JAGARAN AND GONDHAL

(An exploratory study of nomadic art and culture)

By

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DECLARATION

I, Ms. Tanvi Sampat Barge, hereby declare that this dissertation entitled ‘Jagaran and Gondhal: an exploratory study of nomadic art and culture’ is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Bipin Jojo, Associate Professor, Centre for Social Justice and Governance, School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, or certificate of this Institute or university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this dissertation.

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Ms. Tanvi Sampat Barge
ABSTRACT

"India has two million gods, and worships them all. In religion all other countries are paupers; India is the only millionaire."

- Mark Twain, American author and humorist.

The motivation behind selecting the topic on cultural studies is the curiosity and the place where I am born and brought up, the country India and state of Maharashtra. Since, childhood I had fascination about folk dance, folk artists, their instruments, rituals, songs and their customs. In reality when I went to field for data collection, I got an opportunity to closely see the struggling and nomadic way of life of folk artist.

When we look at the concept ‘culture’, we will find various aspects unheard and unobserved to it. In Indian context, if we define one’s identity without culture, then it would be purposeless. Culture is everyday practice of an individual which is connected with socially, physically and mentally towards society. In Indian context, culture has very wide scope. In context of cultural practices in India they differ from one place to another. For example if we go region wise, then every state in India is different from other, like culture of Rajasthan is different from North-East region and so on. Also it differentiates in the caste hierarchy like the customs of Hindu upper caste Brahmins are totally different from the tribal culture. In case of Maharashtra state; there is a great historical background for the folk culture. Folk culture is one of the key aspects of living life in Maharashtra people. Mainly it was a medium that was connected through people. Also it was the best medium of communication and spread awareness for the social cause through the art.

‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ are one of the famous dramatic ritual customs in Maharashtra’s folk culture. This is organized on the occasions like after marriage and thread ceremony. Nowadays people are used to do it during any good occasions like after a birth of child, getting a new job. ‘Gondhal’ literal meaning ‘commotion’, usually done by ‘Godhal’ tribe in marriage or thread ceremony in Maharashtra. The history of Gondhal, was found from BC 1000, where these devotees prayed goddess Tulajabhavani to protect society from devil. Jagaran is one of the
custom sometimes done before ‘Gondhal’. ‘Jagaran’ especially done for blessings of lord ‘Khandooba’ and ‘Gondhal’ is done for the blessings of goddesses like Tulajabha, Renuk. Though this art is very ancient but its core part has changed by means of performance and transitions happening for the purpose of livelihood. Through this research I wanted to focus on the actual process of performing ‘Jagaran and Gondhal’, a case study of Jejuri and changes happening with this folk art along with the modernization period.

The major findings of the research are, understanding the folk art and changes coming in it. There are superstitions ruining the life of these people. Perhaps, society is also ignoring their needs and social status. Till date, the folk artists do not get any kind of social, economical or government support for their sustenance. They are struggling to conserve their art by all means.
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“If we are to achieve a richer culture, rich in contrasting values, we must recognize the whole gamut of human potentialities, and so weave a less arbitrary social fabric, one in which each diverse human gift will find a fitting Place….”

- Margaret Mead, an American scientist, 1901-1978
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Annexure
PREFACE

This is an exploratory study of nomadic art and culture of Maharashtra. ‘Gondhal’ and ‘Jagaran’, are one of the famous folk arts in Maharashtra. Chapter one traces about the cultural significance and present condition of art in context of India and state of Maharashtra. Chapter two introduces the literature available in the folk art. Chapter three is based on methodology used for study. Chapter four explores the meaning of term culture in depth. Also it explains about Jagran and Gondhal, folk stories related with this art. Chapter five explains the narratives of the folk artists, activist and their understanding of folk art and relatively ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’. Chapter six analyzes the traditional customs with people and places. Chapter seven concludes the understanding of folk art and future scope of this art.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

India is world famous for its diversity. It has always attracted the world due its unique blend of biodiversity, vibrant culture, historical dominance and the people themselves. It is a second highly populated country on the earth and also largest democrat in the world. There is a say in India that “Here, the language changes every 20 km.” Such uniqueness of multilingual and diverse culture is the core of India. The languages, customs, traditions have attracted many scholars across the world to study and explore this country of “People”. However, it is the country having unity in diversity. Recently the Supreme Court of India has emphasized that, “India is a country of people with the largest number of religions and languages living together and forming a Nation”. There are twenty eight states and seven centrally administered union territories in India. This research explores the cultural significance and contemporary status of “Jagran and Gondhal” art of a Nomad Culture.

India is the second most populous country in the total area 29,73,190 sq.km.with 1,210,193,422 total population as per government report on size, growth, rate and distribution of population census 2011. According to the latest official census of 2001, the population of India is comprised of 80.5 per cent Hindus, 13.4 per cent Muslims, 2.3 per cent Christians, 1.9 per cent Sikhs, 0.8 per cent Buddhists and 0.4 per cent Jains. Historically, India has been home to believers of a whole range of religions and beliefs and India’s society is still characterized by a remarkable religious diversity.

India is culturally very rich and vivid. Every citizen in India is born within the specific culture paradigms. It is also a country of festivals. As there are many religions celebrated, there is also scope for such festivals throughout the year. Hence, celebration is a fundamental part of every Indian's life. The festivals like Holi, Makar Sakranti, Diwali, Eid, Buddha Purnima, Baisakhi and Christmas are the festival that brings colours and joy to all.
India, being mother of many religions, there are many such rituals, customs, ceremonies and festivals according to each religion and they are celebrated equally everywhere. Hence, the marriage ceremonies also differ from religion to religion. “Vivah”\(^1\), “Nikaah”\(^2\), “Mangal Parinay”\(^3\) are the names which itself suggests the meaning and importance of the wedding in any specific religion, geography and culture. There are numerous ways of marriages in Hindu religion. Similarly, in Muslim religion during the auspicious occasion, the Muslim groom's family gives ‘mehar’ or nuptial gift to the bride. Parsis plant a young mango tree in a pot during the marriage ceremony. This ceremony is famous as 'Madhavsaro' ceremony and so on.

There are lots of rituals to be done after marriages. They differ in states, castes, religions, people and communities. (Bisht, 2001). ‘Marriage’ is one kind of celebration which does not consider class, caste for gathering people and enjoy the occasion. Some people specially go to villeges for accomplishing marriage customs like to devote their family deity and taking its blessings. One of the famous Hindu customs is to be done after marriage is ‘Jagaran and Gondhal’. This is well known in the state, Maharashtra and in some parts of India like in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat.

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\(^1\) = The Hindu marriage ceremony is called ‘Vivah’.
\(^2\) = Muslim marriage ceremony is called ‘Nikaah’
\(^3\) = Buddhist marriage ceremony.
Culture and Religion:

Religious beliefs and practices have been a universal feature of human society. (Behera, 2000) Religion, like other cultural elements such as family, marriage, incest prohibition etc. is found everywhere in the world. ‘Religion’ is not adequately defined to comprehend the large assortment of the kinds of belief and behavior which exists world over. This is because the ideas and practices denoted by it are too diverse to fit into a single formula.

Culture is defined as ‘Unity in diversity is an attribute of Indian society’. This is diversified the varied component. The culture in Indian context is defined it with relevant example. “Culture occupies an important place in human society. Etymologically, the term culture signifies growth”. Culture is the actual way of living and thinking expressed through human behavior like art, literature, religion etc. Culture is the totality of customs, traditions, and institutions etc, inherited by people. Culture, in its elementary form, implies some kind of participation in the social life by an individual. But for a desirable standard of culture, it’s necessary that an individual goes beyond a blind participation in social rites and rituals and cultivates those social virtues which persuade him to discard his brutish, selfish and ego-centric impulses for attainment of genuine welfare of humanity. Participation in the social life is attained through the media of art, literature, education, religion, commerce, international relations. But a truly cultured person is not satisfied with this passive participation alone. He strives to become an embodiment of self-sacrifice and nobility we analyze culture, it consists of following elements:

- It is related to moral values.
- It is concerned with perfection of individual character and conduct.
- It tends to express itself through the channels of philosophy, history, art, religion, literature etc.
- It’s not static and it changes to a certain extent according to the circumstances and demands of age.

Though it is subject to change, yet it has some elements which are eternal (Bisht, 2001). Culture contains both eternal as well as non-eternal elements. In the modern period sometimes culture is divided into two categories viz. culture proper and mass-and-popular culture. Norman
Jacobs makes this very distinction and classification in his work Culture for the millions. By the term ‘mass-culture ’ is meant the totality of desires inspired by the aptitudes of masses. Mass-culture is merely an elementary form of culture and it has to grow in the form of idealistic culture a, which is the soul of culture. The essence of culture is that it tries to bring about a process of unification in the midst of diversity existing in society. More than that, it inspires a community and its members to attain the ideal of moral perfection where self is so enlarged that entire human society is brought in its sweep. (Thapar,1977)

Culture is a “vaster music” which is produced when the individual interest are woven into a melody of social welfare in a spontaneous, smooth and beautiful manner. Unless the individual is enlarged and transformed truly and evolved into the Universal man, true culture cannot come into being. “The training and refinement of mind ,tastes and manners, the condition of being thus trained and refined, the intellectual side of civilization, the acquainting ourselves with the best” (Oxford dictionary).

Culture is concerned with the mental refinement of a person. One may be civilized without being cultured and, in the same way, one may be cultured without being civilized. But they should go together, because culture alone can give a constructive thrust to human civilization and progress. While civilization is based on distinction and difference. When human civilization imbibes the spirit of culture, our world will become a much better place than what its at present. Our modern world is facing number of problems like exploitation, poverty, nepotism, war, etc., only because our civilization has not yet developed the cultural viewpoint. Although culture is universal and it cannot be distinguished on the basis of nationality or continent, yet in some quarters its confused with civilization, and often considered as interchangeable with civilization. When the term “culture” is so used, there appears some difference and distinction amongst the cultures of different nations. (Bisht,2001)

Thus, there shall be difference between the American and soviet culture, the English and French culture. But outstanding difference will be between the Indian and the western culture. History reveals that the Western culture is marked by intellectualism and materialism. On the other hand, Indian culture is spiritual and non-physical in nature. Aurobindo states, ”Indian culture
recognizes the spirit as the truth of our being and our life as a growth and evolution of the spirit.” He says:”Man in the west has always been only on ephemeral creature of Nature. . . . Man in the Indian idea is a spirit veiled in the works of energy, moving to self-discovery.capable of Godhead” (Thapar, 1977)

The entire edifice of Indian culture is based on the foundation of spirit. Her religion, art, literature, every thing has drawn inspiration from this spiritual outlook alone. The source books of Indian culture can be called “Shruti-Smriti-Puranokta”, i.e. based on Shruti, Smriti and Puranas. The Vedas are known as Shruti, i.e.”direct from god” or revealed literature. They are considered be “apaurusheya”, i.e. not written by any man. Thus they are considered to be divine. The caste system was not known to that period. People followed any profession of their liking. One hymn states, “Different persons among us have different avocations. The carpenter saws wood, the physician looks after patients, the priest seeks persons desirous of performing sacrifices.” (Vyas, 1928).

People saw divinity in the various aspects of nature. They called the deity the-way they liked. But mostly these deities were personifications of nature’s phenomena. The principle names of the deities that occur in the Rig Veda are Indra, Agni, Soma, vayu, Surya, Mitra, Varuna, Vishnu, Usha, the twin Ashwins, Push, Rudra, Prajapati, Yama, Parjanya, Aryama, Marutas, Brihspati, Saraswati, Aditi, Adityas, Ribhus, Ila, Twashta, Savita, Indrani, Varunani, Agneyi, Vasus, Matarishva, Vaishwanara and Bharati. Generally, it was recognized that tere are 33 deities as is evident from the hymn (Vyas, 1928).

Indian folk culture is very rich. The available literature on Indian culture, folk art and folk dances is very limited. Also, same condition with Maharashtra folk culture. It is more transformed orally via generations. The existing literature about folk dances is in Marathi, local language. There are books available that talk about brief understanding of rituals, gods, folk dances and the people. Maharashtra is state of rocks, mountains, and consisting of variety of folk arts in the state. Various folk arts keep maintained with their old essence. In the folk art, folk dances include their traditions, their ways of living, and belief in their gods/goddesses. There are differences between folk art one to another in terms of location, time, festivals, people, costumes, dances etc.
Cultural broad concept and an approach towards folk art and people

“Culture is the name for what people are interested in, their thoughts, their models, the books they read and the speeches they hear, their table-talk, gossip, controversies, historical sense and scientific training, the values they appreciate, the quality of life they admire. All communities have a culture. It is the climate of their civilization.” The quote said by famous American journalist, Walter Lippmann (1889-1974).

Cultural diversity is a rich entity for individuals and societies. The protection, sustenance and maintenance of cultural diversity are an essential requirement for sustainable development for the benefit of present and future generations. ‘Culture’ and ‘folk culture’ are two broad concepts. There is logic behind the growth of man and emergence of folk arts. In search of mystery behind every creature in the nature, man cannot find the greatness of natural environment. So he created gods and goddesses for his own imagery protection. He also made some customs related to it. He created art followed by dances. So all these together form a tradition. In that, next generations added something new and hand-over it to the next generation. The discovery of language is also one kind of its output. This whole mixture named as ‘Culture’. To make our life happier, attractive, satisfactory, value added and work oriented form is called as ‘culture’. Emerson said that ‘Culture is that thing, with which one wants to live’ (Bhavalkar, 2009).

Culture tends to change with person, family, society and world. Culture is sometimes complicated concept. It can’t be defined by certain norms. The nature and agriculture played important role in developing and nourishing any folk culture. As we can see festivals, rituals and customs during god’s prayer are closely related with nature and close to natural surroundings. Some of the mysterious behavior can be seen in folk arts like during performance of ‘Gondhal’, the performer or ‘Vaghya’ drinks water by licking inside the plate, or ‘Potaraj’ wear skirt made of small clothes.
In quickly changing world, the diversity of cultural expressions is pre-requisite for vibrant and dynamic cultural sectors. It should be protected and promoted. In the 2005, *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression* provides an innovative and flexible framework to do so. The most recent of UNESCO’s six cultural conventions, the Convention presents a broadened vision of diversity that recognizes it as a source of creativity and that underlines the importance of nurturing contemporary creations. When we see in India, there are not many as variety of castes and tribes exists in the world. Therefore, here we can see variety of rituals and customs available. Languages, gods, beliefs and traditions are separate for every religion. The whole is a mixture known as ‘Folk culture’. Now, this folk culture contains the remains of many tribes and religions.

