

**GONDS, THEIR MYTH, AND THE KESLAPUR NAGOBA  
JATARA: A STUDY OF THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS**

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**By**

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I hereby declare that the work embodied in the present thesis entitled “GONDS, THEIR MYTH, AND THE KESLAPUR NAGOBA JATARA: A STUDY OF THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS” is an original research work submitted by me under the supervision of Prof. N. Jnaneshwara Bhikshu. For the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Theatre Arts from University of Hyderabad. I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis is earlier submitted for award of any research degree in part or full to any for any other University or Institution, and that the thesis is plagiarism free. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

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## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

*(Notes: All these definitions are based on Researcher's understanding of terms, and should not be compared to any standard definitions found in other books or definitions given by particular authors)*

**Aabotu** – Ox

**Aarti** - Traditional Indian light show to God and people

**Aasthana** – place of King

**Adi Dev** – Another name of lord Shiva

**Adivasi Akhwaamee Khadim or Adima Girijan Sankshema** - Tribes Welfare Association

**Akshintalu** - sacred rice

**Amaavaasya** – Moon less days

**Annadaanam** – Free distribution of food

**Anthapura** – Living place of King and Queens

**Ashta Lakshmis** – Goddess Group of eight Lakshmis

**Baapu** – father

**Bajathri** – Musical Instruments    Beeyting or Beety Koriyal - Bride introduction Program

**Beruli** - Peepal tree

**Bhagawan** – God

**Bhagwans Krupa** – Gods kind

**Bhoovur Maachvaa** – Keslapur village or Nagoba Gods Place

**Bhuta Preta** - Demons

**Bhuvana bhandas** – Different places like earth

**Bola Shankar** – God Lord Shiva's other name

**Boodimeen Budhyal** - It's a name of character and Nagoba's watchman

**Chakda** - A small bullock cart used for travelling

**Chalipaaga** – Yanthra (It's made with hair on cow's tail) spell cast diagram

**Chandraa** – Moon

**Chaurasta** – Four roads meeting place

**Cheruvu** – Lake

**Daana Dharma** – Free gifts, duty  
**Daftar Pagdi** – Kings long cloth for head  
**Daiva** - God  
**Darshana** - Seeing the God  
**Deepam** – Indian traditional lamp  
**Dehwar or Dewata** - boundary deity  
**Deva Deva!** – These words used for politely to husbands  
**Devadaan** – Free distribution of God  
**Devaputras** – God's son  
**Dhaana** – Offering something to someone without cost,  
**Dhana and Dhanya** - Wealth and Food  
**Dhana Lakshmi** – Wealth Goddess  
**Dharma** - Justice  
**Dhoopa** – It is used in front of God's statue, one which emits smoke  
**Dhoti or Dhovati** – Indian traditional male dress it's Long clothe wear for lower part  
**Dwaara Paalaka** - watchman  
**Dwaja Stambha** - holy pillar made of wood  
**Gaadi** – Seat or Sitting place  
**Ganne or Kanupula** – Seven nodes Bamboo stick  
**Garelu, Burelu, Bajji** - Eatable things in Telugu states  
**Geel Gaagra** - Rope with musical metallic bells  
**Gollalu** – One of the Caste in India, their profession is feeding the cows  
**Gorkha** – It's a Kikiri's carry able thing (Kikiri is a Gond's traditional musical Instrument)  
**Gowad or Goshala** – Cows living place  
**Gram dewata** - village deity  
**Gussadi, Dandari, Kollatam** - These are tribal dances  
**Ilavelpu** - Goddess of house  
**Janma Jodu** - Life partner  
**Jata** – Pair  
**Jiva** – life

**Kaarun or KarmaKanda** – Free distribution of food or eatable things and other useful things it's done in the name of dead people

**Kaavadi** - Bangy or Yoke

**Kailasa** – Gonds believe it's a Gods living Place

**Kalasham or Kalasa** – Holy water carrying thing and its traditional thing

**Kallapi** – Making clean

**Kandla Kalaka** - Sore eyes

**Kanduva** – This is long cloth used on shoulders

**Karpooora** – Camphor

**Kataksha** – Appear to someone

**Katars, daalu and Ballem** – Essential army things like knives, etc.

**Katnam** – Money

**Kikiri, Pippiri, KaliKom, Thudum Dhap** – traditional musical instruments of Gonds

**Kitta or Kitha or Vamsha** - Progeny

**Korrameenu or Boodhimeen** – Red Snapper fish

**Kottas** – Forts

**Krita Yuga, Treta Yuga, Dwapara Yuga, Kali Yuga and Satya Yuga** – These are the ages or eras of Gonds belief

**Kul Dewata** - family deity or Cast God

**Kundalas** – Ears rings

**Laghushanka** – Urinating

**Lokas** – Countries

**Mandapa** - Marriage Hall

**Mangal Snana** - Ritualist bath using turmeric

**Mena Marudulu** - brother in laws

**Moksha** – Appearing God to someone

**Mothuku leaves** – Leaves of Mothuku tree

**Mujrayala** – Evening Prayer

**Mukkera** - nose ornament

**Naivedya** – different type of eatable things put in front of the God is call that Naivedya

**Nirvamsha** – No children in family for next generation

**Niyama and nishtas** – Rules and Regulations

**Paataalaloka** – People think its God Nagoba place and it's like an earth

**Padiyor** – Respected word in Gondi and they used as devotee

**Pallaki** – It's used for travelling for Queen only

**Panchaboota** - Five great elements

**Pandiri Polu** – In Gonds marriage system with rice they draw the line under marriage tent it's called Pandiri polu

**Parakaya Pravesha** - Leaving one's body and entering others body

**Parengs** – surnames

**Parichaya Vedika** – Bried groom Introduction to God

**Patri** – Cotton thread lamp (Indian traditional lamp)

**Pattikaya** - the Cotton Plant Balls

**Peetas** - Small wooden pedestal

**Persapen** – Big God of Gonds

**Pushya Maasa** – its Gonds Month Its come in between December-January

**Putta** -Hole

**Raaitadh** - the house God

**Raajrusum** – money pay or Taxi

**Raajya** - Kingdom

**Raitadh or Aadi Seshu** – Nagoba God or Snake God

**Raj Darbar** – King and Ministers meeting place

**Raj Mahal** – King's palace

**Raja** - King

**Raja Danda** – King's Stick

**Rajas Kachuri** - A place where conflicts are settled

**Ram Ram** – These are greeting words of Gonds

**Ramzanla** - large boilers

**Randram** - hole

**Rolu Rokali** - Indian traditional grinder

**Sade** - Son in laws

**Saga or Sagaa or Gattu** – Group



**Sansara** – Marriage relation

**Satya** – Truth

**Shaktis** – Power full demons or opposite to God

**SheshNarayan** – Nagoba God

**Simha Dwaras** – Main entrances

**Sindhur** – Indian traditional red powder

**Surya** - Sun

**Suyveelad or Edu** – Porcupine

**Tilaka or Bottu** – Traditionally people in India kept on their fore head

**Titti** – Air blowing machine

**Tungutuyyala** - Golden Swing Bed

**Utti** – It's a waved rope hanged on center of the house and it is used for keeping food items or other eatable things

**Vajra Vaidoorya** – Diamonds

**Vamsha** – Lineage

**Vanta shaala** – Kitchen

**Vatvriksha or Marra** – Banyan tree

**Veedas or Tamboolas** – It's offered after meal and contain betel leave and nut, lime stone paste, sweet nut, elaichi etc.

**Veranadah** – Front place of house

**Vivaha Patra** - Marriage card

**Vrata** – Devotees following rules for God

**Yajna** – It's a fire made in front Gods statue

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*BJP*: Bharatiya Janata Party

*C.M*: Chief Minister

*CPI*: Communist Party of India

*CPI (M)*: Communist Party of India (Marxist)

*ITDA*: Integrated Tribal Development Agency

*MLA*: Member of the Legislative Assembly

*MP*: a Member of Parliament

*SC*: Scheduled Castes

*ST*: Scheduled Tribes

*TDP*: Telugu Desam Party

*TJS*: Telangana Jana Samithi

*TRS*: Telangana Rashtra Samithi

*VIP*: Very Important Person

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# CHAPTER- I



# 1. INTRODUCTION

India is a country culturally enriched with several tribes divided into several clans, occupying different geographical regions. All these communities own their languages, festivals and ceremonies filled with Mythical stories of the Goddesses, Gods, Nature, Animals, supernatural elements and legends of Humans, followed by rituals in their respective system (see the table No.1)

These rituals are observed with a systematic process controlled by their belief system. Tribes of India in general and Gonds tribes in particular are emotionally involved in the practice of their rituals and in the process of performances. The process of ritual performance is incomplete without the participation of the entire community. The theatricality lies in the participation since the ritual observation involves in spiritual, emotional, physical, social, economic and political terms.

