooden image it is twelve to nineteen years, for metal it is one hundred years, for stone it is one thousand years and for gem it is ten thousand years. The grand religious ceremony of the Nabakalebara signifies the re-embodiment of old idols of *Chaturdha-Murty* i.e. Sri Jagannatha, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan. Though the *Brahma-Padartha* or the soul of the deities remain intact within, but the wooden idols gradually start perishing due to frequent drawing, pulling, hanging, pushing, dragging and shouldering of the deities during pahandis in Snana Yatra and Rath Yatra every year. Further, due to external attacks, the *Sri-Bigrahas* of the '*Chaturdha- Murty'* are damaged which necessitate to perform Nabakalebara of the deities at different time intervals.

VII. Nabakalebara Ceremony, 2015

a) Gua Teka or Authorisation Ritual- March 29, 2015

The long ritual of the Nabakalebara of Lord Jagannath started on the auspicious day of the Chaitra Sukla Dashami (bright fortnight of Odia month of Chaitrya) which happened on 29th March in the year 2015. On the very day early morning the Gajapati Dibyasinha Dev the king of Puri, known as Adya Sevak or the first servitor of Lord Jagannath, after completion of some customary worship in his palace, perform Mahabakya Sankapa by handing over the gua, coconut and betel nut to the Rajguru (royal counsel). This ritual is known as gua teka or the authorisation ritual which marked the beginning of Nabakalebara Ceremony. The king through his Rajguru gave authorization to the temple servitors such as Daitas, Brahmin and Biswakarma Servitors to go to the forest in search of Neem tree for construction of the wooden idols of Chaturdhamurty of Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan within definite timeframe.

b) Obtaining Ajnamala from Chaturdha-Murty and Sadhi Bandha Ceremony

On the same day afternoon, the Ajnamala Bije ritual took place, when after Madhyanha Dhoopa (afternoon oblation) of the deities in Sri Mandira, Puri the servitor Pati Mohapatra made special offerings to the Chaturdhamurti on Ratnabedi and took four Ajnyamalas i.e the garland of divine directive from the deities of Sri Jagannath, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan. He kept the Ajnamaala of Sri Sudarshan with him as he served as Badagrahi of Sri Sudarshan, he offered three Agnyamalas to three Badagrahi Daitas of Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Jagannath respectively. After the Ajnamala Bije while the Banajaga Party come from Garbhagriha and reach the Kalahata Dwara of the temple, the Sadhi Bandha ritual is done by a servitor called Bhitarchu Mahapatra. The Sadhi Bandha is tying 12 hands long Geeta Govinda Khandua Silk on the head of the Banajaga party like Pati Mahapatra, Badagrahi Daitas, Daitas servitors, Deula Karana, Tadhau Karana which at the Anasara Pindi of the main temple. The cotton sarees are tied over the heads of the Lenka and Biswakarma Servitors at the Jaya Bijaya Dwara of the temple. Besides, the Makap servitor apply sandal paste on the foreheads of members of the Banajaga Party. Meanwhile the Acharya Purohita and Brahmin Pandits performed Yajna or fire sacrifice at new Darugriha in Koili-Baikuntha of the Puri temple.

The most expected moment came when after long waiting a group of servitors like Daitas and Patimahapatra with red Khandua tied on their heads

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holding Angyanmalas (garland of divine orders) in hands came out in the Baisipahacha in four bands one after the other in the Lions Gate of Sri Mandira, Puri and moved towards the Sri Nahara (Kings Palace) of Puri Gajapati Maharaj, in a grand procession on the Grand road of Puri where the Rajguru handed over Sankalp Gua to the Daiatapati's as a symbol of entrustment of responsibility to go in search of Darus and return to the temple in time to construct the new idols. The Gua-Teka ritual signifies the official commencement of sacred journey or expedition of Banajaga Yatra (searching of sacred wood or Daru Brikshya) with the direction of Lord Jagannath. The Banajaga Yatra is the vital aspect of the Nabakalebara Ceremony. The devotees and visitors from different parts of the state, country and even from different corners of the world joined and became a part of this grand event.

c) *Banajaga Party Halted at the Jagannath Ballav Matha, Puri*

After receiving the arcnut and coconut from the Rajguru in the king's palace the search party then proceed to the Jagannath Ballav Matha in a grand procession accompanied with music, trumpets, drums and groups of devotees demonstrating colourful flags. This brilliant evening has brought many exciting and memorable moments which were indeed a heart-warming experience which can hardly expressed in words. The grand road of Puri flooded with huge crowd of devotees and visitors came from different parts of the world. The groups of devotees holding momento of Lard Jagannath singing the glory of God and dance on the road with beats of Murdanga (drum), while other groups holding multi-coloured flags moved in grand processions. The whole scenario looks very colourful and majestic. Everybody became excited as a part of this grand ceremony. The Banajaga team constituting a large team of servitors of the Jagannath Temple such as the Pati Mahapatra, Deula Karana, Tadau Karana, Lenka, Behera Khuntia, Biswabasu, Bidyapati, Biswakarma, Badagrahi Daitas, Acharya Brahmin and a group of Brahmin Priests.

The Banajaga Party halted for a day in the Jagannath Ballav Matha where they started initial preparation of their journey. While leaving home, the wives of the Daitas made Bandapana to them praying God for making their long journey successful. Once the Banajaga team left home for this sacred journey, they don't return home under no circumstances. If it so happens, they are not allowed to take part in the journey again.

d) *Journey of Vanayaga in search of Sacred Neem Tree*

After spending one day in the Jagannath Ballav Math at Puri, the next day mid night, the Banajaga Party proceeded towards the Deuli Matha, Kakatpur which is known as the original pitha of the Goddess Mangala. The distance is around 50 kms away from Puri. The main purpose of the Vanayaga Journey is to find sacred Neem tree in the forest. During this journey the Vanajaga Party carry the four '*ajnamala*' with them in bullock cart. As per tradition, a servitor called Lenka holding the Sudarshan Chakra move ahead of the Banajaga Party. Besides, the Banajaga Party was escorted by police,temple officials and public in big procession. In every village the Banajaga Party was highly welcomed by the local villagers as they are considered as the representative of Lord Jagannath. The womenfolk greeted them with Bandapanas, offering flowers, blowing conch-shells, decorating roads with jhotis and implanting Banana tree on roadside, burning lamps and keeping Purna Kumbhas in front of their houses which is considered sacred. Besides, the male-folk beated Mridanga and made kirtan welcomed the Banajaga Party. During this occasion, the villagers observed fast or took vegetarian foods to maintain sanctity. Accompanying, the Banjaga Party is a wonderful experience by the author the heart filled with eternal joy, contentment and bliss. The journey took three to four days with a halt at three to four places and finally the Banajaga Party reached the Deuli Matha, Kakatpur. The servitors took shelter in the Sabarpalli, made up of thatched roofs and floors with leaves and bamboo strips etc. During these days the Banajaga team especially the Daitas who play crucial role in the sacred Daru expedition observe strict discipline and conduct like making Habisya-Anna (partaking vegetarian food once a day), made bare foot journey and slept on floor during Banayaga Yatra in order to purify their bodies and minds and devoted to the cause. It shows to attain divinity one must observe strict discipline in life.