“Cultural diversity” refers to the varied ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passing on within themselves and other groups and societies. Cultural diversity is not only expressed through the varied ways in which the cultural inheritance of humanity is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used.

**Tribal culture:**

Anthropological definition of the term with reference to isolation, subsistence economy, illiterate people, etc. seems week at present to label a people with the term ‘tribe’. Tribal societies are more vulnerable to crisis. The simple tribal society fails to produce an alternative in a short time. Moreover, it doesn’t possess different alternatives like a complex society to accommodate and absorb shocks during the transitional phase. Anthropological studies of religion have tended to focus on one or the other two major components: belief and ritual (*Kapoor, 2005*). Throughout history, it has been recognized that the human mind is capable of 2 kinds of knowledge, or two modes of consciousness which have been termed the rational and intuitive, and have traditionally associated with science and religion respectively. Rational knowledge is thus a symbol of abstract concepts and symbols which is typical of our thinking and speaking. The usual understanding of tribe, brought into this land by British administrators is that of a collection of
families or groups of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed mutuality of obligations. The systems and institutions embedded in the idea of a specific religion is necessarily a product of time and space. As the group advances in time or moves in space, it necessarily undergoes change. This modification is response towards adaptation to changed circumstances; though certain traits are preserved to retain identity with original patterns. The tribal section is of considerable significance. In the pre-independence period, one notes the development of two divergent approaches to tribal policy, related to 2 different ways of looking at the position of the tribals in Indian society. One set of people stressed the separate place of the tribals in traditional society, arguing that they were animist and not Hindus (Thapar, 1977).

They had a separate past, and this separateness must be emphasized in a policy for their future. At any rate, Elwin and Furer-Haimendorf stressed the separateness of tribal people from Hindus, in terms of religion and other aspects of culture. By contrast, nationalist point of view, Bose and Ghurye, argued that no clear line could be drawn between tribal and non-tribal people in either the present or past (Furer-Haimendorf, 1960). They have mentioned that, for the past quarter of a century, the Indian aboriginals have been considered a ‘Problem’ for govt. and their more advanced fellow-citizens. This attitude to the tribal minorities is an altogether new phenomenon in Indian history. For thousands of years, primitive tribes persisted in forests and hills without having more than casual contacts with the population of the open plains and the centres of civilization. On the part of Hindu society, there was no conscious drive to assimilate or reform the aboriginals, and the latter seem to have shown little eagerness their own style of life with that of their Hindu nighbour. There are many regions where within a span of twenty to thirty years, the aboriginals lost their economic independence and most of their land, and in some cases the ensuing tension and frustration resulted in spontaneous outbreaks of violence and even in organized rebellions.
India’s Nomadic and De-Notified Tribes (DNTs):

The term 'De-notified Tribes' stands for to all those communities who were notified under the several versions of Criminal Tribes Act enforced during the British Rule in between 1871 and were De-notified by the repeal of this Act after Independence of India.

The word nomad is derived from the Greek word 'nemos' that means 'to posture'. Hence originally the term 'nomad' referred to the people who wanted from one place to another place along with their herd of animals in search of posture land. However, now the word nomad is used as a common for all kinds of mobile people who move from place to place for earning their livelihood. The term 'semi-nomads' is mostly used to describe those sections of nomads whose duration, distance and frequency of movement is comparatively less than others. The nomadism is often viewed because of 'laziness' or 'Criminal tendencies' and a sign of persistent 'backwardness'.

The Nomadic and De-notified Tribes constitute about 60 million populations all over India and about 5 million populations in Maharashtra. There are 313 Nomadic Tribes and 198 De-notified Tribes in India (Rathod, 2000). NT-DNT communities constitute 10% of India's total population. According to the Renake Commission the population of DNTs is said roughly 10-12 cores. The commission distributed the population of DNTs in three different classes.

1. De-notified Tribes who are listed as SC and ST in various states i.e. De-Notified (SC/ST) since last 50 yrs.
2. Nomadic and Semi Nomadic Tribes who have been included in the list of SC and ST i.e. Nomadic (SC/ST)
3. Nomadic Tribes which have been included in the list of OBC from time to time i.e. Nomadic (OBC)

The Nomadic and De-notified Tribes in most of the states of India were included in the category of Scheduled Tribes as they fulfill the criteria in most cases, however some of them are still deprived of the safe guards and provisions as they continue to remain in the 'VJNT' category in Maharashtra and Other Backward Classes in the Central List. They are found wandering from
place to place, perform on streets or festivals. Student is curious to explore more about their society and their identity how come a community was branded as criminal and still considered the same even after independence. These communities are not much researched except the administrative records and so there is need for studies of NTs and DNTs at the community level as well as regional or national level.

The word ‘Nomad’, came from Greek word ‘Nemo’, means having livestock. India is rich in variety of natural resources. There is still question about rising or existence of these nomadic tribes. While searching the source of existence of these nomads, there is division of three parts:
1) Tribes that were existed since 1000 years and still living in forests e.g. Bhill, Santhal, Korku.
2) Due to exploitation and lack of any house, some tribes started living either by means of begging or they use their inborn skills for livelihood e.g. Kaikadi, Garudi, Makadwale, Paradhi.
3) By means of caste but living outside villages included tribes: Ramoshi, Berad, Gondhali, Vadar, Ghaisadi etc. After so many years of independence still this tribe is vulnerable.

There are various kinds of books available on tribal culture in India. But tribal culture varies from place to place and regions. Talking about Maharashtra, there are 313 types of Nomadic tribes; they vary with their occupation, place of living, and culture. The social status among all nomads is same; they are lagging in economy, social identification, education and trapped in many superstitions. In short the condition of human beings is depending upon surroundings in which they survive. The existence and life expectancy of human beings were more in those regions which were containing majority of flora and fauna. Those people who migrate from one place to another place for livelihood; stay connected with nature. Those who do not survive on forests depend on their livestock. They have to protect their livestock from rain, sun, predators and have to wander from one place to other place for searching new grazing lands for their livestock. The development of urbanization starts with establishment of these nomads. Today we can see that these nomads are divided into three kinds: Food searchers, hunters and livestock keeper (Renake, 2008).
“Nomads -wandering groups of people exist about 2000 years ago. They were mostly musician vocal and instrumental, jugglers known as Kazhat Kottadi, dancers, fortunetellers and beggars. They were looked upon as belonging to low class groups and hence they had to live on the outskirts of the cities or forts. They were poor, but occasionally received gifts from some king or chief.”

One of the famous Hindu customs is to be done after marriage is ‘Jagaran and Gondhal’. This is well known in the state, Maharashtra and in some parts of India like in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat etc. ‘Jagaran and Gondhal’ are dramatic customs mostly done by Hindu communities after marriages. Mostly upper caste like Maratha, Deshstha Brahmins call for folk artist to perform this art in their houses. Basically, this ceremony is to be done for happiness, peace in the family and especially for giving blessing to newly married couple. Since ancient period of time, Maharashtra has been following rich and unique cultural practices. ‘Pune’, a cultural capital of Maharashtra is a symbol of togetherness and has initiated efforts to renew lost cultural traditions. There are number of religious and holy places in the city. Lots of people come together to visit religious places inside Pune during their holidays. There are regular yatras, melas happen in the festive period.

The popular ‘Gondhal’ and ‘Jagaran’ are discovered by Nomadic Tribes. Gondhal is done by Gondhali community, which is one of nomadic tribes. Both ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ folk dances are performed after marriage ceremony or during thread ceremony of Hindu community. These types of dances done at the residence of families of upper castes like Maratha. The livelihood of tribes, who are performing these dances is depending on entertaining people (Dekhane, 2005).
Theoretical Framework:

In theoretical understanding, the culture is very normative, well defined and it has wide scope. In reality there is a gap between culture in the society and realization. There is cultural gap between the literature and the actual ethnographic understanding. In the hypothetical understanding the term ‘culture’ glorifies the people, their art, traditions and customs. On the contrary, the society looks at it as a normal behavior or great pleasure.

In cultural studies, Jagaran and Gondhal performers or folk artists are glorified as heroes or God’s people. In reality, these people are not recognized as part of the mainstream culture though it was performed for the celebration of the mainstream society like upper caste Hindu families though it was performed by the socially stigmatized communities like Gondhalis who are known as De-notified Tribes. Also, there is stigma of superstitions like animal sacrifices, again in Vaghya-Murali system; children are dedicated for Khandoba’s service. These issues have not spoken in any of literature or get noted and treated as ‘customs’ in this folk art.

Again while discussing about folk culture; it is actually an important part of people’s lives. But, again society looks this art ‘as an art performed by backward community’ or an art where people involved are mostly of villagers. The broaden perspective of this art is very different. The backwardness perspective towards these people is failed when one look at the presentation and the performing skill of folk artist. The whole Jagaran and Gondhal is a skillfull execution of art through expression and dance movements. The people in this art do their total efforts to make program successful and make audience satisfied. Folk art does not have any age or time period restriction; it is beyond that. From the little child to fully grown up old person enjoys this art by heart. But nowadays, this art is struggling for its existence. People in it are trying to preserve this art even in small wages or income they are getting from it. The theoretical understanding does not reflect the facts of people, who are struggling to live a better life and putting their efforts to grow thier children as a better human being.
Also, there is stigma of superstitions are present in this art, but this is not mentioned in any of literature. There are some of superstitions like animal sacrifices, again leaving child for the sake of god in Vaghya-Murali system, children are getting left for Khandoba’s service. Also, the exploitation of women and folk artist during performance, their social security, unfixed wages and unemployment, their own marriages etc. issues have not spoken in any of the literature in present date.

Therefore, this research aims to document and understand what is Jagaran and Gondhal? what are the customs, traditions and practices of ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’? What are the folk stories on deity lord Khandoba at place Jejuri? Who are the people connected with this folk art? What are the changing patterns with the modernization?
CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This Chapter gives the methodology used for this research study. Looking at the research questions mentioned in the previous chapter a methodology was needed to look at the ‘Gondhal’ and ‘Jagaran’ in totality, a particular form of folk art associated with a socially stigmatized community but celebrated by the mainstream upper caste. As hardly any literature available in the mainstream literature, it had to answer questions like who, what, why, when, how to get a comprehensive understanding on this folk art.

The specific objectives of the study are:
1. To study socio-cultural, economic aspect of Jagaran and Gondhal folk artists.
2. To explore land and livelihood patterns through performance.
3. To suggest media and cultural work intervention.

Research Location:
The research focused on understanding ‘Gondhal’ and ‘Jagaran’. But it concentrated in a placed called Jejuri located in district Pune. A pilot study was done before starting actual data collection for research. Jejuri is located near 50 kilometers distance from district Pune. The population of Jejuri is five lac. Agriculture is main source of livelihood among people at Jejuri. Besides this, Jejuri is basically a tourist place and blessed with natural environment. It is a religious place and famous for the temple of lord Khandoba. Every month people across Maharashtra and outside places come for devotion of Lord Khandoba. The newly married couples visit Lord Khandoba’s temple for blessings and happiness.
**Research Design:**

This is an exploratory descriptive study using ethnographic methodology to understand the ‘Gondhal’ and ‘Jagaran’.

**Method of data collection:**

The researcher visited the place of performance, met the performers, activists, academicians with the help of research questions. The people interviewed are including folk artists, hosts, academicians, local activists, students, organizers, devotees etc. Therefore, the number of case studies taken for the research is fifteen and one focus group discussion. During data collection there is combination of males and females for collecting information. Though, Jagaran and Gondhal is quite male dominated, but researcher is able to find women folk artist in the village. With participant observations as the researcher visited the Jatra. Researcher also used many documents available in Marathi literature to understand the historical and socio-religious and cultural aspects of ‘Gondhal’ and ‘Jagaran’.

**Research Process:**

The research data collection started with the help of one of the social activist in the village Jejuri. It was difficult to find people or folk artists who actually perform ‘Jagaran, Gondhal’ as they don’t have any specific place and time for the performance. Most of the interviews taken at the place of performance that is at the houses of hosts. Some of the interviews taken on the roads and at the boundary of village. Some of interviews taken at the houses of performers. After finishing their performances some folk artists were free, so they gave time to take interviews in their houses. Most of the people who were actual performers, found in the temple of lord Khandoba. So, some of the interviews were taken at the surrounding of Khandoba temple. Some of the interviews were taken during prayer at the Kara river, situated near Khandoba temple.

During the festival time, most of people are busy with their work. Especially those people who actual performs Jagaran and Gondhal. After festivals, they are quite free to approach and
available for giving information. Respondents also do not have permanent house, so focus group discussion has done in some random places like under tree, in front of shop. Some of the interviews of respondents have taken in the temple, as everyday people go to pray there. The lifestyle of people who are performing Jagaran and Gondhal is very different than other regular people. Performers mostly work for six months and rest for remaining six months; as this is due to their irregular type of vocation. During working days people are busy whole day in worshiping Lord Khandoba. Most of the population during data collection was migrated from other parts of Maharashtra, especially from regions having less livelihoods opportunities. Also the people involving in performance are from marginalized section, majority artist are belong to Nomadic Tribe community. In the next chapter will talk about concept of culture and details of folk art Jagaran and Gondhal.