“Nevertheless the emotional involvement that humans have with rituals continues even when they watch theatre. This commonality brought the performers and audience together to share their lived experience through theatrical expression. The themes therefore of folk theatre are mostly connected with the gods, goddesses, epic heroes and legendary personalities. The indigenous techniques of performance evolved in folk theatre on the improvised space in the temple yards and village squares are very much common. (Bhikshu, Dr. N. Jnaneshwara 3)”<sup>1</sup>

Tribal Name	State/Region	Language	God/Myth	Festival
“Gond	Telangana, Orissa, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh	Gondi	Nagoba (Nag Deo), Persa Pen	Nagoba Jatara (Furer- Haimendorf 39-47)” <sup>2</sup>
“Kolam	Telangana, Maharashtra	Kolami	Bhim Deo (Ayak)	Dead People Memorial Festival (Haimendorf 32-37)” <sup>3</sup>
“Koyalu	Telangana, Odisha,	Koya	Sammakka,	Sammakka,

<sup>1</sup> Bhikshu, Dr. N. Jnaneshwara. *Semiotics of Oggu Katha*. Uttar Pradesh: Index International, 2015. Print.

<sup>2</sup> Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf and Elizabeth von. *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad A Peasant Culture of the Deccan, Book I, Myth and Ritual*. London: Macmillan & Co., LTD., 1948. Print.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

	Andhra Pradesh		Saaralamma	Saaralamma Jatara (Medaram)” <sup>4</sup>
“Apatani	Arunachal Pradesh	Apatani (Tannii)	Harniang, Tamu, Metti, Danyi	Dree festival (Das)” <sup>5</sup>
“Santhal	Jharkhand	Shanthali	Marangburu, Jahera, Manji	Karam (Eco India Tribes)” <sup>6</sup>
“Oraons	Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh	Kurukh	Gaon Deoti,	Harbora (Bone-Drowning) (Lodrick)” <sup>7</sup>
“Bhils	Madhya Pradesh, Maharastra, Gujarat and Rajastan	Bhili	Baneshwar Mahadev	Baneshwar fair(Eco India Tribes)” <sup>8</sup>
“Warlis	Gujarat	Warli	Kansari Devi, Hirwa Dev, Naran Dev, Gamdev, Mukherdev and Zangardev	Diwaso, Akhatrij, Diwali, Holi (Warli)” <sup>9</sup>
“Mising (Miris)	Assam, Arunachal Pradesh	Mising	Donyi Polo	Donyi Polo (Rex.)” <sup>10</sup>

**Table No. 1**

As mentioned above these Fairs or Jatara are the traditions practiced to experience their community living thereby establishing their identity. Tribes of India own their Gods and the related myths. These myths are performed during various festivals and attract the community participation in which process the bondage with their belief system is strengthened and the Gonds are no exception. “The group that experiences a particular lifestyle expresses its experiences, actions, aspirations, belief and relationships through enactment.” (Bhikshu, Dr. N. Jnaneshwara 1) <sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Medaram "Samakka Sarakka" Jatara - A Tribal Festival. 19 February 2014. Web. 9 January 2018.

<sup>5</sup> Das, Swairik. 40 Most Unusual and Uncommon Festivals and Events in India. 3 December 2014. Web. 9 January 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Eco India Tribes Santhals Tribe. 2008. Web. 9 January 2018.

<sup>7</sup> Lodrick, D.O. Encyclopedia.com Oraons. 2009. Web. 24 January 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Eco India Tribes Bhils Tribe. 2008. Web. 24 January 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Warli, Tribal Research and Training Institute Tribal Development Department Government of Gujarat. n.d. Web. 24 January 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Rex. The Mising or Miri tribe of Assam. 21 November 2011. Web. 25 January 2018.

<sup>11</sup> Bhikshu, Dr. N. Jnaneshwara. A Theatrical Study of Oggu Katha : a narrative folk form of a pastoral community in Andhra Pradesh. Hyderabad, 2000. Print.

Hence rituals occupy a major stance facilitating an empathetic process among the community. The tribal art is generated from the process of conducting the rituals in various forms like paintings, dance, narratives and other performing arts. It is interesting to note that Gonds in particular believe in the process of observing the rituals governed by their belief system. Ritual in its eternal bondage to the tribal life upholds its identity and achieves empathy in the community as proved by several theoreticians.

“The distinction between art for its own sake and un-rehearsed pragmatic mimicry has not always been clear. However in primitive cultures the two overlap, doubling as religious ritual to promote collective well-being-for instance the tribes control of nature as inverted in various gods. By imitating an action, the ritual participants hope to free themselves of “winter” and bring about an eternal rebirth. Such rites sometimes include impersonations demonstrating to the gods, precisely what they are to do “the participants may actually imagine themselves becoming gods. They are ‘beside’ or ‘outside’ themselves in ecstasy or to put another way they are enthusiastic primitive tribal exercises of this kind and thus solve frenetic ritual and programmed art” (Kapila Vatsyana 1976:9)<sup>12</sup>

The present study focuses on the process of ritual performance held in connection with Keslapur Nagoba Jatara. Nagoba is the deity of Gonds and the Jatara is a popular ritual observed by this tribe. An attempt is made here to study the process of Nagoba Jatara to find out the theatricality in the performance. The process of conducting rituals involves a travel to the Keslapur village from the surrounding villages where in it involves offerings to their god with devotion, narration of their myth, supported by the spectatorship and their participation.

## **AREA OF STUDY**

The Keslapur Nagoba Jatara is very popular among the Gond tribes in Adilabad district of Telangana State. It belongs to only the Mesram clan in the Gond Tribes, it's performed by them as a part of the ritual observation. It is an important event in their life. The Serpent God is known to everyone as 'Sesha Naga' or Nagoba who is the divine serpent of Lord Shiva. Nagoba is deeply admired by the Gond tribes. Every year the Gond tribes celebrate their devotion to the Nagoba God through the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara.

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<sup>12</sup> Vatsyana, Kapila. *Traditions of Indian folk dance*. New Delhi: Clarion books, 1976. Print.

It is a significant annual tribal festival celebrated for 5 days. The related rituals of Nagoba Jatara involve prayers, offerings and narration of their myth related to the deity. It involves the participation of the Gonds tribal community including non-tribal from the neighbouring villages. The ritual begins at the day of appearance of the moon. Special Pujas during the months of December and January, which is the month of Pushya or Pushya Masam (pus nalelenj or Sri Nagoba Pendha kal kerval) are performed and several offerings are made to the serpent God Nagoba. This entire month Gonds are engaged in prayers and celebrations. This is the event which provides religious, cultural and social platform among the Gond tribes.

These rituals are performed in the Keslapur village, Indravelli Mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state. This Gond tribe dwell in the deep forests, which is locally called as “*kavval adavi*”<sup>13</sup>. They gather the food by hunting, agriculture and pastoral properties. Hence they developed the belief system on offering to their god Nagoba and the related rituals which are observed to maintain a harmonious community living with eco-friendly nature.

## LITERATURE SURVEY

There are several works on these aboriginal Gond Tribes (Haimendorf C. V. F., Elizabeth, Haimendorf E. 1979 and 1948: Rao, P. Setu Madhava. 1949: Nadeem Hasnain. 2007: V. Mamatha.1994: N. Rajendra Prasad.1987: Edger Thurston.1909, 1975). The Keslapur Nagoba Jatara is a big festival of Gonds. Some of the persons in here have dealt or written about the aboriginal Gond tribes of Adilabad districts of Telangana state. All writers have concentrated on the Gond's lifestyles, culture, and details of their locations or Place, Gods, belief systems, festivals, family, social life structure, their revolt life and art life. Here some few books are included in this literature survey section.

### ***1. The Raj Gonds of Adilabad A Peasant Culture of the Deccan, Book I, Myth and Ritual,***

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<sup>13</sup> It is a forest, locally called that Kavval Adavi, it is located Jannaram mandal of Mancheriyal district (old Adilabad) in Telangana state.

*Author: Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf Collaboration with Elizabeth von Furer-Haimendorf.*

The Raj Gonds of Adilabad A Peasant Culture of the Deccan, Myth and Ritual book has entire Gonds material and cultural milieu, the Mythological foundation of the social order and annual cycle of their living place written by Haimendorf. It has illustrating Gonds photographs, line drawings of musical instruments, women's ornaments, agricultural things and maps of Hyderabad state, Adilabad District, Madura and Marlavai villages. And Gond's living environment, population, villages, mythical origin of Gonds and clan deities, hot, rain, and cool season are given in great detail. Haimendorf has given first place to explain about the Gonds' mythology and their ritual in this book.