All the necessary arrangements were made by the state Government of Odisha by constructing Savarapallis for accommodating the Banajaga Party. The Sabarapalli were temporary shelter made up of leaves and bamboos with all amenities and facilities for living like cooking, bathing, sleeping etc. Besides, the fast aid medical check-up by the doctors and para-medical staffs and security arrangements were made by appointing a group of police personnel. Besides, regular monitoring was made by the officials of the Jagannath Temple Administration and the various departments of the Govt of Odisha.

e) *Ritual Bath of the Goddess Managala: Date 4th April 2015*

Next day early morning, after receiving a letter of invitation from the Goddess Mangala Temple, Kakatpur, the Vanayaga Party moved to the temple in a big procession. There the chief priest of the temple arranged a special Majana(ritual bath) of the Goddess Mangala, after ritual bath Goddess was decorated with new sarees, flowers and was offered food offerings like Gajamanda and Chadheineda brought by the Banayaga Party from the Jagannath temple, Puri. After the ritual,

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Banayaga Party returned to Deuli Matha where they recite Swapanbati Mantra 108 times before they sleep seeking dream indication of the Goddess Mangala about the location of sacred Neem trees for construction of the four idols of the Chaturdhamurti. Since the Nabakalebara Ritual relates to the birth of Lord Jagannath, the Goddess Mangala, Kakatpur is conceived as the mother of Lord Jagannath plays important role in the Nabakalebara. Besides, a group of Stotriya Brahmins also recited Saptasati Chandi in the Goddess Mangala Temple, Kakatpur to appease the Goddess Mangala.

f) Identification of Sacred Neem Tree

The Daitas after getting 'Swapnadesha' or dream indication from the Goddess Mangala, Kakatpur about the location of the sacred Neem Tree/ Daru-Brikshya. moved in that direction in search of the Daru-Brikhya having sacred symptoms of Sankha (Conch), Chakra (Wheel), Gada (Mace) and Padma (Lotus) and other symptoms. After the Neem Trees are identified by the Biswakarmas, the Badagrahi Daitas selected the Neem Tree or the Daru Brikshyas. The four sacred Neem trees or the Deba-Daru Brikshya from which the idols of the Chaturdhamurty are to be constructed were identified one after the other. At first the sacred Daru of Sudarshan Daru was identified followed by the Darus of Balabhadra, Shubhadra and Sri Jagannath in similar ways. After identification of the sacred Neem tree or '*daru vriksha*', the 'agnyamala' of the respective deities are touched to the identified Neem tree by the 'Badagrahi Daita' and Pati Mohapatra. The trunk of the tree was extracted as '*daru*' from which the deity was constructed. The significance of taking Ajnyamaala of Lord Jagannath is that everything is done with the divine directives of Lord Jagannath in sending the '*agnyamala* through his servitors like Badagrahi Daita and Pati Mohapatra who only serve as the carriers or messengers of his divine orders.

g) Construction of Sabarapalli

The Sabarapallis are constructed at four different places where the sacred Neem Trees or Daru Brikshya are identified for accommodation of the Banayaga Party. The Banayaga Party took shelter in Sabarapalli during their Banajaga journey for a period of three to four months. By staying in the Sabarapalli, the Banayaga Party performed a series of rituals surrounding the Daru Brikshya or the sacred Neem tree.

h) Series of Rituals surrounding the Sacred Neem Tree

After identification of the Sacred Neem Tree or Daru Brikshya, a series of rituals performed in and around the area where the Sacred Neem Tree or Daru Brikshya is located. The series of rituals in a sequence are as follows

1st Day– Bhumi Sudhi, Ankura-Ropana and Daru Snana in the evening,

2nd Day- Yajna reciting Patala Nrusimha Mantra and performing Vedic Rituals,

3rd Day- Purnahuti Final Oblation, cutting of Maha-Daru

4th Day– Daru Chaupata and Construction of Daru Sagadi

5th Day- Transporting Daru to the Jagannath Temple, Puri by the Daita Servitors

8th-9th Day– Daru halted at Alam Chandi Temple at Puri

10th Day– Entry of Daru Sagadi in Koili Baikuntha of Sri Mandira

1st Day- Bhumi-Suddhi, Daru-Snana and Ankuraropana

The whole area was cleared and purified by sprinkling sanctified water. The Chakra Narayan i.e Sudarshan chakra brought by Lenka sevayat put under a tree. The Yajna was performed by the Brahmins reciting Vedic hymns to purify the place form evil spirits. After sun set in the evening as moon appears the ritual bath of the identified sacred Neem tree was made by the Daita servitors by sprinkling sacrificial water by chanting the Purushsukta hymns of the Veda. Then the tree wrapped in white clothes, sandal paste and vermilion applied, and flowers offered. Then the Badagrahi Daitas touched the Ajnyamala and Darubrikhya, parikrama surrounding of sacred tree was made thrice by the Patimohaptra, Daitapatis and Lenka. After that, the Ankurarpoana ritual was done by the Brahmin priests in a closed space adjacent to the Yajna Mandap or Platform surrounded by read-black cloth. The servitors made Habisyanna and observe street discipline while performing the Vedic rituals.

2nd Day Maha Yajna or Fire Sacrifices

On the second day the Maha Yajna or Fire Sacrifices was performed on the Yajna Mandapa by the Acharya with a group of Brahmin Priests by reciting Patala Nrusingha Mantra 1100 times which continued for a period of one and half day,

3rd Day Purnahuti of Maha Yajna and Daru Chedana

On the third day, the Purnahuti or final oblation of fire sacrifice was done after complete recitation of Patala Nrusigha Mantra for 1100 times by the Acharya and Brahmin priests. After that, the rituals of Maha Daru Chedana i.e cutting of Sacred Daru took place. The Acharya worshiped the Golden, Silver and Iron axes on the Yajna Mandap offering flowers, sandal-paste, ghee and honey to axes and handed over Gold Axe to Bidyapati, Silver Axe to Biswabasu and Iron Axe to Biswakarma. At first holding golden axe, the Acharya uttered a Mantra and handed over it to Bidyapati or Pati Mahapatra who encircled Daru Brikshya three times from left to right direction reciting Mantra-raj mantra and then stroke the tree thrice with golden axe. Then the Acharya took over silver axe reciting Sudarshan Mantra

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gave to Biswabasu (Daita) who surrounded the Darubrukhya and stroke the tree thrice. At last Acharya uttered Sudarshan Mantra holding iron axe and handed over to Biswakarma who finally cut the tree reciting Hari-Hari-naam. Apart from this, several other rituals were conducted before felling of Daru-Brukhya (sacred tree).

4th and 5th Day Daru Chaupata (sizing) and Sagadi (Cart) making

After cutting the sacred Daru-Brukhya, the unrequired branches and leaves are buried in a pit and was not used for any other purpose. The trunk of the tree was cut into required size called Chaupata (quadrangular). Simultaneously 'four Shagadis' or four wheeled carts were made specially for carrying the four Darus of Sri Sudarshana, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra to Sri Jagannath Temple in Puri.

6th-8th Day: Consecration of Shagadi Carts

The Daru sagadis or carts were sanctified by Shrotriya Brahmins and the Darus covered with Khandua silk cloth loaded on the Daru Sagadi or four wheeled carts. As per tradition the 'shagadis' or carts of Sri Sudarshan moved at first followed by the Daru Sagadi of Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Jagannath were drawn by the people and the police towards Srimandira Puri

9th Day

When the Daru Sagadi rolled towards the Jagannath Temple Puri escorted by the Daitas, Devotees and public in huge gatherings. On its way to Sri Mandira, while crossing the roadside villages, the Daru Sagadis halted at several places, where grand welcomes were made by the devotees and they worshiped the Sacred Darus beating ghanta, conch and kahali etc. The Darus of Sri Sudarshan, Sri Balabhadra and Devi Subhadra halted at the Alam Chandi Temple while entering Puri whereas the Daru of Sri Jagannath halted at Nrusigha Temple after reaching Puri. When the Daru sagadi reached Puri it was intimated to the Gajapati Maharaja and Sri Jagannath Temple administration. The Daru Sagadi in grand procession on the grand road of Puri reached Srimandira through Koili Baikuntha where the sacred Darus are kept in the temporary sheds and daily worship and food are offered to the sacred Darus until Deba Snana Purnima.

VIII. Maha Anasara

During the Nabakalebara Year the Maha-Anasara continue for a period of 45 days unlike every year when the Anasara continues for 15 days. Due *to* the fall of Joda Ashadh intercalary month of Asadha which constitutes three Pakshas or fortnight, when it is convenient for constructing the four idols. The word Anabasara means to have no free time. Which in this context means that, the God are thought to have no free time when they are separated, ill, and hidden from public sight (darshan) (Hardenberg 2001). During the period of Anasara, the idols are concealed in a sequester chamber as they are said suffer from cold and fever due to ritual bath during Snana Purnima. For this reason, the idols are given herbal medicines and fruits and drinks called Pana as they suffer from illness. The repairing of idols made by the Daitapatis as they are said to be the family members or descendants of Lord Jagannath. During this Maha-Anasara period, the construction of deities takes place along with Yajna or fire sacrifices and consecration of Nyasa Daru in the Koili Baikuntha (burial place of the deities). Afterall the rituals of Ghata Paribartan i.e transference of Brahma is done by the Daitas and Pati Mahapatra as intimate servitors of Lord Jagannath.