Analysis Plan:
The secondary literature available especially in Marathii was analyzed to get the historical and socio-religious and cultural aspects of ‘Gondhal’ and ‘Jagaran’. The case studies have been transcribed though there are areas which have been common across the case studies. Then it has been descriptively analyzed taking data from all the sources under few themes.
CHAPTER 3

‘KHANDOBACHI JEJURI’ – THE HOLY PLACE OF LORD KHANDOBA

‘Jejuri’, ‘Kolhapur’, ‘Pandharpur’ are the famous pilgrimage centers of Maharashtra. Typically, Jejuri is widely known all over the India as the holy place of Lord Khandoba, who is the deity of many families in India. Jejuri has always been the source of inspiration and spiritual place for many devotees. Theists believe that this place is enlightened with the divine presence of Lord Khandoba and hence serves as the powerhouse for them. The city of ‘Jejuri’ is located in the district, Pune in the state of Maharashtra. It is just around fifty kilometers away from the city Pune. The town is known for being the locus of one of the profoundly honored temples, known as the ‘Khandobachi Jejuri’. The temple is dedicated to Lord Khandoba, also known as ‘Mhalsakant’ or ‘Malhari Martand’. Khandoba’ is regarded as the 'God of Jejuri’ and is held in great reverence by the ‘Dhangars’, a shepherd community, which is one of the oldest tribes in India. Lord Khandoba’s temple can be easily divided into two separate parts - the ‘Mandap’, a structure built mostly in the front of any temple and ‘Gabhara’, a place inside temple or place where god’s idol located. The temple is situated at the top a small hill and because of this height; devotee has to climb a series of almost two hundred steps to reach the sanctum sanctorum. The nearby climb is not too difficult and offers amazing views of ‘Saswad’, a place near Pune and Dive Ghat, tourist spot, one doesn't even come to know when the two hundred steps come to an end. The idol of Shri Khandoba, inside the temple is simply beautiful. There are three weapons placed inside Khandoba’s Temple, a sword, and instruments like a Damaru and a Paral. They are very unique and also have historical importance.

The place Jejuri glorifies its own importance in the history of Maharashtra. The local people tell about the interesting stories of fights of Mughal King Aurangzeb versus Maratha King Shivaji. Mughal king Aurangzeb intended to destroy the temple of Khandoba in the era 1690. However, it proved to be the futile effort. The other historical highlight of this place is known for the famous meeting of the father and the son who were one of great kings of Maharashtra. The great king
Shivaji met to his father Shahajiraje Bhosale after a long period at Jejuri. It is said that they had organized an important discussions and meetings on the war strategies to be adopted in their revolt.

Photo: Big deepmalas, stone structures are the attraction for tourists.

Among the other turn in the premises of the temple, the huge Deepmalas i.e. stone structures that serve as stands for keeping oil lamps, is one of the attraction for tourists. When all the burning lamps are placed in the niches of the Deepmalas, the view is awesome.

The yatra (fair) is organized at Jejuri around four times in every year. These are the grand events happen at Jejuri when thousands of Khandoba devotees flock here. With the words of “Yelkot
Yelkot Jai Malhar”, which means with the all blessings of Lord Khandoba, that makes whole area enlightend. Moreover, the sword competition held here on the day of ‘Dussehra’ festival, which is mainly tourist attraction. The person, who lifts the sword of the temple high up, for the maximum time, is declared as a winner.

Jejuri is blessed with fresh natural beauty that gives spiritual soul and mental satisfaction as well.

There are various folk stories regarding folk art of ‘Gondhal’, one of oral story is that ‘Parashuram’, which is one of god Vishnu’s avatar, did worship of his mother and that process of worshipping is later got known as ‘Gondhal’. It is said that ‘Parashuram’ made a human figure, from his excreted sweat. After making that statue, he made that structure alive. That human figure is called ‘Gondhali’, a person the one who performs ‘Gondhal’. Gondhali got blessed with Parashuram and started to perform ‘Gondhal’. In Maharashtra, there are very famous of
goddesses’ temples like Ambabai from Kolhapur, Jagdamba from Tuljapur, and Renuka from Mahur. Devotees of goddess Jagdamba perform ‘Gondhal’. This folk art is made up of drama, singing, dancing, debating and aware about social issues; But the main purpose of this art is to entertain people thoroughly. The one of the attraction for this dance is its dress up. For Gondhal, there are different costumes than Jagaran. Costumes for men during performance of Gondhal are of ‘Payghol’, consists of a long skirt and pant, a belt on waist, a scarf on head, wearing necklaces of shells. The basic fact here is Gondhal is to be performed by only men, no women participation in it. Good voice, face expressions, and little but rhythmic dance steps are main of characteristics of Gondhal and Jagarn. While looking at the people, who are performing this folk art are nothing but nomadic tribal community that is ‘Gondhali’. ‘Kadamb’ and ‘Renurai’ are two types of Gondhalis (Moraje, 1993).

Basically, Gondhal has to be done for the sake of family welfare, good health and wealth. This Gondhal art being performed starts from late night and continued till early morning. During festival times like Navaratri, which is festival of goddess Durga, where Gondhali prayed goddess songs. When the idols of goddess got established at homes, they go to every home and prayed the goddess. With the devotion they also perform entertainment. Traditional Songs-lyrics:

“Aai Ambabaichya navan...udoh..udoh..
Mayecha nijarup Aaicha Gondhul mandala........
Ude ude ga Ambabai...Gondhala ye
Moreshwar Gana..Gondhala ye
Punyachi parvati..Gondhala ye
Satarachi Mangalai..Gondhala ye
Tulajapur Bhavani.. Gondhala ye...
Gondhul mandala gondhala yaav
Ambabaichya navn..Gondhul mandala
Karana karan..Gondhul mandala
Gondhul Mandala..Gondhul mandala
Dongraichya naavan Gondhul mandala
Kulswamichya naavan..Gondhul mandala”
The meaning of above lines are, basically these are praying to goddess *Amba* and taking blessings from her by worshiping and calling to other gods and goddesses like *Bhavani, Mangalai, Parvati,Ganapati* etc. (Moraje, 1993). These are the prayers included during performance of ‘Gondhal’.

In Marathi folk culture, *Gondhali, Bhutye, Vasudev, Potraj* folk artists are one of the the important pillars of folk art (Dhere, 2002). ‘Gondhali’ is one of important pillar in Marathi folk art. After marriage or ‘Munj’, which is a head-hair removal ceremony, where only upper castes like Maratha or Brahmins allowed to do *Gondhal*. *Gondhal* is a tradition to praise goddess. (Dhere, 2002) In this era the rarely picture can be seen that people are wearing long shell necklaces, long skirts, and wearing *pagari* (rounded cap) on head. This tradition was very famous in Marathi folk culture. *Gondhal* made a place in the hearts of people its because of the way of issue description, music and songs. *Gondhali* supposed them as clan of *Jamdagni* and *Renuka*. *Mahur* is their origin place (Moraje, 1993).

The one of story of *Gondhali* assume that, when *Parashuram* killed ‘Betasur’ devil, he stitched his head and started to play sound with string. *Gondhal* started at that time when, he greeted his mother with that sound. Like *Renuka*, *Tulajabhavani* is also one of goddess of Gondhalis. On the good omen *Gondhali* wears shell necklaces and holds *diwati*, which is a stick with burning flame. There should be invitations should be given to all gods and goddesses at the time of Gondhal. That meeting should be can be of 3 kinds like gods, *Rakshas* or devils, and Human. The equipments that needed for performing *Gondhal* are *Diwati*, *Mridang*, *Tal*, *Veena*, *Chandak*, *Muraj* etc. The *Gondhal* dance includes categories like best,middle and lower: In best includes ,4 main singers, 8 mid-singers, 8 dancers, 4 clans, 4 on instruments, 4 play Tal.In Mid category includes overall 16 and in lower category it should include 8 people. In this way 32 people perform this dance. With the consideration of directions like East-West and south-North should be proper .How to perform dance, who will stand where, who will hold Diwati,who will play instruments, which is good time to perform Gondhal have already told. (Dhere, 2002)

In theoretical practice, its written that *Gondhal* should have atleast eight people, but nowadays the count is reduced to four. Among which, one starts with song and telling story, other asks
questions to public and make them laugh. The person who starts with stories and Head of Gondhal called as ‘Naik’. The remaining play the instruments.

**Arrangement at the time of performing ‘Gondhal’:**

There is special arrangement done by Gondhalis. Before start to perform Gondhal, main Gondhal takes a ‘pat’, which is a wooden box, used for sitting and it has to be covered it with new clean cloth. In the middle of this pat, he keeps rice grains and devoted turmeric. In the middle he keeps nuts, banana, dry dates and leaves of Mango are used for decoration. Then, he ignites the lamp in front of god. Before starting to perform Gondhal, Naik sings ‘Gan’. In that Gan, he invites all gods and goddesses by singing. Gondhal ends with prayer of goddess ‘Jagdamba’. The tradition of using Gondhal in lyrics and to spread them all over Maharashtra has done by many saints like Tukaram, Dyneshwar. They have used Gondhal in their poems. Gondhalis were Bards and priests. The folk art of Gondhal is existed before B.C.1000. During the period of “Peshava”, who was a famous emperor after king Shivaji; Gondhalis were performing their art for kings. Rama Gondhali was one of famous gondhali at the time of Peshava emperor. (Dekhane, 2005) After death of kings, Gondhal started performing in front of people, which is open for all.

‘Jagaran’

There is no specific difference between Jagaran and Gondhal. The key difference is Jagaran is to be done for Lord Khandoba and Gondhal is done for goddess ‘Tulajabhavani’. Also, Gondhal does the traditional Gondhal part while, Vaghya and Murali do Jagaran. People who have their deity Khandoba, mostly organize the Jagaran program after any good cause like marriage, birth of child or getting good job etc. (Khandage, 2007).

Jejuri! a well famous village for lord Khandoba. To take blessings after marriage and for getting a child after marriage, people do navas and pray to this god. If they get child after worshipping then, the first baby was given to this Lord Khandoba. If girl get donated then she would be called as “Murali” and if boy got donated then he get called as ‘Vaghya’. ‘Vaghya’ supposed themselves
as dogs of Lord Khandoba and Murali is devotee of god. In Maharashtra, Jagaran takes place at the time of Marriage, birth ceremony etc. At that time Vaghya and Murali perform dance. This Jagaran contains stories of Ramayana and Mahabharata. They yelled with names of Lord Khandoba. There are 12 devotee places of lord Khandoba. Since B.C.14th Khandoba came into exists. Many of nomadic tribes like Dangat, Veer, Mairal have Vaghya-Murali tradition. (Dhere,2002)
CHAPTER 4

JAGARAN AND GONDHAL: AS A CULTURE

There is great importance of Jagaran and Gondhal in Maharashtra’s folk culture. ‘Gondhal’ literal meaning commotion, done by Godhali tribe in marriage or thread ceremony in Maharashtra. The history of Gondhal was found from BC 1000, where these devotees prayed Godess Tulajabhavani to protect society from devil. As ‘Gondhal’ is performed by special ethnic group of people, they got named as ‘Gondhali’. Godhali tribe is backward ethnic group of India. They are devotees of Godess Renuka and Tulajabhavani. They consider their genes are coming from Jamdagni and mother Renuka. They speak local languages like Marathi and Kannada. The population in 1987, fifty thousand across India.

Photo: The arrangement before performance
Gondhal, a literal meaning of which is 'commotion', is a dramatic narration of mythical stories, praise of heroes or narration of folk legends. All these forms part of ritual are dedicated to different divinities like Lord Khandoba, goddess Tulajabavani. The Marathi folk art in the form of worship is performed exclusively by a group of men as part of rituals after ceremonies like marriage. People from tribe ‘Gondhali’ perform ‘Gondhal’ at the time of marriage or thread ceremony. Each ‘Gondhal’ is opened with cries of “udeh, udeh”, which means victory of Goddess. It continues with invocation to Khandoba, Tukai, Yamai and other minor and grater gods.

Photo: Host is doing prayer before performance of ‘Jagaran’. Dated October 29, 2012
The honor to perform *Gondhal* is obtained to *Gondhali* only when he wears a necklace of *cowrie* shells called ‘genmal’ given by five married males of the same caste, said by *Popat*, who is working as *Vaghya*. *Gondhal* varies between devotional singing and dramatic representation of any *Purana* part. The singers are considered the counterparts of Caranas, who were also narrators and singers of epics and myths. *Gondhal* takes place in front of host's house. Performance is occasionally kept up from night to small hours of morning. *Gondhal* relate with application for blessings to goddess *Tulajabhavani*.

*Photo:* ‘Diwati’ and ‘Budhali’, to be used to keep oil and during night performance.

Turmeric and pieces of coconuts are common things to be kept with God *Khandoba*. The interesting thing about this folk art is that though this is a religious custom but it is neither worshipped by priest nor Brahmin worships the god. The whole things are done by folk artist from praying, singing to dancing. It is their tradition that continued from their ancestors to modern generation.
A chief *Gondhali*, holding a flaming torch, has three to six people with musical instruments like *Tal*, *sambal* and stringed *tuntune*. The later part of performance is far more dramatic and elasticity consists of an *Akhyan* or speech comprises a story from *Ramayana*, or other *Puranas* with several varieties. The narration proceeds through dialogues, jokes, songs, dances, without any written script. Several digressions humorously portray contemporary events, traits, and customs, moral and ethical advice is given for example for newly weds. The *akhyan* which can be compressed or prolonged also contains narrative songs like *Povadas* celebrating tales of valour and heroism.

The main *Gondhali*, starts to dance and sings to fixed conventions, in circular, spinning movements, performing mudras with his fingers. After akhyan, the arti is sung and load on *Yajmana’s* (host) shoulders metaphorically lightened.

*Vaghya – Murali* system is a religious practice in parts of southern India, including Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, where parents put the marriage of their son or daughter with god in childhood. After marriage these children are prohibited to enter into a real marriage. These systems are set up as a result of a conspiracy between the feudal class and the priests (Brahmins). National Commission for Women says that, there are 2.5 lac *Devadasi* girls who have been dedicated to goddess *Yallamma* and Lord *Khandoba* temples on Maharashtra-Karnataka border. The system of Devasi and Murali is stigma to society. The rehabilitation programmes, which suffer from ad-hocism and inadequacy, do not provide adequate means of livelihood, skill development for the victims of such system and status in the society. Hence it is essential to discuss this issue, carry out sensitization about this problem.
With the name of gods like Khandoba(Jejuri), Tulajabhavani(Kolhapur), Renukadevi, these children spend their whole life by worshiping, dancing, singing to the god. Also when they grow up, society does not include them. The social status of this community is still lower, economic and government policies are still not reached to them.