## **2. *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh: tradition and change in an Indian tribe***

*Author: Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf Collaboration with Elizabeth von Furer-Haimendorf.*

The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh: tradition and change in an Indian tribe book offers information on the Gonds history and literature, material and culture, village social life and structure, about neighbours, clan and feudal system, about Pradhan and Bards, Gonds justice and social values, and mythological foundations, Gonds early life, marriage, divorce, and death, Gond economy and beliefs and practices, about clan deities and changing Adilabad Gonds. Haimendorf all the discussions arranged in twenty chapters and it is detailed information on Gonds.

## **3. *Among the Gonds of Adilabad, Author: Setumadhava Rao Pagdi, M.A., I.A.S.***

Among the Gonds of Adilabad book presents an overview of Adilabad Gond tribal life (from the period 1945 to 1948) observed and written by Setumadhava Rao, it is a history of Gond rulers in Adilabad. The book gives information of Gond names and village names among the Gonds, and their land problem, about Pradhan, Kolams, and on the myths and traditions. The book is ten short chapters on the Gond's life.

#### **4. *Tribal India*, Author: Nadeem Hasnain.**

Tribal India is a selected main tribe of India introductory book by Nadeem Hasnain in the books of tribal, it has given concept and definition of Tribes Issues in the Indian context. It provides about Tribes classification, marriage types, social relations, economic and political organization, religion, and ethnographic profiles of selected Indian tribes (Toda, Chenchu, Khasi, and Oraon etc.). It discussed tribal problems, developmental policies, and tribal art, Impact of other religion on Tribal societies (Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism etc.). It has included tribal photos, tattoo marks, mask, paintings, and maps took from the tribes around India.

#### **5. *Cognition and Communication in Tribal Art A Case Study of Gonds of Adilabad District*, Author: V. Mamata.**

This is a Thesis, submitted in Centre for Regional Studies, School of Social Sciences, and the University of Hyderabad. It deals with the study of Cognition and Communication in Tribal Art in every chapter. It explains Gonds of Adilabad district profile, Art, and culture, and Gond's worldview, the researcher concentrated on what is tribal art? And how is it communicating? What is the relation between Art and Gond culture? The Thesis has given more details of Adilabad Gond art communication.

#### **6. *Tribal Revolts a Study of the Revolt of Adilabad Gonds in 1940***

*Author: Narla Rajendra Prasad.*

This is History Department thesis from the University of Hyderabad. The thesis study on tribal revolts history. It provides an understanding of revolts of Adilabad Gonds. It has five chapters, in the chapter's scholar provided information about Adilabad tribe's background, what kind of events led to the Gond revolt? And effects of revolts.

From the literature survey, it is found that the authors discussed various factors of the lifestyle of the Gonds and their belief system on their gods and the related rituals. It is also observed that none has dealt with the process of performance in conducting the rituals. An attempt is made here to study the process of ritual performance in general and Keslapur Jatara

in particular. Since rituals involve a process of performance which in turn upholds their identity. Hence the following issues are discussed which require attention in the study of “Gonds, their Myth, and Nagoba Jatara Performance process”.

## **ISSUES ADDRESSED**

1. What is the Gond’s mythological story in the Nagoba Jatara?
2. What is Nagoba Jatara Performance?
3. What is the process of Nagoba Jatara performance?
4. The ethnic features and connections to the myth and their life.

## **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

**Aims:** This study attempts to investigate the Myth and Nagoba Jatara Performance Process, to attain information on the above issues. Hypothetically to even evaluate the features of theatricality in the process of performance in the tribe. The following are the objectives of this study.

### **Research objectives:**

1. To find out the Gond’s myth in the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara process.
2. Whether the performance possesses theatricality?
3. To critically look at whether the Gonds tribe participate as “inside or outside”., in the process of performance
4. To evaluate the ethnic connections to their myth and their lifestyle.
5. To understand the perspective of Gonds in owning the Nagoba Jatara and Myth.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study is based on the primary and secondary source of data. And it is a participatory and observation research method, Fieldwork documentation and Interview used for the data collection in research. Analysing Nagoba Jatara and Myth, starting from the month of December to the end of January. Every year this is celebrated at Keslapur Nagoba temple. It is a study with a focus on Myth and Nagoba Jatara performance Process.

**Participation and observation:** This method is used in order to study the ethnic connections of the Gonds tribal people, the Nagoba Jatara, and their Myth. Every part of the Jatara and every episode of myth is keenly observed.

**Video documentation:**

This method is followed for extracting the information of Nagoba Jatara, their myth and the process of performance. A complete audio and video documentation is done to acquire authentic data of the process of ritual and other related performance aspects. The entire process of the ritual and the performance is documented from the very beginning to the end running through various elements involved in it.

**Interview:**

Interviews were carried out with the tribe based on unstructured questionnaire to get the data and information. Particularly these interview sessions were conducted at the post rituals and performance. These interviews were carried out interacting with elderly people of Gonds especially Patlals (Patels), Katodas, and Pradhans.

- **The Major sources of study:** 1) Nagoba Jatara and its various events of performances, customs and traditions, conduct of devotion and their attires during the process of the rituals. 2) The oral mythical story, Gond legends, and their belief system. 3) The literature on the Gond performance traditions contributed by theoreticians and researchers.

## **CHAPTERISATION**

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Each chapter focuses on issues mentioned above, and in-depth analysis is attempted here.

### **Chapter I -Introduction**

This chapter covers the area of study, literature survey, issues addressed, aims and objectives, the methodology of research and chapterisation. This chapter aims to focus on the process of performance of Nagoba Jatara as practiced by the Gond tribes. It also introduces their ethnic connections to their belief system as a frame of reference to the study.



## **Chapter II – The Gonds and their social milieu.**

This chapter introduces the Gond tribe's lifestyle and specifically the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara of the Gonds. It covers their material culture, their familial construct, and their social life. Role of Nagoba Jatara in connection to their rites of passages. It also discusses their political and economical strategies for upholding their community living and belief system.

## **Chapter III - The Myth of Gonds in Nagoba Jatara**

This chapter presents the Myth of the Gond tribes from the beginning to the end. This has been recorded from the Pradhan of the Gonds. The myth is divided into seven episodes. This entire myth was narrated in the Gondi language but later translated into English with the help of the Pradhans who could also speak in Telugu and Hindi.

## **Chapter IV -The Nagoba Jatara Performance Process**

This chapter discusses the entire process which is conducted in twenty divisive events from beginning to end. As all activities or performances are happening, in between the Pradhan intervenes and tells a mythological story by the way of singing, the oral narrative with Kikkiri (the traditional musical instrument) and other musical instruments in episodic style and after every episode they perform puja. So there is a need to discuss and explain about 'the Nagoba Jatara Performance Process' in this chapter. The twenty parts are...

“01) Looking the Moon

02) Ordering the new Pots

03) Going to holy water

04) Puja at Hastanamadugu

05) In the village of Katoda

06) Pooja of Indhradevi

07) Under Banyan trees

08) Bringing the new pots

- 09) Thum
- 10) Castor Oil making for God
- 11) Entry in Goshala
- 12) Bheati Koriyal
- 13) Satik Puja
- 14) Persa Pen Puja
- 15) Big Puja of Nagoba
- 16) Masai God
- 17) The Darbar
- 18) Shampur Bodem Pen Jatara
- 19) The God house
- 20) The End of the Nagoba Jatara (Jampaiah)<sup>14</sup>

## **Chapter V- Conclusion**

This chapter deals with the summary of my beginning four chapters and the importance of the study, its findings, and suggestions for future research.

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<sup>14</sup>Jampaiah, Chunchu. "Gond's Nagoba Jatara; Performance of Bheati Koriyal." *International Research Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* (2017): 1-7. Print.  
(The Information Included in the 'IRJMS' Journal)

## CHAPTER- II

## 2. THE GONDS AND THEIR SOCIAL MILIEU

Gonds the hill people are living in Deccan Peninsula of India are the largest tribal Groups (see map Deccan Plateau). “In the Gond history they had Gondwana State based on Gondwani language see the languages based map of India, published in 1859 in the Baptist Magazine”<sup>1</sup>. “The Gonds are mainly divided into four tribes: Raj Gonds, Madia (Maria) Gonds, Dhurve Gonds and Khatulwar (Khutwad) Gonds. They are mostly found in the following Regions from different states.

1. The Bastar region in Madhya Pradesh on the Godavari Basin
2. The Kalahandi region of Orissa
3. The Chandrapur region of Maharashtra
4. The Adilabad region of Telangana
5. The Satpuda and Narmada regions of Madhya Pradesh
6. The Raipur region in Madhya Pradesh, including Sambalpur in Chattisgarh, and the Sagar region in Madhya Pradesh
7. The Ellichpur region in the Amravati District of Maharashtra. (Vahia 29-30)”<sup>2</sup>

The Gond tribes are largely populated in Adilabad district of Telangana. The annual Nagoba (Serpent God) Jatara of the Gonds’ God is held at Keslapur village, Indravelli Mandal in Adilabad of Telangana state. So the Gond tribes are one of the social groups of the country who are socially and economically backward. Gond Tribes are ancient Indian people. “They live in forests of central India. These are the large group of tribes. The Main point is the Gond do not call themselves as Gonds but through Gonds sub-tribal name Koia, Koitor or Kotar. The word Koia, Koitor, or Kotor meaning is ‘man of hills or mountains’ in the local dialect of their language. (Hasnain 141)”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Stop Hindi Imposition*. 7 July 2017. Facebook. 15 May 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Vahia, M. N. "Aspects of Gond Astronomy." *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage* (2013): Print.