Phase–I During first fifteen days of Krushna Paksha or dark fortnight, the carving of four wooden idols and *Brahma* Padartha or soul substance was transferred from old idols to the new bodies in highly conspicuous manner by Pati Mahapatra and the Daitas who are the up-keepers of the *Shriangas* or bodies of the holy trinity as inherited for generations in the Jagannath Temple. The choice of the darkest hour of the dark night in a year of double Asadha is neither accidental nor arbitrary. This day happens to be day Lord Krshna abandoned mundane earth in favour of the world celestial (Bibudharanjan 2008).

During Nabakalebara Year a Gupta Rath Yatra or secret car festival was held inside the temple. The engraving of the new deities and the life infusing ceremony of the Nyasadaru is opleted the 14th day of the dark fortnight of Ashadha. A small chariot a miniature replica of Nandighosha Chariot of Sri Jagannath was made in whih the '*nyasadaru*' is kept and dragged by the Daita servitors and Pati Mahapatra round the main temple seven times beating cymbals, holding *chhatra*, *chamara*. After Gupta Rath Yatra, the Nyasadaru was taken to the 'Nirman andap' where the Biswakarma divided '*nyasadaru*' into four pieces.

Ghata Paribartan -June 15, 2015

On the auspicious day of Krushna Chaturdashi which fell on the day of 15th June 2015 the core ritual of 'Ghata Parivartan' took place in the midnight inside the main Jagannath temple Puri. A selected servitor from Pati Mahapatra's family take out original image in a box which is then transferred to the new image (Malley 1908). After installation of the Brahma Padartha or soul substance within new idols, the Nyasa-Daru was used as shut door of internal cavity or '*Brahmakothari*' of four idols of Sri Jagannath, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan. To utter surprise, the basil leaves, sandal paste and flowers offered to the deities during the last Nabakalebara ritual 8th or 19th years before remains fresh as long as they are in touch with the Brahma-Padartha. But once these are removed from the Brahma Padartha they get paled as experienced by the Pati Mahapatra and Daita servitors involved in this ritual.

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After completion of the core ritual of transferring Brahma-Padartha to the new idol which is installed on the Ratna-Simhasan for worship. Concurrently, on the same night, the old idols are done Patali or buried underground in the Koili-Baikuntha in the premises of the Jagannath Temple by a group of Daitas, known as the intimate servitors of Lord Jagannath. The Ghata Paribartan during the Nabakalebara ritual, the Lord Jagannath gives the message that everything is temporary in this mortal world which signifies that in the Kali Yuga nobody is conscious of death. Through this ritual, the Lord says "O man do good deeds so that you can get rid of your past karmas and can move upward after life.

Phase–II Sudhi Kriya (Purificatory Rites) by the Daitas and their families

During second fortnight, the *Patali* or the burial of the old idols in the *Koili Baikuntha* and the *Asaucha Bidhi* is observed by the Daitas. The Nabakalebara is an inimitable humanly leela of Lord Jagannath, so also after burial or Golaka Vishrama of the deities in the Koili Baikuntha, the servitors and their families observe Sudhi Kriya (Purificatory Rites) or obsequy rites for a period of ten days as per the Hindu rituals. The Daita servitors are believed to be of same lineage of Lord Jagannath. They treat Lord Jagannath as their family members. So, during this period the Daitas and their families don't go outside homes or nor visit their friend and relative's house and don't accept food from outsiders. If any of their family members die during this time, they don't observe mourn for the dead person of their family. On the 10th day of burial of the deities, the daita servitors tonsured their heads, wear new clothes after taking birth in the Markanda tank. Then they come to Sri Mandira for holy darshan of the deities. During this Nabakalebara of 2015, the Daitapati Nijog of the temple at the end of the rituals on 13th day i.e on 27th June, arranged a customary feast on the Grand Road where Mahaprasad was distributed to the people.

Phase–III During third fortnight Maha *Anasara*, the wooden body needs seen layers of coating which is called Saptabarana. It is strange how the Deities pose themselves to be dressed up in human form. The skeletal frame gets anointed with perfumed oil and various types of paste at suitable intervals (Padhee 2015). The new idols are given final shape by wrapping them in new silk clothes and applying preservatives and scented materials like medicinal oils, sandal-paste, Kasturi (musk), karpur (camphor) which act like veins, blood, muscles, bone marrow etc. During the last two days of the Dark fortnight, the idols are painted in indigenous colours known as Banaka-lagi ritual leaving the pupils of the eyes which was done by the Dutta Mahapatra a Brahmin servitor on the day of Pratipada, i.e 1st day of Shukla Paksha or the bright fortnight of Odia month of Ashadha. This ritual is known as Chakhyu–Daan rite. On this auspicious day of Netrouchaba the devotees made Nabajauban Darshan of the deities.

IX. Nabakalebara Rath Yatra 2015

The *Rath Yatra* of Lord Jagannath, Puri is a national festival of India which commences on the auspicious day of *Asadha Sukla Dutiya*, i.e. the second day of the bright fortnight of Odia month of *Asadh*, (during June or July). This is a nine-day journey of the deities to *Sri Gundicha* temple. This grand spiritual event attracts millions of devotees and scholars from all over the world down the centuries. In the '*Kotha Upanishad'*, the chariot is well explained as "*Atmaanam Rathinam Vidhi Shreeram Rathamevatu, Buddhim tu Saarathi Vidhi Manah Pragrabameva Cha*" -This means as the soul is installed in the body so also the deity is placed on the chariot. The wisdom serves as the rider of the chariot which controls the mind and the intellect.

Sri Jagannatha is the Lord of the Universe, on this auspicious day, He with Sri Balabhadra and Devi Subhadra come out of the sanctum sanctorum of the temple to give darshan to the millions of devotees to bestow His divine grace. This grand festival is known as *Patita- Pavana Yatra* or *Ghosha Yatra* as the devotees across the world of all caste, colour, sex or religion participate in this festival. The construction of chariots for the Car Festival begins on the auspicious day of *Akshi-Trutiya*, i.e., third day of the bright fortnight of Odia month of *Vaisakha* which continues for 58 days. Nearly, 200 temple servitors like Viswakarma Maharana, Blacksmith, Chitrakaras or Rupakaras (Painters) and tailors are engaged in construction of three grand chariots. During the Nabakalebara Rath Yatra, three Chariots along with '*parshwa devatas'* (peripheral deities) like *sarathi* (wooden charioteer), *ashwa* (horse), *dwarapala* (gate keeper), *olota shua* (inverted parrot) etc. are newly constructed. But in other years only three chariots are newly constructed, but the peripheral deities of the chariots are reused in the Rath Yatras of the successive years.

a) Taladwhaja (Chariot of Lord Balabhadra)

The chariot of Lord Balabhadra is known as *Taladwhaja*. It is draped in green and red cloths. The height of this Chariot is 46 feet. 4 inches. It has 14 wheels and has four wooden black horses known as *Sthira, Dhruti, Sthiti and Siddhaki*. The sarathi is known as *Sudyaumna* and the *rathapala* is *Ananta*. The name of the flag on the chariot is *Unnani*. Nearly 763 pieces of wood are used to make this chariot.

b) Debadalana (Chariot of Devi Subhadra)

The chariot of Devi Subhadra is known as *Debadalana*. It is draped in black and red cloths. The height of the Chariot is 42 feet. It has 12 wheels and four horses known as *Prajna, Anuja, Ghora* and *Aghora*. The

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name of the sarathi is Arjuna and that of the *rathapalika* is *Vana Durga*. The name of the flag is Nadambika. Around 539 pieces of wood are used to make this chariot.

