

**SPACES OF PERFORMANCE: CULTURAL PRACTICES OF  
LAMBANI COMMUNITY**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the award of the Degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

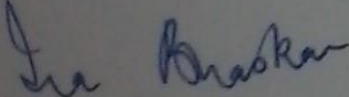
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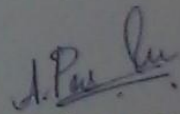
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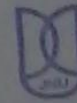
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
  
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## DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation titled "**SPACES OF PERFORMANCE: CULTURAL PRACTICES OF LAMBANI COMMUNITY**" submitted by me at the School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is an original work and has not been submitted so far, in part or in full, for any other Degree or Diploma of this or any other University.

  
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## Spaces of Performance: Cultural Practices of Lambani Community

### Abstract

Gaur Banjara Lambani community is one part of civilization which is spread all over the Indian subcontinent under the different official name and faced ups and downs of the past and living in the present. Identification as a criminal tribe by the colonial government made its large number of people submerged, marginalized, hidden in the society. The colonial stigma became social stigmatization made them economically inferior and socially separated from mainstream life. The dissertation studies select performances such as rites of passages (rites related to birth, marriage), festivals (Holi), and the songs of the community home, *Tanda*, and outside. Through this methodology, the dissertation shows how performances along with serving symbolic functions and creating norms simultaneously transmits memory that are contradictory to the mainstream narrative and definitions, thereby playing a crucial role in creating a complex identity for the community in the contemporary period.

### CARAVAN TRADERS OF ANCIENT INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

This research explores the performance practices of the Lambani community, a de-notified “criminal tribe”, who are settled in rural Karnataka. Lambani is part of the largest scheduled tribe in India, known by distinct names in different geographical areas such as Banjara in Rajasthan (*SBC*), Vanjara in Gujarat (*OBC*), Banjari in Maharashtra (*VJ-A*), Lambada in Andra Pradesh (*ST*), Sugali in Tamil Nadu (*VJ*) and Lambani or Lamani in Karnataka (*SC*)<sup>1</sup>. The community has a common dialect (gaur-boli) and they create their own exclusive hamlets, known as *Tanda*, which is geographically separated from the mainstream communities and organized under an independent panchayat system. Traditional ancient Indian business community called as Caravan traders, who have participated in a long distance trading group since ancient times in the Indian subcontinent as well as aboard. According to Bhangya “the History of Gaur Banjara Lambanis begins with the caravan trade. Communities of nomadic caravanners were found all over the subcontinent, each with its own distinctive historical, cultural and social background.”<sup>2</sup> The trading group went place to place with well organized. The communities of nomadic caravanners have different names and

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<sup>1</sup>The state were listed as Scheduled Castes in 1979

<sup>2</sup>Bhukya, Bhangya, *Subjugated Nomads: The Lambada under the rule of the Nizams* (New Delhi, Orient Blackswan private limited, 2010),29



social roots in every region, and they claim a variety of status within the Hindu caste society.<sup>3</sup> The same community called as Banjara in Mogul times by Persian traveler. The term Banjara was derived from the Persian Binajar or rice-carriers. Some traced to Sanskrit words like vanjari van (forest) and jara (to wander) means forest wonderers.<sup>4</sup> Lambani term derived from lavan (salt), salt traders called Lambani. The ancient caravan trading groups are called Tandas in modern time by European travelers, to identify and study. The group of trading nomads organized into several smaller groups called Tanda. Banjara settlements are called 'thanda'. This word is derived from Marwari - 'Thanda' means a Nomad's settlement, and etymologically may derive from Sanskrit 'sthana', place.<sup>5</sup> The caravan council called as Gaur Panchayat. The doctrine of collective responsibility co-operate among member of the Tanda. The Tanda is administrative unite in social, economic and political matters. Various families within Tanda are bonded by the panchayat. The punchayat control lives of people in light of tradition. The council ultimately based on the traditional value system. The community functions to unite, tie, and make basic connections within the community. By doing so, Gaur Banjara Lambani community recaps a culture that at a profounder level all of its members are equally, although the acknowledged social and classified differences.

In the olden days every Tanda controlled a leader, an important and knowledgeable individual who had had wide experience of this kind of journey. The whole Tanda's safety rested in his hands, as did the success of the journey and the subsequent profit to be realized from it; all those who are in the Tanda were bound to obey leader obviously. Naik, gets, the higher prestige in the usual social structure of Tanda, the society can be identified with his name, for instance, Pura naik's Tanda, Hammulal's Tanda, Ghanalal's Tanda, etc. The little grown Tandas are called as nagars. For instance, Hammunagar, Sushilanagar, Hanumannagar, Devinagar, etc. These nagar's are also Tandas in the past. Thus, bhats (professional singers) of the community sing following verses.

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<sup>3</sup>Enthoven, R.E., ed., *The Tribes and Castes of Bamba*, 2 vols., (Bombay: The Government central Press, 1920), II: 331-35.

<sup>4</sup>Bhukya, Bhangya, *Subjugated Nomads: The Lambada under the rule of the Nizams* (New Delhi, Orient Blackswan private limited, 2010), 30

<sup>5</sup>Shyamala, Devi. *Tribal Integration In A Developing Economy: A Study with to Two Lambada Villages in Andhra Pradesh*. (Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi,1989), 83.

नगरी, नगरीम नंगारा वाजो सारीरात The sound of the nangara is coming from the village

नंगारारी वाणीम तम सोचोरे सोनेरीवात Think golden thoughts midst of rhythmic sound of nangara.

दारू पियेरो भुलोरे तम... .Please forget drinking wine.

वारू वेणुरे भियारे ...Preserve healthy life oh dear brothers.

The song shows little Tanda become nagar, life needs to be change according to nagar forget all traditional practices such as blind beliefs, heavy drinking, etc.

Each community wants to reserve its own inner relations of power and it is here they also take alternative to old-style customs of implementing submission. Tanda administration is traditional panchayat which is politically structured by local leaders. All members of the Tanda equally treated as an administrative unit and some people are called elite within this group traditionally organize political activity in semi-rural Tanda space.

1. Naik - chiefs: the ancient period naiks are the able person in group, contemporary naiks are hereditary naikship come from their forefathers.
2. Karbhari - secretary
3. Hasabi - senior assistant, adjudge
4. Nasabi - junior assistant
5. Dhav-shan - elder persons

According to Rupala Naik “Each Banjara Tanda has panchayat organization which is an ancient institution dealing with all matters concerning the Tanda. The Gaur panchayat is composed of naik or head man of the Tanda. Karbhari or secretary of the panchayat, the daavo or wise man, nasabi and head of each family as members. The naik is responsible for maintenance of peace and order in the Tanda and he is generally the orbiter of all the affairs of the Tanda panchayat. The daavo is supposed to be wise man with a matured mind who acts as an advisor. The heads of all family are members of the Tanda panchayat. Which generally meets in front of temple or common meeting place.<sup>6</sup>(Naik Pupala, 1988)

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<sup>6</sup>Wankede, Vandana B. *Banjara Costume in Maharashtra* a Ph.D. thesis submitted Sant Gadage baba, Amaravati University 2005. 35

In nomadic days Gaur Banjara Lambani community were under the able leadership in the community, but in the modern day they are in the hereditary leadership. The leadership goes to his children whether they are able or not. Now naik and karbari are a symbol of prestige and social prejudice. The caste issues are not found in Tanda, but the occupation hierarchical issues are identified.

Tanda has independent occupational service class.

1. Bhagat- priest and herbal medicine man, he performs certain functions in their weddings and death.
2. Dhadi - singer and astrologist genealogist and historian of community.
3. Dhalias - musicians.
4. Navi - barbers.
5. Sanars - goldsmiths.

The Tanda<sup>7</sup> has a large amount of the creativehard working migratory group. The ultimate source of creativity lies in the female. They are the most creative and capable to produce solid literature. They created most meaningful verses in the rites and rituals. The creative words are recollected the professional singers called as Bhats and Gavaniyas. As Raju Nayak mention Lambani Bhats are singers, storytellers and genealogists. They narrate the history, myths and legends of the community. They move one Tanda to other Tanda practicing their profession, hence they perceived as messenger of the community.

Gavaniyas are another group of people whose work is to sing on festive occasion. They sing various songs which community is demanding. For instance, they sing on addiction of alcohol, rising dowry system, illiteracy, as well as romantic songs. Dhadis are very much importance in the Lambani Tandas, he is as nomadic singer, he moves Tanda to Tanda and collect information of marriageable boys and girls to make a suitable match. The Bhats important work is to record the achievements of their ancestors into the expressive words. The Gavaniyas, who sang the poetry in order to remember their ancestors. To realization of their success Tanda people build community

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<sup>7</sup>Tanda is a body of travelling gang pastoral migratory traders group called Banjaras of North West India at Mughal dynasty in medieval India. The space is uniquely organized to create cultural production of the community. In contemporary it is called as semi nomadic group of north and southern part of Indian subcontinent. The community called semi nomadic because some part of its group are travelling all over world with and without modern techniques of survival skills. The group knows the fittest of survival to lead natural stable life for the community.

temples to preserve the memory of their forefathers. In the hunting stage they had no idols and in the pastoral nomadic stage they did not have any idols for worship, when they gradually started to settle down they realized to be worship as their ancestor as form of idols. To keep idols in a safety place they construct building in the community center. To take care of community temple, they elected a member among them called as Bhagats. He learns local medicine using certain formulations, he prescribed to his next progeny. He considered as a medicine man and spiritual guide for the Tanda community. His job is to treat different disorders while using herbal medicine and give guidance as well as organize all annual festivity which held in Tanda.

### **Historical Background**

Motiraj Rathod mention that “Banjaras are natives of Afghanistan. East of Kabul, there used to be a Gaur river, a valley, a city, and a state by the same name.” (Rathod 2003:19)<sup>8</sup>, Further, he says the name laman was popular long before the name Banjara becomes known”<sup>9</sup> and he feels that the name Banjara involved only from the time of the Mughals.<sup>10</sup> He links Banjara from Rajputs and associated with Maharana Pratap. After losing the political power they choose to live in jungle rather than stay under the authority of the Mughals.<sup>11</sup> From then onwards they came to be known as Banjaras.”Brinjarries are a class of intinerant merchants who travel over India with many thousand oxen laden with grain<sup>12</sup>. The book ‘Army of Indian Moghuls’ states that “Banjara or Birinjara. The supplies of grains were brought in on the backs of bullocks by the wandering dealers known as Banjarahs or Brinjarahs.”<sup>13</sup> Eitzclarence, says "It is by these people that the Indian armies in the field are fed, and they are never injured by either army. The grain is taken from them, but invariably paid for. They encamp for safety every evening in a regular square formed of the bags of grain, of which they construct a breastwork. They and their families are in the center and the oxen are made fast outside. Guards with matchlocks and spears are placed at the corners, and their dogs do duty as advanced posts. I have seen them with droves of 50,000 bullocks. They do not

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 27.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 22

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 15.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 15.

<sup>12</sup>Fitzelarence, lieutenant-colonel, *Journal of route across India, through Egypt, to England, in the latter end of the year 1817, and the beginning of India*. London John Murray, Albemarle street. 1819. 93.

<sup>13</sup>Irvine, William. *The army of the Indian Moghuls: its Organization and Administration*. London 1993.192

move above two miles an hour, as the cattle are allowed to graze as they proceed on the march"<sup>14</sup>. The Banjara carriers, whose pack animals had accompanied eighteenth-century armies, their grazing grounds restricted by assessment of wastelands and the creation of private property rights, while their employment opportunities declined with the disbandment of armies. Those who persisted in wandering found themselves the objects of suspicion, and began to be stigmatized as ‘criminal tribes.’<sup>15</sup> “The nomadic banjara community goes back to about 700 years. It is an ethnic nomadic sect which has rich and cultural heritage, eternal traditions, unbreakable emotional attachments among the community people, but lacking economic empowerment. However, due to migration from place to place region to region, they have lost their origin. As riddle goes, as “a rolling stone gathers no mass” they could not create wealth, they could not hold land and properties and so on.”<sup>16</sup>

### **Field Work**

The state of North Karnataka is the field work of my study. It has three main sociocultural geographical spaces which my research going to explore performative aspects of the community which transform its knowledge to its future generation. The study can help in understanding ways of celebration and the meaning emerged out of that performance. The study of oral performance song centered approach to performance study. The study analyzing of the songs as social, cultural and historical context.

Study material is collected from mainly fieldwork, field notes and audio and video recordings participation observation, interviews and questionnaires third sources are research material available at the Jawaharlal Nehru University library and the Gulbarga University library. And various research articles enlarge my understanding about the community. In the process of data collection, I have selected five Tandas and fort to study of Gaur Banjara Lambani community’s cultural practices. The research area consists five districts Five Tandas and a fort.

1. Kunikeri Tanda from Koppal
2. Sushila nagar Tanda from Bellary

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid. 192.

<sup>15</sup>Barbara Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf *A Concise History of Modern India second edition* Cambridge University Press 2001, 2006. 80.

<sup>16</sup>Dr.Pawar Ashok And Dr.Rathod Sunita. Professional Education And Employment Of Banjara and Dhangar Community in India. Research Paper.

3. Ranjangi Tanda from Vijayapur
4. Panegaon Tanda from Kalbugi
5. Pandagera Tanda from Bidar

The anthropological studies had put an emphasis on the study of the community as the colonial government categorized them under “criminal tribe” (Criminal Tribe Act 1871). Their history of migration, specifically ‘wandering habits’, their trade with armies as well as the creation of separate hamlets and organization has been marked out by the colonial anthropology as indicating deviance. These studies therefore tried to establish their origin and history, customs and manners for control.

The following statements by the colonial anthropological works is emblematic of defining the “criminality” of the community: “The Lambani are highwaymen, kidnappers of children, coiners of false money and thugs” (Rushby 2002: 172) or “The Lambani of the Carnatic [includes part of present-day Karnataka] are perhaps the most troublesome of the class inhabiting this [Bombay] Presidency” (Kennedy 1907, 1985: 6). The present study, taking into account the complexity of the history of the community and discursive power of such colonial definitions, explores the contemporary life of the community. Especially keeping in mind the marginalization-both economic as well as the unavailability of basic education-the dissertation focuses on the understudied aspect of performance practices of the community. By studying select performances such as rites of passages (distinct rites related to birth, marriage), festivals (Holi), and songs of the community the dissertation will show how performances along with serving symbolic functions and creating norms also transmits memory that are contradictory to the mainstream narrative and definitions, thereby playing a crucial role in creating a complex identity for the community in the contemporary period.

One of the crucial aspects that come out in the performances is the how the past of the community manifest in the present. Does the contemporary community need to be necessarily seen in terms of criminality and response to criminality? Moving away from the centrality of criminality categorization or deviance, I show the complexity of identification in the present where colonial categorization and the de-notification in the post-independence period is only one of the factors affecting the community identification. Instead, the performances of the community reveal how the history of migration, the claims of being a ‘warrior’ community in the past and the continuing

organizational strength of the independent panchayat system link together in a complex manner to provide the contemporary identification for the community.

One of the songs of the community talks about the different parts of settlements and different names had given to this tribe.

कती तू बंजारा कती गौरमाटी

लम्बाडाची कती तू लम्बानी

नाळी - नाळी नाम तारी नाळी- नाळी साकी तारी”

Somewhere you identify as Banjara. Somewhere you identify as Gaur maati.

You are Lambada somewhere. Somewhere you called as Lambani.

You have various names and your stories are different.

In D.B. Naik’s rich folkloric study *Art and Literature of Lambanis*, he highlights how the song is central for the community becoming part of their day to day life. I will take this forward by analyzing the performance aspect more closely and raising such questions as to what functions a song undertakes, how certain songs allows and brings about a different kind of participation as they are part of rites and festivals.

Therefore, rather than simply taking them as lyrics my research will explore the songs and other performance practices such as rites and festivals as repertoires that transmit an idea of an isolated/ separate identity of the community. Diana Taylor says “If performance did not transmit knowledge, only the literate and powerful could claim social memory and identity” (2003: xvii). Following her argument, I explore how performance conveys memories, make political claims, and express a group’s sense of oneness.

For instance, one of the performances that I will explore is the birth ceremony of a newborn child. New born children have no identity, language, caste. But over a period of time they acquire and society identify them in certain name, caste, community so on. In the ceremony elderly women’s song praises the child as their future king. He is a victorious man of the tribe. At the same time he is some one’s grandchild, some one’s good brother and someone are uncle and aunt to him. One line says he will become the protector of the community. The entire community members

are relatives to him. He belongs to them. This name giving process gives an identity of anonymous child, as well as all types of relatives which he/she may live with them in their future life. This an identification ceremony of the child. The name giving song calls them Rajkumar and Vijaykumar and references the historical figure of Raja Bhoj. Through this song, therefore, the community constructs and transmits the associations with Bhoj raj, a figure who the community believes was their ruler and leader. While studying these performances one need to investigate the claims of being a warrior as different from the category of criminal in the British categorization and what claims of having a warrior-past articulate in the present.

One of the most important aspects that the community has continued to follow is an independent system of organization within the *Tanda*. Every Lambani/Banjara tandas have its own traditional alternative Panchayat which consist of Nayak, Karbhari, Dhadi, Bhat, Dhalia, Navi, and few experienced elders. Whole village assembles on the panchayat. The Panchayat organizes community's cultural practices like child birth, marriage, funeral, etc. At the same time this Panchayat takes an important decision on various issues like adultery, divorce, widow re-marriage theft elopement etc. One of the songs of community refers to the Panchayat: पंच पंचायत राजा भोजेरी सभा आपण से लाख न सव्वा लाख we are in Raja Bhoj's assembly we all are worth full. पंच पंचायत राजाभोजेर सभा पचारे लाख उन पचारे सव्वा लाख we are in Raja Bhoj's assembly we know many things and we are unaware of many more. This sentence shows liberty and equality in Gaur Banjara Lambani culture.