Though in this Jagaran and Gondhal the majority of people of involving are belong to Nomadic tribes but they are ignored and still waiting for basic amenities for their survival. Tribal development policies and programmes in India assumed that all the tribals will develop and will integrate themselves with the so-called mainstream. This has happened only in a symbolic way. As a result of the constructed tribal development, stratification on secular lines has taken place.
among tribals and only a small section has been able to take advantage of the development programmes. The rationale being that the development programmes are not implemented due to inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy. It is not only the magnitude of involuntary tribal displacement that should attract the special concern but also the sacrifice of collective identity, historical and cultural heritage, and of course the survival support. Poverty, malnutrition, mortality, morbidity, illiteracy, unemployment, debt bondage, and serfdom among the tribals are markedly higher. The tribals are part of the Indian society, at the same time they are different. Special policy and programmes are required to implement and redress these differences especially in the context of globalization, modernization. When we plan for tribal development, we have to regard these differences, take a special note of their situations and capabilities and provide them facilities to develop on the line they want to take. Outsiders cannot develop or help tribals; they can become only facilitators if they want to do so. If they have to unfold from within, they must have participation in any development decision.

**Stories about Khandoba: folk stories, oral stories, myths and beliefs**

I) In the ancient period of time, Jejuri was called as ‘Jayaduri’. Khandoba, won the battle and defeat monster ‘Mani’, so the place got named as Jayduri. In ‘kaliyuga’, man used to do many sins. Mani and Mall, monsters were troubling the society in terms of beating saints, troubling in their rituals. So god Shankar got angry and to teach the lesson he took a different transition and that named as lord khandoba. Khandoba is actually god from Karnataka. In kannada, it got named as Mailar”, Malalppa. He got praised as ‘Yel kot yel kot jay malhar’, in which ‘yel’ means seven, ‘kot’ means crore. It means till seven generations, our house will get fulfill with crores of grains and property. Khandoba had 7 crore army. So during prayer he praised as ‘yel kot yel kot jay Malhar’. Mhalasa was Khandoba’s first wife. She identifies as one of powerful feminine deity. Also he had second wife named, ‘Banai’, belong to Dhangar community. The majority of people worshipping Khandoba is because of his second wife.
II) Khandoba is a regional Hindu deity, worshipped by all communities including Muslims, exhausted as Martanda Bhairava, an incarnation of Shiva, having linkages with Vaishanva and Jain traditions. He is the most popular family deity in Maharashtra, the patron deity of farming and herding castes, the hunters and gatherers, of the hills and forests (like Mallanna in Andhra Pradesh and Mallaya in Karnataka) of western Deccan. The worship of Khandoba developed during the ninth to tenth centuries from a folk deity into a composite god processing the
attributes of Shiva, Bhairava, Surya and Karttikeya (Skanda). He is depicted either in the form of a Lingam, or as an image riding on a bull or a horse.

III ) Malhari Mahatmya, a book in Marathi, tells the legend of Martanda-Bhairava or Khandoba. It says that Lord Shiva took the Avatar of Khandoba to kill demons Malla amd Mani (in some accounts a giant called Manimalla). It says that two shivlingas appeared at Prempuri, the place where Khandoba killed the demons. It has 22 chapters.

Auspicious start, description of cottages of seven Rishi on Manichurna hill, destruction of all this cottages from demon/Asura Malhasur, All the sages/Rishi goes to Amrawati with their grievance.
1. Description of court of Indra. Indra wellcomes all Rishi but declares his inability to defeat the demons and advised Rishi to go to Vaikuntha (God Vishnu's home)
2. Description of Vishnu temple, Rishi praise god Vishnu – Vishnu leaves with them for Kailasa (Home of god Shankar)
3. By seeing the decoration of Kailas hill The god Vishnu and Rishi becomes happy.
4. Description of Shiv Temple.
5. Description of divine beauty of Shankar- Parvati.
   Rishi praise god Shankar , Shankar saves them and gives a boon , birth of female demon
6. Dhrutmari .
   Shree Shiv takes the avatara of Martandbhairava. Description of army of gods and dispatch for war.
7. Mallasur is informed by his ambassadors about the arrival of army of gods. They laugh at Shiva. Army of demons prepare for war.
8. Description of the terrible war.
9. War of Kartikswami (Murugan) and Khadangdanshtra. The defeat of demons (Daitya)
   War of Shree Gajanan (Ganpati) and Ulkamukh , victory of Ganesh, war of Nandi and 10. Kutiloma. Victory of Nandi.
11. War of demon Mani and Martandbhairav, assationitaion of Mani.
IV) Khandoba is a god with many wives from many communities, who serve as Mhalsa Avtartural links to the communities. His first wife Mhalsa is from the Lingavat merchant caste; his second wife Banai is a Dhangar, a shepherd tribe; the third wife Rambhai is from Terror caste; fourth wife Phulai is a gardender and fifth caste Candai is a Muslim or described as a Teli, a caste who specially works to get oil for gods. The Malhari Mahatmya also gives an account of the two wives of Khandoba, Mhalsa and Banai. Mhalsa is believed to be a combined avatara of Mohini and Parvati. Mhalsa was born as the daughter of a rich merchant in Newase called Timshet. On the dinine orders of Khandoba in a dream to Timshet, she was married to Khandoba on Pausha Pournima (the full moon day of Hindu calendar month of Paush) in Pali. Two shivlingas appeared on this occasion. An annual festival marking this event is celebrated in Pali every Paush Pournima. Banai is believed to the daughter of Indra, the king of the gods. Banai was found by Dhangar shepherd, when she was abandoned on earth by an angry Indra. When Banai grew up, it was predicted that she would get her match at Jejuri. There, she felt in love with God Khandoba. Khandoba also felt in her love. Khandoba accepted a self-exile for twelve years by intentionally losing a game of chess to his wife Mhalsa. He took disguise of shepherd and started serving Banai’s father. One day, Khandoba killed all the sheep and goats of Banai’s father and promised to make them alive again if he was married to Banai. The reluctant Banai was married to Khandoba, the shepherd in disguise at Naldurg. Khandoba revealed his real form to Banai on
their way back to Jejuri. On reaching Jejuri, Khandoba was greeted by Mhalsa's fury and her strong protest of his second marriage. To avoid the quarrels of his wives, Khandoba gave the upper half of the hill to Mhalsa and the lower half to Banai. The idol of Mhalsa is placed with Khandoba in the main shrine at top of the hill at Jejuri. A separate shrine to Banai is situated halfway down the hill.

V) One of the true folk story told by social activist at Jejuri is that, Khandoba was a king. He used to collect revenues from all farmers. One year, draught happened. So farmers were unable to pay the revenue to the king. The king was so kind, he debt free to farmers along with offered help to needy farmers. All farmers got pleased, with the help of king. They started to treat that king as ‘God’. Later when king got dead, the farmers who got benefited thought that there should be memory for greatness of the King Khandoba. So they built small temple, and decided that to remember the greatness of king every year someone should visit the temple and devote Lord Khandoba. So till date, generations after generations, people come for the devotion of Lord Khandoba. ‘Khand’ means region and ‘ba’ means father. The meaning of Khandoba is ‘father of regions’

**Folk Story of birth of ‘Bhandara’: a form of turmeric**

The Yognidra, or deep sleep/ Devine sleep of God Vishnu left him because of fear of demon Mani and Malla and hide herself in a rock in Patala. To search her, gods namely Vishnu, Shankar and Bhramha took the disguise appearance as trees as follows like Pimple, Wad and Palas and began to meditate. They meditated the Tripur mantra for almost one thousand times, and an incident was happened. A big sound happened underneath the seat of Lord Vishnu and he ran because of fear. He told Bhramha that the sound was happened. God Bramha went to seat of God Vishnu and he saw a yellow germ. When god Bramha saw the germ, he told the story to god Shankar. When god Shankar saw the germ he told to worship it or make prayer with sixteen rituals along with Shrakesuktta mantra and when prayer, the goddess Tripuradevi will be pleased. After a long period of prayers, goddess Tripuradevi said from beneath the rock, “Break the rock and extract the knot from bottom. After that, wash the knot with pure water and worship it with goddess Tripuradevi’s mantra and one hundred and eight times in the name of Martandbhairava,
and make powder it and use to body. After then meditate my name for hundred and thousand times, so the enemies will destroy.” After then god Bhramha asked the goddess for her name, she answered “god Vishnu who destroyed the time I made him ran, so my name is Hridra.”

Photo: Bhandara or crushed turmeric, inside the ‘kotamba’ vessel, dated 11/07/2011.

Generally, it is called as ‘turmeric’ and especially at Jejuri like places it is identified as ‘Bhandara’.
CHAPTER 5

NARRATIVES FROM WITHIN: CASE STUDIES

This chapter contains case studies of performers, activists. Individual case studies give lot of insight about their lives, performance of the folk art and their perception about this culture. All the names of the respondents have been changed for their anonymity.

Case Study 1:

Mr. Vilas Jankar (Name changed), a 25 year old man from Jejuri, Tal. Purandar, belonging to Nomadic Tribe whose sub tribe is Dawari-Nagpanthi, is the first case of this research. Respondent is born and brought up at District Pune. When he was a child, he was left to god ‘Khandoba’ as Vaghya by his parents. Till date, he is working as Vaghya at Jejuri. He told that other old Vaghya and Murali take care of him in his childhood. He mentioned that, there is a system of Vaghya and Murali in the village who takes care of left out children in service of god. Every child gets training of performance of Jagaran and Gondhal. When the child becomes adult, he started to do programs within groups. Today, respondent has become a well known ‘Vaghya’ in the area. He can play ‘Sambal’, all the day and night. Respondent told about the process of ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’. In Maharashtra, Tulajapur and Jejuri are holy places where ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ are one of the rituals present in the hearts of people. People among parts of Maharashtra come for the devotions of Lord Khandoba. Respondent said that primarily ‘Gondhal’ is performed at both places, that is in Jejuri and Tulajapur; but in case of ‘Jagaran’, it only takes place at Jejuri. The devotees all around places come to Jejuri for ‘Jagaran’. He mentioned facts about his tribe as well. Like Jejuri where Lord Khandoba is getting worshipped same wise, in Kharsundi 28 where is traditional rituals done for lord Bhairoba. He mentioned that a lot of people visit place Jejuri during festivals and fairs. Before starting performance of ‘Jagaran’, Vaghya does ‘Kotam puja’ and ‘Paachpavali’. Respondent told about the facts of Kotam puja.
‘Kotam puja’:

‘Kotam puja’ is a prayer. It should be done before performing ‘Gondhal’, in which grains like rice, wheat and other pulses are used for the ritual. This ‘Kotamba’, a square shaped copper vessel has four sides. These four sides identified as ‘Uttar’, ‘Dakshin’, ‘Purva’, ‘Paschim’ (sequentially North, South, East, West) at bottom sides and ‘Agni’, ‘Vayu’, ‘Nairutya’, ‘Eshanya’ at upper side. Whole top and bottom consists of eight names given by ‘Vaghya’ and ‘Murali’.

Respondent gave information about other holy places of lord ‘Khandoba’, that is in ‘Pali’. Also one more is ‘Pali’s Khandoba’, in Tal. Navgad there is ‘Navgad’s Khandoba’ etc. During prayer, this ‘Kotamba’ should get filled five times with rice grains. Respondent said its importance, by saying ‘deva tuza kotamba kasa bharala tasa amcha ghardar bharu de’ means ‘dear God as like your ‘Kotamba’ is full, our family also get satisfied with joy and happiness’.

The phrase is repeated for almost five times, and after that some of grains would be given to those who have filled that ‘Kotamba’ and then those grains will get mixed to daily use grains.

Respondent has learnt school till 2nd standard; as his grandparents did not allow him for further education; but he said that he wanted to give education to his child for daily needs learning.

The whole life of ‘Vaghya’ spends like a migrant and with the service of god. He added that, when his own child will grow up he will send him for the service of god like by giving him ‘Zoli’ or bag on his shoulder and ‘Damaru’, an instrument in the hand. As he thinks that doing service for god is great deed. He also told that, if his generation will leave the worshipping then that will cause bad things to him and his family. So to avoid troubles, it has be continued one after other generations like ‘vansh’, otherwise, it will lead to problems or anything like problems.

Responded added that, people in current generation do not value culture. They do not believe the gods and benefits of prayers. Respondent said that, not believing god may cause something worse in life. He believes that people who does ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ after marriage, they would not be in trouble. Today, people spend 1-2 lac rupees in marriages, after this do ‘Satyanarayana Puja’ or holy prayer, then directly go to honeymoon. Some people do love marriages, and go for honeymoon, but they do not count happiness in family without organizing ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ at home. Respondent believes that, ‘Gondhal’ is ‘Kuldhrma kulachar’ or holy rituals for every family member. He believes that after performing ‘Jagaran/Gondhal’, whole family gets harmony and peace. Respondent looks ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ as an occupation for
livelihod. Also he explained it as an art, in the way of their performance. In old days, people were looking art in very important manner. If there is any program in the village, then all people residing in the village were used to participate in the program. They were fonder of music and respect to artist. Nowadays, due to DJ culture, and remix hindi songs, there is no any value has remained for this art. Long years before, if there is Gondhal in any house then 100-500 people were coming only to listen and see it. So that was unity and togetherness happened in the villages. But now, all picture has changed, people who does this performance get money but not respect. Sometimes during programs, people take alchohol and disturb others. He said that for every performance, everybody put their all efforts in the prayer. In this way, he sees it as this art and wanted it to be alive and it should not be discontinued. He also mentioned that today, if you want job, pay money for that then you will get job. Education is like ‘luck’ of child. He said that, he will introduce his son about ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’. If his son would take interest in art then he will help him to involve into this and continue the tradition. Respondent talked about current problems of this folk art. Sometimes, bad situations like in any program within cities like Mumbai, Pune or in any villeges, they get money for the program on the spot. But some people, give reasons like you do not come in time, we don't have money. The person or host who invite Vaghya and Murali, treat like god’s people. On the other hand, other people come for the program take drinks and disturb all perfomers during program. Also, they ask questions like why do you come late?, are you original?, like many. Sometimes there are fights happened. For this respondent demanded a legal registration. If all group will get registred then, they can get police protection. Registration by means of establishment, as in some organization. Generally, Jagaran has 4-5 people in it, and if both Jagaran and Gondhal is there, then there are 7-8 people in the group. Respondent said that these days, they don’t use traditional clothes during performance. Before years, people used to dress up in traditional clothes. But nowadays, people use shirts and ‘Payjama or Lehnaga’ pants for the performance. Women wear sari having six layers. If woman above 40-45 can wear Nauvari sari, having 9 layers. After ‘Jagaran’, ‘kotmaba’ should get filled with grains. And with that kotamb, all of them should given ‘Dan’/gifts and dinner. In Pune district, after performance all groups take dinner of meat at host’s house. The host brings animal, and it gets cut from Muslim person and then host cook it and give it to us as ‘Prasad’. When performers go to host house, they do a prayer. After that, there is
'Pachpawali', which literal means ‘five steps’, in this they take 100 metre distance and give 5 stones, turmeric to god. Then Kotamba get filled with rice grains and it gets prayed. After this there is 'Hukum', before showing naivaidya to god nobody can touch it/eat it.