c) Nandighosa (Chariot of Lord Jagannatha)

The chariot of Lord Jagannatha is called *Nandighosa* which is wrapped in yellow cum red cloth. The height of the chariot is 45 feet 11 inches with 16 wheels each 6 feet diameter and four white horses. The Sarathi or charioteer is known as *Daruka* and the Rathapala is *Shri Nrusimha*. The *Garuda* is found in the crest of the chariot. The flag of the chariot is called *Trailakyamohini*. Around 832 pieces of wood are used to make this chariot.

d) Pahandi of the Deities

The four deities of Sri Jagannath Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan are brought from the main temple in a grand ceremonial procession called *Pahandi* which is also called *Pada Hundana* or forward and backward rhythmic movement of the deities. The *pahandi* of the deities is performed during *Rath Yatra, Bahuda, Neeladri Bije* and *Deba Snana Purnima* when the deities are brought by their servitors from the main temple. This is an elaborate and unique ritual exclusively found in Sri Jagannath Temple. There are two types of Pahandi: '*Dhadi Pahandi'* and '*Goti Pahandi'*. On the day of Rath Yatra the deities come to the Chariots in '*Dhadi Pahandi*' (movement of the deities one by one at a time) while during '*Bahuda Yatra*' (return journey) the deities come out of Gundicha Temple in '*Goti Pahandi*' (movement of single deity'). On the day of the Rath Yatra, the Pahandi of Sri Sudarshan is made at first followed by Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra; and Sri Jagannatha at the last accompanied by thousands of devotees beating the *ghanta, kahali* and *telingi baja*.

e) Chera Panhara by the King of Puri

The '*Chhera Panhara*' is the valedictory ritual accomplished by the Gajapati Maharaja or the King of Puri on the day of the Rath Yatra and Bahuda as well. The ritual of sweeping the chariots by the king is known as *Chhera Panhara* (sprinkling sandalwood water and then sweeping). The Gajapati sweeps the floors of the three chariots of Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Jagannatha with a gold-handled broom and sprinkling sandal-paste water. This ritual signifies that though the king is considered as the monarch of the kingdom, he expresses his utmost loyalty through rendering the humble services as the first and foremost servitor of the Lord Jagannatha. This shows that under the Lordship of Sri Jagannatha there is no distinction between a powerful king and a common man.

f) Pulling of the Chariots

On the day of Car Festival, thousands of devotees in Odisha, India and abroad are assembled on the Grand Road of Puri to celebrate the grand spiritual event. After completion of *Pahandi* and *Chera Panhara*, the devotees pull the chariots of Sri Balabhadra at first followed by Devi Subhadra's and finally of Jagannatha. During this moment, the devotees filled with devotion, joy and cheerfulness pull the chariots continue from morning till sunset till the three chariots reach Sri Gundicha temple. At times the chariots halt on their way and pulling of the chariots takes place next day.

g) Hera Panchami

The fifth day of the Rath Yatra is known as '*Hera Panchami*'. On this day while the Sri Jagannatha Trinity is worshipped at Sri Gundicha Temple, the Goddess Laxmi goes near Sri Jagannatha Chariot placed before Sri Gundicha Temple and breaks off a piece of wood of the chariot which express her anger as not being taken during the car festival. Goddess Laxmi returns to Sri Jagannatha Temple through Hera Gouri Sahi instead of the Grand Road of Puri. This ritual is performed in the late night.

h) Bahuda Yatra

The return journey of the deities of Sri Balabhadra, Sri Jagannatha, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan from Sri Gundicha Temple to the main temple is known as Bahuda Yatra. The Trinity is worshipped on the '*Adapa Mandap'*, which is also known as the birth place of the deities where they are worshipped for seven days every year. On the ninth day of the festival i.e on the bright fortnight of '*Asadha*', the Bahuda or the return journey of the deities takes place following the same schedule like the Rath Yatra. On the way back to the main temple, the '*Nandighosa'* Chariot of Sri Jagannatha halts for a while near the Mausima temple known as Ardhasini temple where '*poda pitha'* (a kind of sweet cake made of rice, lentils, jaggery and coconut) is offered to Lord Jagannatha as prasad.

i) Laxmi Narayan Bheta

During Bahuda Yatra, Goddess Laxmi sees the movements of Chariot of Lord Jagannatha from '*Chahani Mandap'* of Sri Mandira. When the chariot of Lord Jagannatha reaches near *Sri Nahara* (King's palace), the Goddess Laxmi comes near the chariot in a grand procession and after obtaining the *Ajnamala* of Lord Jagannatha returns to Sri Mandira. This ritual is known as '*Laxmi Narayan Bheta'*, i.e., meeting of the celestial deities of Laxmi and Narayan in the presence of Gajapati Maharaja, the king of Puri.

j) Suna Vesha of Sri Jagannatha Trinity

The *'Suna Vesha'* or 'Golden attire of the deities' is also known as '*Raja Vesha*' or '*Badatadau Vesha*' which is a part of Nabakalebara Rath Yatra. The word '*Suna Vesha*' constitutes two words, '*Suna*' ('gold') and '*Vesha*' ('costume). It falls on the day of *Sukla Ekadashi* (11th day of bright full moon) of Odia month of *Ashadha* (June or July) when Sri Jagannatha, Sri Balabhadra and

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Devi Subhadra are adorned with huge numbers of gold ornaments and give darshan to the devotees on chariots before the Lion's Gate of the Puri Temple. The huge number of gold ornaments of three deities include the crowns, necklaces such as *Harida Mali, Bahada Mali, Sebati Mali, Kadamba Mali, Bagha Nakhi Mali, Tabija Mali, Mekhala, Swarna Kirita, Adakani, Karna Kundala, Kamarpati, Adakani, Tilaka, Chadrika, Sri Payara* (legs) and *Sri Bhuja* (hands). Besides, the gold limbs of Sri Balabhadra and Sri Jagannatha is seen but not of Devi Subhadra. Sri Jagannatha holds a chakra (disc) made up of gold in his right hand and '*Panchajanya'* (a silver conch) in left hand. Sri Balabhadra holds a gold plough in left hand and a golden mace in right hand. Sri Jagannatha Sri Balabhadra and Devi Subhadra are decorated by the servitors named *Bhitarcha Mahapatra, Talucha Mohapatra* and *Pania Puspalak* respectively. The scholars say from the reign of *Anangabhima Dev* III, the tradition of *Suna Vesha* of the deities is continuing. Others hold that King Kapilendra Dev had started Suna Besha of the deities.

k) Neeladri Bije

This is the last part of Nabakalebara Rath Yatra when the deities of Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Jagannath enter Sri Mandira in a grand ceremonial procession. At first a drama of domestic tiffs is re-enacted by closing the Lion's gate of the temple which symbolically shut upon Lord Jagannatha by his wife Goddess Laxmi out of anger, jealousy and frustration articulated by a group of servitors and another group representing Lord Jagannatha responds with entreaties and endearments. Finally, the doors of the temple are opened, and the celestial couple enters the main temple.