The Holi festival is another performance that highlights this complexity. There are two parts of the celebration of Holi in Gaur Banjara Lambani community that is structured by the panchayat. One is *dhund*, a birth declaration rite, and the second consists of celebration itself. One song about Holi goes like this होळी आती जो होळी जाती जो गेरियान बेटा देतीजो भाई-भाई It means "Holi come and Holi go every year to give a male child to father. Oh brothers." Therefore, people perform *dhund* for male children to identify them as a part of society. On the first day evening they build a tent with woolen cloth in front of the child's house and the next day evening is the celebration of *Dhund* performance. The child's mother is made to sit under a tent holding her child on her lap; a lot of wheat puree and sweet food are placed on all the four sides. The elderly people, youngsters and children bless the child with a song, called *dhund geet*. The song is sung with beating the sticks on one big stick. Some phrase of the song goes like this: 'पहलों बेटा नायकी कर अरे पचेरो कारभारी कर'. First son becomes the chief of the community and the second will become secretary of the village and so on. After



this they go to another child's house and perform the same song. As Naik argues, this song of blessing signifies the desire of the community for the child to "grow" and provide service to society. The second aspect of Holi is the celebration and involves whole night singing and dancing by men and women in front of newborn male child's house as well as village public place. In this festival Lambani woman plays, particularly with sticks, beat men folk with those sticks, say joke with love and affection. For them this festival is a message to forgive and forget all hatred and live together with love and affection. Here, gender plays important in the *Dhund* rite as it is meant only male child, whereby the community can be seen as taking over the singularity of the birth of the male child, while other parts of birth ceremony is for both male and female children. In the celebration itself, this gender construction is openly staged with certain reversal of patriarchal order and the mainstream morality. It is only by looking at the relation between different kinds of performances, even within a festival and its relation with rites of passages that gendering as well as bonding of the community can be studied.

### **Research Questions**

My research work proposes to answer the following question about the Lambani community.

1. How collective memories as category play an important to construct the Lambani identity?
2. What is the role of performances in transmitting memory?
3. How do spatial configurations such as home, *Tanda*, etc channel distinct kinds of performances?
4. Which performances are making different sense of identity for community formation?
5. How a Gaur Banjara Lambani society is responding towards modernity and globalization?
6. How does women's song reveal the conditions as well as a critique of their state of labour within the domestic space as well as outside?

## Research Methodology

Dwight Conquergood says “Location is imagined as an itinerary instead of a fixed point. Our understanding of “local context” expands to encompass the historical, dynamic, often traumatic, movements of people, ideas, images, commodities, and capital.”(2002:145) to understand the “location” of the Lamabani community as such an itinerary, I have earmarked three spatial divisions that would give me a better understanding of what performance does. These are home, *Tanda*, and outside. The space of home is limited; here women play an important role, particularly in the rites such as name giving, marriage and labour within household so on. It is an important place to transfer social knowledge for the children. *Tanda* is the geographical settlement. Whole community participates in every ritual performance with the help of the panchayat, and articulates a collective identity. In charting out the ‘Outside’ of the *Tanda* I look at the spaces where the Lamabni communities from different *Tanda* assemble on special locations on occasion and engage in cultural activities. In engaging with the community performances, I need to specifically address the central aspect of orality- declaration/speech as well as songs- and their interrelation. For this I draw from Ngugi’s conception of orature where he says “orature expresses the interdependence of all existence. Performance is the central feature of orature. It involves performer, audience and performance space.”(2007:4). For instance, in the Holi festival they sing song with dance. The song suggests you cannot find Kashi anywhere; instead Kashi is in our parents and grandparents. One needs to see these songs in its relation to its function as speech/declaration. It is this perspective that allows one to see these acts as transfer of knowledge. Daina Taylor strengthens my theorizing as she claims that “performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity through reiterated.”(Diana Taylor 2003:2-3). The lyrics of the song transfers social knowledge and this is done through embodied behaviors and as she says, it ‘suggests that performance also functions as an epistemology’ or as a way of knowing.”(Diana Taylor, 2003:3). I also explore memory as a significant category of performance, both as creating norms as well as creating an alternate space-time from the present. Apart from Diana Taylor’s works, I will engage specifically with Jan Assmann’s ‘Religion and Cultural Memory’ where he says “like consciousness, language, and personality, memory is a social phenomenon” (2000:1) Further he suggests “two different modes of remembering episodic memory and semantic memory. Episodic memory refers to our experiences, semantic memory to everything we have learned and memorized. It is called semantic

because it is connected to meaning and reference.” (2000:2) “Halbwachs has shown that people need bonds in order to develop a memory and to be able to remember.” (2000:4) the name giving a performance for instance bonds relatives and community member together as they recall their past. The performance gives suitable meaning to that context and bodily performance of the people who gather to celebrate the performance. While looking at cultural memory, this perspective also allows me to look at how cultural memory makes one learn the traditional values and norms which ancestors have followed for generations.

In alternate imaginative space, the community also presents a nostalgic longing for a natural life. One of their narrative songs recalls Ganga- Jamuna Rivers various trees on the both side of the river. They recall Kashi to Lanka and various nations in Indian subcontinent. Some names of the nations are Khandesh Kuppaldesh, Malnaddesh Telanganadesh etc. singing performances I analyze with the music rhythm tone, recitation and repetition of lyrics. The oral language of the Gaur Banjara Lambani people is different from regional and national. All languages were basically and originally oral. For the project, I will primarily use the ethnographic methods documenting performances, and taking extensive interviews.

Introduction has dealt with the historiography of the debates around the community. It discusses in detail the works around the history of migration, the criminalization of the community by the colonial government as well as the debates around the significance of *Tanda* as a geographical and organizational structure away from the mainstream. The Introduction will further contextualize the logic of using the three spatial divisions for understanding the performances of the community as well as the logic of selecting the specific performances I analyze in detail.

Though the Lambani community has no significant access to writing, the dissertation elaborates how a collective identity transmit in the performance and effect a complex identification in the present. I particularly highlight the significance of the history of migration, claims to warrior-past and organization of *Tanda* by independent panchayat as crucial. Through the analysis of the different spatiality, the dissertation also provides a more nuanced understanding of the different kinds of performance and the diverging effects and goals of performances. I also raise the question of how the Gaur Banjara Lambani community creates new kinds of performances that are critical in raising social-political issues of the present.

## Introduction

This dissertation has small attempted to map individual and collective life style through rites, festival and livelihood performance at work of a semi nomadic community. Introduction has dealt with the historiography of the debates around the community. It discusses in detail the works around the history of migration, the criminalization of the community by the colonial government as well as the debates around the significance of *Tanda* as a geographical and organizational structure away from the mainstream. The Introduction will further contextualize the logic of using the three spatial divisions for understanding the performances of the community as well as the logic of selecting the specific performances I analyze in detail.

The first chapter of the dissertation looks at the rites, ceremonies at home in terms of performance and trace the literary production for specific uses. It highlights the significance of the rites celebration of an individual's life. Its actual nature of the performance practices within the framework of house. Thus the chapter tracks the proverbial and bridal song to explain the performative context at home. Home is a limited space and one where especially women exercise their creativity and control. Home as a space allows for different kinds of performances such as name giving a performance (a rite), vadai rite as a mark of adulthood for the boy, teaching of *bidaai(Haveli)* song to the bride (performance as teaching). After the teaching of the *bidaai (Haveli)* song in the morning at home, it is meant to be sung in public in the *Tanda* by the bride. When a bride departs from her parents' house, she holds parents and relatives and cry with rhythmic song. Teaching and learning process is at home. The learned song in home needs to be performed in public by the bride is outside the home public place. In these performances elderly women play an important role and participate to teach a song to the bride and sing name giving

song for male and female child. The chapter is a detailed explanation of the process of knowledge transmission inside the home.

The second location is Tanda. Tandas are liminal places different from traditional villages of Karnataka. In the open and public space of their settlement all members participate in cultural activities like rituals, rites, festivals and so on. Men and women, children and elders equally participate in the celebration. The second chapter is an in-depth study of the major Holi festival celebration in as marking communities with complex performance. The systematic stages of celebration as well as literary production of the performance. This chapter extensively deals with the Holi festival and analyses the complexity of the rite of *dhund* as well as the celebration part of Holi. The next section examines Holi festival at fort, here is the larger world of community. I specifically look at one such site Bahadur Banda Kuppal Gadd fort in central Karnataka. Here a larger Gaur Banjara Lambani community's identity is articulated. This is a historical place for the Gaur Banjara Lambani community as here they celebrated Holi for the first time when they migrated from north to South. Now they assemble here every year and celebrate Holi to establish equality among the clans. In the Fort people assemble in the open ground and build a stage for cultural program. The cultural group from various *Tanda* present their performances. It consists of different kinds of performances-ranging from speeches, dances of young men and women to sing romantic songs of the community, as well as songs that critique the present system. For instance, one of the songs deal with poverty as it says, wake up! Dear brothers. For livelihood, we are bringing water from twelve miles distant. Know we are thinking to build a water tank in our villages. The community member speak and sing about their problems with the performance. The chapter thus explores the specific contexts in which the individual get change to function in different engagements and perform with the community member. This chapter forms the central

connecting point to make unity among various tandas in a particular context of space and at the time of Holi celebration.

In the first and second chapter I have looked at the rites and the festival performance of the community. The performances are performed to create identity of an individual and to make participation of collective to adaptations of traditional values of its members. I conclude, the first chapter by saying that the performance of proverbs is transforming the history of the community. I explore the relationship between history and performance and the community identification through the Holi festival. I specifically raise questions such as how does the community raise socio- political issues through performance. It also looks at specific issues like how dances of the community placed within a stage setting, how is different?

The third chapter I have built argument for oral performance at work. In this chapter I have found out the reason for the migration of the community. The third chapter traces the emergence of the household activities for women in relation to the domestic contest for maintaining social relationships with individuals in the community. It presents the changing nature of the performance in the household context as well as agricultural work. It captures the domestic and agricultural burden on women in contemporary. It examines various activities at working context to understand social insight of the community. Thus the chapter has closely studied the household performance context to understand and theorize the continued existence of such performance in household context.

## CHAPTER ONE

### DOMESTIC RITES CEREMONIES AT HOME

#### **Introduction**

The present chapter attempts a close study of Gaur Banjara Lambani community's cultural practices at domestic space in the home. This chapter argues that the traditional collective performance practices such as the rites are celebrated to give instruction and shape an individual's identity. Arnold van Gennep's rites of passage approach have been applied to study an individual analysis and human behavior on rites ceremony organized by family members within the community. According to Gennep rites of passage as ceremonies organized around the individual rites of passage which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age. A human life cycle is marked by these passages from one social and physical position to another, in a pattern determined by the physiological and psychological maturation of an individual as well as the cultural socialization pattern and worldview of the community. Some of these transition take place only one in an individual's life, some may occur repeatedly."<sup>17</sup> However, the ceremonies which are group events they designate as rites of intensification.

The rites of passage are associated with different phases of human life, such as birth, childhood, puberty, initiation or into adult status, engagement, marriage, maternal confinement, fatherhood, transfer into another status, and death.<sup>18</sup> He identified three common stages in the rites of passage: separation, liminality, and reintegration. The separation means leaving the previous world, either physically or symbolically, and recovery is the process of returning the community into new world. The term liminality refers to risk taking experiences that occur in spaces outside of the normal rhythms and expectations that shape one's life. It is a cultural activity to help a person to attain the new change for social development. Victor W. Turner Liminal space celebrated within the social structure of the home. Lauri Honko defines rites of passage as traditional ceremonies organized by the community through which the individual is transferred from one social status to another. Rites of passage focus rightly on changes in the social position of the individual.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the rites

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<sup>17</sup>Charlie T. McCormick, Kim Kennedy White , ed. *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art*, Volume 1, 1107

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 1107.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 1107

celebration is absolutely individualistic, begins at home, it bound family member together and makes the familiar relationship with individuals to live together. The chapter includes the reflection of social structure in the rites performance. It deals with the performance process of the proverbs and bridal songs on the rite, particularly birth naming and wedding ceremonies. Proverbs and bridal songs are reflecting socio-cultural tradition of community. The recitation of the proverbs is occurring in rites celebration and it referred as cultural symbolic act.

### **Home**

The Gaur Banjara Lambani semi-nomadic community gradually developed a joint family system as soon as it began to settle in one place. The people built mud houses to start a family; later permanent houses. A few settled families named their settlement as Tandas to lead community life. The settlement is based on dependency, support to each other with close relatives. The community turned into settled as well as semi nomadic for seasonal movements. The home is a space for the dominant representation of the daily lives to transfer the cultural ideas to family members. Women's performance is the main thing in the inner space of the house. Ghar is a local idiom for the house. It is a private space, the outsider is not allowed in it. Traditionally, women were significant contributors in the field of culture in the house. They recite verses with a loud voice by recalling their memory. The recitation (uccāraṇ) of prose and poetry highlights the poetic talents of women. Their labor performance highlights that pastoral life and cultivation is the primary occupation of their livelihood. The recitation of poetry and its verbal expression play important role to transfer traditional knowledge of the home. Elderly people play an important role to passing knowledge in the young masses of the community. A close observation of traditional cultural practice of the community seems it came from strong roots. Being a nomadic way of leading life, the community gradually started to celebrate the rites and rituals to express their joy in collective life. Rites celebrations are important activities at the home. Every human being undergoes various rites and ceremonies from birth to death. The rite celebration is occurring when an individual is on the threshold. Individuals require support in their threshold stage. Thus society developed certain rites; to support and celebrate, family member collectively comes together to take efforts is nurture an individual who are on the threshold. Many rites and ceremonies gradually come into exist for celebration to express their joy in specific occasion by parents and family members in a collective society.



## 1. Birth

“When a child is born, they have only a physical existence; they are not yet recognized by their family nor accepted by the community. It is only by virtue of those rites performed immediately after birth that they are incorporated into the community of the living.”<sup>20</sup>

The birth of children is a happy moment to celebrate in the Gaur Banjara Lambani community. The delivery takes in the husband’s house because the nomadic way of life made the women life time separated from her parents. The parents are in ‘liminal condition’ at the time of child birth. In this condition they have to maintain many restrictions. Dr. Sannaram (scholar of the community) in his writing mentions that the community believes pregnant woman’s husband should not kill any animal. He should not to go to the funeral rite. Pregnant women should careful about her mental as well as her physical fitness. She should not attend any delivery of pregnant women.”<sup>21</sup> Roy Burman opines, “Expecting mothers are not allowed to walk over ropes tying the cattle. Nor are they supposed to jump over streams. Neighbors treat them with sweets and food they prefer to have prior to child-birth.”<sup>22</sup> These rules are traditionally driven and modified with suitable cultural contact. Impurity is observed after childbirth, thus for delivery cowshed or separate hut will be made because the Lambanis house has only a single room, that is what they need separate room for the delivery arrangements. Separation from home is required to manage in-between period of child delivery. In this crisis situation a woman is in liminal stage and need of help, thus the experienced married women will be present at the time of delivery to help from her birth recovery. The gender discrimination begins on the day birth of a human baby. If the child is male people celebrate it as a happy moment: child’s father gives a feast, tea, and liquor is also offered to his friends. On the birth of male child Nagara (Drum) is played with two wooden sticks to announce to the family and the community. At the same time if the child is female happiness of parents disappear. The birth of a girl is associated with sadness. The birth of female child a (thali) bronze plate will be played to announce to the family and community in Tanda. Thus, Roy Burman says, when a boy is born the rituals are elaborately performed, but not if it is a girl. According to Shyamala Devi “The father usually celebrates a son’s birth by distributing molasses and dry

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<sup>20</sup>Eliade, Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane: The nature of religion*, Trans, Trask, Willard R., New York. 1968.

<sup>21</sup>Sannaram, Dr. *Lambani Sanskruti: Study of Lambani Culture*, Reader, Kannada Bharati Kuvempu University Shankarghatta. Shimoga. Malnad Offset Printers and Publishers, 1999. P. 69

<sup>22</sup>Roy Burman J.J. *Ethnography of a Denotified Tribe* Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 2010.

coconut to his caste men. No such disc is added nor is their distribution of molasses and dry coconut on the birth of a daughter.”<sup>23</sup> This notion shows a patriarchal society longing for a male child and a systematic discrimination on birth of a female child. One pair cloths will be distributed to elderly women who were present at the time of delivery and sweets are distributed to young children on the same day. After delivery the Kadavo sweet mixed with jaggary is prepared for the mother to drink. They had a belief that healthy food gives extra energy to mother and this special food is given one month after the child birth. The newborn child is initially fed only mother’s milk. Solid food is given to it only after five months. The new mother is forbidden from going out to work on the farm till about six months after the child is born. She takes bath only with warm water.

**Dhalva Dhokero (Agni Worship)**, After the birth of a child's mother enter what Turner and Van Gennep would call a “liminal condition”. Mother is regarded as ‘unclean’ for five days when she lives apart in a separate hut in the village. She has separated from her home and created a hut for her to live. All arrangements are organized for her in the hut. This condition in a rite of passage is the phase of separation. This “comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or a set of cultural conditions.”<sup>24</sup> To make her clean community member perform the rite named Dhalwa Dhokero (agni worship). The rite held on the fifth day after the child is born. The rite is as similar as reincorporate a mother and child in the family as well as the larger village community. Mother comes out of the hut; undertake the bath, new clothes are offered to her. A rite is performed, at a distance from the house holy fire is kindled in this rite the women with holding her child walks five rounds with holding water pot on her head and dropping wheat on way up to the holy fire. Elderly women stand in a circle in the courtyard recite traditional song. The lyric of the song goes like this:

वेईमाता, हसती हसती वर अयेस, रोती-रोती पर जाययेस,  
 सुई-डोरा लेतानी पर जायेस, सन-सुतळी लेतानीवर आयेस,  
 वेई माता मावली हरी-भरीरकाड, वेईमाता -भरो -भरोरकाड.

Oh mother, come hither with the smile, go thither with crying,

<sup>23</sup>Shyamala, Devi. *Tribal Integration In A Developing Economy: A Study with to Two Lambada Villages in Andhra Pradesh*. (Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University., 1988.), 81

<sup>24</sup>Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company (1969), 94

Go thither with a (needle and thread), Come hither with (jute and thread),  
 Oh mother make all over great prosperity, O goddess graces the child with happiness.