Respondent is basically belonging to tribe ‘Dawari’, which is one of the nomadic tribe. Respondent believes that at ‘Jejuri’, Vaghya and Murali clan only survive and have honor. So he then turned himself as ‘Vaghya’ for getting livelihood. He has changed his identity, has changed his name and identified as either ‘Gondhali’ or ‘Vaghya’ in the society. He also said that, “if we called as 'vaghya', then only we can survive ,if we will get identified as Nagpanthi, then our livelihood will be stopped.”
Case Study 2:

Mr. Khandu Mahadev Mane (Name changed) aged 45 years from Jejuri; Dhangar (Shepards) from Nomadic Tribe of Maharashtra elaborates more about Gondhal. Respondent said that he is mainly from small village Tal. Paithan, Dis. Aurangabad. He is living at Jejuri since 15 years. In his family he has his wife, three girls and one boy. In which two are married, and one girl is learning 10th school and his son is also learning in 10th standard.

Respondent first talked about process of ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’. He said that, mainly Gondhal performed by community ‘Gondhal’, but nowadays other communities are included in Gondhal and Jagaran. He said that, Gondhal is performed for Goddess like Tulajabhavani, Ambabai, Runukadevi. It is mainly performed after marriage, or any special purpose in family like thread ceremony. For performing Gondhal there are 4-5 people, this group is called as ‘Tafa’ or group. Everybody in ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’, performs their allocated tasks. The group depends on the type of performance and sometimes its on host’s demand. He mentioned that, they use simple clothes, for the performing ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ like shirt and pant for men and six round sari for women. He also said that for any big occasion in village or outside function then they use their traditional clothes like long skirt for men and nine round sari for women. For the performance they use ‘Sambal’, ‘Tuntune’, ‘Tal’ only 3 musical instruments. ‘Sambal’ is used for playing the goddess prayer. ‘Sambal’ played by men. The another instruments like ‘Dimadi’, made up of leather. On the Dimadi’s playing, ‘Murali’ starts dancing. Many years ago, ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ were continued till whole nights; But nowadays, both performance last till half an hour. Murali doesn’t dance in gondhal, she only dances while ‘Jagaran’.

Process of Gondhal: Before starting ‘Gondhal’, there is first Goddess prayer and after that other people join for in prayer. All the names of gods and goddesses to be taken in the prayer. Generally, after goddess prayer, lord Khandoba gets devoted. The type of ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’, depends on family deity for example if a family has deity Lord Khandoba then they have to come to Jejuri for devotion and blessings. Before years people used to do Gondhal at Tulajapur and then they were coming here at Jejuri to devote lord Khandoba by doing Jagaran.
Now people go to Tulajapur for blessings of goddess Tulajabhavani and then come here for ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ together here, respondent said. While telling importance of ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’, respondent told that, everybody should do Gondhal because Goddess has created the world, so for her sake we have to perform Gondhal like rituals for continuous blessings, peace and harmony. Respondent’s family is not in this occupation; rather they do agriculture for livelihood.

Marriage: Respondent was left to god in his childhood, as his mother did ‘Navas’ to Khandoba, for having a child. Since now, he is known as ‘Vaghya’; in society. When he got adult he got married. Now he has three girls and one boy.

Social status: Respondent said that, when he grew up he tried to do agricultural work; but he got failed. So as there was no option to live, he came back to his original work that is performing ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ for god. He said that he is now happy as he is doing this profession and feeding/fulfilling all needs of his family by it. In social aspect he told that people treat him like god during performance. Also, after performance people treat them like god’s people. In his family he is the alone person, who does this art. He has ration card and voting card. He doesn’t have any government facility.


Economic information: Respondent told that for the program, there is no fixed amount. Sometimes they get Rs.300/- per group. For outdoor there are 7-8 people go for the performance. The amount for the performance is also reducing day by day. After performance, people are also give reasons and refuse to give money. So it is difficult to sustain family. Respondent looks at gondhal as occupation or business.

Costume expenditure: Respondent said that costumes will be used only in some big occasions. Nowadays they don’t use traditional dresses, for the performance. The gesture that is used for
performance is ironed shirt, pant for men and six round sari for women. If there is big event then they take clothes on rent. The cost of clothes depends with owner.

Instruments cost: For every performance, there is a need of instruments like Sambal, Tuntune, Tal and Khanjiri. For every instrument there is different cost. For example, respondent said that, Sambal costs around three thousand rupees, Tuntune around five hundred rupees, Tal is costs around two hundred and Khanjiri again costs around five hundred rupees only. If you will see the investment and maintenance of instruments is quite big. Respondent said that he goes to other relatives during festivals; there is no any prejudices in other's views. For marriage in the his family, he doesn't perform 'Jagaran' and 'Gondhal' himself. He called for other people performing 'Jagaran' and 'Gondhal'.

Other Information: Respondent revealed some of the facts about performance during festivals. He told that, for every season they don’t contact directly to hosts or people wanted to do Gondhal for their family. There is middle linkage in between them namely ‘Gurav’, people who are actually worship lord Khandoba and treated as priest at Jejuri. For performing ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’, there is middle link. Respondent said that they do not directly contact with other party, Gurav, make contact with other people. If anyone wanted to perform Gondhal, then he contacted us. There is highly economical crisis in this chain. Respondent told that ‘Gurav’ takes high payment from host and give fewer amounts to whole group. Sometimes Gurav takes commission too. There are also Gondhali tribe in this business, but in some extent.
Case Study 3:

Mr. Uday Rajabhau Mogare (Name changed) a 22 year old young blood from Jejuri, natively from Tal.Kej, district Beed who is also a Nomad and especially a sub tribe Gondhali illustrates about his life. Respondent is unmarried and originally belong to Gondhali community. In his family he has his father, mother and two brothers. His brothers are not in this profession. It is tradition that ‘Gondhal’ should be performed by this ‘Gondhali’ community. Respondent’s father was in this tradition, but he turned to gents tailoring occupation. After father’s drug addiction of alcohol, respondent had to come into his original occupation that is performing ‘Jagaran/Gondhal’. Respondent belong to ‘Renurai’ community, which is subgroup of Gondhali tribe. As respondent’s economical condition was down and his father’s inability of work, respondent came into this tradition for income. He had done education till 10th standard. He also said that other of his family members are now in good condition and in good positions in government sectors; But some of them are still struggling for sustain. Respondent said that, there is wide range of Gondhali community in this business; but many of them have now educated. Respondent earns Rs.75,000 - 1 lac in an year; also he said that this income is not guaranteed. When the program is outside they included travelling expenses in total program income. Respondent’s elder brother has married recently. Since 2-3 months he has started to do programs. As he is novice in the group, he is learning to play instruments like sambal, sings songs and few steps of dance. He is taking all these lessons from one of member or main performer ‘murali’.

Gesture: For the performance respondent said that he doesn't use traditional clothes while performance. He uses shirt and pant as gesture. Also he said that he is only one within his family who is performing ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’. In his perspective, he said that ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ are both art and business too. Respondent said that for every performance of ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’, at least one Gondhali community member should be part of it. His statement was agreed by senior Murali in his group.

Other information: Respondent doesn’t have voting card and ration card yet. He had given his name, but still he hasn’t get it. He doesn’t have caste certificate too. As other secondary business, respondent don’t have anything like not agriculture or subsidiary occupation.
Case Study 4:

Ms. Parvati Sahebrao Gilbile (name changed), a 50 years old woman haild from Karjat to Jejuri, established as ‘Murali’. She belongs to Maratha caste. Since 40 years respondent is doing this program. Her grandma was in this business. She was only child who got born after 40 years to her parents, so her parents left her as ‘Murali’ to lord ‘Khandoba’. She performs both ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ during festivals at Jejuri and outside Jejuri.

Process of Jagaran: Respondent told that whole process of worshipping lord Khandoba is done during festivals. Mostly ‘Gondhal’ is performed for goddess and then prayer of Jyotiba has been taken place. In the arrangements during performance, goddess is identified by green cloth, that is spread on wooden thick plate. While god ‘Khandoba’ is identified by red cloth. Respondent says that generally, Gondhal is performed by ‘Gondhali’ and Vaghya-Murali performs Jagaran. She does not have subsidiary occupation than performing ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’. Respondent said that nowadays, anybody can perform ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’.

Other information: She doesn’t have voter card and she gets daily wage upto Rs. 50-100 per program, but its also not fixed. Gondhal is traditional ritual before marriage. Respondent said that during performance behavior other people is good, but still women have to take precautions during performance of program.
Case Study 5:

Ms. Laxmi Appasaheb Mhorkar (Name changed) a 55 year old Female from Jejuri is from Kolhati community of Nomadic Tribes. Respondant is born and brought up at Jejuri. Before respondent’s birth, her parents got migrated from Dist. Satara to Jejuri. Respondent have family but she doesn’t live with them. In her family she has two children, including one son and one daughter and her husband, all her family members stay in her original place namely Tal.‘Umbraj’. Her daughter got married last year. All in her family members do this ‘Jagaran/Gondhal’ art, except her daughter; she got married an year ago.

Marriage: At the very young age respondent, got married to Lord Khandoba. Since then, she is called as ‘Murali’38. Also she is doing Jagaran/Gondhal for livelihood. Other than Gondhal/Jagaran, respondent doesn’t have another way of income source. She has caste certificate, but it is available in her maternal side. Lord Khandoba is the deity of her family. The festivals are celebrated are in month of January to March.

During dance performance, she dances with her another fellow woman. She said that, while performing ‘Jagaran’, ‘Murali’ has to follow certain norms, like wearing six layered sari, covering head with ‘Pallu’, dancing steps like hand movements and few leg movements only. Also she stated that ‘Gondhal and Jagaran’ is done at a time, but sometimes its decided by owner of house or host. During Jagran/Gondhal, respondent said that they sing old intergeneration songs. Sometimes spiritual or religious songs.

Instruments Used: Respondent said that, for the performance ‘Jagran’, a ‘Murali’ has to use ‘Ghati’ in her hand. ‘Ghati’ is actually a small instrument, which is played by only one hand specially right hand. She uses ‘Ghati’, an instrument playing during ritual art. Respondent also said that Ghati, should be played by only Murali, no other women must not play it.

Other information: Respondent have Aadhar card; but she hasn’t enrolled to ration card.

She mentioned that, performing Jagaran and Gondhal is her occupation. She does this occupation for livelihood. If any other option will available to us then we will not do this business’. Respondent said that, she doesn’t do this business by her choice but for her livelihood.
Case Study 6:

Ms. Baydabai Baburao Sartape (Name changed) a approximately 55-58 years old woman from Laxminagar, Jejuri is the only family of hers. She belong to a Dhangar community among Nomadic Tribes. Respondent is doing program since she was seven years old. Her grandmother did ‘Navas’, a special prayer for getting a child. So, after fulfillment of navas, respondent was left to lord Khandoba’s service and started working as a ‘Murali’.

Income: Respondent said that her working days are very irregular. Whenever, her party gets ‘Supari’, her party goes for it. Here ‘Supari’ means program arranged by host. Generally they work for eight months, especially during festive 8 months at Jejuri. They do not work mostly in rainy season. Other than performing ‘Gondhal’, respondent told that she has no other means of earning. Even doesn’t have agriculture.

Process of Jagaran: Respondent said that before starting ‘Gondhal and Jagaran’, there is ‘Paachnaam’ prayer. It which continues whole day. For this prayer devotees gave money starting from like Rs.100-200 by convenience. The main program ‘Jagaran’ generally starts from 11pm and continues till 4am in the morning. Respondent said that in that ‘Jagaran’, variety of worshipping gods and goddesses taken place. There is no any specific costume nowadays they wear. Only if there is any big event, then they wear their traditional costumes. There is no any specific costume for performance, women has to wear six round sari and gents wear shirt and pant. Instruments like Sambal, Tutune, Khanjiri, Ghati used while performing, respondent added.

Respondant said that like school system they also follow system of learning. After declaring as ‘Murali’, all Muralis have to learn basics of Jagaran and Gondhal from allocated ‘Guruji’ (teacher). Then that teacher becomes their parent and all livelihoods of Vaghya and Murali taken cared by group. Respondent’s both parents are no more. She stays alone. She has one nephew, who is currently working as fruit vendor near railway station.

Her nephew is married. During his marriage respondent said that they had performed ‘Gondhal’. For this performance they called to other people for performance.
Other Information: Respondent said that before years people were looking at us, like god. They were treated us good. Today era has changed. Old people gave them respect but today’s younger generation do not give any kind of respect to this art and them. They do not even consider them. Respondent said that she did lot of programs, she doesn't get any kind of concessions for travelling or food. Respondent doesn’t have house. She stays with her ‘Tafa’. This ‘Tafa’ doesn’t have fix place for residence; they migrate from one place to another.

Generally, each tafa has 10-12 people. In which respondent’s ‘Tafa’ contains 4-5 women in it and remaining are men. For night performance of ‘Gondhal and Jagaran’, there are 2 ladies and 5 gents are there. In village for program, 2-3 gents go for performance. Travelling expenditure depends upon 'Supari' or a program.

Respondent possesses ration card, which is of yellow color. She doesn’t get any government scheme. She is currently has her own house at Jejuri.
Case Study 7:

Ms. Janaki Vinayak Shinde (Name changed) a Vanjari, Nomadic Tribe is 23 years old from Jejuri Originally from Beed district, Tal. Patuda.

Respondent has been married to Mr. Mahesh Shinde, who is working as ‘Vaghya’ since 5 years, the important note here is their marriage is inter-caste and love marriage. There marriage is first inter-caste marriage at Jejuri. Repondent has done her education till seventh standard. From the age of 7 years; she is performing ‘Gondhal and Jagaran’. In childhood, parents left her for lord Khandoba’s service. She says that her mother's children got dead one after another. Her parents did ‘Navas’ to lord Khandoba. So, after birth of respondent, her parents left her to god Khandoba. Her first marriage was with god Khandoba. She is treated as a Murali by Hindu customs. She was born and brought up at Jejuri. Her parents live in Jejuri and they were also performing ‘Gondhal and Jagaran’. The peek time for ‘Gondhal and Jagaran’ is ‘Chaitra, Vaishakh, Ashadh’ in Marathi calendar that is April, May June by English calendar.