X. Some Important Concepts of the Nabakalebara Ceremony

a) Ajnyamaala and Sadhibandha Ritual

The Nabakalebara Ritual begin with receiving 'Ajnyamala' from the deities of Sri Jagannath, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan in the temple thereby giving permission to go in search of '*daru*' or sacred Neem Tree for renewal of the deities. The word Ajnyamala constitutes two Sanskrit words 'Ajnya (permission) and mala'(garland). The 'Ajnyamala' is a mark of divine directive of the deity to the servitors to accomplish a particular task. The 'Ajnyamala' tradition of Sri Jagannath temple is based on the scriptures. It is believed that Almighty God is the '*kartta*' or the ultimate doer and He is also '*akartta*' as he never does anything but everything in this universe happens at His directive. He is only a '*Sakshi Purusha*' who silently witnesses everything in his large round eyes. Therefore, He is called 'Jagat Chakshu' or eye of the universe. Many rituals in the Jagannath temple start after getting the 'Ajnyamala'. There are 27 such '*chalanti pratima*' or proxy idols and eight animate and inanimate entities who take part in various festivals of Jagannath Temple. The person in the garb of Ravana in 'Ravana Vadha' on Baisakha Krushna Dwitiya gets the '*ajnyamala*'. On the day of Ram Navami for '*abhishek utsav*' or coronation ceremony of Sri Ram his '*ratnapaduka*' is given '*ajnyamala*'. The '*agnyamala*' is given to three chariots on the day of Rath Yatra. During the Nabakalebara, 'Badagrahi' or leader of the Bada (ritualistic group) touches the ajnyamala to the sacred Neem tree in which the respective deity is made. The Ajnamaalas were 12ft long made specially for the purpose of Nabakalebra Ritual.

b) Lord Jagannath and Gitagovinda Khandua

The Nabakalebara is an inimitable humanly *leela* of Lord Jagannath. There is a '*shadhi bandha*' tradition for '*banajaga Party*' before they start their Vanayaga journey in search of 'daru'. After getting the 'Ajnyamala' of Chaturdamurti in the temple, three '*badagrahi*' daita servitors and Pati Mohapatra reached 'Kalahata' dwara, where 'Bhitarchha Mohapatra' a servitor ties up Khandua silk sarees over the heads of the Daita servitors. It is believed that the Geeta Govinda Khandua silk serve as their armour against evils during '*Banajaga yatra*'. During '*majana*' rituals of the Goddess Mangala at Kakatpur a Khandua silk is also placed on head of the Goddess. The 'Gitagovind Khanduas' contain a couplet of Gitagovinda written by Poet Jayadev during medieval *bhakti* era which narrates "Kansarirapi sansara basanabaddha Srinkhala. Radhamadhaya hrudaye tayaja brjasundari". It means, bearing the bonds of mortal desires and emotions of Sri Radha in his heart, Sri Krishna left behind beautiful lasses of Gopa. The Gitagovinda speaks about the importance of Sri Radha as the embodiment of emotions, power of bliss, joy and *leelas* of Sri Krishna. It is believed that Lord Jagannath symbolises Lord Krishna. So, the deities wear Geeta Govinda Khandua especially during sleep at night.

c) Significance of the Vanayaga Yatra

The Vanayaga is the core ritual of the Nabakalebara. The word '*Vanayaga*' constitutes two words i.e Vana means forest and Yaga means Y*ajna or fire sacrifice.* As a whole Yajna which is performed in the forest. The Vanayaga Journey is performed by the servitors to collect the sacred Neem wood '*daru'* for construction of the four idols of Chaturdha-Murty. The Vanayaga Yatra is of two types Vahir Vanayaga Yatra and Antar-Vanayaga which takes place one after the other during the Nabakalebara Ceremony. At first, the Vahir Vanayaga takes place in an open environment when the Vanayaga Party moves into the forest in search of Deva-Daru Brikshya or the sacred Neem trees. The servitors seek permission from the Goddess Mangala to give dream indication about the location and direction of the sacred Neem tree. Accordingly,

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thereafter, the servitors move to the place where the sacred Neem Tree is identified. After some Vedic rituals near the sacred Neem Tree such as the Bhumisudhi, Daru Snana Ankura Ropana, Performing Yajna, Purnahuti, then Daru Chedana cutting of sacred Neem tree, Daru and then carrying the Sacred Daru to the Koili Baikuntha of Shi Mandira, Puri.

After that, the Antar-Vanayaga takes place in a closed door inside the Koili Vaikuntha of Sri Mandira where some Mandapas or open platforms were made for conducting various rituals such as fire sacrifice in the Pratistha Mandap or Yajna Mandap, storage of the articles in Sambhara Mandapa, Ankuraropana or germination of grains, sacred bath of Daru in Snana Mandapa or Adhibasa Mandapa during Snana Purnima, construction of four idols by the Biswakarma or carpenters on the Nirmana Mandapa or Karushala. The consecration of the Nyasa Darus is done and finally the Patali or the Golaka Vishrama or burial the Chaturdhamurti is done in the Koili Baikuntha after transference of Brahma to the new idols. This signifies what takes place outside also continue within body. Evolution and involution are parallel process of creation of the universe.

d) Importance of Chakraraj Sudarshan in the Vanayaga Journey

Sri Sudarshan is worshiped on the left-side of Lord Jagannath on the '*ratna simhasana*' not as a weapon but in subtle form of a pillar. However, both pillar and circular forms of Sri Sudarshan are spiritually one and same. Besides, Sri Sudarshan represents Nilachakra a blue wheel found on the top of Sri Mandira. The scriptures say that, at first divine '*daru*' of Jagannath floated at the 'Banki Muhana' of seabeach of Puri. A stone carved Nilachakra known as Chakra tirtha is worshipped. After getting '*ajnyamala*'of the Chaturdhamurty, the Banayaga Party moved to Sri Nahara or royal palace of Gajapati Maharaja, the king of Puri to receive the symbolic directive of Gua and coconut from Raj-Guru given by the Gajapati Maharaja. From there, the Banayaga Party travel to Sri Jagannath Ballav Math where they halted for a day and then proceeded to the Deuli Math at Kakatpur. During the '*banajaga*' rituals Sri Sudarshan plays a key role in leading the *'Banajaga* Party all the way by escorting them. The Chakraraj Sudarshan is kept in the '*bahara bhandara ghara*' (outer store house) of Sri Mandira. The circular shaped Sudarshan Chakra made in silver and attached to a wooden handle is placed on the left side of Goddess Mangala during '*majana*', ritual bath or consecration of the Goddess. After identification of the sacred Neem '*daru*. at first the Chakraraj Sudarshan is placed at the base of a tree and then the *yajna* for '*daru chhedan*' or cutting of '*daru*' starts. After completion of *yajna*, three axes of gold, silver and iron billhook are worshiped in '*astra mantra*' i.e chanting Sudarshan *mantra* since Sudarshan is the deity of the '*astra mantra*'. Further Sri Sudarshan is tightly bound in front of '*daru*' wrapped in the Khandua silk loaded on a four wheeled carts called '*daru* sagadi.. 'Bahirbanajaga' or outside rituals of Nabakalebara concludes when the '*daru*' of Jagannath reaches Koili Baikuntha of Sri Mandira and Sri Sudarshan returns to the Bhandara Ghara or store house of the temple. As per *yoga tantra,* backbone and brain are the centre of consciousness which lead to enlightenment. Sri Sudarshan is a *chakra* in the backbone, so it is worshipped as a pillar rather than as a *chakra in* Sri Mandira.

e) Mystery of Swapnabati Mantra

During Nabakalebara, the Daita servitors chant 'Swapnavati Mantra' for 108 times before their sleep at night to appease the Goddess Mangala' and Saptasati Chandi is recited by the Srotriya Brahmins before the Goddess Mangala in the temple to appease the Goddess Mangala' to give indication of the directions of the Neem tree or '*daru*'. Goddess Mangala is known as 'Swapnavati' as found in 'Sri Durga Sahasra Nama'. The 'Swapnavati Mantra' is also known as the 'Swapna-manabaka Mantra. The word '*manabaka*' means a child or a person devoid of Vedic knowledge who surrender before the mother goddess like an innocent, ignorant child and pray Her to provide the clues to locate the '*daru*' Neem tree. This Swapnabati *mantra is also* dedicated to Lord Vishnu named 'Swapnavati' which says "O, the Lord Vishnu the ruler of the universe, the omnipresent of this universe, Lord of all dreams, I bow down before you, take refuge before You; please fullfill my wish". Besides, the seventeenth verse of ninth chapter of the Gita Lord Krishna says, "*Pitahamasya jagato mata dhata pitamahah*". It means 'I am the father and mother of this universe; I am the father's father, the ultimate doer'. So, there is no difference between Him and the mother goddess. So, Maa Mangala can be appeased through prayers to Lord Vishnu. The '*Swapnavati Mantra*' is a Vaishnavite *Mantra*. If it is chanted with proper dedication and concentration, 'Darubrahma' through His power, awaken the soul of daita servitors and give insight as they undergo penance to locate the direction of 'Mahadaru' through dream indication of Goddess Mangala (Mishra 2015). This is a realisation of equanimity between 'Jibatma' (microcosm) and 'Paramatma' (macrocosm) which is the essence of Shakti Tantra, and Adwaita philosophy. The dream became reality with the blessing of 'Darubrahma' and Goddess Mangala.