This prayer is offered to the Goddess and it expresses mother's care and concern for the well-being of a child.<sup>25</sup> The performance she gets the full entry into the new status. It is a symbolic approach to welcome back as having new status in her life and take her responsibilities as a successful mother. The impurity of birth is removed after celebration of this performance. Once this performance is done the whole house is purified from the impurity of birth. She washes the feet of all the children in the village, and then the sweet mixture called "Sweet Flour" is distributed to the gathered people, then returns to her home. Thus, the Dalwa Dhokayero ritual gets finalized and new mother is deemed as transformed to ritually pure. It is celebrated after the birth of both boy and girl child. The rite shows that she is purified from her threshold. Once again her reincorporation in the society as a mother this act is performed in public. The child birth process redefines social and personal identity. Her social status will change after the birth of a child. The song sung on this occasion known as Voolang. The meaning of these songs differs to place to place. Naik notes that "the prayer shows that if a female is born, they go that side with crying and if a male child is born, they say come here with laughing. Many of the cradle songs have described their beautiful children are compared to the sun, the moon and other gods."<sup>26</sup> Shyamala Devi puts "In Gaur Banjara Lambani society a woman is supposed to work till the delivery pains occur. No exceptionally easy work is allotted to a pregnant woman."<sup>27</sup> After 21 days mother is allowed to perform household chores again. These notions show female has more responsibility in household affairs, she faces work load in domestic activities even though she is in her delivery period.

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<sup>25</sup>Naik D.B. *Art and Literature of Lambani Banjara*, Abhinav Publications, 2000, 16

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 17

<sup>27</sup>Shyamala Devi *Tribal Integration In A Developing Economy: A Study with to Two Lambada Villages in Andhra Pradesh*. (Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University. 1988.), 109

## 2. Name Giving Ceremony

The name signifies a person's identity and individuality. The naming ceremony (नामकरण संस्कार) of newborn child represented as performance activity. The community have believed that it is suitable for the naming ceremony their child after the tenth day of birth and before thirteenth day. The naming rite increases parental bonding and responsibilities towards the child as well as society. For the gathering, father will inform all the people of the village and elder member of each family. The community women gather in the evening. Outside of the home all elder women of relatives and neighbors assembly singing songs while inside of the home the decoration of the cradle and other arrangement is going on. Women's assembly always ready to sing meaningful songs. According to the situation they create and remember the meaningful song. Their songs suggest something to a child and deserve some expectation of the child.

भारी आचों गुजरनी आजरो दाडो Today is very good day friend.

घनों आचो गुजरनी आजरो दाडो Today is very pleasant day friend.

कुणभेलों गुजरनी आजरो दाडो? Who organized the gathering friend?

कुण भेळी हरपरनी आजरो दाडो? Who arranged the assembly friend?

दादा भेलो गुजरनी आजरो दाडो Grandfather organized the meeting today friend.

दादी भेळी हरपनिआजेरोदाडो Grandmother arranged the assembly today friend.

बापू भेलो गुजरनी आजरो दाडो Father organized the gathering today friends.

याडी भेळी गुजरनी आजरो दाडो Mother arranged the assembly today friends.

भारी आचों गुजरनी आजरो दाडो Today is very good day friends.

घनों आचो गुजरनी आजरो दाडो Today is very pleasant day friends.

The naming rite is traditionally performed in house of child a cradleboard is brought, it is made with wooden stick by local carpenter of the village. It is norm in community that, the child's cradle should brought by paternal (फूकी) aunton the name giving ceremony, It decorated with various flowers which are available in the forest. And the cradle is decorated with some balloons to make

the cradle is attractive. After decoration of the cradle child's mother will give her child to her sister in law/ the aunt of the child. She should situate child into the decorated cradle. The child's name is selected from all opinion from the elder people of the house. The most suitable name will be the final of this name giving ceremony. The final name the child's aunt will give taking agreement from each person of the house. Their tradition indicates that the paternal grandfather picks a suitable name. The elderly women play cradle blessings are recited at the naming ceremony in the house. The gathering gives blessing to child with song, within the song they recall ancestor, and it seems newborn child as referred to their forefather. It as a training for child to make him as a social being in the community life. The celebration is a unique kind of recognition and the declaration, formal name of the child and its acceptance into the broader community. The feast is made to offer the gatherings. It distributed all the relatives of the Tanda. The meaningful and suitable cradle song will be sung at cheerful occasion. The song collected at the naming ceremony in Kunikeri Tanda. The song goes like this:

राज कुमार बाई विजय कुमार <sup>28</sup> ये	Oh prince sister the victorious person.
राज कुमार बाई विजय कुमारये	Oh future king sister the victorious person.
दादीरो पोतो बाई राजकुमारये	Oh sister, the prince is Grandmother's grandson.
दादारो पोतो बाई विजयकु मारये	Oh sister the victorious child is grandfather's grandson.
बापुरो बेटा बाई राजे कुमारये	Father's son will become future king o sister.
याडीरो बेटा बाई राजे कुमारये	Mother's son will become victorious man o sister.
बेनेरो भाई बाई राजे कुमारये	Sister's brother is prince oh sister.
भाईरो भिया बाई राज कुमारये	Younger brother's elder brother is a victorious man.
फूफीरो भतिजा बाईरा जकुमारये	Aunt's dear cousin is the prince oh sister.
फूफारो भतिजा बाई राजकुमारये	Uncle's dear cousin is the victorious man o sister.
राज कुमार बाई विजय कुमारये	Oh prince sister the victorious person.

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<sup>28</sup>Rajkumar and Vijaykumar are the name of children. The meaning of the names are king and victorious person.

राजकुमारबाईविजयकुमारये

Oh future king sister the victorious person.

The song praises the male child as their future king. He is a victorious man of the community. At the same time is some one's grandchild, some one's good brother and someone are uncle and aunt to him. One line says he will become the protector of the community. The entire community members are relatives to him. He belongs to them. This name gives an identity of anonymous child, as well as all types of relatives which he may live with them in their future life. This is an identification ceremony of the child.

### 3. Vadai rite:

Vadai is rite of a symbolic act of adulthood for boys. According to Gaur Banjara Lambani people the word vadai means to grow and have social maturity. The child has grown up and he wants approval to enter into family life, the Vadai rites grants permission to him. This rite would take place at the age of 13 for the male child's life. The Bhagat (priest) of the Tanda will brand a mark with the needle on the right shoulder of the bridegroom and his brother, elderly people suggest to that child you are grown up and your life will be independent you should lead life successful like a king rides his own horse. They utter proverbial words to bridegroom to have social maturity to lead simple life in community. The nomadic life style require brave and heroic masculine qualities which are communicated and taught through this performance.

कोई आए कोई जाए कोळीमाई जोगसमाए.

मुंगे अवदामोगरा, तल्ली अवडाभाण छः

धोलो घोड़ो हासलो पातलिया सवार छः

गुरु बाबा सदा सदा तु जाण.

Clan comes clan goes in the world.

Mogara flower has small like mung pulse and arrow has small, like one piece of grain.

White horse has necklace and the owner is the rider on it.

Spiritual teacher's blessing has been with you forever, Oh dear child remember forever.

When a child grows up it is necessary to go through the vadai rite. In this rite he learns what he needs to do in his grown up life. He is unaware of his life, then the community member chant a verse where he learns his next step of the life. The meaning of the verses goes like, "oh son, your world is full of obstacles like the hills and valley, many a people was born here and disappeared." You have the blessing of Guru Baba, be successful in life. Ride on a white horse through the valley of life. Have always on faith on spiritual guide. He will ever protect you. The name of Guru is quite essential for understanding the mysterious power of the world and the salvation from this mundane world. It is a social recognition of adulthood. At night before marriage decoration is made in the middle of the home. On the decoration cloth will be kept. The bridegroom and his brother both sit on the mat. Elderly women sing volang song at the same time a needle made a hit on the lamp. The mark will make on the right shoulder of the bridegroom and his brother. It is a mark of adulthood. This system is to prepare a boy for marriage and another to get ready for marriage. The proverb will be recited on this occasion, this act is to prepare a boy mentally and said that do not be afraid. This day onwards you will ride a white horse. You are able to ride the horse successfully for that you have the blessings of Guru. Sweet dish offer to fire on this movement. Sweet food will be given to both brides, groom and his brother. From proverbial verses, people are suggesting him one thing that's on our way there are many people come and go, you should ride your horse successfully. The rite is nothing but wishing a boy to be a man and lead a successful life in the society.

To cup it all, Vadai rite is a cultural patterned structure created to the transformation of a boy into adulthood and given him positive attitudes towards his own life. The performative proverb recited for certain purposes, itself is evidence and it suggests him, do not be afraid teacher's guidance always with you. After the celebration of the vadai an individual is independent of the society. The vadai rite offers fearless attitude for the future.

### **Volang Song**

The volang chanting is a tradition in the bridegroom's house is a custom in the community before the marriage take place in Tanda. The volang chanting goes following.

रुपेका पाल सोनेकी लड़ीये

Silvers tent golden decoration

ऊ भल्लो ताड़ो दादारो फोते	The organization made by grandfather's grandson.
रुपेका पाल सोनेकी लड़ीये	Silvers tent golden decoration
ऊ भल्लो ताड़ो बापेरो बेटा	The organization made by father's son
रुपेका पाल सोनेकी लड़ीये	Silvers tent golden decoration
ऊ भल्लो ताड़ो भाईरो बेदा	The organization made by brother's brother.
रुपेका पाल सोनेकी लड़ीये	Silvers tent golden decoration

The Gaur Banjara Lambani community has a very interesting performance on the day of wedding; elderly women sing a traditional song called volang during the night of marriage at the bride groom's house. The song is involved remembrance of one of the three ancestors of their family tradition. Before the marriage bride groom undergoes this rite. According volang song a grandson of the grandfather and son of the father brother's brother has organized grand marriage party because the boy is socially grown up into adulthood. At the weddings they recited the history, praised ancestors and genealogy of the bridegroom.

#### 4. The Betrothal

Traditionally community's bride and bridegroom do not see one another until the day of the official ceremony. The boy's parents start inquiring an appropriate girl and they seek help from their relatives to find a well-known girl, some times of marital alliance are made by match makers. The match maker always plays important role to make marital alliances to marriageable children. Dhadis are professional singer of the community; they meet various groups on their way. Therefore it could be easy for them bring two families together. Thus, Dhadis perform as match makers of the community. They are also paid by both parents for their valuable service because they played important role to find out suitable couples. As soon as they find suitable girl, the boy's parents continues to go continent day to the girl's place along with their naik and other elder members of the Tanda. The girl's father inquires the boy's suitability and he visits to boy's house with his punchayat. If everything is fine marriage is finalized. The panchayat of two Tandas and relatives assemble on an appropriate day at girl's house. Two Tandas Gaur Panch meet at brides



or bride groom's house and make an assembly for the betrothal rite. D.B. Naik put it 'In the presence of leader of the Tanda they assemble at holy temple for performing this engagement ceremony.' On that occasion the Naik of the community says like this...

पांच पंचायत रजाभोजेरी सभा ,आपण से लाखन सवालाक.

पचारे तो लाख अन पचारेतो सव्वालाख

आकासेति पड़ी बूंध :वत निकली मेतिर भाजीर नायक मेतीर भाजी खान :

सगाशेन्न राजीवेगे रनायक:

This assembly is like the assembly of king Raja Bhoj.

This exceeds a lakh of people.

Drops of rain fall down from the sky.

Vegetable are grown on the earth oh chief.

We eat those vegetables.

Relatives all agree oh chief.

In the assembly groom sits center and an old man requests the explanations for this meeting. The two punchayat naik respond by stating marriage as the root for the meeting. In the gathering, a person brings out a rupee coin 'sakiya' another person brings out a bag 'kotali'(marriage bag) a third person bring out a coconut, fourth person bring out some color fifth person starts moving around shouting – take coconut, take color, take the bag, take the rupee coin etc. and then mixes up with the crowd. These five individuals are members of the community 'Jat Panchayat'. The rupee coin is accepted by the naik of the groom's Tanda. The 'Kotali' is accepted by the bride's father. The color is accepted by the naik of bride's Tanda. A coconut is given to a close relative of the groom. After this a brother of the bride presents two rupees and a cloth to the groom. At the end *jaggery* is given to all the people. On this situation there is a proverb पान पानेती मान मानती रंग. The betel leaves gives respect with respect we put color on you. When they eat betel nut at the ceremony they recite a proverb of पान सपारी र कड़ी (Betel Nut) proverb. The eating betel nut in punchayat after the two

family alliances was made punch take permission to eat betel nut distribute to all people in the engagement party.

पांच पंचायत रजा भोजेरी सभा	We (punch) panchayat in Raja Bhoj's assembly.
आपण से लाखन सवालाक.	We all are worth full.
कड़वा गडेरी कड़वी सपारी ,चंपागडेरो पान	Betel nut is from kadava fort Betel leaf is from champa fort
पान कतो मान घनोछ :	Betel leaves lay lots of pride
बेटा आयोच मानती लो पाचीपान मानती.	Son came on with his will

After the recitation of the proverbs council permits to take betel leaves whole heartedly.

The proverbs and sayings are most important role to play in rite celebration of the community. They created many proverbs on many issues; those reflect social phenomena that are basic part of the community life. The two Tanda council makes marital arrangements successful. The council eats jiggery/sugar in the assembly for social recognition. The assembly is departs by smoking hukka. The hukka smoking gets approval by chanting the proverb.

पांच पंचायत रजा भोजेरी सभा  
 आपण सेलाखन सवालाक.  
 पचारे तो लाख अनपचारे तो सब्वालाख  
 नीचे थल ,थल के उप्पेर जलजलको  
 उप्पर फ़थर ,फ़थर के उप्परजरदा  
 जरदा के उप्पर लाल .  
 देव धर्मके अगलचडे  
 हुक्का लो पंच भकाशिस करलो हुक्का<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The proverbs told by Pandappa Pujari at Kunikeri Tanda. 12.03.2014.

We (panch) panchayat Raja Bhoj's assembly.

At the bottom the plate the plate has pipe in it,

The pipe has the stone on it. The stone has tobacco on it.

The tobacco has lite

It is used on worship to god

Oh panch take hookka, as a gift.

Using hukka was more prominent among the people in the old days they used to smoke hukka in the public gathering. The hookka smoking is only for men not for women. The old proverbial wisdom is recited after the alliance is made for marriage. The proverbs referred as raja bhoj and his punchayat system. The community is patriarchal and highlights the position of the male child on the every occasion in the community. The proverbs indicate that they are maintaining traditional structure in the society. The community people are in the protection of traditional panchayat, on every crucial time it is active. For instance if anybody dies in the Tanda, it organizes all the necessary work for cremation. If somebody gets involved in crime, panch take actions on him. If somebody wants to have a divorce, panch take decision. The organization of the festivals in the Tanda is responsibility of the punchayat. Thus, panch is treating every individual as equal as their proverbs specify. “पंच पंचायत राजा भोजेर सभा आपण से लाख अनसव्वा लाख” (We are in Raja Bhoj's assembly we all are worth full.) This sentence shows liberty and equality in their culture. Raja Bhoj was a historical figure which the community referring as their king in olden days. One of the members of the community opinion that olden day's raja bhoj has well-known name. His punchayat has good reputation thus; he has dominated the forefathers mind. The community made his name as an immortal in their council proverb. ‘Raja Bhoj ruled over Malwa, with his capital located in a town named ‘Dhara’. He was born in a Kshtriya clan called Parmar.’<sup>30</sup> His power and influence, religious and philanthropic deeds, and his practice of showering honours and gifts on poets and scholars with these qualities he has dominated the people's mind.<sup>31</sup> D.B. Naik says that this traditional knowledge has got its own importance from the social point of view. The collective memory of remembering raja bhoj in assembly is relevant. The King has remained in the deep

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<sup>30</sup> Vatsya, Santaram. *Raja Bhoj*. Trans. Kaul, N.N. (National Publishing House Delhi-6.), 6

<sup>31</sup> *ibid*: p.4

psyche of people's collective memory. This relationship of blood is not entertainment, but it binds two families for further growth and development causing harmony."<sup>32</sup>In this manner proverbs and sayings are created on many issues, which play an important role in rite celebration of the community. The proverb reflect social phenomena that are basic part of the community life.

## 5. Marriage

Banjara Lambani community is divided into two main divisions, to make marital relationship, they are known as Jat and Bhukiya. The interviewer state that "community has patrilineal system of marriage which permits cross-cousin marriage. No one is allowed to marry within the Gotra in Tanda. The notion of love marriage is absent because previously child marriage was the norm, If someone does love marriage, then he/she is expelled from the Tanda/community and no one remain unmarried."<sup>33</sup>Wedding considered as pleasant moment in an individual's life, particular for female in community. It provides a legal opportunity to give birth in organized manner. In ancient days among Gaur Banjaras marrying a woman was a great voyage. Marrying two females as regarded as prestige for man. Ruplanaik mentions that Banjaras wedding are celebrated with great fun and fare and the celebrations go on for a number of days with singing and dancing"<sup>34</sup> Marriage and family are two phases which makes to build home. N. Shantha Mohan argues that "marriage and family are two aspects of the same social reality, viz- the bio-psychical –com-social needs of man, which are coeval with each other and with culture. On the individual plane, marriage ensures a biological satisfaction and psychological one, and on the collective plane it ensures the survival of both the group and its culture. The marital bond is found to bring together not just two individuals but two families of even settlement."<sup>35</sup>The "parents feel that the social position of their children will depend on the amount of their land. They incline to limit artificially the size of their families and to treat marriage very much as a business contract, seeking always to marry their sons to heiresses."<sup>36</sup> The marriages are inspired by community, and

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<sup>32</sup> Naik, D.B., *Art and Literature of Lambani Banjara*, (New Delhi Abhinav Publications, 2000)45

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Babu Rathod of Ranjangi tanda.

<sup>34</sup> Roy, Burman J.J. *Ethnography of a Denotified Tribe* Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 2010. P. 30

<sup>35</sup> Mohan, Shantha N. *Status of Banjara Women in India* (A Study of Karnataka). New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House. 1988. P.78.

<sup>36</sup> Marshall, Alfred. *Principles of Economics: An Introductory Volumes*, (London: Macmillan and Co. 8th ed. 1920). 109

many time it is a compulsory act for panchayat. It is essential responsibility of parents to organize marriage and becomes a burdensome cultural act. The parent has to undergo a costly, burdensome process to legitimize their children's marriage in the eyes of orthodox mindset who wrapped with tradition in community. The arranged marriage are not only social facts, but it is still norm in the Lambani community.