One of the more important point about her is that she is active member of ‘Devdasi-Murali Swayam Sahayata Mahila Bachat Gat’ 40. This SHG was formed in year 2011. As respondent has newly formed a Self Help Group, they are getting some of financial help from government. There are 17 women in enrolled in her SHG. For a month they collect Rs.100 from all together. Those women who are old now, nobody care about them, even don't have house, those who are helpless for them this Self Help Group is useful. This SHG give help of hand to those Muralis who are going through financial crisis or any other type of help given to other Murali. Now, there groups at there are 40-45 groups available at Jejuri.

She is first woman who can play Sambal, which is considered as male instrument. She has won many prizes and awards for her talent of playing Sambal and Khanjiri. She demonstrated her condition as living ‘Murali’ is very difficult. Before years, people were treated Murali as sisters or respected person. But nowadays, nobody cares about them, society treated them as prostitute. There is no social security for women who are Muralis.

In her family, nobody allows them to marry in regular way like Hindu traditions. Also for marriage only within caste boy can be accepted for marriage. Respondent believes that marriage is like 'adhaar' or support for her, like in old ages man can look at them or her children can look.
at Muralis. Other than that, she said that Murali doesn’t have right of marriage. She did marriage for social security.

She was alone child of her parents. So she also went along with her parents to temple of ‘Khandoba’ for Jagaran and performing prayers. After giving education to seventh standard her parents were unable to continue it because of poor financial status. She has done her marriage, constructed small house in Jejuri itself. She also does program for free especially for poor people. She said that ‘Gondhal’ can only performed by ‘Gondhali’ community people and Vaghy, Murali performs Jagaran.

She said that for livelihood purpose, she has to perform both Gondhal and Jagaran. Nobody can give them money without any art. She is the only one in her family who does Jagaran and Gondhal. Those people who have daitety as Khandoba has to perform gondhal and Jagaran in Jejuri.

She believes that, ‘When anyone performs Gondhal then unhappiness or troubles inside the home get stopped and after doing Jagaran, all gods stay awake!”. Nowadays, people plays casette and does Gondhal, which is not useful for preserving this art.

Even if any other livelihood option will give it to her, she refused to do it. She believes that Khandoba is her god. If she refuses to do God’s service then she believes that she might have face trouble in future. She has not get any scheme from government.
Case Study 8:

Ms. Usha Prakash Shinde (Name changed) age 49 years is residing in Jejuri since last 11 years. Usha belongs to ‘Dhangar’ community also does this program. They are the major population in it. As the wife of Khandoba was ‘BANUBAI’, who was from Dhangar tribe. So majority of Vaghya and Muralis belong to ‘Dhanagar’ tribe.

After donating to god Khandoba in childhood, she was staying with her ‘Guru’ or teacher. Her guru name is V.K. Kamble guruji. Her guru belongs to Buddhist community. Though her community was different and her Guru’s community was different, there were no any conflicts for caste or untouchability in Gondhal /Jagaran performing group. Respondent was born and brought by her Guruji. Though her father exists, she kept distance from him, she goes very little to him. She supposed her father is her guru, as he taught her basics of Jagran/gondhal.

When respondent grew up she got married to her Aunt’s brother. Now, her children stay in Solapur. She doesn’t want to bring her children into her profession.

Her elder son has now 3 children, and younger has one child now.

She doesn't have any options other than performing Jagaran /Gondhal.
Case Study :9

Mr. Vinayak Barbhai (Name changed) is a 28 years old young priest from nearby temple in Jejuri. They (Barbhai) are one of the major and dominant people in Jejuri. They are major priest in Lord Khandoba’s temple. Their profession of working as priest is intergeneration. He is doing priest as profession from his forefathers. Respondent said that like Gondhal/Jagaran folk artist, they also work for 6 months of earning and six months of waiting. Like other Vaghya-Muralis condition, we also have same condition. Respondent said that, usually all priests treated vaghya/Murali as 'Father and Mother' or like god's people.

There are lot of Yatras organized at Jejuri. Main ‘Jatra’(fair) in Jejuri like 'Somvari Amavasya’(which comes on after 3-4 months Monday), 'Champashashti’ happens in December, 'Chaitra' in April month, Pushipournima, Mahi pournima (in 'Magh' marathi month and according to English month it comes in January). Around the year there are total 8-9 fairs generally happens at Jejuri.
Case Study 10:

Mr. Suresh Dhondiba Barmukh (Name changed), a 66 years old from Khed block is a Teli. Respondent resides at Jejuri since 40 years. He has four children that is two sons and two daughters. He has done his education till eighth standard. He goes to his original place village ‘Khed’ for only important work, otherwise he stays at Jejuri.

He said that, when he was at school, his father cursed at him, from that time he is living like ‘Waghoba’/Vaghya. As he was from ‘Teli’ community, the initial period he was doing the oil profession at temple of Lord Shankar. ‘Ghaana’ means to get oil. He mentioned that before he was taking out oil, but now he is taking out ‘Bhandara’ 43 at lord Khandoba’s temple. Upto 8th std, he was staying at ‘Alandi’ village. His all children are married. He doesn't know about his children, like how much they got studied, because he was all the time outside from home. In this ‘Vaghya-Murali’ occupation, when someone got connected then his/her family life doesn't matter or taken care about, said by Mr. Jadhav, an activist in village.

As they are doing service of god they don't contact to their children and don't wanted to involve into this tradition. Respondent doesn't feed his children and children don't feed him. His children got married in his caste only that is Teli. He doesn't go to meet with them. He said that his children called them for their marriage. They also do Jagaran/Gondhal after marriage. Whatever he earns from this occupation, spend all money to god's service like giving food to others in festive occasions like ‘Dattajayati’ etc.

He doesn't eat non-vegetarian food or meat. He has built a small shop of daily usage domestic things 2 years ago, as he has become old and unable to do programs at old age.

Since few years he is doing Puja and other rituals near places like near ‘Kara’ river, where actual god get worshiped and other rituals done.

Suresh said that he had performed Jagaran for Muslims, because most of them believes in lord Khandoba. Gondhal is ‘Sravasamaveshak’ means all types of people are including in it. Suresh admits that this is an art through business.
Case Study 11:

Ms. Sushila Mahesh Barmukh (Name changed), from Jejuri is a 64 years old performer. Respondent said that, every Murali doesn't have authority to work as Murali before making 'Guru'. Without authorization they are not allowed for begging to god. Authority means the ritual process like filling ‘Kotamba’44 etc. As like we don't know who will be our teacher, where he will be from likewise while taking 'Guru' rituals, they also don't know details about rituals and person 'Guru'.

They have done many programs till Surat, Ratnagiri, Kalyan, Mandhardevi etc. both of them said that there is drastic change happened while performing Jagaran/Gondhal. Change in terms of new language, changed way of talking, the performance to be perform is also different. They said that, they can't perform like todays programs, but assures that no one can perform like old style of them. Nowadays, new songs are there, new youth population is there. They felt there is generation gap. They were performing Jagaran from night 10 to 4 am. The strength of people in the program was of 6-7 people. They were not using traditional costumes for performance.

Sushila proclaims that, their god only needs Ghati, Khanjiri, Tuntune, only 3 intruments. 'Sambal' suits to Ambabai. 'Dawar', an instrument is for god Bhairoba. Nowadays, anybody can perform anything. Jagaran performs for Khandoba. She also said that the process of Jagaran as on First standing, then you have to obey your god. After 'Naman' or prayer, there is 'Gan' or prayer for god Ganapati. After that there is 'Gavalan'. After that follows songs for god. After that there is 'Ringan' or circle.

Jagaran could be performed in any occasion. Jagaran mostly done, when gods are taking to home. In the evening, lamps got ignited. After dinner, Jagaran is performed whole night. ‘Khandoba’ is for all of us and Jagaran is done in variety of communities.

Further that Sushila told some interesting facts. She said that, Muslims also have Muralis. Even Brahmin (upper caste) also has Murali. It depends on 'Navas', done by any family. She mentioned that till date, they never did performance for Brahmin community.
She also doesn't know about 'Satyanarayan Puja', a prayer for lord Vishnu. Sushila said that, if they do not perform then there what they will eat for livelihood is great question. If she will not go to 'Kara' river then what will she eat is question. They were having self respect and honesty in their work.

They believe that if they are honestly doing their work, then they should get ‘something’ in terms of their devotion and that ‘something’ is their livelihood.
Case Study 12:

Mr. Karbhari Sudhakar Navale (Name changed) from Tal. Chandwad, District. Nashik, village Urdul is a 65 years old from Maratha community from Maharashtra.

He came into this tradition from his forefather. His father was also in this tradition. He works as a 'Rahadi', which is one of tradition during Jagaran. Process of Rahad is included, first to make a big space by digging soil. Inside that space, fire get ignited. And on that fire the particular person or Rahad specialist walks on that fire. This happens after 12.00 am. Anybody can walk on that fire. Karbhari said that, nothing happens with person, even he/she walks on the fire. If anything bad happens then it will get treated by him. The space/dig contains either coal or wooden pieces. There is no from his family, who work as a 'Vaghya-Murali'.

His forefathers were also doing this 'Langar', 'Khadava', 'Golmachi Kaathi' etc. and other fifty traditions. Karbhari's community works to supply all ingredients for performing Jagaran. His children are not into this occupation. One of his son is doing agriculture and another is in service. He rarely goes to his village. Since 2 years he is staying at Jejuri.

Recently, he has got three square yards land as a gift for his work. So he is building a temple on that place for other people's service/devotion. Nowadays there is no any enough space to do Rahad openly, Karbhari said. So after building whole temple, he will do Rahad in some space of Temple.
Case study 13:

Mr. Gunjal from Lasngaon, Tal. Niphad, is a devotee who was at the place for the purpose of conducting a ceremony just before his daughter’s marriage.

He has been interviewed during ‘puja’. Before marriage, one of the person came to Jejuri at river 'Kara ', for his daughter’s marriage. Here mention, the distance of 'Kara' river from Lord Khandoba's temple is 5km. There are rituals to be done before marriage at river ‘Kara’. The first prayer was called as ‘Tali’. One of old 'Vaghya', was doing whole puja for that couple. The family bring gods from their house. Then all gods got worshipped and bathed in Kara river, by Vaghya. After prayer, all gods will be taken to Khandoba temple. The prayer was like giving turmeric, pieces of coconut to all gods as 'Naivedya', a special food made for god. The names of gods said by Vaghya were 'Khandoba', 'Bhairoba', 'Ambabai' and few others as per family brings.

One interesting thing said by devotee 'Mr. Gunjal' is that if someone got expired within family like in his case his father and brother were expired, so he had made alternate statues of them in puja. The 70 years old Vaghya, who was doing puja was very much in hurry during puja as he wanted to go few more families!
Case Study 14:

Mr. Prakash Nilu Lakhe (name changed), a more than 70 years old enthusiastic activist from Kolhati tribe. He is a very active member of 'Superstition prevention board', a group that brings social awareness through scientific experiments direct to community to the community, who are majorly the victims of malpractices or superstition at Jejuri. He told the history of Gondhal.

History of Gondhal: Respondent told local folk story about ‘Jagaran and Gondhal’. Khandoba is basically belongs to 'Krutayug'. There are 4 kinds of 'Yug' (eras) that are Kritayug', 'tretadyug', 'Dweparyug' and 'Kaliyug'. At that time there was a monster named ‘Mani malla’, he used to trouble poor people and saints. So people and saints together did prayer to save from trouble to god Shankar/Shiva. Lord Khandoba is one of the ‘Avataar’ (appearance of Lord Shiva). So Lord Shiva take appearance of Lord Khandoba and killed that monster ‘Mani’, but they have some blessings like they were killed by any means. So Lord Khandoba remove their negatives and then those monsters became very helpful. Also lord ‘Khandoba’ told them that people will visit me, do service for them. So both of them start working for people. Lord ‘Khandoba’ got established here at Jejuri. During the fight Lord Khandoba got injured. So to remove his injuries, he used turmeric and oil. From that time devotees use ‘Bhandara’ (pure turmeric). From that day, people believed that god is fulfilling all needs, so they started to do ‘Navas’ for lord Khandoba. If their navas got fulfilled then they were leaving their child for god’s service. If child is boy then he was named as ‘Vaghya’, and he has not permission to get marry. Also, if there is girl child then she will devoted as ‘Murali’ for God’s service.

Respondent said that saint Eknath, a prominent Marathi saint from (1533-1599) has written an article that,

“Som vagha, Prem nagara vari, Savadh houni bhajani laga, dev kara kaivari, mazi malharichi vaari”. means, do devotion to god by heart. Like this every devotee should pray to god especially vaghya-Murali should pray to lord khandoba. Today also people worship vaghya and Murali because they are very closer to Lord Khandoba. Like a court, same at jejuri, thorough Jagaran/ gondhal Vaghya and Murali convey demands of people to God. Khandoba is one of the major deity of Maharashtra. Ahilybai Holkar, princess of madhya Pradesh renewed the construction of temple of Lord Khandoba.
All over from India, people come to this place. After Champashashthi, prayers done for Lord Khandoba.

He told the folk story of Jagaran. People who does Gondhal are Gondhali. Children of Vaghya – Murali become like family. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Kr. Bhaorao Patil gave education to children of Vaghya-Murali. They are in police department, those who doesn’t get job, they get involved in Jagaran. This tradition will continue, as it’s a ritual custom. After marriage both bride and groom have to visit Jejuri and take blessings of Lord Khandoba and after that should organize Jagaran/Gondhal in their family for happiness. After taking blessings from lord Khandoba then only they should start their life. For the prayer animal sacrifices are also there. Some of Vaghya-Murali have good condition, but many of them are in worst condition.

He doesn’t allow animal sacrifices nowadays. His team goes there and change the mindset of people. Daily, they give food to 10 people daily or needy people free of cost. Respondent said that he had tried efforts to prohibit do animal sacrifices during Jagaran/Gondhal. He also arranges awareness programs during yatras. His team also prohibits girl’s exploitation. Respondent told that during his entire life; he has organized 250 marriages of Vaghya-murali, Tamasha women. Even he has also married to one of artist of Tamasha. According to him, to avoid exploitation of Murali, they have to get married. Respondent and his social activist group are trying their best to support Murali marriages and help them in need.