f) Importance of Triguna-Ankura

The rituals like, '*ankuraropana*' (sowing of seedlings) is an integral part of *yajnas which* marks the beginning. Three types of earthen pots are used for the purpose. As prescribed, four pots called 'Sarab' are considered as the abode of Lord Shiva, four 'Palika' pots as the dwelling place of Lord Vishnu and four

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'Panchamukhi' pot for Lord Brahma. Three pots dedicated to each of the deities are placed at the four doors of the *yagnashala*. at each door the 'ankurpatra' (pot with seedlings) of the divine trinity who is the manifestation of the mortal world. The trinity also denotes three *gunas, Satwa, Rajas* and *Tamas*. The equanimity of the divine trinity at the doors leads to the *yagnashala*, where the rituals of 'Nabakalebara' take place. It denotes that the real essence of life is beyond three deities and *gunas*. The real journey of birth of consciousness starts from the doorstep when one realises that the trinity is the manifestation of single deity who is omnipresent.

g) Union of Prakriti and Purusha /Vishnu-Laxmi

Before the fire is ignited in the *yajna the Acharya* uses *muruja* (organic coloured powder) to draw holy designs at the base of '*yagnakunda*' (altar vessel) putting a bed of *kusha* grass over it that symbolises the Goddess Laxmi sleeps on this *kusha* bed. Over this the 'Vaishnabagni' fire is placed. This fire is the '*virya*' or life force of Lord Vishnu. So, *yajna* denotes unity of Prakriti and Purusha, Mother Nature with ultimate energy of the universe with doer. It indicates manifestation of eternal energy in a mortal form of the creation.

h) Kushmanda (Ash-gourd) sacrifice

The 'Purnahuti' or final oblation of the *yajna is* made by reciting the 'Patala Nrusimha Mantra'. Besides, a 'Kushmanda Bali' or sacrifice of an ash gourd as a '*gupta niti*' or secret ritual takes place near the 'Neem tree which is a symbolic representation of animal sacrifice. Four sticks are crossed to a watermelon which look like a standing animal and a small stick forms a tail. This watermelon in a animal form is cut from the middle with a billhook consecrated with '*astra mantra*' earlier. After this sacrificial offering, the ash gourd is cut into small pieces and then inside material mixed with black gram and turmeric is given as sacrificial offering to '*Dashadigapala*' (protectors of ten directions) and '*bhutas*' (spirits) moving around. Roland Hardenberg opined that 'obliteration of one existence with the birth of another'. Many scholars opined that sacrifice is like sacrificing our animosities before the deities. The watermelon represents a human skull like hard covering with watery jelly within like the brain with emotion and action as the basis of mortal existence. This ritual sacrifice denotes that surrendering oneself to the Almighty, when a new life begins. According to Hardenberg, this ash gourd sacrifice ritual can be linked to another secret ritual of fish sacrifice done after construction of idols and before the '*purnahuti*' of the '*pratistha yajna*'. This '*matsya bali*' fish sacrifice preceded '*jibanyas bidhi*' or invocation of life within the idols. It is a symbolic of higher *yogic* and *tantric* philosophy. The *Ida* and *Pingala nadis* of backbone intertwined like two slimy fishes of *Ida* and *Pingala* leads to Sushumna through which life force is raised to the ultimate level of consciousness.

i) Drawing a figure of an Inverse man

After completion of '*Pratistha Yajna*', the holy ash, water and remnant ghee of yajna are smeared on the trunk of Neem tree followed by '*suddha snana*' or consecration. Then a white cloth is covered on the trunk of the tree and is worshiped reciting the hymn of the deity whose idol is to be constructed. Before cutting of the tree, an image of an '*olatamanushya*' or an inverted human figure is drawn on the trunk with bunch of kusha grass dipped in sandal paste. The first hymn of fifteenth chapter of Bhagwat Gita_narrates that this inverted human figure is '*Urddhwa mula madhah shakham ashwottham prahurabyayam, chhandamsi yasya parnani yastam veda sa vedabit.*' which means 'this existence is like a Peepul tree whose roots represent its top, and its branches are its base. Those who know this are the masters of the Vedas. Similarly, the 'Kathopanishad' says '*Urddhwamuloabakshkha esoaswothah sanatanah*' ie the base of this world is in the form of a Peepul tree which is the abode of Brahma. He is at the apex and is indescribable. Our body is also a simile of an inverted tree or '*olata vriksha*'. Brain is accepted as the base and our appendages as branches. The 'Sahasrara' *chakra* at the top of the brain is accepted as the abode of Brahma. The immortal lyrics of ancient Odia literature is based on this metaphor like '*olata vrikshe kheluchhi lotani para"*. This inverted human image in the four idols are made from trunk of the Neem trees. The hands of the idols are crafted from branches of respective trees. This ritual is done to keep the common mass aware.

j) Touching of Gold, silver and iron axes to the Sacred Neem Tree

The axes made up of gold, silver and iron are smeared in ghee and honey and empowered with 'Sudarshan Mantra' before being used to cut the tree. Vidyapati uses gold axe, Biswabasu silver axe and Biswakarma uses iron axe to cut the '*daru*' tree. During '*Ashwamedha yagna*' three queens of the king namely Mahishi, Babata and Paribrukti poke needles made up gold, silver and iron on the body of the '*yajn ashwa*' or the sacrificial horse one after the other. This pattern is repeated in case of axes made up of gold, silver and iron to cut the '*daru*' tree. During '*Ashwamedha yagna*' the sacrificial horse is killed while its head faces east and legs face north. In the similar manner the neem tree is cut down and made fall towards east or north direction.

k) Significance of the Nyasa-Daru

The '*Nyasadaru*' (a piece sacred daru) is taken from the Daru of Lord Jagannath during Nabakalebara. During Antar-Vanayaga, the '*nyasakarma*' starts from the fifth day of yajna and ends on the ninth day of *yajna. A*ll rituals such as '*abhisheka*' or consecration of nyasadaru

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was done with 108 pots of water by a '*sahasradhara kumbha*' (vessel with thousand holes) when Purushasukta for Sri Jagannath, Nilasukta or Rudradhyaya of Yajurveda for Sri Balabhadra and Srisukta for Devi Subhadra are chanted. The '*nyasadaru*' is worshipped in the Nrusimha Gayatri Mantra through '*shodasha upachara*' using sixteen types of holy materials. The '*nyasakarma*' or consecration work started from the next day. The various body parts imagined on the '*nyasadaru*' are consecrated with every syllable, word and stanza of the Nrusimha Mantra. Through this *Nyasadaru* begets the image and qualities of Sri-Nrusimha. The '*nyasa*' is done thrice for each three deities. After this '*Keshavadi nyasa*' is done for Sri Jagannath, 'Srikanthadinyasa' for Sri Bhalabhadra and 'Kalanyasa' for Devi Subhadra is. Thirty kinds of '*nyasa*' is done on different parts of *nyasadaru*'. After '*nyasa*', '*prana pratistha*' of '*nyasadaru*' or invocation of life is done through prana *pratistha mantra*' imagining *prana* (breath), *mansa* (flesh), *rakta* (blood) and sense organs in *nyasadaru*.

l) Yajna Nrusimha and Darubigraha (daru idols)