### **Traditional Marriage**

Shyamala Devi says "Traditional Banjara community's marriage proposals start from the ninth day of the baby's birth day and begin from the boy's side because of cross cousin marriage. The marriage itself is generally performed at the age of 14 years for the boy and 13 years for the girl (preferably as soon as the girl matures). Further she argues "if girl's marriage is not performed at the age of 14 years, girls are teased and insulted till the marriage."<sup>37</sup> Interviewer? Mansingh, explain that "traditional marriages take place in the bride's house the ceremony should be one month it means bride groom supposed go to bride's house before one month with an elderly person called leriya." Leriya is well worse in panchayat activities and cultural activities. When they go to bride's settlement engage conversation with naik they share some important task such as friend of bride groom tells.

लेरिया : गोतुर कसळत, ज्ञानेरतिजोरी

आपण से आनंद छः क बापू?

नायक : गोतुर कसळत, ज्ञानेरतिजोरी

आपणसे आनंद छः क बापू?

कूणसे गड़ेती आयोची?

लेरिया : चौहूगडति आयोचा बापू.

नायक : वाटेपकुन- कुनभलेते?

लेरिया : बापू वाटेप पनियारी भळी थी.

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<sup>37</sup> Shyamala Devi, *Tribal Integration In A Developing Economy: A Study With Reference To Two Lambada Villages In Andhra Pradesh* (Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University 1989), 110.

नायक : तो काई कीदो?

लेरिया : चावल पावल मान मानता कीदो

नायक : काई मेल्यायोची? उन काई लायोची?

लेरिया : दजा मेल्यायोचु, आशाशेर आयोचु<sup>38</sup>

Friend: oh father! Relatives thinking you are happy.

Naik: oh father! Relatives thinking you are well.

Which fort (origin) are you coming from?

Friend: we come from chauhan's fort<sup>39</sup>

Naik: Whom you met on the way?

Friend: We met on the way water bringing girl.

Naik: Then what you did?

Friend: We respected her and given four paisa coin.

Naik: What you left and what you brought with you.

Friend: I left village. I brought desire for new life.

The conversation has traditional introduction and well-coming rite of the guest who come to asking girls hand for marriage. It help both sides to understand each other and inquire each other's healthy life. As soon as the conversation is over both bride groom and his helpmate welcomed into their group. Both will stay one month at bride's house and prepare for marriage. In the one month period bride groom take so much care and eat varieties of food. During this time he must provide a supply of liquor daily for bride's male relatives. While he resides at the bride's house bridegroom wear a cloth over his head so that his face cannot be seen. It is practice as bride groom working as a servant at his father-in-laws house. It benefits of the bride and groom to get

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<sup>38</sup> The dialogue narrated by Babu Rathod at Ranjangi Tanda. 13.03.2014.

<sup>39</sup> If bridegroom is from chauhan clan he answers Chau Gadd or if a bridegroom is from pawar clan he answers from Pawu Gadd. If he is from Rathod clan he replays Rahu Gadd.

to know each other better. The object of this exercised is to judge the nature and character of the boy. During the nomadism, marriages were performed in tents. The amount of marriage expenses largely spend by groom's parents. The groom had to pay bride price in the form of three calves or bulls and some amount of money. The money went towards the feasting and drinking from the three calves one was exchanged for bride's jewelry, the second cow of the three calves were traded for clothing and household items required by the couple to setup their new home. Before bride left for her new home, she along with the third calf were taken around the Tanda. The whole Tanda could give her blessings. After achievement of marriage rite the group will send their daughter with well-known bridegroom during residence he has familiar with bride. Then the bride takes permanent departure from her family as well as her Tanda. At this movement the marriage song particularly (haveli songs) weeping song are come into exist in practice.

### **Haveli Geet (bridal sendoff song)**

Song is connected with their social custom. Haveli song is one among them; haveli song is ritual weeping at the marriage farewell to girl. It is an act to withdrawal a girl by society. It seems lamentation song because marriage is made to permanent departure from parental house for girl in the nomadic community. It is rarely possible to meet the group which bride born and grown up. Shyamla devi describe that "these type of songs are taught to the girls so that they should be well prepared to bear all the difficulties at their in laws place apart from the poverty."<sup>40</sup>After marriage bride is member of other group where her bridegroom has belonging. To prepare of joining next group bride undergoes training by elderly women in the Tanda. A bride learns all rules and regulations for next life from elderly women on this process. The women sorrowful and parting songs are known as the Davalo song. Through Davalos they teach bride haveli song. At the time of marriage bride express her feeling through song called as haveli. Haveli is act of ritual weeping. It recalls their history of migration (departure from one place to other) the nomadic days practice is still alive among community, thus she needs to learn and sing haveli song.

The songs are taught to the girls so that she should be well prepared to bear all the difficulties at their in laws place apart from the poverty. They sing to the bride her duties and role in her

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<sup>40</sup> Shyamala Devi, *Tribal Integration In A Developing Economy: A Study With Reference To Two Lambada Villages In Andhra Pradesh* (Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University 1988), 112.

husband's house and the necessities for her to bring a good name to her parental home. Each song is go along with by the members acceptance the bride and crying. Shyamala Devi says Davalos (bedai songs) are emotionally addressed to each of her relatives in turn requesting each to hide her somewhere but not to send her to an unknown place."<sup>41</sup> Further she says the marriage song describes the bride's unwillingness to get married to a stranger and leave her parents, family members, friends and her milieu. The bride hesitates to leave her place and to get into new hardships."<sup>42</sup> The community has unique characteristic of ritual weeping for bride. It is called as haveli. This is done mainly to express sorrow. The leaning process is in the bride grooms house at the early morning of the day of marriage, the elderly women gathered surrounding the bride and teach very important verses that she could understand the meaning of the verses, the bride need to express with them. The process involves two hours to teach some simple basic concept of haveli song with weeping. It is a way to disconnect all her belonging at fathers' house. The haveli performance shows affection between close relatives and at the same time it shows that the bride is going to face difficulties in her next stage of life.

The bride considered imperfect thus, basic social and moral standards are tough in this performance. After marriage a person is considered as unique individual to live his life as a successful journey. The custom of bride song is to make her obedient in husband's house. She taught submissive behavior in patriarchal social system in haveli rite before marriage. The traditional ideology which reified patriarchy, it submerges women's contribution in the family. The brides were guided by elderly women in the Tanda how to live in the world of patriarchal social framework. Roy Burman opines that "The haveli is usually sung at the time of departure of the bride from her father's house. It is certainly an expression of sorrow."<sup>43</sup> For example he recorded following haveli song.

"I have stayed for long in my father's kingdom

Though I am leaving do not abandon me."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Shyamala, Devi. *Tribal Integration in a Developing Economy: A Study with to Two Lambada Villages in Andhra Pradesh*. Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University. (1988). p.113.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 131.

<sup>43</sup> Roy, Burman J.J. *Ethnography of A Denotified Tribe*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications (2010). 54

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 54



Through this song a girl praises her father's home as kingdom to her, she admires after her departure father's house should not empty. It fills with all the happiness. Suneetha Rani Karamsi opines that "Bride's kith and kin lament in the marriage because as nomads and pastorals, the ever-moving Lambanis had very little chance of meeting them among other group. A girl married into some other group has to forget her parental relations. Thus, marriage was a moment of permanent separation for a girl thus; she learns to bear all responsibilities. According to this community, marriage and death become synonymous since both demand permanent separation. Thus their customs and traditions unveil the cultural history of the Lambanis."<sup>45</sup> When a girl is married and was sent with her husband, she seldom or never returned to her parental house. The practice, therefore, was to have her confinement in the husband's house. The migratory nomadic life got semi settled, even though perform of the marriage demands permanent departure to a girl. Therefore she learns the haveli song and sing in public place specifying, express her thankfulness to all the elders of the Tanda. As mentioned above she requests in the haveli song that my father's haveli should be in hands of rich man. May cows and oxen are its treasure, brother; sister that of another. According to Gaur Banjara Lambani community *haveli* means luxurious house which they were connection with it. The alternative meaning of home is haveli. When a bride is departing from her father's house she taught haveli geet, it is an expression of good wishes to the haveli as well as their settlement. As Shyamala Devi points out a bride says to all the elders of the Tanda "Let all the time flourish with green grass and let cattle and crops grow."<sup>46</sup> D.B.Naik as he sees it 'the separation is unavoidable for her but she wishes well her family as well as her community she would promises' to bring flowers but not grass.<sup>47</sup> I am going to analyze following song that I recorded.

### To Haveli

हवेलीये आहिया oh, dear haveli,

छुटचाली मारेमाये बापुरी हवेली haveli of my parents left behind

आंग देखूतो ठालो – ठालो दिखावच forward appears to me emptiness

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 59

<sup>46</sup> Shyamala, Devi. Tribal Integration in a Developing Economy: A Study with to Two Lambada Villages in Andhra Pradesh. Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University. (1988).

<sup>47</sup> Naik. D.B. *The Art and Literature of Banjara Lambanis* (A Socio-Cultural Study).

लार देखु तोभरो – भरोये अंहिया I fell prosperous in past.

हवेलीये आहिया oh, dear haveli,

सावकारे रसमनक रकाड maintain to perceptible of rich.

कचेरीरे पचेन काढ eradicate from clerical matters.<sup>48</sup>

She wishes her nostalgic past life as daughter and her attitude about future seems her life is full with emptiness. Yet, a bride requests to heveli that to be always stand visible to rich and retain overdue from clerical matter. The verses of the song request do not touch to poverty and any dispute to home of my father. She well wishes to her father's house always prosperous. Wealth and official matters are sign to flourishing family. Thus, it is expression of her concern about her father's family.

### **To father**

अरदास करुछु बापू , I offered prayer to you oh, my dear father.

सिखद बापू ओसीखेन मारे फोम बांधू Give me suggestions oh, dear father I will tie them in my legs.

रंगेजू नवजू नाविवु ,रूपोजू तापज्यू तपियु

सुईरी नाकेमईना निकालिवु,

तोबी तमन ओलमकिनी आयेदू बापूरे आहिया

The brides address her father with full of tears covers her face and expresses that: oh my loving father, I will tolerate all the worries at my mother-in-laws place like, I may bend like a wire, burn like a frying pan, burn like one of the coal piece and may become ashes, I will bend like a small thin thread come out of the needles space. But I will never bring any bad name for you.

In the haveli song with her father a bride says do not send me unknown place because she felt happy in his house. she is not ready to part with her parental house, further she understood that father's house is not permanent for her, it is necessary to her to get depart, then she says I bear all the difficulties in my new home as well as I bring good name to you.

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<sup>48</sup> The verses collected from Kavita D/o Premsingh Wedding ceremony at Pandargera Tanda 20. 02. 2015.

### To mother

Daughter are considered as burdensome to family and community. It is believed that mother and daughter relationship is an important. Daughter need to follow the same path which mother is going through. Therefore mothers' role towards daughter is friendly one. When she departs her mother's house, a bride requests her dear mother, keep your daughter safely in your delicate stomach like a small folded paper if possible, and do not send her away from you. Then she says your girl is angry on you because of this day onwards she will not communicate with her.

तमारीलडकीरूठगिएनायकणयाडिआहिया your daughter is angry on you o dear mother

यादीयेहिया oh, mother.

चंदा सूरियारी जोड़ी ज्यू हमारी जोड़ीour pairs are like moon and sun.

In the verse she tells her mother that oh, mother you and me are like sun and moon.

### To Brother

Bride address to her brother requesting him to keep her as folded paper in his 60 yards turban. Keep her safely from strangers, but do not send her away. Then she says your sister is flowing in water.

तमारी भेनड़ी वेराती चालीये भिया

विरेनारे आहिया

मारारे मारवाड़ी ईरा

विरेना रे कड़बाँदू

Oh dear brother your sister is going away.

Oh my Marwari brother makes turban of several folds on your head.

In the haveli song bride is telling her brother that your sister is flowing on water, please stop. Indirectly she says do not send me away o dear brother. Brother(s) will not respond with song but he has deep sense of sorrow in her mind and heart, he thinks that I know it, my sister is going away, and I console myself. My dear sister is going way to start new life. My blessing remains

forever on you. Whole heartedly he sends her sister to start next stage of life. He consoles her nobody going to escape from this departure. It is part and parcel of the human life. Through following line he says in his heart and console himself.

दूरे चाली मारी हुसन भेन येनीम समजनगो. My dear sister going away I console myself.

दूरे चाली मारी हुसन गण बोली भेन येनीम समजनगो. My dear sister going away I console myself.<sup>49</sup>

After the marriage bride groom taking his bride with him, the village women sing a common song during this occasion is as and it as blessing song from village to new couples start new life.

“You who taken this bag and stated your journey alone,

Alone to fight; you have obtained the blessings of the Panches

And you have received the support of your brother,

Keep up the flag of your father, you have to travel alone.

Your friends and your folk from the cities are no use,

But this bag would give you strength to acquire the bride.

This bag is symbol of stomach or intestine”<sup>50</sup>

The song suggest the groom that you are alone in your journey, you need to face all obstacle in the life. The panchayats blessing is always on you. You have received support from your brothers, no one going to help you. This marriage bag and bride are requiring for your strength. The symbolic meaning of the bag is stomach and bride always with him he needs to take care of them. This practice emerged out of the source of migratory tradition. It seems clear that it is not only product of migration but it is a mutual understanding and expression of sense of belongingness of each and every person in the community. It is normative practice to them; it gives them self-relief from the attachment. Though the ritual weeping is a performance after this she breaks her attachments with all the relatives and community. It is passed on from one generation to the next through oral transmission. The traditional performance imposing societal values on girl to keep

<sup>49</sup> The verse recorded from Manik 23. 12. 2014.

<sup>50</sup> Roy, Burman J.J. Ethnography of A Denotified Tribe. New Delhi: Mittal Publications (2010). P. 34.

respect her husband in society. However, the community believes that this performance makes permanent and good relationships between husband and wife. The other reason is that the performance teaches importance of the role after the married life and keeping familial relationship. The girl is considered wealthy source of the parents. Thus, they give blessing and teach valuable with performance.

If a girl is grown up it is problem of a father if she getting late for marriage is the problem of punchayat, thus the arrangements of marriages are held only punchayat in the Tanda. It shows the “daughters are problems” to Tanda/ community. They take care collectively for her betterment.

From the day of marriage, a woman considered the belongings of her husband; however, she needs to take permanent departure from her parents and relatives and they are no longer responsible to her in the Lambani community. Therefore the Lambani society is patriarchal and stresses the importance of the male members in the family. The younger married women participated as workers, the old women performed primarily as teachers. The community teach the conservative practices to the young girls and guide. Undoubtedly, in nomadic days marriage was a union performed by simple ritual.

### **Bride Price to Dowry system**

मेहेंदी दल मेहेंदी दल छे लड़ा

लेरिया पिसा देचिक कोनिरे

आदलिम पिसा ईजीवकसा

खोटो पिसा चालेनिरे

बिना पिसार रानी मलेनिरे

लेरिया पिसा देचिक कोनिरे<sup>51</sup>

We are grinding mehendi for marriage, does the groom give money or not.

Our mind is like money in a measuring pot. As fake coins don't work, so also bride cannot be achieved without money. Does the groom pay money or not.

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<sup>51</sup> The verse collected from Sunita bai of Pandegera Tanda. Date 23.12.2014

The women of the community while grinding mehandi for bride at marriage party, they tease to bride with meaningful song. The song shows the existence of the practice of bride-price in olden days as well as present day.

The patriarchal male dominant Banjara Lambani community has the practice of paying a bride-price. This custom is called *tharu* or *Kanyashulka*. The price largely depends on the economic status of the two families with the settlement being transferred to their mutual approval. It is called *Karar* and is generally paid in the form of money, cattle or both. Dowry system was not practice in olden days due to influence dowry system come into exist.

Why a groom paid a bride price?

People responded, in earlier times we had a tradition to killing female child. In time there was a shortage of girls for every hundred men there were only thirty women. Thus they started system of bride price. Earlier the person who paid he got the most beautiful girl. The custom of killing girls practice is gradually stopped. Their traditional practice is bride-price people say that this system came due to shortage of male and female in their community because of the gender inequality. The second reason for bride price practice is if marriage turns out to be a failure, this bride price has to be returned by her parents. Thus bride always tries her level best to continue with the husband chosen by her parents. However the bride's parent will not spend too much for the marriage. The recent phenomenon is the demand for dowry is on the increase, the parents are willing to meet the heavy expenditure at the cost of becoming bonded laborers also."<sup>52</sup>The bride price has come to exist as of the shortage of female in the community. As soon as female population progress. Dowry came to practice, those who are giving dowry to their daughter, they are willing to demand a lots of dowry for their son at the time of marriage. In the modern times dowry and bride price both are exist in the form of taru(तरु), karar (करार), as well as hunda(हुंडा) for boy. The practice of bride price and dowry is legalized in the community panchayat to help new couples to establish their own house.

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<sup>52</sup> Mohan Shantha N. Status of Banjara Women in India (A Study of Karnataka). New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House. 1988. 86.

## **Conclusion**

To cup it all the study is a small approach to understand a nomadic community's individualistic life style through life-cycle performance. The life cycle rituals celebrated to acquire new responsibility with change. The chapter is all about the transformation of proverbial knowledge at various occasions of rites ceremonies and bridal songs of bride to recalls the longing for better life in the future. Thus, to lead dutiful life in structure of traditional household framework. The women's involvement in socialization process at structural pattern in home. The significance of the home for the individuals as well as community to frame social and cultural identity of the group. The idea of home is for creative representation and effective expression of culture by group of individuals. The study concludes that community's strong belief in need of the rites celebration at every change to guide a person to best prepare in his next life.

## CHAPTER TWO

### HOLI FESTIVAL CELEBRATION AS MAKING COMMUNITIES

#### **Introduction**

The first chapter analyses rites of passage within the context of domestic space. The basic domestic rites ceremonies which has been occurred during liminal stage of an individual among the Gaur Banjara Lambani people, has been described. The present chapter analyses Holi as a celebration performed by panchayat authority within the Tanda and outside the Tanda, among the Gaur Banjara Lambani community. The celebration made for to express and perform traditional values and attitudes in contemporary. The festival of Holi is the processes of socializing individuals into the community. The romantic songs and verses are expressed to have good time in the Holi festival.