<sup>3</sup> Hasnain, Nadeem. *Tribal India*. Delhi: Palaka Prakashan Publishers, 2007. Print.

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(Deccan Plateau)<sup>4</sup>

**Map: 1.** Deccan Plateau

Source: [https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deccan\\_Plateau#/media/File:Indiahills.png](https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deccan_Plateau#/media/File:Indiahills.png)

<sup>4</sup> Deccan Plateau. 17 December 2017. Web. 12 January 2018.





### **The Gonds Culture and their material culture:**

In Gond Tribes some are located nearby the forest and some live in the forest and nowadays Gonds are staying in Towns, Districts, and Cities. They are spread all over the villages in the District of Adilabad. They build their houses with the bamboo, wood, leaves, branches, grass, bricks and cement bricks. Some Gonds have their houses built with cement flooring and tile roof. While some other Gonds live inside hut, their daily useful things are Padiya (Comb), Pots, Plastic pots, Aluminium pots, Dhali (jug), Plates, Leaves plates, Iron knife, Axe, Sickle, Baskets, Dried grass mat, Cot, Machine, Rope carpet, Broom, Ploughs, Digging (in Gondi Sabbal – crowbar) things. And for their self-defence they use war instruments, they play musical instruments too. (See Figures: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)



**Figure: 1.** Houses of Gori village (Village of Katoda)

Note: This photo took when in the village of Katoda

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 2.** Gondi person cutting the Bamboo with axe

Note: This photo took when in the Gouri village of Katoda

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 3.** Houses, cot, plastic water stored containers and house with borders of wood

Note: This photo took when in the village of Katoda

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara





**Figure: 4.** Steel cooking material and other useable things

Note: This photo took when in the village of Katoda

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 5.** Steel, Plastic and Brass water containers and other

Note: This photo took under Banyan trees of the Keslapur village

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

During Festivals and marriages, they gather in groups. Pradhan plays a musical instrument Kikkiri and sings, it is followed by rest of the people singing in chorus. They play Drums, Pippiri, and Kalikom. Leaving aside the gender differences they all dance in a circle. Their famous dance is Gussadi. Gonds purchase household materials from the local market. Recently some farmers in Gond Tribes are using Tractors for farming. Although infrastructure is not so good in their communities Today's tribal youth are able to access recorded music or songs, TVs, Movie halls and Cell Phones for Entertainment.

The men of the village Gond wear Shirt, Dhoti (Lower long cloth) and headlong cloth with a long or short cloth on shoulder or head and slippers contrary to this most people living in forest and nearby regions move with bare feet without shirts. Young people can be seen wearing pants, Dhoti (Lower long cloth) and shirt and the women wear Sari and blouse. The girls wear salwar suit, pants, and frock and rubber slippers. Economically and educationally sound people in Gonds are staying in cities now. They are maintaining better dressing habits. Coming to the food habits people from Villages and cities eat Jowari roti with vegetable curries like Brinjal, Cluster Beans, Ladies finger, Green leafy vegetables, Ragi, Sweet potatoes, Potatoes, and Tomato. Gonds living near Forests grow all these vegetables but people from cities buy these vegetables. Gonds near forests hunt animals like Rabbit, Birds and other small animals. Goats and chicken are raised in their houses. Families come together while dining and during festivals, entire communities come together. Fruits like Banana, Pomegranate and Guava are raised in their fields. The lands that are used for raising these things are their own. Most of the Gond tribe's lands are deep inside the forest with one side bordered by trees and another side by the mountains like Kavval Forest in Adilabad. Raised crops are used only for Family Feeding but not for selling by most Gonds. Some Gonds sell it in the markets nearby cities.

Women like ornaments, not excluding Gonds. Gond women are very much fond of ornaments. We can see ornaments on their fingers, wrist, arm, neck, ear, nose and feet. Their ornaments are made up of steel, brass, glass, shell, thread, wild seeds and gold. Most of the gold ornaments can be seen worn by the urban Gonds but not the Gonds living nearby forests.





**Figure: 6.** Musical Instruments Kikkiri (covered by white cloth), Drums, Pippiri, Kalikom and Thudum Dhap

Note: This photo took under Banyan trees at Gaadhe of the Keslapur village

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

“The Gonds ’relations with most craftsmen of Telangana are of a very superficial nature. At markets, they buy the wares of potters, weavers, and tailors, and a wealthy Gond may occasionally call a carpenter to his village to carve a door or marriage pots. Gold and silver ornaments are purchased from shops who live in bigger villages of the plains and come to fairs, such as the Keslapur Jatara.( Haimendorf 30)”<sup>5</sup> Gond Women come to Jatara in New clothes decorating themselves with flowers, who are the newly married come in white sarees to Nagoba Jatara. The Previous Generation Gonds had permanent tattoos but the younger generation nowadays is not preferring tattoos. Instead, they are giving a plain appearance.

### **The Gonds Family and their social life:**

We know that family is the prime structure of any society. A centre for culture, it can be seen as base developing further into economic, political and religious platforms considering the order of hierarchy. The family head is a father. He can lead and take care of the family. It is joint type in Gonds. The father, mother, their children, Grandparents, Maternal and paternal relations reside under the same roof. Parents get up in the early hours

<sup>5</sup> Haimendorf C.V.F., Elizabeth, Haimendorf E. *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh: tradition and change in an Indian tribe*. New Delhi: Vikas Publisher, 1979. Print.

and go to work along with the working members of the family, while the children stay back and help the elders do their house chores. These days' children are attending schools in the nearby towns. In some villages, there are no schools and so they prefer going on foot to the schools in Towns. (See Figure: 7)



**Figure: 7.** Family of Gori village (wife, husband and children)

Note: This photo took when in the village of Katoda

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

Sometimes both husband and wife go to work together after finishing their household chores like cooking for the children and other things like sweeping the floor, they make sure that everything is right when they are away from the home working in the fields. This conduct is seen especially in the nuclear families as they are no other members to take care of children. Sometimes the new-born is carried to the fields. The family who sends their children to the schools doesn't bother much, but the ones who are not attending school to stay back will have to take care of the house. Some families send their children to tribal welfare schools and others send them to village schools. When it comes to tribal welfare school the children will have to stay in the school something similar to our hostels but it's not the same with village schools. Locals in there believe that the quality of the study is good in Welfare schools compared to village schools. Generally, the husband-wife relation in the family is good, but when the relationship becomes conflicting, they try to resolve the conflict in the Saga Panchayat. Members of the Panchayat comprise of Pradhan, Patel, Katoda, and Elders in the family, if it's a nuclear family it's the husband and if it is joint family the place is given

to male members, father or whoever is elder to him. If the couple does not want to maintain relation, divorce is allowed in the community Panchayat. The Divorce happens orally no written agreements are done. However, if they divorce the wife has to leave the children to the father. Only toddlers or smaller than they are allowed to stay with the wife. Only the woman with small children is allowed to get married again.

Grown-up children and Parents are affectionate to each other. They love each other very much. The relation between siblings is cordial. Brothers and Sisters eat together and work together. Brothers assist their father and the Sisters assist their mother in work. Children go separate ways after their marriage. Brothers are included in father's lineage and sisters are ousted from the lineage group. Because as in most cultures even the girls carry their husband's Surname and are involved in developing his progeny after marriage. Now after the children get married and settle down with families. The reversal process begins, Parents move from one place to other changing homes and staying with different children in different months of the calendar year. While this happens parents are given the bountiful amount of articles, Food materials etc. for their use when they are not staying with the children. This goes on throughout the year especially during festivals, any occasions, and ceremonies. The sister and brother relation goes well, but relations between some brothers are not so good because of the issues regarding property like any other cast or families. Ultimately compared to most the Gond families maintain good relations and the Gonds have surnames.

The following information is drawn from Encyclopedia, World Heritage. Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press, for reference. "Gond Tribe uses seven hundred fifty Pareengs (surnames) with their names. In Gondi language Pareeng means family Surname, Paree is a singular word and its plural is Pareeng. Gonds have seven hundred fifty Pareengs and these are categorized into twelve Saga (Group) and each saga is called Pen. The Pen means a dead person of the Gond family, the family can do ritual after the death of the person it is called Penkam/Penkaran.

From one to seven sagaa or pen there are seven hundred surnames (Pareengs) and from eight to twelve sagaa there are fifty Pareengs and the grand total number is 750 Pareengs. This classification with Pareengs is below in detail.