Lord Nrusimha is the main deity of the Nabakalebara Ritual. The sixteenth chapter of 'Skanda Purana' says that on the auspicious day of Vaisakh *sukla ashtami* with *Pushya* constellation in the sky, the daru bigraha or wooden idols of Sri Jagannath, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan are established in the main temple. The eighteenth chapter describes how Lord Brahmaa invoked the *mantras*, and the '*daru bigraha or wooden*' idols appeared as Sri Nrusimha miraculously before the Lord Brahmaa and King Indradyumna in the form of '*kalagni*' or glowing fire with innumerable eyes, ears, faces, noses, waists and appendages pervaded the heaven and earth as if engulfing the whole universe. Seeing this terrifying image, the sage Narada asked Lord Brahmaa that, why the Lord has taken this frightening form in '*pralaya*' or destruction of the whole world? What kind of *leela* of Lord Vishnu is this? The 'Lord Brahma with a smile replied, "Hey Narada, imagining it as '*daru bigraha*' or wooden form, the ignorant persons may neglect or disrespect this '*Brahmarupi*' (form of Brahma). After being worshiped in '*Parameshthi mantra*' the Lord has taken this terrifying form. In the past, the Lord had appeared as Nrusimha and killed the demon Hiranyakashipu. The deity when worshiped as '*kalagni*' or colossal glowing fire gives *nirvana* to the worshiper. The 'Skanda Purana' describes that Sri Nrusimha and Sri Jagannath are one and inseparable. Sri Nrusimha is a scary form of Lord Vishnu whereas Lord Jagannath is a calm and peaceful form. It gives the message that everything in this universe is a manifestation of energy either in fiery or calm form. The Nrusimha is described as '*Yajna Nrusimha*' as he evolved during Yajna or fire sacrifice. Therefore, the Patala Nrusimha Hymn is recited 1100 time while performing Maha-Yajna during Nabakalebara for eradicating evil forces. Even before '*pratistha yajna*',Laxmi-Nrusimha is established on the '*Chakrabja Mandal*' at the Agni corner of the '*yagnashala*'. This denotes that everything in the universe is the manifestation of Almighty who is eternal and omnipresent.

m) Mandalas: The Sacred Symbols

Lord Jagannath is is worshipped as on the 'R*atna-Simhasana*' in Sri Mandira in the 'Sri Krishna Govinda Gopijanaballava' and not as Nrusimha. During Nabakalebara on the first day of '*pratistha karma*' the '*Chakrabja mandala*' and '*Swastik mandala*' are drawn in Agni corner of *pratistha mandap*', '*Sarvatobhadra mandala*' and '*Nabagraha mandal*' in *Aishanya* corner and '*Vastu mandal*' in *Nairruta* corner. Sri Nrusimha and other deities are set on '*Chakrabja mandala*'. '*Nidraghata*' is worshipped on '*Swastik mandala*'. '*Snanaghata*' (water pots) for '*abhishek*' and kept on the '*Vastu mandal*'. Besides, other *mandalas* are drawn for '*ashtadasha matrugana*' or eighteen mother entities, Dasa '*Digapala*' or ten cardinal directions as protectors, '*nabagraha*' nine planets and other deities. In the *Vayu* corner of '*pratistha mandap*' the tools of Biswakarma or carpenter servitors are worshipped on '*Ashtadalapadma mandala*'. A day before *yagna*, the metal idols of Laxmi-Nrusimha brought from '*dakshini ghara*' of Sri Mandira is set on the '*Chakrabja mandala*'. These two *mandalas* i.e the '*Chakrabja mandala*' and 'Ananta Chakrabja mandala' is found in Vaishnav Y*ajna* and '*pratistha*' of '*yupa*' or sacrificial post, where *chakra* and idols are placed. During '*pratistha*', after holy bath of the idols, the *chakra, trishul,* and '*yupa*' are placed on *'Swastika mandala*'. The '*pratistha*' of '*nyasadaru*' is done during '*pratistha*' of '*daru*' bigraha or wooden idols. After '*abhishek*' '*nyasadaru*' and Nrusimha are placed on '*Chakrabja mandala*' in '*pithasana*' (erect) or '*sayanasana*' (lying position). The '*Sasutra-Mandala Baridhi*' gives detail of '*Swastik mandala*' and '*Mahaswastik mandala* used for slumber of the deities after their '*snana*' (bath). From the first ritual after selection of '*daru*', *yajna* till the last rituals of Nabakalebara the importance of Nrusimha is seen.

XI. Conclusion

Lord Jagannath is worshiped on the Ratna Simhasana in the main temple as the 'Darubrahma' who is the real manifestation of the 'Parambrahma'. Looking at the image of Vishnu Lord Brahma pays homage "O Lord You represent the "Sama Veda". You are placid and tranquil. You are holding conch, disc, mace and lotus. Your are holding conch, disc, mace and lotus. You are omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent. You are formless but can take any form at the same time. You are all giving and all forgiving. You are the Lord of the universe. So you will be called Jagannatha."(Tripathy

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2015) Although the '*Chaturddha-Murty*' are worshiped as four Daru Bigrahas they are originally one and the same Brahma or the cosmic entity of Lord Jagannath. Sri Jagannath is worshiped on the Ratna Simhasana as the 'Supta Nrusimha' or inert state of Nrusimha. The 'Niladri Mahodaya' scripture says that the ritualistic worship of Lord Jagannath as 'Sri Krishna Gopi janballava' and not in the fiery form of Nrusimha on the '*ratna simhasana*. Lord Jagannath as the Lord of the universe sitting like '*achala mahameru*' (inert great mountain) on the '*ratnabedi* regulates and control the whole universe at His directives. The twenty first *mantra* of the second chapter of the 'Kathopanishad' says "*Aasino duram brajati shayano yati sarvatah, kastam madamadandebam madanyo gnyatumarhati*". The 'Upanishad Prakash' says "Although in the inert form the Brahma reaches far, which makes everyone active, although in state of inactivity He reaches everywhere". The Lord of death Yamaraj had told Nachiketa that except him how one can realise this blissful egoless glowing entity? Yamaraj stated in the 'Kathopanishad' that unless one understands and realise the death one cannot perceive the timeless eternal energy. The Nabakalebara reminds us not to fear death but to accept it with knowledge and to perceive Almighty. Therefore, the 'Nrusimha Mantra' says '*mrityormrutyu namamyaham*' meaning "I bow down before annihilator of death." Lord Brahma cautioned Indradyumna not to think the '*darumurti*' or wooden idols as non-living idols. In the 'Mahapurusha Vidya' the Parambrahma' says "I am not of Indranilamani jewel or '*daru*'; to destroy delusions of living entities I have taken the shape of '*Daru murtti*' to provide endless bliss and to remove sorrows." All living and non-living beings are part of the eternal Brahma. The Nabakalebara rituals depicts the cycle of life and death of Sri Jagannatha. The living beings feel equanimity with the eternal divine reflects whosoever manifested in this mortal world has to go through the life cycle. If we consider ourselves living, how can be the deity of Lord Jagannatha different from us?

XII. Glossary

Aksaya Trutiya: The third day of bright fortnight of Odia month Baishakha is considered auspicious for starting the Chariot making and Chandan Yatra of Lord Jagannatha.

Ankuraropana: This is key ritual performed by the Vedic Brahmins during Vanayaga Yatra of Nabakalebara Ceremony. Ankuraropana signifies germination of seeds which marks the beginning of Vanayaga 'Yajna' or fire sacrifice.

Ajnamala: This is a conjunction of two words 'Ajna means order (directive) and 'Mala' means a garland. Obtaining Ajnamala from the deities signifies a directive from them for initiation of Vanayaga Yatra. This is a flower garland especially made for the occasion.

Badagrahi: The chief servitor of the deity, generally a senior person of respective Bada (Kula or Lineage) is selected as Badagrahi. There are four Badagrahis of four respective Badas of Sri Jagannath Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarashan.

Baishi Pahacha: A flight of twenty two steps leading to Sri Jagannatha temple of Puri from the Eastern Gate known as Singha Dwara (Lion's Gate).

Bhudevi: The Goddess installed on the right side of Sri Jagannatha on the Ratnavedi in the inner sanctum sanctorum of the Puri temple. She is also known as Viswadhatri.

Viswavasu: The Savara Chief who was the early worshipper of Sri Jagannatha in the form of Neelamadhaba

Brahma Padartha: The divine substance that is considered as the soul of Jagannath.

Ghata Paribartana: This is a process of transference of Brahma from old wooden idols of Sri Jagannnatha, Sri Balabhadra, Debi Subhdra and Sri Sudarshan to the new ones.