The large Indian subcontinent celebrates cultural festival Holi with great enthusiasm. The celebration of the festival varies region to region and community to community. The name of the Holi festival also various like Holi, Holika, Holika Dhahan, Kama Dhahan and so on. The origin of the Holi festival is also different from community to community and region to region.

The Gaur Banjara Lambani community's celebration of Holi starts in the month of Phalgun and end in the end of month. The community believes Phalgun is the last month of the year, after Holi, the New Year begins. According to community member 'we are following path our forefathers to celebrate the festival'<sup>53</sup>. The close observation of Holi performance lyrics indicates the Holi ritual is based on seasonal change. The farewell of old season and welcome of new season is key feature in the performance. The people want to burn all difficulties in order to welcome new life. Thus, celebration of Holi festival performance for nearly fifteen days is based on the notion of welcoming new seasonal change with vasanthostva (happiness). The Gaur Banjara Lambani community has created their own culture according to Laxman D Satya "Banjara society has generated tremendous diversity within in terms of language, customs, beliefs and practices."<sup>54</sup>The community celebrated Holi festival in different and traditional way in Tandas.

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<sup>53</sup>Bharat Naik, date 13.03.2014 Kunikeri tanda Koppal district.

<sup>54</sup>Satya, Laxman, D. Colonial Sedentarisation and Subjugation: the Case of the Banjaras of Berar 1850-1990. The journal of peasant studies,24:4, 314-336,



### **Ideas, Customs, Beliefs and Myths associated with Holi ritual.**

The Gaur Banjara Lambani community member's Holi festival produce the idea of male child, while rituals encapsulate ideas central to a culture and are often closely tied to myths, they are intended to bring about specific ends.<sup>55</sup> The notion of Holi celebration exist with belief, community have a belief that Holi goddess as sexual fertility, and it gives male child. The universalization process of the idea of male child, they created the rhythmic song, recited it as repeated slogan to make the idea popular among community people. The nature of the performative activities highlighted patriarchal notion of male child. The identification and political responsibility decided on the day of Holi festival, political power such as leader, secretary, horse rider, protector of cow, teacher, to take care of parents and other supporting body of the family.

There is no definite historical origin of the Holi festival among the Gaur Banjara Lambani community. In a conversation with community people to inquire the creation of Holi I ask since when they stated to celebrate Holi festival. The elderly person replied in proverbial sentence which consists historical origin of the Holi in their community. On the basis of elders opinion the study trace the origin of the Holi celebration in the community. In ancient time the couple of the community do not had children since long time. They went to ask the saints and they worship many god and goddess, at the end they worship Kama deva for the children. They oath on kama deva for child and for the result of the worship they got male child. Since then onwards they started to celebrate Holi festival in their community. The result of worship of kama deva they got child in their community. Therefore every year they started to celebrate Holi for asking son from the kama deva. The myths are created and it is recalled on every occasion of Holi. The Holi is called as kama dhahan In interview I ask an elderly person why Holi called as kama dhahan, the person replied that the community has belief that God Shiva burnt Kamadev who distracted his prayer.<sup>56</sup> This might be interpreted as the idea of burning our sexual desire after fulfillment of children. Yet, Holi is regarded as sexual goddess of fertility for community. Thus it is more prominent to be remembered by couple for children. The meaningful legend has created around the celebration. The couple of the community does not have children they worship the Holi goddess, in result they got children, particular male child. Thus, for them the Holi festivals oral songs indicates it as sexual

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<sup>55</sup> Ritual p.87.

<sup>56</sup> Ramchandra Karbhari Pandagera tanda, 20 March 2015

goddess. Hence, the Holi celebration permits a special performance of both freeing as well as sexual and romantic conflict with words and verses between man and women.

Dr. Sannaram describes a myth regarding to Holi festival that, there was a demon, Hanakosari, had three daughters Holi, Diwali and Kali. Holi and Diwali are devotees of Lord Rama. He was happy with their devoted worship and he blessed and told them live with this community and takes worship from them and solves their problems the other side Kali was Ravana's devotee. The Rama blessed her as thus you should take Goat sacrifices from this community. Therefore the celebration of Holi and Diwali and Kali mas puja are important to the people." They offering of goat sacrifice performed after the successful completion of Holi festival. The purpose of goat sacrifices performance recalls previous hunting and gathering pastoral stage and collective eating ritual as well (Bhaga) equal sharing among all members of the community. The performance of goat sacrifice ritual not only recalls but keeps alive the collective memory, or constitutes the collective memory. As Paul Connerton puts the memory of group conveyed and sustained by (more or less ritual) performances.<sup>57</sup>

Roy Burman collected a mythical story around the Holi celebration of the Gaur Banjara Lambani community. According to him 'There is a myth associated to Holi. It is believed that there used to be a demon named Dhundia who used devour away the children. On the full moon night of Holi, the entire Tanda people were on guard being heavily equipped with sticks and other weapons. In order to keep awake the people took liquor and were making merry, singing and dancing. Taking advantage of this the demon stealthily entered the Naik's house and the Naik sheltered him. On learning this, the people of the entire Tanda encircled the house of the Naik and forced the demon to come out. The demon was killed instantly as it came out of the house. The dancing and merry making continued even after. In the morning the dead body of the demon was cremated outside the Tanda. The villagers next fined Re. 1 to the naik for having sheltered the demon. Even now the naik pays Re. 1 customarily to the Tanda.'<sup>58</sup> This myth has created to get free from traditional authority and punish if necessary to the authoritative person in the Tanda.

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<sup>57</sup> Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 4

<sup>58</sup> Roy, Burman. *Ethnography of a Denotified Tribe*. A Mittal publication. 2010. 82-83.

The celebration has mythical significance. The community started to celebrate in such a way that mythical story is true. The performer are divided like, Radha and Krishna, Gopis and Gopas, Geranis and Geriyas these pairs are hail from cowherd of Gaur Banjara Lambani community to plays Holi festival in the open yard in the forests settlement. They are dancing, singing, for enjoyment and develop conflict between the sexes, seeking the laughter in the celebration during the particular time period.

The pastoral nomadic community has a wide variety of oral songs during the celebration of Holi festival. The time, space, human bodies are its elements to create activities events for the process of the community life. Participants and spectators are the member of the community. The time and place provides the space for the performance. The time is last month called phalgun. The place is forest settlement called as Tandas. Phalgun purnima night has the special preference and an opportunity given to its member to make fun and forget enmity towards each other and live life as peacefully.

Motiraj Rathod puts “Holi rejuvenates the whole body and mind.” Further he says Holi is for singing and dancing. Gaur used to drink, sing and dance throughout the night. The community people heavily drink desi (daru) wine during the festival. They believed it makes one forget all sorrows in life. The ancestor knows the primitive idea concerning the locally made wine. The new generation does not know how to made local wine, it leading them to import expensive wine.

### **Men Dance in Circle**

In the last month of the year (Phalgun) people gather every day in open ground at evening actively and collectively assemble to do pleasurable activity like singing and dancing. They dance sing songs in group. It does not require a stage set scenery costumes they require only friends and open group which is public place. In the dance oriented song, performer stands in circle. They hold each other's hands together moves in circle they go one step ahead and one step back. The feet steps are systematic manner shows simplicity. In this performative context varieties of songs are sung. The dancing group has a leader who is well known to sing and recall songs from last Holi celebration and he sing first in the group and the chorus imitates verses in same rhythmic style. It shows individual and collective. The couplet of holi sung by group leader and his lyrics rapidly sung by collective member of the group.

The poems have been composed for entertain in the gathering. Lyrics of the songs strengthen oral tradition of the local culture. The lyric goes like couplet. This couplet goes keep repeating. In the spring time all the trees are occupied with fragrant flowers and fruits. In midst on them their grandfather got evil eyes. His dear wife saves from the evil eye. Here is an example from this tradition.

दन उन्दालेरो केसुला मोरियेर: The days are summer flower blossom.  
 घनालाल तोन नजर लगीएर : Ghanalal you may victim of evil eye.  
 मारी दादी तारों नजर: My grandmother make safe from evil eye.  
 नून मरचारी नन्जेर कडियेर: Salt-chilly she use to make save from evil eye!!

दन उन्दालेरो चारोळी मोरियेर : Your mother make safe from evil eye.  
 सेवा भायातोन नंजर लगीएर : O brother Seva Bhaya you may victim of evil eye.  
 तारी यादीतारों नंजर कडियेर: The days are summer fruit will emerge.  
 धरमानी यादी तारों नन्जेर कडियेर: Dharmani mother make you safe from evil eye.

दन उन्दालेरो लिम्बुडा मोरियेर: The days are summer lamon fruit grown.  
 हाम्मुलाल तोन नंजर लगीएर: Hammulal you may victim of evil eye.  
 मारी याडी तारों नन्जेर कडियेर : My mother makes you safe from evil eye.  
 नून मरचारी नन्जेर कडियेर: Salt-chilly she use to make save from evil eye!

Holi performance expresses for seasonal changes, like various flowers fruits, new leaves emerging out of old tree weather temperature goes high birds sweet song and remembering of their ancestor as well as evil eyes on them. The evil should be remove by their mother and their wife. It is a spare time activity for fun, community member come involved in sing and dance activity just for fun, and it gives them relief from their day to day activity, including all elders are involved in such kind of activity. Therefore it does not require skilled and experienced to dance. The dance steps are very easy, everyone can play. Songs and dance are an integral part of their life, it represents group activities. This Holi celebration is handed down from generation to generation with some modification and new songs created to perform dance; they are dancer as well as singer and spectator. The children imitate their action they do how their elders does. The dance

performances are representing people's way of life. This is also the collective consciousness of a community member. The relationship among the (group) artist or dancers or actors are very friendly, audience also imitates their dance, in that sense all are performer in real manner.

### **Invitation of Holi**

Mother of the new born child goes to house to house to call the people for Holi festival activities. At the day of Holi festival elderly women gather at public place invite all the people to play Holi and give them permission to play Holi through following song.

कुण मरन कुन जीवरे

होळी खेलोर भाई-भाई

होळी खेलोरे रशिया होळी खेलो रेडोलेती

होळी खेलोरे मतरेती

“Who may die who will live; o brothers let us play Holi collectively and happily.”

The invitation from the elderly women for the play of vibrant Holi celebration to the community men. The men accept the invitation in the mood of joy, hoped that they would have fun to play Holi with women.

### **Men request for permission to play Holi with Chorus**

On the full moon night of the Holi the Tandas youth seek the permission of the naik to celebrate Holi they sing song called wanjana for to take permission from every member of the community particularly their women to play Holi through following song.

“बारवे महिना म आईरे होळी      “Oh, brother after twelve month Holi came.

आवोरे डाये साणे आपण खेला होळी ! Oh, elderly people come let us play Holi!

काकी – दादी रिशमत करलो हमखेलाचा होळी Aunt and grandmother don't be angry we play Holi.

फूफी – भतीजी रिशमत करलो हमखेलाचा होळी“!! Aunt and cousin don't be angry we play Holi”!!

### Male's invitation to female through Holi rhythmic song.

गोरी-गोरी गेरणी तोन गेरिया बलाव O fair skinned girl, young boy is calling you.

गरिया बल्लाव तोन नाचनों शिकाव Boy is calling you to teach dancing

नाचनों शिकावर तोन हासनो शिकाव He teach you dancing and he teach laughing

हासनो शिकाव तोन रोवनो शिकाव!! He teach laughing and he teach crying!!

When you accompany us you will learn singing dancing laughing as well as crying. The crying also psychological need to get relief from difficulties, we forget all sorrows when we cry. It is an act of mental balance. Thus, romantic player of Holi inviting a girl for everything to get experience.

The male Holi player call female respectfully and request them to play Holi with them they will teach singing, dancing, laughing, as well as crying. When gerani respects geriyas invitation and come to play Holi with him the intelligent playful geriya changes the tone of his singing, the lyric and tone of song changes into double meaning. For instance following lyrics of song go like this.

“छोरी तारे घूंघटोम चांदा छः क सूर्य छः “Oh, dear girl sun reside or moon reside at your veil?

छोरी तारे घाघरोम काई काई छः”Oh, dear girl what are there in your skirt?”

The keen observer Geriya describe women dance with following couplet,

सोळ हातेरो तारों घाघरो येगुजरनी Oh my beauty! You have a sixteen feet wide skirt

नव हातेरो ओरो डोर With a nine feet drew string and tie

घुमतो आवतारो घाघरो येगुजरनी When you walk both skirt and string sway,

रळकतो आव तारो डोर Swing to and fro as you move

सोळ टकडिर तारी काँचली येगुजरनी Oh my beauty! You have a blouse with sixteen mirrors

चळकती आवता री काचे Yours are miraculous mirrors!

The love song is enchanted to describe his beloved's beauty. Banjara youth sings lyrically describing her dress, the way she moves in her brilliantly colored mirrored skirt that has a heavy cowry sting to accentuate the movement. He extols the beauty, the brilliance of the mirrors as they catch the light. This song is a testimony to the youth's imagination and his ardent love for the girl.<sup>59</sup>

छोरी तारे माएं बाप पंडरीन गेचय Oh, beautiful maiden, your parents have gone to pandharpur

पंडरी रोदे वतारो साईवेगो छोरी चनिय So that the god of pandharpur will bless you, chorichaniya

तोन देखरेच आलम दनिया छोरी चनिय Many young men are enamored by your beauty, chorichaniya

वाट— वाट चल छोरी पग दंडी मत जाजोये Follow the main path and do not take a shortcut

पग दांडीरो कांकरियातारे नयणकरिय छोरि चनिय If you stray your path will be full of thorns and sharp

Stones will wound your tender feet

May the god of pandarpur protect you, chorichaniya.<sup>60</sup>

These interaction song has sung during the Holi dance performance by male and female in public place. Naik opines 'the dance circle is the symbol for their unity which acts as a fence for protecting their cultural tradition'<sup>61</sup>.

### **Women Dance in Circle**

Lambani women stand very closely in circle with hand to hand. The surrounded women go on dancing regularly stepping forward and backward and bend their bodies backward and forward with movements of the limbs and steps in tune with rhythmic chorus songs. The embroidered multicolored costumes like mirrored blouses, long skirts and head shawls of the beautiful Lambani women add grace to this circular dance. The Lambanis have learnt this dance from their ancestors and practice this dance wherever they stay.

The characteristic of this dance is the movements of the body. The dance has a specialty of articulating passionate joy and enthusiasm with a rhyming couplet at the end. The specialty of the dance repeated voice, and rhythmic stepping finely blended together. It provides good physical

<sup>59</sup> Naik D.B. *Art and Literature of Lambani Banjara*, Abhinav Publications, 2000, P.42

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.* 47

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 135.

exercise during rhythmic dance. The couplet composed specially for the dance to entertain with women. Rhythmic movements of body in the background of beautiful songs and gorgeous dress.

**Female' invitation to male to play Holi with them, through rhythmic song.**

चिड़ी चिड़ीरि गेरिया तोन बलाव Beautiful maiden is calling you.

तोन बलावर गेरिया टांग झालाव She calls you and gives leg on your hand

टांग झालावर गेरिया माई घलाव She gives leg on your hand make physical intercourse from you

माई घलावर गेरिया ऊपर हलाव She makes ups and down while making love.

The 'love songs' are vital part in Holi festival in Lambani community life. It gets respected on Holi celebration. People express their inner feeling in the form of song to use double meaning words to get relief themselves for new life. The attraction is prominent rather than love between male and female in community life.

The Holi songs gives freedom to express love and affection toward each other in the Holi festival. The song grants sexual license from the respective elderly woman shows their desire of the uniting male and female in the form of song. The rudeness and erotic permission plays very important role to pay Holi festival. This permission directed towards fertility of men and women. The invitation act is a very important old custom among the Gaur Banjara people. Few opposed primitive custom of celebration in their Tanda shows the restriction come slowly on the sexuality. Over time of period women sexuality is control by men in the Tanda. Now people are scared to use the romantic song for enjoyment. The shyness took place to speak about the sexual desire among men and women. The special intention of this kind of song is to support to play together, it directly promoting fertility.

**Requests to families for play Holi.**

After preparation is done they assemble at the house of those people who have suffered due to deaths and other losses, and console them. Then they start singing and dancing along with the family members of the widowed families. They sing a folk song on this occasion.



The song goes like हैधरती तोपर अमर नहींर कोई, है धरती तोपर अमर वेगेरे एक चाँदान नवलाख तारा the meaning of slogan is no one is eternal, and all are perishable on earth. Only moon and nine lack stars are eternal. Forget your sorrows and let's play Holi.

After invitation is done, they have assembled at the house of the naik. He needs to present them Re.1, for the Holi fire to lite. They select the proper place to lite Holi fire. After spot is selected, a small hole is dug on the ground and naik places a rupee coin in it. On that place they assemble firewood to lite the Holi fire. The two main gariyas are selected to arrange the function. To collect fire wood and select place of Holi fire and do all other activities related to the festival. The main two geriya must be from different clan, the jat and bhukiya. They should be marrying to next year.

### **Stages of Holi Celebration**

#### **1. Pal (tent)**

The Holi celebrative night nearly at eight o clock in front of new born boy's house a tent will be made. It is accepted that the making tent on newborn child's house is marks the beginning of the main Holi celebration. On this occasion there is a song which sung by women मारो गज कोटा लाडेखोड़ेरो एक बेटा मारो गज कोटा दारू कोनी लायोर तारो बाबा. Oh, my strongest strength is my dear one son. Your father not brought alcohol. The tent is symbol of the shelter for the new born boy which made father and mother for his future. In that shelter one needs to be do better to run community. Whole night there will be program organized by the parents in front of tent women make puree with singing holi song nearby tent. Men dance and sing romantic song to tease women make her to reply for them. In the song men says we will hold you with golden chain, women reply with suitable answer as riddle like तारे संग हम नहींर सोनेरी साकळी ती भांदोर जनावर! Oh, animal we will not with you, if you tie with golden chain.

## 2. Fire lighting

दाडो निकलो चालो फुर्मासी The sun is rising up slowly

होळीबालूकनासी Let us lit bonfire of Holi.