(A) Undipen or Undam is a first Sagaa it has 100 Pareengs and their names:

Angaam	Aekraam	Tarkolaa	Lawaatee	Urvaati
Akkaam	Aennaakaa	Tadopaa	Lagaam	Urpitaam
Andraam	Aoyaam	Taaekaa	Lachiyaam	Aeraam
Araavi	Aorwaa	Nayatee	Lingotaa	Aendaam
Arwaal	Aoraati	Nagsoree	Wanjaam	Aerkaal
Alaandi	Aorsaam	Naliyaam	Wardaam	Tangaam
Algaam	Kangaam	Pandaam	Wareeyaam	Tirkaataa
Arraati	Kakraam	Paekaa	Wadhkaal	Toyakaa
Arrsedhi	Kurnaakaa	Pilkaataa	Wadhaam	Tejaam
Arraam	Kanwaati	Murpaatee	Vijaam	Taraawee
Arraaraa	Kangaam	Murraam	Wihakaa	Yedhgaam
Ayamaa	Gundaam	Dedhaam	Chettaam	Yermaal
Ingaam	Gondraam	Darraam	Werkaal	Shaygudha
Idaam	Geevangaa	Dirmaakaa	Welaandhi	Rehkaam
Ijaam	Chattaam	Digraam	Wedaraam	Relaapaatee
Irpungaam	Chitkaami	Yevnaataa	Waraatee	Soratee
Imaachi	Charwaataa	Yerkaal	Walaamee	Surmakee
a	Chumgodaa	Yerkaanaa	Sangaam	Survelaam
Ukraam	Juggaam	Yelaandhee	Saraam	Sogaami
Uryaam	Jhillaam	Yereeyaam	Sarpaati	Suika.

**Table No.2**

This Sagaa (group) of Pen (deity) is Taaraal Gongo and the flag Colour is Indigo/Blue.

(B) Rand pen or Chindam (Two Deities) is second Sagaa it has 100 Pareengs and names:

Angraam	Kahaaka	Churaati	Dholaam	Padhgaam
Akraam	Kavtaam	Chutaami	Tiraawee	Pattaam
Aadraam	Kikraam	Chukraam	Turwandha	Panchaam
Ingaamee	Kulnaaka	Chelkaata	Toraatee	Aegaam
Idaam	Kurpaatee	Cherwaata	Tolaam	Pandham
Ichaam	Kuraam	Chodhaam	Tedgaam	Pidhgaam
Idopaa	Kehaaka	Chohaka	Torgaam	Pichaam
Ungaam	Komtaari	Jannaam	Bhadiya	Piraavee
Ulaam	Kohpaadha	Jheelaam	Toyaam	Piraatee
Uchaam	Kolayaa	Takraam	Tohagaam	Pirsaam
Aetaam	Gadaam	Nattaam	Dalandee	Pungaam
Aehachadha	Gadurkaaya	Takaam	Daraawee	Duikaa
Aotaam	Goyaka	Teerraam	Durlaam	Pennaakaa
Aonaaka	Tarpatee	Tinglaam	Duraam	Bornaakaa
Kadaam	Changaam	Tukaam	Duriyaam	Milaam

Kakaam	Chindaam	Todhmaati	Dasedhaam	Rayataam
Chendaam	Chilaam	Dhuchaam	Doraam	Ronwaree
Kalaam	Chikalee	Dhuriyaam	Domokasaa	Langaam
Kachham	Chudhaam	Dhueka	Nagotaam	Laaysengaa
Karaam	Chandram	Dhukraam	Narkaam	Korwaam.

*Table No.3*

For this Sagaa (group) has two Pen (deities) and these names are 1. Taaraal Gongo and 2. Maaraal Gongo and colour of the flag is vermilion/Shendri.

(C) Third Sagaa is Mund pen or Kondaam (Three Deities) it as 100 surnames and those names:

Ataam	Kakraam	Chitaam	Navraatee	Mandaam
Alnaakaa	Kadhoppa	Chirmotaa	Nalakaam	Minkaataa
Aoyaam	Kasendhi	Jutaraam	Naayakaa	Yesaraam
Aoymaa	Keengaraam	Toryaam	Nirpaatee	Arakaam
Irkaam	Kilaap	Dhangaraam	Nirlaa	Yerakaataa
Itaam	Kundaam	Dhurwaal	Nunjaam	Losakaa
Irkaayaa	Kundraam	Dheraam	Rengaam	Werlaantee
Israam	Kondom	Tallaam	Balpaatee	Selaam
Ilaam	Koyakaataa	Taekaa	Nelkaam	Pedhamaa
Ilnakaa	Gusaraam	Nutaame	Paraamee	Sirsaataa
Udhaam	Gechaam	Pundham	Purchaam	Soraandhee
Utaam	Goyaam	Tiryaam	Puseeyaam	Hurmetaa
Urpaatee	Tisaam	Turaam	Pendaawee	Waraatee
Ustaam	Tuhaakaa	Totalaa	Pondhaam	Wikraa
Aesaraa	Chalakaa	Toryaamee	Puyaam	Silaam
Chandaam	Chalaandhee	Dinanaakee	Pudhakaa	Seerwaataa
Chelaam	Chiroyaa	Davaam	Peraam	Serpaatee
Aotaam	Chirchaamee	Narkaam	Pesaam	Sudhaam
Aoraavee	Chistaam	Natraam	Pongaamee	Aelgaam
Kathraam	Chidhopaa	Naromee	Penaam	Aosraam.

*Table No.4*

Three Pen (Deities) of Mund pen Sagaa are 1. Jugaal Gongo 2. Mulaal Gongo 3. Sukaal Gongo and Indigo is these people colour of the flag.

(D) Forth is Nalung pen or Nalwen this Sagaa has 100 surnames and those names:

Adhaam	Aechaam	Keerkaataa	Chinagaam	Hidhaam
Anchaam	Aeraawee	Kuyamaa	Chulamaatee	Hilaam
Atlaam	Aerwaatee	Kuchaam	Charawaataa	Pursaam



Adhgaam	Aermentaa	Kurkaamee	Chilaam	Murkaakee
Adhopaa	Aongaam	Kuyaam	Torpaakee	Marapaachee
Abaabaa	Aorchaam	Kuyakaa	Toppaam	Seeraam
Itaawee	Karwaatee	Kudhyaam	Tekaam	Sarakaatee
Endraam	Karaam	Kacheemuraa	Murakaa	Poyaam
Edhagaam	Kandaam	Kurraatee	Tohakaatee	Taaraatee
Erkaal	Kajaam	Kedhaam	Tirakaam	Sundaraam
Elaandhee	Katraam	Tekkaa	Tuchchaam	Cheekaraam
Elgaam	Kandraam	Kocharaamee	Tummaam	Waalkaam
Erukaam	Karaai	Korakaatee	Netaam	Chilaam
Undhraam	Ketaa	Kowaa	Parachaakee	Seetaam
Uraam	Kawaam	Kowaachee	Mangaam	Jaalakaataa
Usaraam	Kalaatee	Kowaase	Sarmaakee	Kusaraam
Karkaamee	Kijaam	Gataam	Sedamaake	Neyaatee
Ursaam	Keendraam	Getaam	Surapaadhaa	Natopaa
Aedhaam	Keenwaatee	Chadhaam	Talaanjaa	Pastaakee
Aegaadaa	Kidhgaam	Charaatee	Talaandhee	Ulaandee.

*Table No.5*

The four Pen (Deities) of Nalung pen or Nalwen Sagaa are:

1. Maal Gongo
2. Laal Gongo
3. Kaal Gongo
4. Paal Gongo and Colour of the Flag is Red.

(E) Fifth is Sayyung pen or Saiwen. This group has 100 surnames and names:

Adhame	Kogaa	Chinhaakaa	Bhojaam	Surkaataa
Aadhe	Kodhaam	Chirwaal	Buraam	Durwaa
Astaam	Kotaam	Chilamentaa	Mangalaam	Duraandhee
Alaam	Kotaamee	Chitalokaa	Machaam	Dhurre
Aramaatee	Korkaam	Churthaam	Maraape	Pendhraam
Attaamee	Kokadhaa	Chopaam	Malnaakaa	Pochaam
Akkaamee	Padhaamee	Cholaam	Matalaamee	Poyakaa
Artaam	Gachaam	Chohakaam	Kauwadho	Pokaam
Arpaatee	Gataraam	Purkaatee	Mitraam	Potaamee
Arkaam	Gatalaamee	Pulkaam	Mitalaam	Paraste
Akkaal	Gunjaam	Mingaam	Minagaam	Purre
Estaam	Golaam	Purkaa	Mungaam	Nayatee
Koropaa	Godaam	Pugaam	Muchaamee	Sedhopaa
Kangalaa	Paawalaa	Ballaamee	Mindaam	Soraam
Karlaam	Gaarangaa	Baggaam	Muyaamee	Sitraam



Kathotaam	Kannakaa	Barapaatee	Muramentaa	Sargaatee
Gochaa	Chigaam	Bikaraam	Murapungaa	Naleeyaam
Keetaam	Chitaraam	Budaam	Muraapaa	Bhojaam
Keesram	Chidhgaam	Bosaam	Murapaataa	Nelaanjee
Kelaandhee	Chitalaam	Borsaam	Susaamee	Keengaraam.