Viswakarma (Carpentor): The temple servitors who carve the idols of Sri Jagannath, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan. They also construct the three chariots.

Chaturdhamurti: The four wooden idols of Sri Jagannath, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan.

Chapana Bhoga: Fifty six verities of food offered to the deities in the Puri Temple.

Chhera Panhara: A ritual of sweeping the floors of three Chariots by Gajapati, the King of Puri during Rath Yatra.

Daita: The temple servitors and functionaries who identify the sacred neem tree and also perform secret rituals during Nabakalebara Festival.

Daru: The log of Neem wood for making the idols of Sri Jagannath, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sudarshan.

Daru-Brahma: Sri Jagannath is known as Daru-Brahma which denotes the Prime Soul enshrine in wood.

Daru Sagadi: A cart specially made for carrying the sacred log of wood.

Deula Karana: A servitor of Sri Jagannath Temple who supervised and supplies materials for Vanayaga Yatra. He also monitors Nitis (daily rituals) of the temple and also keeps the accounts.

Deuli Matha: A monastery located near Kakatpur which is the original place of worship of the Goddess Mangala. During Nabakalebara, the Vanayaga party halts at this place.

Gajapati: The king of Puri as the first servitor of Lord Jagannath oenes the Vanayaga Yatra through Gua-Teka Ritual (Authorization Ceremony). Besides, the king also makes Poornahuti (final oblation to Yajna) in Koili

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Vaikuntha and performs Cherapanhara rites during the Car Festival.

Guateka: The first rite of Navakalevara Ceremony which marks the beginning of Vanayaga Yatra by the Gajapati or King of Puri entrusting a group of servitors to go in search of neem tree from which the four divine idols of Lord Jagannath Lord Balabhadra and Devi Subhadra are constructed.

Geeta Govinda: A Sanskrit Verse written by eminent poet Sri Jayadev in the 12th Century which narrates the inimitable Leelas of Sri Radha and Sri Krishna. It is said that Lord Jagannath is fond of Geeta Govinda which was recited in the Puri Temple every night.

Geeta Govinda Khandua Silk: A kind of silk clothe of Sri Jagannatha. Some lines from Geeta Govinda Khandua are woven in the texture of clothe which is tied round the heads of the servitors as a symbol of authorization for doing a particular ritualistic service.

Gundicha Temple: On the day of Car Festival the deities of Sri Jagannatha, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan come out of Sri Jagannath Temple and move to Gundicha Temple in chariots and are worshipped there for seven days.

Jagannath Ballav Matha: A monastery situated on the grand road of Puri where the Vanayaga Party halts for a day and starts the initial preparation for Vanayaga Yatra.

Joda Ashadha: When the intercalary (two months) of Odia month of Asadha falls the Nabakalebara Ceremony takes place. The extra month of Asadha is known as Malamasa, Adhimasa or Purusottam Masa.

Koili Vaikuntha: `Koili means "burial ground" and Vaikuntha means "Heaven". It is a place near northern gate inside Puri Temple where the sacred Darus are kept during the Nabakalebara Ceremony. The new idols are carved and the old deities are buried here.

Lenka: A servitor of Sri Jagannath Temple who holds the Chakra-Narayan (which symbolizes the Sudarshan Chakra) and moves ahead of the Vanayaga Party

Maha-Anasara: When Nabakalebara Ceremony takes place, the interim period or grand recess extends up to 45 days (three fortnights).This Anasara is called Maha Anasara.

Mandap: An elevated platform with or without a roof over it. This is used for various purposes like performing religious rites and conducting meeting etc.

Matha: The monastery perform four-fold functions like propagating the Hindu culture and especially Jagannatha Culture, preaching disciples, giving shelter to pilgrims, accommodating poor meritorious students and giving them financial help. Apart from these, they perform certain important rituals in the Puri Temple.

'Nyasa-daru': A piece of wood taken from 'daru' or a log of wood in which the divinity is invoked and it becomes 'Nyasa-daru'. The process of invocation of the divinity in 'Nyasa-daru' is called 'Nyasa karma'.

Nilachakra: A big wheel on the top of the Sri Jagannath Temple which is made up of Astadhatu (eight types of metals).

Nabakalebara Ratha Yatra: The first Car Festival of the new deities celebrated in every 8th or 12th or 19th year in huge congregation of devotees and visitors at Puri.

Pahandi: The forward and backward movement of the deities of Sri Jagannath, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra during Rath Yatra and Snan Yatra. There are two kinds of Pahandi i.e Goti Pahandi or movement of single deity' when it reaches then only the other deity starts. Dhadi Pahandi is simultaneous movement of the deities one after the other.

Patitapavan: When Lord Jagannatha is worshipped alone with his torso He is known as Patitapavan, the redeemer of the fallen.

Purusottama: The supreme man or person which is another name of Lord Jagannatha.

Patali: This is the burial ritual of old wooden deities of Sri Jagannatha, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan in the premises of Koili Vaikuntha of the Puri Temple.

Pati Mahapatra: A Brahmin servitor of Sri Jagannath who is known as the successor of Vidyapati. During Vanayaga Yatra, he serves as the Badagrahi of Sri Sudarshan. Besides he also plays a leading role in the core ritual like transference of Brahma in the temple.

Ratnavedi: An elevated platform of stone in the sanctum sanctorum of the Puri Temple where the Chaturdhamurti along with Sri Devi, Bhu Devi and Madhab are worshipped.

Sadhi-Bandha: This is a ritual of tying of Geeta Govinda Khandua (handloom silk saree) on the heads of the Vanayagis like Daitas and Pati Mahapatra by a servitor of Sri Jagannatha called Bhitarchha Mahapatra inside the Puri temple after the Badagrahis get Ajnamaala from Chaturdhamurti on the day of initiation of the Navakalevar Ceremony.

Savarapalli: This is a temporary shelter with basic amenities made for accommodation of the Vanayaga Party during the Vanayaga Yatra of the Nabakalebara Ceremony.

Saptavarana: Seven layers covering of wooden idols of Sri Balabhadra, Sri Jagannath, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan which include musk, sandal wood, perfumed oil, resin and many other rare substances.

Singha Dwara: The main gate of Puri Temple faing towards east. This is also known as the Lions Gate.

Snana Yatra: The deities of Sri Jagannatha, Sri Balabhadra, Devi Subhadra and Sri Sudarshan are

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brought to the Snana-edi of the Puri Temple where the deities are bathed in 108 pitchers of water on the auspicious day of Snana Purnima.

Sudhi Kriya: The purification or obsequies rites observed by the Daitas and their families after burial of the old deities in the Koili Vaikuntha.

Srotriya Brahmin: The Vedic Brahmins who perform the sacred rites and rituals reciting Vedic mantras.

Vanayaga: The term Vanayaga constitutes two words Vana means forest and Yaga means Yajna. During initiation of Nabakalebara Ceremony, the Daita, Pati Mohapatra, a group of Brahmins and other servitors set out a journey in search of sacred Neem trees.

Yajna Nrusimha: He is another aspect of Lord Nrusimha. He is the guardian deity of all rituals of Navakalevara' Ceremony. In Indian mythology, Sri Nrusimha is the fourth avatar of Lord Vishnu who is in half human and half lion form.

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Preferred Author Guidelines

We accept the manuscript submissions in any standard (generic) format.

We typeset manuscripts using advanced typesetting tools like Adobe In Design, CorelDraw, TeXnicCenter, and TeXStudio. We usually recommend authors submit their research using any standard format they are comfortable with, and let Global Journals do the rest.

Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

Authors should submit their complete paper/article, including text illustrations, graphics, conclusions, artwork, and tables. Authors who are not able to submit manuscript using the form above can email the manuscript department at submit@globaljournals.org or get in touch with chiefeditor@globaljournals.org if they wish to send the abstract before submission.

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3. Ensure corresponding author's email address and postal address are accurate and reachable.
4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
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2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

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Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

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Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.

Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

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This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

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Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

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- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
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- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

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Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

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Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

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- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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