All people gather to Holi fire lite in front of Tanda in open ground at small distance at the time of full moonrise early in the morning. According to instruction from the people the Holi fire is lighted by two selected geriya in every Tanda, the gathered people throw wooden sticks on the Holi fire and mistaken; clashes are thrown into the fire by men. This is regarded as honorable privilege to everyone in the Tanda. They sing and dance for a while collect ash from the Holi fire and put each other forehead to greet each other with affection give blessing to each other like as mother Holika goddess bless you. Finally they return to the village with chanting song.

पहले रते थे डून्गर खोला अबआए टांडेमे ! Earlier we used to live in jungle and mountains, now we came to Tanda.

नागा पुरेरो नागा स्वामी, स्वामी छी काई धुत्ते! Swami came from Nagpur. Are you swami are tourist.

The song seems to evidence of their forest residence. The elders sing the song how we came to jungle to Tanda. From the forest they enter into the Tanda, the history of roaming in forest memory has transforming in their Holi festival performance. Then they sing and dance for a while return back to Tanda. While returning they made two boys as Nagasami. Holi fire ash put on their body children dance painting their bodies with the ash. The ash of which are used to rub people and to be spread in the fields. The ash is collected from the fire and put it on elder's forehead and take blessing from them. The morning to afternoon play Holi with color made by kesula flower. The group of elderly men and women joyful celebrants go home to home to give the blessing and condolence to each house whose members had been bereaved during the past year. Elderly women pray blessing for those who are childless couples and pour water on them in front of the house in the community and collect gift from them in form of money. On the day of Holi celebration women are rushing out to take battles with their men. Particularly they beat their husband as well as their brother in laws while singing double meaning song. The every Tanda has resounding with chorus song. The group goes to community center where nagara has been kept long time and made as scared space and they visit to take blessings from it. Then they start to sing song for the ger.

### 3. Ger

**Ger** is a form of gift collecting. The next day is dedicated to collect gifts and give their better wishes to the community members as well as neighbors, friends of the other community. Thus Tanda elder male female separately goes to house to house for greeting Holi festival and collecting gifts from them. Early morning as soon as they return from farm to light Holi fire to community's common place, where there nagara drum is kept, and pray for it. They dispatch to their home, after breakfast is done they prepare for Ger late morning to afternoon. The good fortune of the person will be sung during this movement. If somebody got success he need to give more gifts to dancing group, if some household had special program like marriage, birth of male child he needs to give more gift as a form of money. The gifts are collected from the good fortune household and sing following song by men in order to bless their family.

हा...हा...कनाया<sup>62</sup>तोनगरूजी<sup>63</sup>दियेरे Oh, friend, teacher will give you.

हा...हा...कनाया तारों भूलों वियेरे Oh, friend, good thing happen to you

हा...हा...कनाया तारों धोलो धनरे Oh, friend, yours is faithful wealth

हा...हा...कनाया एकर एकविस वियेरे Oh, friend, one grow into twenty one

हा...हा...कनाया कछोटी देतू हरीशरे Oh, friend, you will be tired to give

हा...हा...कनाया वडलाजू वदेशरे Oh, friend, grow like tree.

हा...हा...कनाया घुलरजू फुलेशरे Oh, friend, grow like 'gullar' fruits

हा...हा...कनाया लिम्बुडा जू झुलसरे Oh, friend, grow like lemon fruits on tree.

The song sung each and every household to collect gifts from the head of the family and give him blessing for good life. The collected gifts are sharing it as equal at the end of the festival. Then people prepare for the dhund rite of the male child in front of the child's house. They sing the good wishes song.

<sup>62</sup> Shri Krishna as regarded as friend to everyone.

<sup>63</sup> Garuji referred as the spiritual teacher for guidance of community.

## Requesting for son from Holi

Those who had no children, they prayed to Holli Goddess for son. Those who got son they arrange a rite called Dhund scholars opine that the dhund is nothing but birth day celebration of the son as well as collective identification of the male child. Those who had no male child, he prayed to Holi Mata as Goddesses for son. Women of the community sing following song for asking for son from Holi Goddess.

तोन लाज छेनी होळी मारे बेटान बेटा देस: You don't have shame Holi, give male child to my son.

तोन सरम छेनी होळी मारे बेटान बेटा देस: You don't have hesitation Holi, give son to my son.

तोन गेरिया चोद होळी मारे बेटा न बेटा देस: My son love you Holi, give son to my son.

चाँदा सरीको बेटा दियोतो दुंड करू मारे तांडेम: If we got son's birth like moon, we organize Dhund rite in my Tanda.

सूर्य सरीको बेटा हुयोतो दुंड करू मारे तांडेम: If you give me son like sun I organize Dhund in my Tanda.

सोने सरीको बेटा हुयोतो दुंड करू मारे तांडेम: If we get son like gold we organize Dhund rite in my Tanda.

चाँदी सरीको बेटा हुयोतो दुंड करू मारे तांडेम: If we get son like silver we organize Dhund rite in my Tanda.

The women sing song to pray for male child. They want son like sun because the son is well known source of fertility and progress their clan. The nature of the performative activities highlighted patriarchal notion of male child. The identification and political responsibility decided on the day of Holi ritual, political power such as leader, secretary, horse rider, protector of cow, teacher, to take care of parents and other supporting body of the family. Male and female are well known fertility to be seen in the songs of the Holi. While singing this song the water pours on bride and bridegroom by the elderly women with singing and praying dancing in front of their house.

आये-जाएरो मान रकाड होळी माता तोन भालोंकर Let keep respect to visit each other's house Holi goddess will give you blessing.

आये-जाएरो मानर काड होळी माता तोन बेटा दियो Let have respect every person Holi goddesses give you son.

आये-जाए रो मान रकाड बालाजी तोन भलो करLet preserve respect to everybody teacher will bless you.

आए जाए रो मान रकाड नायक बापूतोन भालों करLet's retain respect, naik bless you.

Reciting each and every line repeatedly men and women go to each and every household to get gifts from every house in the Tanda. Through this act the people re-unite and forget all misunderstanding attitudes towards each other in the Tanda. They greet each other for fun. Thus the Holi festival requires mass participation; various motives are involved of its celebration in the Tanda. This mass participation is associated with the cultural performance of the people.

#### 4. **Dhund:**

It is a rite celebration for male child in the Tanda evening at nearly four o'clock: Those who got son they arrange a rite called Dhund, scholars opine that the dund is nothing but birth day celebration of the son. And good wishes to the son in the community. D.B. Naik wrote in his research work "The Lambani performs Dhund ceremony during the Holi festival. This rite is performed in a house where the male child is born. The age of the child is counted on the celebration of the birthday. The child is made to sit under a tent erected in front of the house and a lot of wheat puree and sweet food are placed on all the four sides. The elderly people, youngsters and children bless the child with a song. This song is good luck washings known as Dhund Geet. The songing words appear rhythmically. The song is sung along with sticks rhythm. The song sung by elder person in the community. The meaning of the song is clear male dominance and it suggests the social, political and economic condition of the society.

#### **The Dhund Geet**

चरी कचरिया चम्पले: *Charik chariya champa flower twig.*

चरिया मचम्परी ढोल: *Chariya has champa flower's pride.*

उठो भीया शाशरझो: *Wake up brother go to father in laws house.*

शाशर झो भाईवाडा झो: *Go to Father in laws Neighbour.*

शाशरेती पचवाडा जाव्वे: *Assemble panchayat in laws village.*

पचवाडेती लाडी लावे: *Take approval of bride and bring her from father in laws panchayat.*

लाडी लेन घरआवे: *Bring bride to home.*

हात गोथदेखन आवे : *Your panch come to look at bride.*

बेटी शासु शिख दरावे; *Mother in law guides them.*

बेटो शशरो पान दरावे: *Father in law gives bitternut.*

लाडी-लाडा पल्लंग वचावे: *Bride and Bride groom arranges bed.*

पल्लंगे पर पानचाबे: *They eat bitternut together on bed.*

पहल्लो बेटा नायकीकर: *Let this first child be a chief.*

ओरे पचेरो कारभारीकर: *Let the next son be a secretary.*

ओर पचेरो घोडो दूकाव: *Let the next son a horse rider.*

ओरे पचेरो छेली समाल: *Let the next son be a shepherd*

ओरे पचेरो माँ -बापें देखिये: *Let the next one be a protector of the parents*

ओरे पचेरो शिखच-शिखाव्व: *Let the last child learn and teach.*

शिखन सेन बलावच : *He invites to everybody to learn.*

आईर होळी वाजीर ठोळी: *Holi came and make sound of stick.*

बेटा अवडा वेगो ,बेटा अवडा वेगो: *Let him grow, let him grow."*

They go five times repeating the same song with rhythmic style.

We are that our society demands, in the Holi festival community celebrates as a rite of new born child to identify him as society's new member. Through organize performance the society demanding their male children in the community. They accepting to become a leader or do any one of the social necessary roles to identify him as a part of large part of society. The pastoral nomadic community created as well as adopted certain rites and ceremonies to settle down on certain occasion to make ceremonies for making their youth as backbone of the community.

It suggests the social, political and economic condition of the society. The organization of the community leadership understood through the performance. People keep the past in mind and they react and represent past events in present life. Holi festival as a rite of new born child to identify him as society's new member who become a leader or do any one of the social necessary roles to identify himself as a part of large part of society.

### **Ritual battle between men and women**

After Dhund rite a game organized by male and female to play. The game is to win sweet pot from women. The organization of game is for to establish gender equality in the Tanda itself. Divisions are disappearing in the game, women get chance to beat their husbands and brother in laws when they singing double meaning song. In the court yard of the new born child house their parents prepare (Khir) sweet food and kept in the pot. The pot is kept under the two wooden sticks. The sticks are deep in the soil. The pot is hide under the woolen cloth. The men folk needs to take that sweet food and women opposes to take food; they beat men with sticks. Men run away to protest from women. It is competition between married men and women. The men attempt to seize away the food and run in another place to protest from women. It is not easy for men to win sweet pot from women. At the end men wins the competition. In the process women lose all fear and respect, While women with stout wooden sticks to beat their husband, they attack on all the men. The men protect themselves from the women. It is interest to note giving and receiving gifts between brother in law and sister in-law are special significant, similarly, playing male and female together is an important feature of Holi ritual. It seems the good humor for the audience. It shows anti-normative behavior of people. That is not permit in any social context. Turner has opined that in many societies liminality involves play. When the social norm breaks down, its constitutive elements are similarly freed from their regular modes. Further he says *communitas* is characterized by equality, immediacy, and the lack of social ranks and roles.

They dance in group both man and women in front of new born child's house. The Holi is for enjoyment for the people every person participates in it. The total process of Holi performance is welcoming new members in their society. They all are giving gifts to the children. Then there is recognition of that child is a part of their community. It shows the community's individual and

collective creativity. It shows a group of people sharing their creativity in public place. Through practice and participation people learn their old tradition which their forefathers are created.

The Holi festival begins with invitation of neighbors for play, likewise farewell to Holi festival at eight o'clock after kama dhahan the last day evening people burn the Holi fire worship and throw some grain (food) on the fire, give thankful to the God. Mother takes their babies to Holi fire, take five times in a clockwise direction around the fire, so that children are blessed by agni, the god of fire. They collect bonfire ash and put to their forehead. The community member sum-up Holi festival with songs which suggest to be normal and do not use double meaning song in any circumstances. This ritual give message to community people to be live with brotherhood, respectful to each other with dignity and helpful with each other and to keep unity in community.

Geriyas and geranis playing, dancing, singing in a group on open ground in Tanda is come to end after the geriya and the gerani danced around the fire separately one group after another the gerani sings होली आती जो होली जाती जो गेरियन बेटा देती जो भाई भाईरे (Holi come Holi go give the son to the father) this song is sung while going five times round to the Holi fire repeating the same song with rhythmic style at the end of the Holi festival. It shows they have male child's expectation from every Holi. The geriya sing, मारो रामरे, होली डगर्गी कू करिया. Oh my dear ram Holi went away what we shall do. These lines sing repeatedly like hymns to farewell the Holi festival.

जीव रियेतो फिर होली रमिया, होली दसमण दास दाडकानी रेगीरे, होलीदसमण.

If we alive again play Holi, Holi is fun for parents,

Holi needs to be stay still ten days.

It means it is better we play Holi ten days.

With this song people sum up the Holi festivals in the Tanda. Holi feast and bhang/wine should be serving by the newborn child's father. The community feast is made to eat each and every house hold of the community. A peculiar game is played about the time of the new born child's courtyard of house. People do terrible things and do not hesitate to do such things in the Holi festival. The license is permitted to drink bang and alcohols, and shout while throwing ash and mud to each other. The every participant express sexual desires in form of song. The community establishes



its cultural behavior patterns keeping in mind of their ancestor. To some extent the performance shows breakdown of historical gender norms.

### 5. Wanjana

It is prayer song sung to sum up the Holi festival. Atend last vanjana song is sung to give suggestions to the people that do not use the Holi song in any time. The restriction on the Holi songs made because most of the songs are the free sexual expression. In this song every one sit near the Holi fire ground and discusses about the issue what happen in the celebration of the Holi. Distribute the coconut and puri which made by male child at the time of dhund rite. Elderly member sing the Wanjana song. In this song they say whatever we did in the celebration of Holi is just for fun. In the festival we use many such songs which are not the part of daily life. After this assemble we do not use such song, if someone use the double meaning song of Holi he will get punishment.

Festival performance as collective activity, it produce traditional knowledge, for social change. Traditional Holi festival associated with fertility, wealth, and productivity. The celebration connected with joy, merrymaking and the desire of male children in the community. The modern cultural performances of the Holi, takes different shapes for example the songs are turned towards social awareness to make better society. Instead of using double meaning song people using new song which are social reformation about the evil practices in the community. The song is not remaining enjoyment but it has some particular intention to do better in society. The evidence for traditional performative purpose was to make their children faithful towards their parents for instance.

काशी...काशी कचउतो.. काशी कत वियेये You are saying Kashi-Kashi. Where is Kashi.

माँ-बापुन धोकलो काशी देखलो भाई..भाई Pray your mother and father and look at Kashi

दादी-दादान धोकलो काशी देखलो भाई-भाई Worship your grandma and grandpa and look at Kashi.

The performance motif is to make aware of individual in the family and realistic towards their parents. The contemporary performance objective is to call for social change to collective. For example following song clearly shows how song got chance in a different circumstance.

नेकी करतानी समाज सुधारजोनीर Do faithful things to make better society

छोरी-छोरान तम सिखावोर शाला Give education to girls and boys

जरा नीदेतीजागोरे बामनिया Oh wake up, bamaniya

जरा मीठे - मीठे बोल्लोरे बामनिया Speak sweet words oh bamaniya

The performance clearly suggests the community member to wake up, speak sweet words, take best education, and do good work for community. The performances make some good impression on the people in the community.

### **Politicization of Holi Celebration at Fort.**

Gaur Banjara Lambani community's leaders' continuous research on community's cultural performance of Holi ritual space in olden days was in front of Bahadur Banda Kuppal Gadd (fort). The previous section analyzed Holi celebration within Tanda and in this section I will be analyzing the celebration of Holi within a wider political context of organizing Gaur Banjara Lambani community. The relocation of Holi festival celebration in courtyard of Fort. The historical and cultural background played a vital part in reshaping political organization of the Holi festival. The purpose of organization is social and political transformation within the community in contemporary period. When spring arrives Banjara local leader organizes Holi celebration and requests the various Tanda naiks who at the invitation enthusiastically look forward to the moment of the Holi celebration. The invitation to all the fellow members of the community shows the collective participation in ritual activity in community. The Holi as cultural celebration before one day of full moon day which made as political organization to establish unity of various Tandas. The Holi festival organization as politicize to discuss social problems of community. The prominent leader of the every field invited to attend ceremony to discuss issues directly effecting the community's growth.

The Holi festival celebration on stage the performative songs get new layer of meaning, for instance the following performative song on stage goes like this.

बापुरी घुंघडी वत्तज पड़ीछ: Father's woolen cloth left behind

गौर भाईसे गरीबछ: Gaur brothers all are remain poor.

गौर सारु करोड़ रपिया सरकार देरोकन कच: \_\_everyone says for our development government giving crore of money.

ओ कत जारे चको खभर कुण केवल्लोच: \_\_Where is that money going who will inform to you?

जागोरे जागोरे तमसे बंजारा: \_let's wake up, lets wake up, you all Banjara.

मारोरे मारोरे जोरेती नंगाराMake heavy sound with your drum.

बार कोसती वेरीरो पाणी बेड़ेती पाडन मरेचा: \_We are bringing water from distance (twelve miles) holding on our head and we are dying day by day.

तांडे – तांडेम नळ बनाये टाकी बनाये केरेचा: We are thinking about make tap in every Tanda. We are thinking about build a water tank in our Tanda.

The performative song has different connotation on the stage in front of large number of population. The performative has content which consists various social problems in the community and make aware to the people. It is critiquing their local leader for the negligence of their development.

Now, the major location for the performance of Holi ritual in front of fort, a series of cultural activities take place each and every year in the month of Phalgun, both male and female members of the community participated and enjoyed and it hoped that through the goodwill of couples of community be gained. It seems the processes of socializing individuals into the community. The celebration made for to express and perform traditional values and attitudes to articulate in contemporary.

The celebration of Holi festival on stage apparently starts early night at about 8 p.m. and it end's early in the morning at about 8 a.m. The procession starts in surrounding crowd with bhog (worship) on fire. People play nagara (drum) along with thali (bronze plate). The prayer to Holi goddesses is chanted by religious leader for welfare of the community. Some of the prayer lines are hi, goddesses of Holi, your blessings keep always on us for livelihood we go everywhere,

wherever we go you protect from evil circumstance. The procession slowly moves towards on the stage where leaders get to chance to present their opinion and express their views on the crowd. The major subject of discussion is on politics for well beings of the community. In the Holi ceremonial organization various Tandas panchayat leader gives speeches regarding how to achieve wellbeing of individual and collective in the community. The celebration of the Holi ritual transform cultural and political values in the community. The vivid cultural program takes place on the stage. The man and women also dance on the stage with different singing songs, children will take chance to perform on the stage. Many people, play on stage it is noticeable that everyone gets chance to play Holi on the stage as well as off stage. The participants considered geriya and gerani. More complex performances took place on the stage of Holi festival. A varied body of literature has develop on Holi festival in the form of lengi geets, it includes, love songs, friendship songs, rites songs, drinking songs, and philosophic songs. Etc. It is noticeable that who have settlement on the outskirts of the nearby fort will participate in the large number in the celebration. The nature of celebration songs varies from place to place. The various Tanda come together to exchange of Holi celebrative knowledge of the community come into on stage in public. The elderly people know the existence and practice of Holi festival on stage. The legend has been woven around the festival by elderly people to maintain their cultural knowledge to create meaning from the celebration, which they pass to young generation of community. The political elements are most prominent in the celebration.