Respondent’s daughter is the only one educated girl in his family. He believes that, art is useful to aware people. He tries to aware people through entertainment. Respondent is 2nd std pass, after having children he started to learn English.

Respondent believes that Jagaran/gondhal is an art. Through this art people get money. They can feed to their families through performances. So many people think it as an livelihood option. Like Mhetar community, who cleans toilets, bathrooms and send their children to get educate, same applies to Vaghya-Murali too. They should educate their children, but there is no awareness among them. Respondent told that his team and some activist told to all Vaghya – Muralis to save money for educating children not to spend on alcohol or on any type of addiction.

Respondent told that since long period of time, these folk artists have no place to reside, now because of some awareness programs, few of them have taken lands for house and they are giving education to their children. Some of their children has taken higher education.
Respondent also said that children born with illegal sexual partnership of between Vaghya and Murali’s, should also get all kinds of freedom to live good life. They need good quality of education. Gondhal/Jagaran is an art. But like Lavani, which is folk dance but it has made commercialization. Respondent said that if family is depending on the performance, so they will not interfere with them. They tried to aware whole family to take education and not to follow other irrelevant customs continuing for the sake of god.
Case Study 15:

Mr. Mahesh Baburao Mane (name changed) is a Buddhist from Anandnagar, Jejuri, is almost 65 years old activist from Jejuri.

He had migrated to Jejuri from Tal. Faltan. He entered Jejuri in 1991. He is activist of Dr. Ambedkar movement. According to him, when he was doing activism in the field, he went through lot of struggle and casteism in the society. Upper caste people were treated lower caste inhumanly. There was no democracy at Jejuri, few years ago. Some people were dominating all and exploitation of marginalized community was more. So, He wanted to change the mentality and 'culture', of people around him in the society.

Though Jejuri was a religious/holy place, it was badly captured by Hindu customs, traditions. Gurav was included in Other Backward class, but it still suppose itself as an upper caste Brahmin community. Brahmins gave support to Gurav and caste factor became more critical. Through all barriers, he kept starting to build the statue of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

On 1997, government launched one scheme that 'Suvarnjayanti Shahar Yogana'. So rather than in politics or any media, he decided to work as a social worker. During Govt's BPL survey, he put his all effort into it. In that project he looked into involvement of other communities into it like including names of people, including every caste, members into it etc. With the help of govt officers, he tried to reach every village person at the Jejuri, without any single penny or without any expectation he did his work for social welfare. For the change among people, first he started to unite women, then he tried to make SHG's for that women. He gave training to 184 people at one time during the survey of 'Suvarna Gram Yogana'. Computer training like software and hardware course he gave through training. During this period he came across issues on 'Vaghya-Murali'.

He started a different work for them. He started to take competitions of 'Vaghya-Murali' at Jejuri, where all groups of 'Vaghya-Murali' in Maharashtra, can come, participate and perform their skill
art. He faced lot of obligations from other people. But the main purpose of taking competitions of 'Vaghya-Murali' was to give them certificate of participation as 'vaghya-murali', which is very important part to identify them for giving govt schemes to them and involving them in social strata. Through work he wanted to seed 'Ambedkar' philosophy. On 2005 he took first competition of 'Vaghya-Murali' at Jejuri. That competitions were held under 'Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar Vichar manch' organization and all people in village signed as an audience for the program.

'Samaj Vikas Sanstha', a government organization, also took initiative and made it possible. He does not believe on god. People around him, are blindly following god, having superstitions, wasting their lives in name of 'culture'. He himself and his family is away from such customs. But, he knows that other people will not get escaped from this tradition yet. Though other ppl will nt escape from such traditions but how their next generation will be out from it. Their next generation will be free from such inhuman customs/traditions. He said that he had saw many Vaghya's and Muralis got dead badly. Their bodies also caught by insects and nobody did their death funerals. As a social activist he made a group and did funerals.

Mr. Mane and his other activist colleague found a girl child at the temple; one year ago. That child was a one and half year old girl. They took that child before other Vaghya-Murali consideration. They searched for her parents. Police station also started looking for her parents. After long efforts they hadn't find that girl's parents. So they stopped their efforts Mr. Shevale, deputy police commissioner, filed police complaint, and documents, took photographs of that girl, gave a nice name 'Anjali'. After that they sent that girl to Government's child welfare department. Respondent is trying to stop Devdasi and Murali tradition totally. But shocking fact that at present condition, there are people who are leaving their child in the name of god.

Respondent also shared one of the real history of Vaghya and Murali tradition. Vaghya-Murali were basically brothers and sisters of specific community. They were brought to king for entertaining him like for singing or dramas. In that period other community women or men are not allowed to come out from house and entertain the king and his fellows. Only one community had allowance to come out for performance. So the family of that community was brought to one
place, and giving them opportunity for the performance. During that period there were no any specific instruments so they prepared instruments from trunk of tree, that called as 'Dimadi'. It is well structured and covered with leather.

As we can see these are brothers and sisters; but afterwards they looked in different manner. This method was quite disappointing and vulgar. Like wise, here certain community then treated only for entertainment without any social or economic status. Recently, Murali’s got forcefully drunk and kept them to dance front of audience. Respondent’s team started work on it, then forcefully alcholol consumption, beating like incidences got stopped.

Currently there is no any government scheme available for Vaghya-Murali. Bahujan samaj (or backward castes) is the major section involved or performed this art. They don't have house, money. Some have taken rents houses for the performance but some of them have worst condition. Mostly society treat them 'Characterless’ and they couldn't came out through conditions. This community is till waiting for justice and financial support from govt. At present 150-200 people are working and doing programs at Jejuri, but if you can see in Maharashtra there are lacs of people who are doing this in low wages. The Vaghya-Murali competition is held for below questions:-

- Are you really 'Vaghya-Murali'?
- What is main value of 'Vaghya-Murali'?
- What is importance of Jagaran?
- How do you pray god?

Since 2006, respondent have arranged the competitions. Sometimes during Yatras 5-6 lac of people come for the performance. If you can see the picture over here, some women asked you for money for the sake of god, some catch your shirt and ask you for money, they are nothing but these Muralis. After begging, you can find them in wine-shop. The competitions organized during month of January.
The participants for the focused group discussion were actual Vaghya and Murali, priest at Khandoba temple, social activists. Bayadabai, one of the respondent, said that dinner from the host normally taken after 8.30pm. The menu of dinner depends on host.

Popat works as 'Vaghya' since childhood. He has 'Vanshavali', means his forefather were also doing this Gondhal/jagaran. He said that, dinner type depends upon host. If host is giving non-vegetarian like meat of goat since long period then he will serve us nonveg, on the other hand if another person can give vegetarian food too. So type of dinner depends only on host. Jagaran can be performed after 3-4 years. Also economic condition is very important for this. The cost of Jagaran depends on the type of people according to their budget. Jagaran is performed when person did 'Navas' and that ‘Navas’ got fulfilled. ‘Navas’ can be anything like getting child mostly male child, cattle, to get a job, or anything etc. After fulfillment of 'navas' person decide to do Jagaran for god’s trust.

Sometimes people did ‘Navas’ of for getting child and when they have a child then they leave it that child for God’s service, sometimes after fulfilling ‘Navas’, they sacrifice an animal like sheep or goat to God.

Many of respondents said that they will not bring their children into this occupation. As they think that this program is now vanishing and will not exist after few years. People's perspective towards this profession is now not remaining as religious. One of respondent said that, there is no valuation for this.

History: Ambabai's gondhal and Khandoba's Jagaran is continuing since long period of time. During ancient times, people looked at Jagaran and Gondhal as 'Kuldharna Kulachar' (Intergeneration custom), The method of performing was also different. During Jagaran, there were god's songs, God's information, even its said that it should be performed with old tradition/method. It was including comedy, story telling etc. and people were looking to that art with different perspective. Like old, today also it contains stories, 'Kirtan' (another folk art of Maharashtra), 'Pravachan'; What Jagaran means? it is a religious rite performing art of
Maharashtra, dramatic narration of mythical stories. Folk legends forming a part of a ritual dedicated to god Khandoba. It is 'social awareness’, but with gods remembrance.

Day by day, period has changed and society has also changed. People get money. Media also start existing, media in the sense people get other entertainment mediums. So demands also got changed. Demands in the sense, god's songs should not be there. Nowadays public demands, to involve movie songs or 'Tamasha' songs during performance. Respondent said that it’s a surprising fact, but still it’s a current fact. Gondhal has not changed much but ‘Jagaran’ has changed much in terms of performance and people coming into it. In Jejuri, there is no scope for Gondhal because most of people have deity lord Khandoba, so Jagaran has to be performed for lord Khandoba. If you will go to Tulajapur, Marathwada, Vidarbha region in Maharashtra then there is more scope for Gondhal. Here, Pune side there is lot more scope for Jagaran. Respondent said that when you will go to 'Neera' village side, few kilometres distance from Pune, where Jagran is performed with 'Tamasha' style.’Lavani’, 'Nachkam' is different. Today Jagaran is performed with modern style.

Lata, one of the respondent in focus group discussion said that, nowadays nobody give value to old 'Murali's. Old ladies liked to do this profession, earn little money to Jejuri and go back to their home. Many young Muralis are now got settled at the Jejuri. Lata said that, 'If you can see it as art, some people has inborn skills. So respective god decided to work that art only.’

Khandu said that, 'Jagaran Gondhal is Kuldharma , Kulachar(ritual customs). It has to be done. He stated that, “In Maharashtra, Marathi people resides. In Hindu tradition there are 18 'pagad' castes and 12 'Balutegiri' exists. So everyone has his own daiety like goddess Tuljabhavani, Mandhardevi etc. Goddess is same, but she has different 'Rup' identities. So for goddess we have Gondhal and for god Khandoba we have ‘Jagaran’. When we do Satyanarayan puja then we perform Jagaran, Gondhal. When we build new house, we perform Jagaran. One more important after marriage, new pair of bride and groom have to take blessings of their Kuldaivat.” Like It depends on deity, if people have Kuldaivat 'Tuljabhavani', then they do Gondhal and Jagaran at the place Tuljapur. If people who are having their main deity as 'Khandoba' they do Jagaran at Jejuri, Pali or Mansuli.
Jagaran, Gondhal is performed when someone builds new house, after marriage or for the 'Navas'. If you don't have children, then some people do navas to god and after fulfillment of that navas that person has to arrange Jagaran, Gondhal. Khandu, also said to remove hypnotizing or curse from god/goddess, there is a method. Put 5-7 lemons in front of that person then among those 5-7 lemons, keep the number of any one lemon into your mind. If you lie while keeping number in mind then it will be useless. But if you fixed your number then the person, who got hypnotized with power of god, will identify correct lemon in your mind and tell it to you.

There is one program called 'Genmala'. In that as a 'Guru' or a teacher you have to give a 'mala' to the person who is hypnotised. 'Genmala' is part in Jagaran. If you ask 'why are you working this gondhal?/Jagaran?' or any what is the validity of the performance then 'Genmala' is like official license for it, which allows people to perform Jagaran/Gondhal. In 'Genmala', people used to walk on flames of fire.

During the Focus Group Discussion, everybody said that nowadays, nobody wear traditional dresses for performance. Everybody wear their simple clothes that is shirt pant for men and women wear six round sari. The group replied responded Jagaran and Gondhal as both art and occupation. It absolutely depends on your thinking. What is culture of Maharashtra? In hindu tradition, Jagaran and Gondhal are culture. As you can see, most of the information we might don't know about Jagaran, but to that of audience they know it very well. So its like traditional cultural activity. Some people do Jagaran/Gondhal within 2-3 years. They can identify benefits/difference, also they experience facts of this art. Benefits in the sense family satisfaction. Even saint Tukaram does it, in 'Granth'(book) we have it so it is tradition.

Shyam Bhosale, (name changed), brother of Khandu Bhosale, who is also working as ‘Vaghya’, stays at Jejuri since 20 years. He is educated upto 11th std. He is married, having 2 children, both of his children goes to school. In his family he is the only performer. He said that, will not bring his children into this profession. Since childhood, even in of school vacations he used to the performances. After 'Navas', there is tendency to donate child either male or female for god's service. Many of them told during discussion that some people treated them like god, but some treated us like nothing. In the year, during festivals like Diwali-to Ashadh they get
many ‘Supari’(programs). Currently, many of respondants are staying by rent, they don’t have houses. The rent of room is upto Rs.1000/- per month which is not affordable in empty days of earning.

In Jejuri, Khandoba is god. So people who has their deity ‘Lord Khandoba’, comes and ask for Gondhal/Jagaran. Few years ago, people were religious. They were supported Jagaran Gondhal. Now, the condition has changed. During the programs, Muralis are not treated well by male audience. Society look at them as prostitutes.

Khandu, one of the respondents and working as Vaghya, has taken education till secondary high school, but still he does Jagaran. He told that though he has taken education, he is doing this Jagaran/Gondhal for livelihood purpose. He feeds his family on it. Khandu said that he had done Jagaran and Gondhal after his marriage. He also told that he will do other profession, if he will get another good option for livelihood.
Discussion

Folk culture is actually an important part of people’s lives. The society looks at this art as an art performed by backward community or an art where people involved are mostly of villagers; which is not true. The broaden angle of this art is very different. As in the mass cultural studies there is a theory which depicts, “All known human societies are stratified into different orders, it becomes essential that top stratum possess a more conscious culture than others so that society resembles a continuous gradation of cultural levels. Also, Eliot’s concept of culture is organic: the culture of every individual flows from his membership of specific groups and individual flows from his membership of specific groups and classes and these in their turn depend for their culture on the whole society; culture is made up of many local cultures thus creating both diversity and unity within whole” (Swingewood, 1977).

The same concept can be seen within society. When we look at the pattern of folk art or folk dances, we will find these folk arts or dances were emerged for the purpose of self satisfaction, most of them connected or evolved through nature, gods, customs, groups and social backgrounds. They teach us to live in groups. As long as time changed the intention of self satisfaction has changed. My observation during the data collection is also interesting. At present time, these folk arts particularly ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ has become an option for livelihood and entertainment for the remaining mass.