*Table No.6*

Five (pen) deities of Sayyung pen Sagaa are:

1. Aharahudh
2. Mahaarahudh
3. Rekharahudh
4. Mekarahudh 5.Doyandaarahudh and the Flag colour is Parrot.

(F) Sixth is Sarung pen or Saarwen. This Sagaa has 100 surnames and names:

Adhiyaam	Kudhopaa	Jalapatee	Nayataam	Raayamentaa
Asaraam	Purayaam	Tekaam	Nagasoree	Raayaseeraam
Aataraam	Kusaraam	Harkolaa	Netaam	Lekaamee
Ahaakaa	Kulamentaa	Dhegamaatee	Partatee	Welaadee
Aoyamaa	Kumaraa	Tumaraam	Puraam	Bodabaayanaa
Adhamo	Keraam	Tore	Jagat	Wedhakaal
Aramo	Korachaa	Sorsaam	Welaatee	Warakadha
Akom	Kotanaakaa	Todhaam	Husendhee	Wedhamaa
Aolaandhi	Kodhopaa	Todhase	Pendaam	Sallaam
Aottee	Koraam	Tidhaam	Porataa	Seengaraam
Uekaa	Kohachaadha	Wartee	Porettee	Seedhaam
Usendhee	Gaawadhe	Tiraawee	Paawalaa	Saroteeyaa
Urete	Gadhaam	Tilaam	Poyaa	Seendaraam
Urre	Naamurtaa	Tilagaam	Barakutaa	Sirasaam
Udham	Cheechaam	Timaachee	Bagaam	Soree
Aelaam	Cheerako	Tusaam	Bogaamee	Seeraso
Tidhgaam	Chidham	Turraam	Marakaam	Hichaamee
Kadheeyaam	Chilakaam	Tulaam	Maraapaa	Hidhaam
Kaatalaam	Chulakaamee	Tulaawee	Malagaam	Karpekotaa
Keeraam	Chhadayyaa	Tirapaatee	Yelaadee	Pusaam.

*Table No.7*

The six deities or Sarung pen of this Sagaa are:

1. Aheaodaal
2. Maheaodaal
3. Apaaiodaal

4. Tipaaeaodaal
5. Mandaodaal
6. Koindoadaal and colour of the flag is Green. Totam or Sign is Suryawansi and Element is Fire.

(G)Seventh is Yerung pen or Yerwen. This group has 100 surnames and names:

Adhamaachee	Kohamundhaa	Tuggaam	Sayyaam	Karpekotaa
Adhame	Khandhaataa	Tureeyaam	Saraatee	Karekotaa
Aaramor	Gotaa	Targaam	Sayaam	Borsaam
Ajurmujaa	Gotaamee	Taaraam	Sarutaa	Keengaraam
Erpaatee	Golaang	Narotee	Sarteeyaa	Sahakaa
Enwaatee	Gorhanghaa	Netee	Chhottaa	Sareeyaam
Kangaalee	Garhee	Nattaamee	Purkaam	Tirayaam
Kangaalaa	Junnaakaa	Paddaam	Pareeyaam	Nanjaam
Kannaakaa	Jeekaraam	Pataawee	Karape	Porkaam
Kawaratee	Jarhpaatee	Sarwetaa	Karapaatee	Murkaasee
Kateengaa	Jeengaam	Waadeewaa	Dareeyaam	Burdaam
Karwetaam	Jumanaatee	Bajumootaa	Dhurwaa	Kokaataa
Keerangaa	Jodhaam	Maraawee	Pendro	Mandhaamee
Kunjaam	Borgaam	Maraae	Pandharaam	Yerapaatee
Kodhwaatee	Urpaatee	Mangaraam	Pataawee	Tureeyaa
Kokodheeyaa	Talaandee	Marsakolaa	Puraatee	Darro
Dhondheraa	Taadhaam	Marpaatee	Pungaam	Muraakee
Koretee	Tulaawaa	Masram (Meshram)	Bhoojaam	Seedovoyaanaa
Koyataamee	Sitaraam	Wettee	Bhalaawee	Wottee
Kursengaa	Tilanaakaa	Weramaa	Kaasheeyaam	Weragaa.

*Table No.8*

Seven deities of this Sagaa are:

1. Dhanabah
2. Dhanthai
3. Pidchejungaa
4. Raimuddho
5. Chikatraaj
6. Bhandhesaaraa
7. Bhuindaagotaa and the colour of Yerwen saga flag is yellow.

(H) Eighth Sagaa is Arwen or Armul pen and deity (pen) of this Sagaa is Bhumakaa Narayan Sur Gongo and they do not have flag color and this small group of surnames having number ten only the Names are:

1. Angaam
2. Kangalaa
3. Undaam
4. Kasendhee
5. Dugaam
6. Ukaam
7. Toraatee
8. Elaam
9. Dhurwaal
10. Daraawee.

Families having these surnames of Arwen sagaa (group) are the authorized Bhumka (Pujaari) or Ritual Heads of sagaa (groups):

First, second and third namely: Undipen, Randpen and Mund pen group surnames having families. These three sagaa (groups) are specified to the goddess (pen) Jango Raayataar of Gondi religion.

(I) Ninth Sagaa is Narwen/urmapen and deity (pen) of this Sagaa is Kolaasur and this Sagaa surname having people are the authorized Bhumka (Pujaari) or Ritual Heads of families whose surnames are of sagaa (group) forth i.e. Nalung pen or Nalwen sagaa. Ten surnames of Narwen sagaa are:

1. Adhaam
2. Taraatee
3. Surpaandaa
4. Natopaa
5. Charaatee
6. Elaandhi
7. Kuchaam
8. Kowaa
9. Paraso
10. Dhegaamee.

(J).Tenth Sagaa is Padwen/Padpen and deity (pen) of this Sagaa is Heerajotee. This group has been given the task to accomplish the Ritual activities (Bhumakaai) of families of surnames of sagaa (group) fifth i.e. the Sayyung pen or Sewen sagaa. Ten Surnames of this group are:

1. Tummaa
2. Mandharee
3. Budaam
4. Durwaa
5. Karataa
6. Girangaa
7. Purakaa
8. Muraapaa
9. Pundhraam
10. Keerngaam.

(K).Eleventh Sagaa is Padundiwen/Padundipen and deity (pen) is maankosugaal and this Sagaa is the nominated Head priest (Bhumaka) of sagaa (group) six i.e. Sarung pen or saarwen sagaa .Ten surnames of this group are:

1. Kalangaa
2. Gotaa
3. Weramaa
4. Dhurawaa
5. Pataawee
6. Katingaa
7. Netee
8. Muraawee
9. Khandhaataa
10. Pandhraam.

(L).Twelfth Sagaa is Padrandhpen/Parandhwen, its deity is Turaporaay and this Sagaa is the priest (Bhumaka/Pujaari) of sagaa (group) seven i.e. Yerungpen/yerwen sagaa. Ten surname of this Sagaa (group) are:

1. Uikaa
2. Welaadee
3. Korachaa

4. Soree
5. Dandhaajaa
6. Toraa
7. Kangaam
8. Sallaam
9. Marakaam
10. Netaam. (Encyclopedia)<sup>6</sup>

### **Role of Nagoba Jatara for Marriage system of Gonds:**

According to the Gond Tribes, the marriage is held between man and woman for the reproduction of children or improvement of their lineage. Marriage happens to deserving males and females of the tribe. In previous days marriages were carried on even when the brides and the bridegrooms were not of the age of marriage, but these days the trend has changed and the elders are waiting for the children to attain the proper age of marriage. But the persons not belonging to the tribe cannot get married into Gonds sagaa (group). The Gonds at the time of marriage respect and follows the rules of the society. As discussed before A Gond girl is allowed to marry only to a Gond boy and a Gond boy is allowed to marry only with a Gond girl but the clan of the girl and the boy should not be same. The girl and boy of the same clan are treated as blood relative and the marriage between the blood relations is not acceptable in their society.