## **Conclusion**

The chapter is a systematic analyzation of Holi festival celebration of fifteen days step by step. The everyday evening singing and dancing performance of elderly people regarded as leisure time activity for get relief. The main festival celebration process analyzied with various romantic song with simple dancing steps. The analyzation involved dhund ritual in the festival, it is identification of male child with profession in the community. The organization of play between men and women. Further the chapter explain the politicization of Holi at fort to organization of collective identity of broader community. In the celebration narrative songs are intermixed with complex meaning some of the songs about lack basic necessities in Tanda. The social issues are expressed in the form of oral performance to spread larger group of the community.

The songs of Holi not only regarded for fun but intentional meaning involved to social formation in its singing. The participation in festival is to express and share with other human beings for build respectable relationships. The act of male female involvement is for the creation of humor seen as the breaking the social ranks, the creation of the lyrics on that particular situation. Thus, Holi is principle festival of Gaur Banjara Lambani community. It is seasonal festival dedicated to spring and celebrated as New Year festival. The celebration has multiple purpose. It is specialty for male children of the community.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ORAL PERFORMATIVE SONGS AT WORK

#### Introduction

The previous chapter showed how Holi festival celebrated as connection with ritualistic aspects and various performative song between men and women in the community flourished through group performance in conveying romantic characteristic of celebration. The transformation of nomadic community into peasant community as soon as it settled in one place and involved various labor activities for livelihood. For example, हरी -हरीरे मरी हरी ननारी, (New village at midst of greenery). जंगल -दडीया प मारी नव ननारी, (New settlement built at hills of forest). The song emphasis on greenery of mountains, hills of forest and settlement of small village midst in forest, since they continued agrarian laborers at settlement space. This chapter provides a clear picture of women in domestic space as well as outside wage earned beyond the domestic responsibility. The descriptive argument in the chapter is women's social involvement and her concern to maintain home in patriarchal rural society. The women continue to sing, shows her relationship with her domestic responsibility in relation to her son, brother, father and law's members. In performance space a group of women sing traditional song with wearing colorful traditional attire. Further the chapter explores the issues and difficulties apparently expressed by a bunch of women through traditional cultural form of song at domestic space in semi-rural background in Tandas. The chapter discusses labour, especially women's labour through their songs the basic issues of everyday life such as pain poverty, sorrows and sickness and all other in convince and necessity of family life are discussed.

The chapter is dealing with different performative song in different working context, for example the domestic work like wheat grinding performance connected with large family and heavy unpaid workload on women. The domestic violence at agricultural labor on women and external influence of institution in community. The agricultural wage labor performance in relation to poverty at father's house and husband's house. Embroidery technique to make her colorful cloth to be self-reliance. The chapter glimpse on women's concern to manage home family and respectable life. Further it indicates to move men's contribution with various hard labor work in field of agriculture,

animal husbandry, trade and the performative songs in connection with migration of fair skin man to distance land for various region.

### **Oral Performative Song.**

“Oral songs are sung by common people during work or social activities. One of the most important characteristics of these songs is that they are part of oral culture. The melodies and the texts are learned by imitation and participation”<sup>64</sup> The songs are sung by a group of people to express their everyday sorrows and happiness. It is a medium of expressing their feelings in the form of rhythmic verses of collective members of the community. The people’s life is shown in form of song. The memory transforms into audible song during performance. Women develop and create their own song on agricultural work. Oral transmission, repeated patterns of verse, melodies of women in group collectively exercise of human creativity traditional expressive culture. Women produce number of cultural activities on ritual and festival occasions. They create various songs on each and every occasion, the meaning of the song is relevant to particular situation where they are working.

### **Domestic Performance**

The agrarian peasants has need to unpaid and invisible labor of women to do household task to maintain family relationship. Women develop womanhood qualities while twenty four seven hour participation on domestic work as well as agricultural wage labor, thus women are able to earn their own expenditure within household framework with their hard labor on agriculture farm. Yet women are lacking economic strength because domestic labor is unpaid activity for instance, cooking, cleaning, grinding, bringing water from distance land, removing the weeds from the farm, collecting firewood from forest and agricultural wage labor, tailoring, embroidery are less paid service. It is a process of marginalization women in agrarian economy. Hence it is requisite them to rely on men. Due to less income their children are involved in cattle and goat rearing activity at early age, some children also involved in child labor to support family.

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<sup>64</sup> Peter van Kranenburg, Jorg Garbers, Anja Volk, Frans Wiering, Louis Grijp, Remco C. Veltkamp, *Towards Integration of Music Information Retrieval and Folk Song Research* Department of Information and Computing Sciences, Utrecht University Technical Report UU-CS-2007-016.

The community knows that minor types of works as we called 'feminine work' (handi work) such as needle work to make embroidery as key economic performance as suitable to women for livelihood. Thus, the Tanda people want as hardworking housewives to manage household tasks and agricultural wage labor to strengthen economic role in domestic space. This notion shows the position of women in the community. The cultural resourceful elderly women conducted household activities in disciplined manner to run their household economic activity. Regular household tasks are naturalized on the women. It is one form of organized control of men on women. The physical nature also cause for women to remain home and do household tasks in order to support and develop family and social relationship in the community. Women have strong roots in the house hold activities as well as cultural practices. For example the following grinding song.

### **The Grinding Grain Performance**

The analyzation of grinding grain performance song in the household context: The performance of grinding stone has household activity which women do in their house. Grinding stone helps to make grain as wheat to use for cooking. In the grinding wheel performance two women of house sit together as opposite direction the grinding stone kept in the midst both women. They join their hands to perform the activity. As grinding stone runs as fast as making rhythmic sound. The background sound help working women to sing special song within the household context makes the process of production as meaningful. The repetition of the lyrics of the song makes long time to the work to be done and grinding stone sound makes rhythmic performance. For example following grinder performative song she expresses,

घर कटमालो इरा, घट्टीछे, नानकी<sup>2</sup> Mine is joint family oh, brother, grinder is small.

कूकर खेवु ईरा सासरो?<sup>2</sup> Tell me oh brother, how I survive at mother in law's house.

पाणीन जावूतो बाळरोव इरेना<sup>2</sup> I go to bring water son cries, oh brother.

कू कर खेवु ईरा सासरो?<sup>2</sup> Tell me oh brother, how I survive at mother in law's house.



घर कटमालो इरा, घट्टीछे, नानकी<sup>2</sup> Mine is joint family oh, brother, grinder is small.

कू कर खेवु ईरा सासरोर?<sup>2</sup> Tell me o brother, how I survive at mother in law's house.

लकडीन जावू तो बाला रोव इरेना<sup>2</sup> I go to collect firewood son cries, oh brother.

कू कर खेवु ईरा सासरोर?<sup>2</sup> Tell me oh brother, how I survive at mother in law's house.

घर कटमालो इरा, घट्टीछे, नानकी<sup>2</sup> Mine is joint family oh, brother, grinder is small.

कू कर खेवु ईरा सासरोर?<sup>2</sup> Tell me oh brother, how I survive at mother in law's house.

धोयेन जावूतो बाला रोवे विरेना<sup>2</sup> I go to wash cloths son cries, oh brother.

कू करखेवु ईरा सासरोर?<sup>2</sup> Tell me oh brother, how survive at mother in law's house.

घर कटमालोइरा, घट्टीछे, नानकी<sup>2</sup> Mine is joint family oh, brother, grinder is small.

कू कर खेवुईरा सासरोर?<sup>2</sup> Tell me oh brother, how I survive at mother in law's house.

खेतेन जावूतो बालारोव विरेना<sup>2</sup> I go to farm son cries, oh brother.

कू करखेवु ईरासासरोर?<sup>2</sup> Tell me oh brother, how I survive at mother in law's house.

A lot of energy has to spend grinding stone performance to produce wheat and sing songs which has deeper layers of meaning. The meaning of the song expresses the large family and small grinding stone is not sufficient to feed her family. Thus, she requesting her brother how should I survive in this large family. She has lot of other works also need to do while nurturing the child. She is asking solution from her brother while doing productive work. Women express her sorrows finding solutions for her problems and critiques her helplessness in the law's house. The performance giving the idea of traditional practice of grinding, joint family, various works of family as well as nurturing the child. She has lots of responsibility towards her family. To run a family she sacrificing herself to do all necessities of the house. For instance, bringing water, collecting firewood, washing clothes, cleaning household, etc. the performance shows women are

working to create healthy space at home. She is the responsible for variety of cultural production at household activities. The cultural performance shows the women's shared creativity and production. The evidence of her creativity is grinding stone work performance. The performativity shows the women's shared creativity and production. In the following song she estimates and inquires how much I grind to feed my brother who came as a guest.

अदलिक पिसु बाई पालिक पिसूये	Will I grind slight, or extra, oh sisters.
वीरा मारो पामनों आयोच बाईये.	Brother of mine came as guest, oh sisters.
वीरा मारो भूको बेटोच बाईये.	Brother of mine is sitting hungry oh sisters.
सासुरे मनेम कोपन बाईय.	Mother in law got jealous, oh sisters.
सासु मरजाणु ससरो मर्जाणुये	let mother in law die and father in law die.
कालन कुंजी हाथ लागजाये बाईये.	Let evil creature capture their hand, oh sisters.
जेट मर्जाणु जेटानीम र्जाणुये.	Let brother in law die and sister in law die.
कालस भूतडी डोरले जाणू बाईये.	Let black demon takes them away, oh sisters.
देवरन मसोबा लागजा णूबाईये.	Ghost may capture to my brother in law. Oh, sisters.

In the song sisters expresses their brotherly longing shows close bond between sister and brother. She want to feed her brother sufficient. It causes mother in law as jealous the performance shows she is longing for her nostalgic past also right to feed her own family in the present and her resistance against her mother in law's household workload. She feel free by criticizing other members in law's house.

### **Cradle Performative Song (Lorry Geet)**

हालर घुलर खेतवाडी, बाळ सुतो फुलवाडी	Green and fruitful farm, my child sleeping on flower garden.
हालर घुलर कुणकरि येराजारीया डिकाम करिये	Who will play with you, when your mother do works?
हालो कीदी हालोडी कीडी कती बालोडी	Friend playing with you, ant bite her leg.

हाते मडांडिया सोनेरो झागला शिडायो मसरूरो My child holding golden stick in hand, his cloth had made of woolen.

नींद आई आखिन कुणा मारो मारे राजान. Sleep came on eyes, who has bitten my king.

हालर घुलर कुण करिये राजारी याडि काम करिये. Who will play with you, when your mother do works?

Mother is rocking cradle for long time and making efforts while singing lullaby song. It is lulling tone which lulls the child to sleep. The song requests child to sleep, she has work on farm. The rhyming words are playing very important role to make a child sleep. Melodious voice with rhyming words conveys meaning in that situation. The song is a tool to express her longing and playing with child. The similar cradle song was collected by Naik D.B. in his scholarly writing.

सोनेरो पालनों तुगादाये: let the golden cradle be rocked.

रुपेरो सांकळी लगादये: let it be chained with silver chain.

पालने म चान्द्री मूरत सुतोये: the son sleep in the cradle like the moon.

Their children sleeping into the golden cradle, their children compared to the sun, the moon and other gods. They have a belief that the beautiful face of a child is heavenly.<sup>65</sup> (2000:17). the child's mother compare simple cradle as golden and silver chain has attached to it. It shows her positive imagination towards her child.

### **The Embroidery Performative Song**

The Gaur Banjara Lambani women are recognized by a traditional handmade dress, normally women wore a string of little beads hung loosely from the neck, and generally preferred to cut and tailor her own apparel; skirts and blouses were beautifully embroidered and colored with great care; and ornaments were mostly hand carved from fine scented wood and ivory. They are skillful in embroidery work apart from household activities. They produce their own dress to wear with embroidery. They are inborn designer and tailor of their own costumes. Majority of their population are mainly dependent on the embroidery work. They do not under go any training from

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<sup>65</sup> Naik. D.B. *The Art and Literature of Banjara Lambani: A Socio-Cultural Study*, Abhinav Publications, 2000. 17

the expert. The art they have learnt from their mothers and grandmothers.<sup>66</sup> Stitching is such an important part of their life style that they say “जब तक जीना तब तक सीना” means your life is meant for stitching. Thus, they import cotton and thread from market. Women adapted embroidery skills from her mother and grandmother to prepare her cloths for herself. She described in a song, which has sung while making design on cloth. For example while working needle work women sing narrative song which describes her dress.

खिडकी खोलूँ ईसेकाडूँ,	I open window, make design,
ईसेकाडूँ याडिन दकालूँ,	I make design on cloth and show to my mother,
याडिन दकालूँ हुसेती पेरूँ,	I show it to my mother, wear it happily,
हुसेती पेरूँ नाचें जावूँ,	I wear it happily and go to dance,
नाचें जावुं भोळी नगरीम.	I go to dance in innocent village.

Through song she narrates her interest towards embroidery to make cloth herself and make useful to herself in wearing in dance. The lyrics of the song repeatedly sung to get concentration on the work, and feel free and take rest from to working condition. The community women preserve a richly embroidered and specially made dress for use during special occasions like festivals.

According to Shayamla Devi “Instead of paying dowry panchayat created rule that the bride’s parents must provide stitched traditional dress made up of ‘Gaghro’ (skirt), ‘Kanchili’ (blouse) and Ghungtoo {this involves expenses as some 24 silver coins have to be stitched on to a red cloth to make the ‘Ghungatoo’ or head dress, one of the most expensive parts of the dress.”<sup>67</sup> As soon as bridegroom mother become mother in law after marriage. The bride’s parent’s present embroidery cloth as performance after marriage ritual.

There is a myth regarding women’s dress in the community. It is constructed by community members to prepare her own dress by herself. The myth goes like this: Once upon a time the young

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<sup>66</sup> Wankede, Vandana B. *Banjara Costume in Maharashtra* a Ph.D. thesis submitted Sant Gadage baba, Amaravati University 2005.

<sup>67</sup> Shyamala Devi, *Tribal Integration In A Developing Economy: A Study With Reference To Two Lambada Villages In Andhra Pradesh* (Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University 1989), 110-111.

couple were getting marriage. The bridegroom died all of a sudden at marriage ceremony, immediately the bride tore her fine wedding cloths to pieces, while weeping and cursing her fate, Goddess Parvati heard her agony and requested to Shiva to give life again to the bridegroom. Accordingly, they appeared on the scene and gave needle and thread to the bride to get all her fine cloths pieced together and at the Banjara women prepared for themselves the kind of dress they wear by tearing the new cloth into suitable pieces and sewing them into Ghagra, Bodice, veil over the head Chaatiya and so on. Hence. It is said that they indulge in their gorgeous and fastidious dress.<sup>68</sup> (Naik Roopala, 28), Thus the community created a traditional custom to prepare their own cloth, it is some benefit in modern fashion design, Embroidery as livelihood for majority of women. The traditional customs gradually acquired to shape new kind of cultural praxis in society.

### **Agriculture Performative Song**

In their nomadic days people had strong belief that accumulation of the wealth and material goods are considered as sin. The ancestors of the community settled in the forest to live unstressed life. One of the interviewer named Mansing opine that “the waste land was progressively transformed to cultivation and abundance of food produce on it, with hard work. While doing this they got the better knowledge of nature’s store house as cultivable land.”<sup>69</sup> Thus, the agricultural farm as work house, labors are performers and the aim of work is to produce grain for food. The community’s agricultural manual laborer has lack of modern skills to produce. Naik considers that ‘being the lovers of nature the Lambanis were living in the mountains hills and valleys. They believe that the sweat of the brow gives the bread. They strongly oppose of begging and sanyasa under any circumstance’<sup>70</sup>. They work hard and feed themselves on agricultural wage labor. Agriculture is an importance source of livelihood. The estimated population village are dependence on agricultural product. Agrarian economy which is no more influential in modern era, agriculture wage labor is no more prestigious occupation in the mindset of the urban dwellers. Producing food from soil is considered low paid wage labor in India. Hence, Gaur Banjara

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<sup>68</sup>Wankede, Vandana B. *Banjara Costume in Maharashtra* a Ph.D. thesis submitted Sant Gadage baba, Amaravati University 2005. 28.

<sup>69</sup>Man Singh Pandagera Tanda 20.03.2014.

<sup>70</sup> Naik. D.B. *The Art and Literature of Banjara Lambani: A Socio-Cultural Study*, Abhinav Publications, 2000. 17

Lambani community has beautiful lyrical song on agricultural activity. The following song is collected from Panegaum tinda. The verse goes like this...

### **Narrative Song on Importance of Agriculture**

थालीरि माई तू धान घालारो You are able to fill food on plate.

जगे माई तु ज बापू गरीब केरारो You considered as poor in the world.

रात-दन तीनी पो रखेतेम राबरो Three times in Day-night you working at farm.

चन्दन दूजच जू जीवड़ा धुजारो Your body smell like chandhan tree.

पचान अन्नाज सारी जागेंन खरारो You produce grain for world to eat.

भूके- तरसे तारो शरीर सुखारो Hunger and thirst making your body unhealthy.

तारे भरोसेप सारी जगेरो बसारो With your help the world is stable.

वगाडो रेतानी सारी जगेन ढाकरो Without cloth in your body you are giving clothes to world.

The meaning of the opening line of verses indicates those who are serving food in plate they are poor in the world. Even though you are working day and night produce food for the world. Yet hunger and thirst are always with you. The song is created to convey the importance of the farmer in to the world. Even in the worst condition he is working twenty four seven night in the farm to give shelter to the world.