Years ago, these folk dances were performed by some specific tribes or castes, but nowadays there are other communities are taking interest in it as no availability of livelihood option. Also, when we look at the social status of the people who are performing these folk dances is good at the village level also they are treated as ‘gods’ or ‘people work for gods’ from other people or in other communities. On the other hand, when you go beyond from the villages, you will find there is less importance given to them, and most of times ignorance for their art and skills.
‘Gondhal’ and ‘Jagaran’ are considered as oldest traditions in Maharashtra. The society looked at this art as a entertainment and great pleasure of mental relief. Popat,(name has been changed) one of the respondent states that everybody should perform Gondhal and Jagaran. As this ritual is very important for peace and harmony in the society. There was a time in Maharashtra where people got aware or sensitized by means of Jagaran and ‘Gondhal’. People were spending the entire nights in ‘Jagaran’ and ‘Gondhal’ programs with their whole families said by ,Laxmi one of the respondent. Laxmi also told about the changes happening with this art. Before years the whole Jagaran and Gondhal was based on prayers ,songs having praise of Lord Khandoba , other gods and goddesses. But nowadays it has got a remix style of appearance.

The folk artist used to do the dance or talks based on theme of devotion of Lord Khandoba. Nowadays, the picture is quite different. When you will go Narayanpur side, the performance of Jagaran and Gondhal is done like ‘Tamasha’ or ‘Lavani’ style, said by Bayadabai, one of respondent and works as Murali. People also demand for the film songs and dance in the movies. Otherwise they do not pay for entire party. Especially youth audience ask for movie songs and dance accordingly.

In the cultural studies especially mass cultural studies there is a myth of mass society. It has talked as 'Mass culture implies the existence of superior groups who take the important decisions on behalf of the others ,an elite, or elites, who work for the people over people.’ (Swingewood, 1977). The same findings we can see in this folk culture. Khandu, (name has been changed) one of the respondent told that ,the income from the program is very less not enough to sustain but have to do it as no other option for survival. Also they have to work under main priests. There is a chain, when people come for devotion to lord Khandoba and wanted to do Jagaran and Gondhal for the fulfillment of Navas (satisfied demand after praying of Lord Khandoba) they approached main priests in the temple. Then the priest told his known people or connected people who does Jagaran and Gondhal. Then these folk artist got called at either place of host or priest’s place for performing Gondhal and Jagaran. The income got to actual folk artist is quite lesser than that of priest. Most of the times, priest took commission as well from the Jagaran and Gondhal party. Also due to competition the real folk artist do not get their proper income even after the performance, stated by Khandu, one of the Jagaran and Gondhal performer. So there is demand for the registration of groups and fixed wages from the folk artists who are performing Jagaran and Gondhal.

When we talked about Jagaran, the issue of Vaghya and Murali come in front. Actually both of them serve themselves as devotee of Lord Khandoba. When there is season or Jatra, fairs in the village ,mostly in the six months ,they entertain people and show their skills to other; But ,for the remaining six months they don’t have any option for livelihoods to fulfill their needs. Janaki(name has been changed) has created one of the ‘Murali’ self help group for future. She said that, there are Muralis in the Jagaran who earn in their young stages of life, but later when they become old, nobody look at them or care for them. So, the purpose of establishing self help group is to support those old Muralis, their health and other basic requirements. For that Self Help Group(SHG), every Murali in the village invest hundred rupees in year. There are cases happened at Jejuri where without any notification Muralis got dead and their bodies decomposed but nobody looked at them, then some social activists and other Murali in the village come forward for their funeral rituals of dead Murali, said by Mahadev one of social activist. He is also trying to get Murali’s certificate by organizing ‘Vaghya-Murali competitions’ in the first week of
January in public space. There are other social organizations also supporting these competitions. The main purpose of organizing these competitions is identification of Vaghya-Murali and trying to give them benefits from government schemes. As such there is no facility for identifying Murali and provision of funding to them.

Devedasi prohibition act came on 2005 and started to implement since 2008. Under the provision of that act, nobody can donate girls for the service of god or later named them as ‘Devdasi’; but still there is no implementation for Murali system though in both of cases girls are donated for god’s service. Recently, state government has announced that it will give Devadasi certificate to women, who work as Devadasi and other organizations which are working on Devdasi issues; but there is no any such organization working for Murali issues or there is no any survey taken from state government to count number of Murali in the state. Currently, the condition of Murali is very bad at their older stages of lives. There is need for social support or government schemes to help them. Mahadev, (name has been changed) a social activist said that there is group in the society who talks about perseverance of tribal folk art and on the other hand they ignore the basic human rights of folk artists. After so many years of independence these folk artist do not have any government support and facilities like pension scheme, houses, and fixed wage programs.

There are cruel traditions like leaving child for the sake of god or sacrificing animals still going on in the name of religion, said by Mahesh (name has been changed), who is working as anti superstition activist in the village Jejuri. There is need to stop this bad customs and need to promote education to the children of these folk artist.

The future scope of this art is depending upon the current folk artists who are struggling to save the customs and traditions of Jagaran and Gondhal without any social support or financial support. It is true that without education there is no development, but the definition of the term ‘education’ is also very complicated. The intention of people or current generation who are involving in this folk art having majorly three purposes, the first one is for livelihood the second is traditional occupation and third is interest area.
CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the understanding of folk art and future scope of this art. *Jagaran* and *Gondhal* are traditional customs in which most of Maharashtrian people are emotionally attached to it. Before years these folk art had great impact in public domain. *Gondhal* is to be done for blessings of goddess *Tulajabhavani*, whereas *Jagaran* has to be done for taking Lord *Khandoba*’s blessings. People who have their main deities *Khandoba* and *Tulajabhavani*, used to do *Jagaran* and *Gondhal* on good occasions mainly after marriages or after fulfillment of *Navas*.

For every folk dance there are two important things to be considered as significant before it gets performed. The first thing is pattern of folk dance and people. Instruments, prayers, songs, rituals come after that. *Jagaran* and *Gondhal* are mixture of all these things. They are the whole artistic form without missing even any single entity. As this research is an exploratory study of understanding nomadic art, so focus is majorly on history, pattern of dance and people behind it. There are various folk stories behind Lord *Khandoba*. With every performance these stories got unfolded and passed to next person orally.

The impact of folk art is great for human development. It gives an idea to understand Indian culture, make relationship with surrounding, developing integrity within human beings and acquiring artistic characteristics. Folk art broadens the one’s perspective. It makes an individual more friendly and spiritual. Many years ago, folk art was a great platform for uniting people under one roof. Also it was a tool for powerful communication for spreading social awareness. The folk artist in it were also had a special place in people’s heart. Every folk artist was treated as god and had a special status in society.
Contribution of this nomadic folk art in entertainment industry:

Latest trends in Marathi cinema has shown us that these folks have played a pivotal role in the huge success in grabbing at box office. Music and dance has always been a core of human expressions. Knowing this then entertainment industry like cinema, television has always used this strategy to gain the benefits in market.

Some of the famous Marathi movies like „Jivalaga‟(in 1990‟s),„Aga Bai arrechya‟ (2004), Savarkhed Ek Gaav (2007), „De Dhakka‟(2008),„Gallit Gondhal, Dillit Mujara” (2009), „Jogava”(2009), „Amhi Gondhali Gondhali” (2010), „Dhyaas-ek navi olakh”(2012) and many such movie grabbed eyeballs and declared superhit. These songs were the key strategy for this success and massive attention. Also, some Marathi daily soaps like „Ajuanahi Chaand Raat Ahe”, „Tu tithe mi”, „Laxmi Vs.Sarawati” etc. have got their high TRPs on telecasting Jagaran and Gondhal.

Especially the Gondhal and Jagaran, has always attracted the common public as they easily connect to it. On the contrary, the real performers who are the pioneers of this nomad folk art are living in very subhuman conditions and are the most neglected by the entertainment industry.

As days got passed and modernization came, the status of the folk art and people related to it got devalued. Their contribution in the society got ignored. As the technology has emerged there is availability of lot of resources for entertainment, so people are ignoring this art and folk artist, who are struggling for their livelihood through this art and maintaining their traditional culture. At the present situation this valuable culture is now extinguishing day by day. The purpose of this exploratory type of research is to introduce the old folk culture to new generation, its interpretation and to give brief understanding of our ancient art and cultural norms. Also to ask a question about the survival of the art. This research is a honest attempt to depict the real cultural folk art in Maharashtra and its current struggle for existence. In quickly changing world, the diversity of cultural expressions is per-requisite for vibrant and dynamic cultural sectors. It should be protected and promoted.
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ANNEXURE

List of Abbreviations:
B.C. – before birth of Christ.
Dis.-district
Etc – ‘Et cetera’ (and so on).
Fig.- figure or diagram.
IT-Information Technology.
Km.- kilometres.
www – world wide web.
Sq.km.-square kilometres.
St.-saint
Tal.-tehsil.
yrs-years.
**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DATA COLLECTION:**

1. Name of House Owner:
2. Residential address:
3. Basti/colony
4. Name of original place(if migrated):
5. Years of living at current place:

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<th>Sr.No</th>
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<th>Age (3)</th>
<th>Sex (4)</th>
<th>Relation with respondent (5)</th>
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**I ) Individual Information:**

A) Primary Information:

1. Name(interviewee):
2. Gender:
3. Age:
4. Marital Status: Married/Unmarried
5. Education:
6. Language known:
7. Occupation
8. Do you have ration card: yellow/red
9. Do you have voter card?
10. Do you have Caste Certificate?

11. About House:

11.1 Nature of house: wooden/cement/house/chawl
11.2 Nature of construction of house: Rough/half completed/furnished

11.3 Below which apparatus in house?:
TV: Fan: Bed: Radio: Scooter/vehicle:

Weaving machine: Refrigerator: Cycle:

B) Economic Information:
- Agriculture: Yes/NO
- Current Occupation:
- Types of occupation:Traditional/Subsidiary/Other
- Place of occupation:
- Other ways of income:
- Yearly Family Income:
- Do you manage your home expenses in your income? Yes/No
- if No, what do you make provision for home expenses? (borrowing money from friends, relatives etc, reduce home expenses, extra work, etc )

C) Cultural Information:
1) Name of Festivals celebrated within year:
2) Family god/godess(Kuldaivat):
3) Any history behind festival:
4) Superstitions(if any):
5) Months of festival celebration:
6) Role of women during festivals?:Participatory/non participatory
7) Age of children while marriage:
8) Marriage ceremony: hindu /court/Buddhist/Other

9) Type of marriage : within tribe/outside caste
10) Is there dowry system in your community?
11) if yes, how much money/things do bridegroom demand?

10) How Birth ceremony done?:

11) How do you do Death ceremony?

11) Do they perform Gondhal during their own family marriages or thread ceremony?
12) More about Gondhal:
13) Do your community leave people for God’s sake? (e.g. Male – Vaghya, Female – Murali)
14) If they leave? What is the process of that function?

15) What are the conventional reflections behind this tradition and function?
16) Information about ornaments using by members while performing Gondhal:

Handmade/readymade:
How long they can be used?
17) How do they travel for the show? own Vehicle/bus/auto
18) Who arrange travelling expenses? self/host
19) Number of people go for the performance: whole family(except children)/only men
20) Number of people who actually does performance(count):
21) Who will arrange food for program? self/host
22) Treatment from people for the performance: Good/ supportive/ignore
23) Treatment from people after performance: Good/ supportive/ignore
24) Are changes happening with modernization for this art? Yes/no
   If yes, how come?

25) Costumes to be wearing while performing gondhal:
   Men:
   Women:
26) Are clothes/costumes made by themselves?
If yes, how are they made? By machine/hand
If no, how much do they cost?
If they are on rent? then are they hourly/day basis

27) Number of instruments used while performing Gondhal:
Count:
Names:
Types: Tantuvadya, sambal

28) How do they maintain instruments for long period? Not use much/safe keeping/repairing
29) Cost for maintaining instruments?
30) If purchase the instrument, total cost?
31) How purchasing can be done by loan or direct payment?
32) Are these instruments would be handover to other relatives for other programs?
33) Any other, relative can involve?, other than family member?
34) Are instruments taken on rents? Yes/no
35) Who teach to play instruments? - Family member/other person/own learning
36) Type of song? Awareness/prayer/any purpose
37) Hours of performance:
38) How do you look at this art? Proud/Family Occupation/Traditional folk art/Wanted to go out from it
39) Satisfaction during performance: Yes/No
40) What do you do after finishing festival period: All year we do program/practice/none
41) Would you like to involve your child in this art?
42) Can other communities also perform in this art? Yes/No
43) What is your opinion, if they are doing?
44) As Gondhal widely known in Maharashtra, what is your opinion if it is used in films or albums?
45) Can you do gondhal for albums/films? Or any other occasion?
46) Type of food eat? Regular/delicious/anything
47) Did anyone from family have faced social discrimination while performing Gondhal or while living in everyday life?
48) Details of festivals and rituals celebrated by family in detail

D) Other Information:

i) Have you taken benefit of any government scheme?
ii) If yes, then from which scheme and which department of government.
iii) How did you get information about this scheme?
iv) What are the problems you have faced during access such scheme?

ii) Type of scholarship for education:

iii) Any family member works in Government sector?
iv) Any family member works in private sector?
v) (it will cover in above family information table)

D) Other Information:

i) Have you taken benefit of any government scheme?
ii) If yes, then from which scheme and which department of government.
iii) How did you get information about this scheme?
iv) What are the problems you have faced during access such scheme?

ii) Type of scholarship for education:

iii) Any family member works in Government sector?
iv) Any family member works in private sector?
v) (it will cover in above family information table)
Photo: A dog named as ‘Khandya’, outside temple and worshipped as servant of Lord Khandoba. Dated 28/10/2012
Photo: Host is praying Vaghya and their instruments before performance
Photo:

(a) A couple of Vaghya-Murali, who are married since five years and have won many prizes in continuous Sambal playing competitions.

(b) Murali, in her traditional get up.
Photo: Vaghya, in his traditional dressed up, with playing instrument Sambal, Dated 27/10/2012
Photo: Animal sacrifices during yatras, dated 28/10/2012.
Photo: The coding game performance by Gondhali at Pune, dated 26/1/2013.
Photo: An old couple of Vaghya-Murali, at the centre. They have recently opened a small shop from their expenses as they are unable to perform onwards due to their old age. Dated 27/10/2012.