Nagoba Jatara plays a prominent role in getting matches for both guy and girl. Like the present day, matrimonial sites don't exist for these tribes. But this Jatara does the work of this matrimonial. Nagoba Jatara is the largest festival organized by these tribes, many clans of these tribes come from different states during this festival. So the girl's father and the guys' father get hooked with the proper inquiry of all the details regarding each other families. All this happens in front of the village elders they act as the catalyst in this process, they take on the role of information gatherers. Both sides make sure that they are not from the same clan. Including visitors, it is estimated that the number of participants in the Jatara can be in lakhs. And finding a bridegroom or Bride in those numbers requires a great amount of scrupulousness. The elderly can be trusted in these tasks as they have seen ages come and go in these Jatara and unconsciously keep an account of all the clans and their relations.

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<sup>6</sup> Encyclopedia, World Heritage. *Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press*. n.d. Web. 4 January 2018.

From Maharashtra, Karnataka, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand lots of people belonging to Mesram clan can be seen offering their prayers in Nagoba. There are 22 divisions in Mesram clan. 4<sup>th</sup> Saga, 5<sup>th</sup> Saga, and 6<sup>th</sup> Saga exchange their brides and Bridegrooms for the bridegrooms and brides of Mesram Saga. For other clans, during the marriage, the tents made of coconut leaves are covered fully in decorations. But it's not the same with the Mesram clan the tent has a huge gap in the middle where the bride and the Bridge groom perform marriage rituals sitting under the gap in the tent covered in coconut leaves. Because according to their Myth, There is a story which supports this tradition and it goes a follows.

“Word of second son’s marriage reached Suuivelaad (second wife of Padiyor). She thought of going to son’s marriage and so she got ready nicely in silk clothes, to nose ornament (Mukkera), Earrings to ears, Golden Necklaces in the neck, and Bracelets to hands, foot bracelets to feet and waist ring to the waist and Golden bangles. Wearing these and applying Tilak to forehead as a lovable sight she came. In Marriage house, she was glowing like a lightning. Padiyor saw her coming. Padiyor during his stay with Suuivelaad, she took an oath on him. She said “I will come for small son’s marriage. But, do not touch me” Padiyor forgot about it. Let the younger son marriage happen, let the Akshintalu (sacred rice) fall on him I will see how she will go. This is my wife how will she go thought he and as this idea crossed his mind. Govardaan Gotaan (In Adivasi marriage outside village throwing Akshinta in front of a place) Akshintalu were put. From there they came to Marriage house. In Mandapa after putting Akshinta and thinking that she will go and as she was going to offer blessings To Bride and bridegroom. Immediately Padiyor Went and caught her by hand. After catching her she turned into the fire immediately and the entire marriage Mandapa (hall) Caught fire. One hole appeared on the top of Mandapa (hall). Going from there (Right now Suuivelaad is near the Jaamni Taluka Evati village Satik near Maharashtra boori village.) She is in Satik form. Her Pooja is in Vaisakha Maasam in Seven Saga Marriages in between Pandiri (tent of leaves) without throwing they keep it. Even now in the Bride and Bridegroom sitting place, a gap is kept as Randram (empty place). Suuivelaad transformed into a fire and burnt the marriage ceremony house.

Why only 7<sup>th</sup> saga people keep Radram (hole) in between the marriage ceremony house is known by this incident. From then till now this tradition is being followed.”<sup>7</sup> “There is no positive relation between divorce and multiple marriages. Some woman even welcome the addition of a second or third wife to the household. The advent of a young co-wife, who may well be a sister or close relation of the senior wife, greatly reduces the burden of domestic chores, and as long as the husband does not inordinately favor the junior wife, the peace of the household is not likely to be seriously upset. For a rich man with large landholdings and particularly for a village headman, expected to dispense hospitality to visitors, two or three wives are a great advantage, and the senior wife shares her husband’s prestige and economic influence. (Haimendorf 337)”<sup>8</sup> Giving bride price is the way of getting mates. In these tribes, Marriage by assistance, dealing or vaunt, absconding and taking in do happen. Father settles the marriage of the boy and the girl by giving Bride Price. With the scheme of marriage Father of the boy comes to Father of the girl. Father of the girl asks for Bride Price in cash and kind. When the boy’s father agrees to the quotation regarding the Bride price made by the girl’s father, they proceed further and the match is agreed upon and settled. The Bride and the groom’s wear, bride’s parents, brothers, and sisters wear and also vegetable, pulse, rice or goat for the marriage feast are part of the kind in Bride’s price. Before seven days of marriage day, the Bride price is paid. The village head helps the families in announcing the marriage date. In unfortunate circumstances, if the Bride Price is not received on the decided time before marriage day, they declare the marriage cancelled in front of the whole villagers. But such cases happen rarely.

Parents of the Bride and the groom invite their Maternal, Paternal and their Kitta along with relatives and friends from varied contacts with a humble request to participate in the marriage feast and celebrations but, this all happens after the negotiations regarding the Bride price are successfully agreed upon by both the parties. Certain Restrictions in the name of rituals are followed by the bride, the groom, and their parents till marriage. These restrictions are related to food, visit places like the market, river site and few other places followed by other things like the colour of dresses etc. The bride and the groom have to follow the beautification rituals known as Ubtan (A Mixture of homemade things which makes you beautiful). It is performed both on Bride and the Groom making use of Oil,

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<sup>7</sup> Pradhaan Mesram Thukudogi, Mesram Chinnu Patel, Mesram Badhirao (Reddy) Patel, Gayki Mesram Issru. *Mythical story of Gonds* Chunchu Jampaiah. 27 January 2015. Video.

(This Matter is told by Pradhan in the Mythical story of Gonds in the Nagoba Jatara)

<sup>8</sup> Haimendorf C.V.F., Elizabeth, Haimendorf E. *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh: tradition and change in an Indian tribe*. New Delhi: Vikas Publisher, 1979. Print.

Turmeric, and eyeliner etc. This ritual is attended by mostly close relatives and friends but there is no restriction as such when it comes to attending rituals by these tribes, gathering in large numbers is what pours life into their social gatherings. However, dominating numbers in this Beautification are from Females as this ritual itself is little feminine in nature. Singing Songs accompanied by Dance is what makes this ritual more exciting.

Bride and groom after all the Beautification Rituals which happen for seven days or more are sanctified with bath. Sanctification or purification by bath is necessary on this day of marriage as it is considered as an auspicious day. The Bride and the groom wrap up new clothes. They are decorated using Flowers and colors. The Black color is used for eyes and flowers for the neck. Dyes, Cone (Mehandi) leaves are used to color feet and hands. Groom arrives on a Pallaki or a rickshaw these days. Certain spells are rendered by the bride's relatives for a happy marriage. Male kith carry any kind of vehicle and they do singing and dancing, the female kins make hearty send off to the groom and the male kins forming the Barat party. Flowers are offered followed by shake hands and hugs to the groom and his associates who reach the village of the girl with Barat. They are welcomed with great pomp. Barat stops at some point of time in the night. Before getting the groom to marriage, he and his associates are offered some edibles. Fried grams, sweets, Dal –mot etc. are given to them. This is their welcome ritual to the groom as first amiability. In front of the Bridegroom and Bride the head asks the bride and the Bridegroom to put garlands around each other's neck, they do so. Vermillion is applied by the groom to the bride's forehead. Bride's relatives and associates happily sing songs. It is followed by a huge applause from the members of both the Families as well the others. Joy spreads everywhere. The Bride and the groom take seven rounds around the fire. Family deity blessings are sought by the couple. Even the elders present in the hall are approached for blessings. Dance is performed. Feast is arranged, after everyone takes part they go back for rest.

Later ritual is handing over of the bride to the bridegroom's family permanently for the rest of the life. This is popular from ancient times in many cultures and even in Gonds, it can be seen. Marriage attires are removed and the Bride and Bride Groom change into new clothes. After taking Breakfast. The Bride and the groom are mounted onto a bullock cart or any vehicle. The Bride and the groom along with new clothes do carry some money and food articles. After the bride and the groom reach the groom's house, Female members of the groom's associates extend a warm welcome to the bride. They enter the house after they immerse their feet inside the baskets. Later they are blessings of Family Deity of the groom's



and the elder members present there are seek. All members share the community feast. Bride stays for a week. She goes back her birth house with brother and Father after this week. She will have to remain here for a year. After this, the Bride and the groom live separately in different rooms for some time and then they enter the family life. Now all things come together and a true family life comes into existence. Children are begotten and hard labor goes into running the family.

### **The Gonds Relations:**

Marriage ties and Blood connections are the base for the relationship model in the Kinship system of Gonds. A person takes birth and then he/she tie a knot after coming to eligible age. Blood connections pre-existed marriage relations. After marriage transfer in genes crosses generations by reproduction. But it's not the same in the other one. There are ascendants and descendants of that individual. Relations that happen through Blood have Maternal and Paternal Kitta and also the upper ranks and lower ranks i.e. before or after them in order. The descent and clan are patrilineal. Plants, birds, Trees, and clans were used in naming their clans. The clans are exogamous. Wife is included in the blood relation even after her being from a different clan. No break comes through her in the blood relation from one generation to another. In the Gond society, as per the preferential rule cousins are treated as marriage relatives but not through Blood.