The present generation largely depend on the traditional agricultural wage labor, even in the industrial age. Majority of the people of Lambani community rely on wage labor activity. Women's service is not only remain in family. Her service further expanded to connection to labor work in farm. In the context of working at agricultural farm women performance is recalling the incident which was real happen in the past with girl. The innocent girl called Sakku bai was victim on the hands of male dominancy; it was one of personal and historical tragic incident in the community which emerged from their memories. For example the following song

### The Tragic Incident Narrative Song at Farm

बाई चंद्रकांत जारो गळीयान.	Oh sister, Chandrakanth went to farm
बाई सकूबाई जारी बाटीदेन.	Oh sister, Saku bai took breakfast to him,
बाई सकूबाई न चढरोच दन.	Oh sister, Saku bai got late,
बाई चंद्रकांते न लगरिचे भूख.	Oh sister, Chandrakanth getting hungry in farm,
बाई चंद्रकांत लीदो बाकॉल	Oh sister, Chandrakanth took his stick
बाई सकूबाई न मारो खड-खड.	Oh sister, Saku bai got beaten,
बाई खेतरे किनारे कुवल	Oh sister, the corner of the farm,
बाई सकूबाई गिरी कुवलेम	Oh sister, she fall down at farm,
बाई चंद्रकांत घाले हातखडी.	Oh sister handcuffs thrash on Chandrakanth's hand,
बाई सकूबाईरो कीडे पंचनामा.	Oh sister, Investigation did on Saku bai's incident.
बाई पदाताबदीरो लाये अमीनेन.	Oh sister, PSI brought from Padatabadi Police station
बाई कल्बर्गाती डीसी मंगान	Oh sister, DC brought from Gulbarga
बाई सकूबाईरो कीडे पंचनामा.	Oh sister, Investigation did on Sakubai's incident.

Women are calmly narrating the incident of a girl through lyrical verses, who met tragic death at farm. It seems to be experiencing over again that cruel incident were happen in any time and anybody the incident shows the land owner daughters also suffer from the patriarchal system. Through collective memory women were remembering the tragic incident in its social context. The narrative song explains the whole tragic incident and how institution enter to solve the problem. The story is explaining punishment system in institution which make fearful to do crime in any situation. The helplessness of women has no way to escape from the domestic tasks since from her child, when she was child forced labor imposed on her such as raising cows at forest, providing casual labor for the plantations, taking care of children. These all unpaid activities are the reason for the underestimated as a regular, reliable source of income. It is actually indicated their lack of power, because they earned less. It indicates that community women continued to be

economically dependent on men. Thus, she addresses to her brother show her poverty at husband's house.

### Addressing to Brother

भेन दिनोरे इरेना गरीबेन.	Oh brother you gave your sister to poor man.
धुड नाकुरे इरेना वावडिरो	I have lifting mud in well.
तू आयोरे इरेना बलायेन	You came to call me.
म हुबीरे इरेना पायरीपर	I have standing on corner of well.
तू आयोरे इरेना बलायेन	You came to call me.
गरीबाइरे इरेना बेनाडूम	Your sister is facing poverty.
कू पोसूरे इरेना बलकुन	How I should nurture my children.
दया रेदेस इरेना बेनडूपर	Keep kindness on our sisters.
माया रेदेस इरेना बालकुपर	Keep sympathetic on children.

Those who settled holding little agricultural land are converted as wage labours in present situation. While working in agricultural farm women expressing poverty in family to her brother. She requesting her brother to help, whenever the financial need. She longing for help from her brother in the performative song.

During my field work I interacted with wage labours of Lambani women. I convinced them to sing their song while working on the farm. Oral tradition of singing culture shows contemporary life of community. The demand is increasing in contemporary, for instance, women expected ornaments from the cultivation in the narrative song, and they are demanding ornaments out of their agricultural hard work. It shows they have able to produce enough food for their livelihood and demanding more for their labor work.



## Addressing Sun flower Crop

काले खेतेम पेरमेली सुर्यपान. <sup>2</sup>	I sow sunflower seed in black farm.
पाणी पडोकोनी पाचोकोनी सुर्यपान. <sup>2</sup>	Rain had not come crop not grow.
म लातूरेती लारी मन्गायु केती. <sup>2</sup>	I wanted to order lorie from Latur.
म लातूरेती सोनो मन्गाउ केती. <sup>2</sup>	I desired to purchase gold at Latur.
सोनेरो भूरिया कुटाउ केती. <sup>2</sup>	I wanted to make nose ring of gold.
म गाललेन साडी पर नाचू केती. <sup>2</sup>	I desired to dance in marriage wearing it.
मारी आशानिराशारे सुर्यपान. <sup>2</sup>	Oh sunflower you made me as hopelessness.
काले खेते म परमाली वडदेमुंग. <sup>2</sup>	I sow a common pulse;
पाणी पडो कोनी पाची कोनी वडदेमुंग. <sup>2</sup>	Rain had not come crop not grow.
म बीदर रेती लारी मंगाउ केती. <sup>2</sup>	I wanted to order Lorie from Bidar.
म बीदर रेती चांदी मांगउ केती. <sup>2</sup>	I desired to purchase silver at Bidar.
चंदिरी चैने कुटाउ केती. <sup>2</sup>	I wanted to make chains of silver.
म घललेन वाया पर नाचूकेती. <sup>2</sup>	I desired to dance in marriage wearing it.
मारी आशा निरा शारेसुर्यपान. <sup>2</sup>	Oh sunflower you made me as hopelessness.

“I sow sunflower seed in black farm. For the result of shortage of rain crop not grown fruitfully. Oh sunflower you made me as hopelessness.” This song expresses their unfulfilled desire and fear as well as the voice of working women is blaming rain and crops repeatedly. When I ask them, who are the writer of the song? They said that our language don't have script. It means it is a one among oral language. It had no script of its own. Further I request who composed this song. These songs we heard many time, that we don't know who the composer of the song. Anyhow this song comes under oral tradition. The songs are also created by skillful anonymous person, which over a period of time we forgot because of unavailability of script. Somebody composed at some point and people heard from him and they composed. Sometime the singing

group composes lyrics on spot and this song also go under folk song because the composer of the song is not one person but whole singing trope which is not professional singer. The oral song recollected at another time when situation demands. These songs reflect their daily social life.

The Lambani women sing their own song and wear separate cloths Tanda. She is one of the main pillars of the family without her can't survive at every place she must present therefore Lambani society demands mother more than father. At the same time she was made to suffer at every place. At home she is doing her responsibility as food giver and survival becomes the center of her existence. Her struggle in domestic life as pointed out in their labour performances to run family. They are contributing economic development of their family. She is active producers at home. Their participation at farm work is equal to man. They are playing important role to continuing of their culture.

### **Hunting tradition**

The passage from the hunting stage to nomadic pastoral stage and nomadic pastoral stage to settled agricultural stage. We can trace the human life as hunters gradually passing into the pastoral stage, and finally acquiring inconsiderable skill in agriculture. The domestic animals are friendly to them they always try to protect the dog, the cow, the sheep, and the goat. They used to hunt wild pigs in the forest.

Lambani society is primarily oral based society. From the perspective of D.B. Naik it is noticeable that "on various occasions women sing riddle songs. The songs have form of questions and answers. Hunting and embroidery are two fold of community. "During spare time Tanda members would go for hunting. It was known as 'Yed Ramer.' Hunter dogs were used for this purpose. The hunting of wild boar was considered as most important. . Rules of hunting were also prescribed. The one who located the animal and hunted it on the spot would get head of animal as an honour. All members were given equal share of the hunt."<sup>71</sup> Women plays most important role for moral development doing house hold activity she suggested her husband do not kill animal and you should bring food for us. For instance, while doing embroidery work at home women request

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<sup>71</sup> Roy, Burman J.J. Ethnography of a Denotified Tribe Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 2010. 53.

men in the form of riddle. Naik put forward following riddle. The riddles are small effort for the individual development of moral character.

नायकणः नायको कन्देपर जालवोडन जावजो

नायको मुईमत लावजो जीव मत मारजो

नायको बोटी बगरू घर मत आवजो

नायक : नायकनो कांदेपर जालवोद सिकारेन जाया.

लाएन लाया विंडा तो लाया

Women: O! Chiefs carry the nets on your shoulders

And go for hunting

Don't kill, don't bring the dead

Don't return home without hunting.

Chief: O! Heroine, we go for hunting

Carrying nets on our shoulders

We won't bring dead

If we return we bring the eggs.<sup>72</sup>

In house holds the women plays an important role to teach the male in the society. They says go to hunting but don't kill anybody and without food do not come back home. The male gives suitable answer to their women, he says we go to hunting with preparation we won't bring dead and defiantly we bring food for you. It shows she is promoting the desire for moral, honest and non-violent livelihood in the forest. When a group of young Lambani women go farm to work on the way they sing song with dedicated to birds and give suggestions for her safety in forest” the song goes like this.

बाई कम्बेडीये रसता छोडन परेशी बेस Oh dear pigeon sit away from the way.

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<sup>72</sup> Naik. D.B. *The Art and Literature of Banjara Lambani: A Socio-Cultural Study*, Abhinav Publications, 2010, 38.

बाई कम्बेडीये मारो मामा आयेतो मरलिये देखIf my husband saw you, he will kill you.

बाई कम्बेडीये धारूरो चाकण करलिये देख oh dear, he might make snack for his drinking.

While going to farm she made awareness to birds be aware for safety in the forest. Women are compared to earth on the basis of her nurturing quality. She gives birth, takes care of children with her domestic responsibility. Women being not violent, helping the bird to stay alive from their own husband.

### Nomadic life

लदनीया.. लदनीया..गौरमाटीलदनिया....Migration of fair skinned men.

ताळ पडीप हम जायारे.... Wherever we go together

चार दनेर पामनिया..... We are four days guest in the world

अशो तारों-मारो जीवनियार... yours and mine life is like that oh my dear

The fair skinned man's migratory life is filled with philosophical attitudes towards world and togetherness in the life's journey. The song transforms, traditional knowledge of the migration of the community with organization. In the four days of life's journey they want to go better place. The following song also communicate about migration and searching for better place where there is available of basic necessities for animals as well as good living condition for man.

बाई गूती बल्लारी ती तांडो लादन. Oh sister; the village come from Gooty Ballary.

बाई वत चौक मैदान देखन. Oh sister, he looked at open ground,

बाई ढालदीनो ओई लदनीन. Oh sister, he stayed at there,

बाई पाणीछेनी गवान पीयेंन. Oh sister, water was not there to drink for cattle.

बाई तीन ठोकर मारो धरणींन. Oh sister, he touched three feet at soil.

बाई घुट-घुटन पिवच पाणींन. Oh sister, he drank water gradually.

Migration is still on the process due to continuous lack of facilities in their settlements. The above mention song says migration to distant land is an important aspect for searching better life.

It helps to search of employment and livelihood. The social and economic deprivations encouraged young generation of Banjara community's to focus is mainly to migration. It is seen as adventure to young man. Thus they pray to Holi goddess to protect them wherever they are in search of job. In the rural labor market Lambani community's human resource has utilizing lack of facilities to improve their livelihood skills, due to lack of skills, they unable to access better paid jobs, thus, large number of its people receives low wages in the field of agricultural labor work as well as migration to urban as unskilled laborer to earn their livelihood as soon as they join helper in any organization they get command over the work. While hard working community member develop strong literature based on their wage labor activity. For instance gavaniyas as they call professional singer of community, they sing in public ceremony which focuses on migrate wage labor activity of men.

गौरू घने वेरे वेला विचार करला ,Gaur has facing lot of agony, let us think on it.

समाजर घने वेरे वेला विचार करला community has facing lot of difficulties, let us think on it.

साटा तोडे सारु हाथ कोईतारो मूट they took knife in hand to cut sugar cane.

रात – दन काम किदे वेगे काल कोट while working day and night became dark.

लोकर घरे सारु बाँदे बंगला ,भडाबाँदाबंगलाfor the residence for public, we construct building.

बाँद –बाँद वेगो जीव कंगाल ,वेगोजिवकंगाल while construct building, body became bankrupt.

देश समृधकारे सारू वूतो घनोरे राबरो ,घनोरेराबरो. For the nation prosperity they are working hard.

रात दन कामकर वूतो लोईरे डाकरो ,लोईरे डाकरो. While working day and night, he vomiting blood.

The singer is expressing the agony of the community in performative song. The song directs men are working in sugar cane plantation, construction road and buildings as wage labor, for his respectful livelihood. While working on plantation of sugar cane worker, he is able to continual supply of forest products to city dwellers. The large part of present generation depend on the traditional agricultural wage labor, even in the industrial age.

## **Conclusion**

The chapter portrayed women performance through domestic performance. It focused on her cycle remained within the structural domestic framework. Women express her strong bounded attachments with her family members, with doing normal tasks of domestic life. The women sung together to create different meanings from the performative song. The performance provides the domestic issues which women has going to face in her daily domestic life. While working women memorize their difficulties, problems, experience and express in the form of narrative song which recall past experience in the present. In the narrative song she described her broader familiar responsibility signifies her concern to maintain family. The final part of the dissertation focus on migration of fair skinned men to distance land for work. They evolved in various activity for livelihood, thus community singer expressed their difficulties at work place in the form of song.

## CONCLUSION

This research has aimed to understand individual and collective life of the Nomadic migratory community called Gaur Banjara Lambani. By examining the role of performance on formation of an individual's identity as well as construction of community. The first chapter dealt with individual in relation to family as well as community. The nomadic community's reaction on life crisis situation like birth, naming, adulthood, marriage etc. each and every life crisis occasion a ceremony organize by family with the help of community. The celebration gives strength to individual to have positive attitude towards their life.

The birth ceremony clearly indicates and mark a women as mother through rite. The performance makes her aware to take care of child. She get identity of mother as well as responsibility to nurture the child, thus the community organize the agni worship. They requests and invite new born child and mother with wearing smile on their face. The name giving ceremony gives an identity of unknown child to further help of the community. The parents retain hope on child for their betterment in life. They hope on him he takes care and remove their obstacles in life it expressed in the performative song at naming ceremony. Vadai rite celebration gives the courage to a boy to become adulthood and tell him his responsibility with organized ceremony. The recitation of meaningful proverbs makes him to be alert and be successful in life. The tradition performance teaching to be dependence of individual unites.

The marriage in community is not only remaining individual but it is connected to collective event to panchayat thus, the panch organizes engagements and marriages for marriageable children of tanda with the help of their parents. The panchayat has responsibility of girls' marriage arrangements in the tanda. After the marriage she is no more connected to her parents' tanda. Thus, bride expresses her gratitude in the haveli performative song at marriage. The traditional simple marriage ceremony organized one month span time to get to understand bride and bride groom each other. The modernity transform their simple marriage into luxurious ceremony with lot of financial support as well as dowry attached to it. The parents get financially bankrupt after organization of their children's marriage. The divorces are almost impossible in to the community in modern day because of traditional values bound in the time of marriage; bride brings dowry, instead of her share of parental property. The clear description of weddings among men and women lays in the wish to rise owns offspring and the physical and sensitive desirability

between both sexes. The wedding is the most central occasion in social life; women's songs are basic parts of the wedding rites. There are many of the songs referred as no effort to organize their singing. The bridal songs are made rehearsed to learn for new social union. The characteristic of women songs are firstly women sing whenever they appear collectively in public activity as well as to pass their spare time. Secondly, women sing whenever they appear collectively as group expression. The proverbial practices and songs emphasize the insights of traditional social structure of Gaur Banjara Lambani culture. The knowledge of proverbs and songs gained from long experience.

The family is significant association; it has demarcated one's situation in life and provides security, responsibilities, status, and identity. The distinguish head of the family is the leading male, kindly known as naik. The rites and rituals are collective events in which whole community members, such as family, friends, neighbors, take part in the important events of one's own. The child is welcomed into the community after having ceremony of naming of anonymous child. This performance act and verses of the performance suggests that children's are expected to care for their parents throughout their life. This act symbolically suggests that the collective property and wealth are shared by its members equally. The solid sense of family and community it means individuals benefits merge for the sake of the collective.

The major theme to celebrate rite performance is to help an individual to be part of the next stage of life in community. The performative songs occur at every rite of passage, a liminal event in which participant changes status. From birth to death community inherited a rich source of literature which varies place to place region to region. The song passed down from women to women shows the transmission of the female expressive culture. Thus, the elderly women sing various types of songs which social concerns. It clearly shows nomadic people inherited oral tradition as part of life.

In the first chapter I have shown the process of the proverbs and bridal songs provide meaning to the rites, and they reflect social structure and shape social organization. The descriptions of the ritual activities as birth naming and marital situations give deep understanding of the community life.

Holi festival performance at tanda and at fort serve multiple purpose. Primarily it dealt with community's identity formation. The performative song the purpose of their celebration in tanda



as well as in front of fort on stage. The main reason for organization of Holi performance in tanda is to pray for male child's birth and celebration of Dhund rite to wish him good luck in his future life. The celebration involved various activity for to get familiarity among the tanda members to live together with cooperation. The Holi festival celebration at fort is to discuss social problems which are effecting community, such as basic facilities for their settlement. Further the stage gives chance to various cultural troupes to express their performance. Finally, the large number of participation of community in the politicization of Holi festival performance at fort represents social political and aesthetic aspects to create community's identity.

The last chapter analyzed various livelihood performance of community. The vital part of this chapter is domestic performance by women. The participation of women in maintaining household activity motivates to women express her difficulties at domestic work place in the form of narrative song. The next step of analysis is importance of the agriculture in the community. Further I explain valid reason for migration to distance of land of community member. At the last section of the study focuses on songs representing transformation from hunting stage to agriculture as well as migration to distance land for wage labor and their efforts for betterment is analyzed.

However, during the course of this research, I critically engaged on rites of passage, Holi festival celebration and various labor performances of the Nomadic community. I encounter community is deeply rooted in creating various songs on special occasions. The creative song represents their real life style. I analyzed how rites are performed and its essential aspects of rites performance to understand an individualistic life at crisis situation. The chapter argued that the celebration held for help.

In the first and second chapter I have looked at rites and festival performance of the community. The performances are performed to create identity of an individual and to make participation of collective to adaptation of traditional values from its members. I conclude, the first chapter by saying that performance of proverbs are transforming the history of the community. The third chapter I have built argument on oral performance at work place. In this chapter I have found out the reason for the migration of the community.

Photographs of Gaur Banjara Lambani Community



Traditional Gaur Banjara Lambani Council



Betrothal rite celebration

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