The Wedding brings not only two beings of opposite sex but it also creates new relatives. When this happens all the family members of the persons involved in the wed-lock come under the bondage of kinship and kinship terms are accrued in special ways. Maternal relations and paternal relations also become relatives and kinship terms accrue. Kinship is base for the society of Gonds. An Important role is played by this system in punishment, Marriage, Reward, death, and Birth etc. classified and elaborate kinship terms are used by Gonds.

“The terminology:

Father's father <i>tado</i>	Father's mother <i>bapi</i>
Mother's mother <i>kako</i>	Mother's fathers <i>ako</i>
Wife's father's mother <i>kako</i>	Wife's father's father <i>tad mural</i>
Wife's mother' father <i>tado</i>	Wife's mother's mother <i>bapi</i>

Father <i>babo</i>	Mother <i>baie</i> and <i>yayal</i>
Father's elder brother <i>pepi</i>	Mother's brother <i>mamal</i>
Father's younger brother <i>kakal</i>	Mother's elder sister <i>peri</i>
Father's sister <i>ati</i>	Mother's younger sister <i>kaki</i>
Mother's brother's wife <i>ati</i>	Father's brother's wife <i>peri</i>
Mother's sister's husband <i>kakal</i>	Father's sister's husband <i>mamal</i>
Wife's mother <i>porar(ati)</i>	Wife's father <i>murial(mama)</i>
Elder brother <i>dada</i>	Wife <i>baiko</i>
Younger brother <i>tamur</i>	Elder brother's wife <i>ange</i>
Elder sister <i>taka</i>	Younger brother's wife <i>tamun koriar</i>
Younger sister <i>selar</i>	Elder sister's husband <i>bhato</i>
Father's brother's son <i>dada</i> (older)	Younger sister's husband <i>selar sare</i>
Father's brother's son <i>tamur</i> (younger)	Mother's brother's son <i>marundu</i>
Father's brother's daughter <i>taka</i> (older)	Mother's brother's daughter <i>marundar</i>
Father's brother's daughter <i>selar</i> (younger)	Father's sister's son <i>sange</i>
Mother's sister's son <i>dada</i> (older)	Father's sister's daughter <i>marundar</i>
Wife's elder brother <i>tad murial</i>	
Wife's younger brother <i>serendu</i>	
Mother's sister's son <i>tamur</i> (younger)	Wife's elder sister <i>tangorar</i>
Mother's sister's daughter <i>taka</i> (elder)	
Mother's sister's daughter <i>selar</i> (younger)	Wife's younger sister <i>serender</i>
Son <i>mari</i>	Sister's son <i>sare mari</i>
Daughter <i>miar</i>	Sister's daughter <i>sare miar</i>
Brother's son <i>mari</i>	Wife's brothers' son <i>sare mari</i>
Brother's daughter <i>miar</i>	Wife's brother's daughter <i>sare miar</i>
Wife's sister's son <i>mari</i>	Son's wife <i>koriar</i>
Wife's sister's daughter <i>miar</i>	Daughter's husband <i>miar sare</i>
Son's wife's brother <i>sare mari</i>	
Son's wife's sister <i>sare miar</i>	
Daughter's husband's brother <i>sare mari</i>	
Daughter's husband's sister <i>sare miar</i>	
Son's son <i>tang mari</i>	Daughter's son <i>tang mari</i>

Son's daughter <i>tang miar</i>	Daughter's daughter <i>tang miar</i>
Daughter's son's wife <i>selar</i>	Son's son's wife <i>tamun koriar</i>
Daughter's daughter's husband <i>tamur</i>	Son's daughter's <i>tang mari</i>
Husband's father's mother <i>kako(bi)</i>	Husband's father's father <i>tad mural</i>
Husband's mother's father <i>tado (dada)</i>	Husband's mother's mother <i>bapi</i>
Husband's mother <i>porar (ati)</i>	Husband's father <i>mural(mama)</i>
Husband <i>marso</i>	
Husband's elder brother <i>tad mural (bava)</i>	
Husband's young brother <i>serendu (koko)</i>	
Husband's elder sister <i>tangorar (aya)</i>	
Husband's younger sister <i>serendar (biye)</i>	
Son's wife <i>koriar</i>	Husband's elder brother's son <i>mure mari (bapu)</i>
Daughter's husband <i>miar sare (baba)</i>	
Son's wife's elder brother <i>sare mari (baba)</i>	Husband's elder brother's daughter <i>mure (buchi)</i>
Son's wife's younger brother <i>sare mari</i>	Husband's younger brother's son <i>serendunur mari</i>
Son's wife's elder sister <i>koriada taka (ati)</i>	
Husband's younger brother's daughter <i>serenduna miar</i>	
Son's wife's younger sister <i>koriada selar</i>	
Daughter's husband's elder brother <i>sarenur tadal</i>	
Daughter's husband's younger brother <i>sarenur tamun</i>	
Daughter's husband's elder sister <i>sarena taka</i>	
Daughter's husband's younger sister <i>sarena selar</i>	
Son <i>tang mari</i> Son's son <i>tang mari</i>	
Daughter's daughter <i>tang miar</i>	Son's daughter <i>tang miar</i>

Son's son's wife <i>tang marina baiko</i>	Daughter's son's wife <i>tang miar</i>
Son's daughter's husband <i>tang miaror sare</i>	Daughter's daughter's husband <i>sare</i> . (Haimendorf 351-353) <sup>9</sup>

*Table No.9*

Marriage, Birth, and Death are the three occasions where it is truly inevitable for an individual to establish communication with his kids. As a part of the ceremony, he invites his relations from Parent's side, mother's side, and affined to participate in the ceremony. In these times return exchange of feast, dress, invitation, and money happens.

### **The Gonds Opinions on Birth and Death:**

For any couple birth of a child is a testimony to their fertility. It is a symbol of successful marriage and good women for the family with their born to inherit not only their wealth but also the culture and the upbringing that has stayed with the parents. It gets passed on to the offspring to the oncoming generations. While this statement holds good for rest of the world. This statement does not go in vain in the case of Gonds too. Marital happiness grows two-fold and marital ties get strong with the extremely happy occasion of the birth of a child even in Gond Tribes. It can be very pleasing for the Gond Tribes to see their Progeny which is a certificate of success. Community members in Gond Tribes express great happiness in such occasions. Without discrimination equal happiness and enthusiasm can be found in the celebrations at the birth of any of the two sexes in Gond Tribes. This is because both the sexes occupy a significant place in their society. In old days girls were not allowed to inherit the property of their father. In case of only daughters, inheritance was passed on to Brother's son or adopted son. But this is not a rebate to the value of the girls in Gonds society. With the advent of modernization and with different isms running in the stream of society, Encapsulating a different independent ideology altogether and Feminism being one of its primal forces. At the onset of chaos, this has somehow strongly flown into the stream and has had its impact all around its epicenter. Though we can't claim of the direct impact of these ideologies on to these Gonds. The small vibrations have been sufficient enough in rubbing off these so far remote races not so now. Nowadays even girls are inheriting the

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

properties of their father's and the widowers or the only daughters are staying with their parents during old age. They are taking care of their father like sons.

Doctors are available to the urban and most rural in delivery cases. But a Gond community senior member is offered to attend the delivery whenever there is a chance of birth in any house. There has not been any option till recent times. But certain communities can be found flourishing bit by bit with the advent of welfare communities and Government development schemes and programmes. The senior woman cuts the umbilical cord (i.e. the cord joining the mother with the child) with iron knife or a Bamboo Knife. In the absence of people all the wastes collected during delivery are buried into the ground. This is done to avoid the attack of Demons (Bhuta-Preta) or witchcraft on mother and the offspring. Every little care is taken to protect a mother and child Bhuta preta and Witchcraft. At the gate of the room a Branch of thorny plant is placed. Fire is burnt round the clock. Near the bed of newborn and the mother a knife made of iron is placed. The entire night a lamp is kept lighted. Never ever a child is left alone. To look after the child mother or the attendant keep watch. Five days after the birth are declared to be pollution free period. Except the attendant no one is allowed to enter into the delivery room. Clothes, Furniture, utensils, courtyard and the entire house are washed thoroughly on the 6th day. Mother and child are allowed a bath for purification. After this the mother wears clean dresses and takes the child in her lap. Later she is allowed to take blessings of Family Deity and also the blessings of elders present there. To be declared as clean by the community members a community Feast is given on this occasion. After one month, naming ceremony is done. At the appearance of first tooth Food Serving is held as a ritual. In second and third years Ear piercing rituals. Between 15 to 22 years of age marriage is performed

Keeping aside other things Gonds know that one of the inescapable and ultimate truths of life is knowing that this body will drop down dead someday. They know that whosoever it is, one who is born will die one day. For them Death during old age is good "For the Gond who died unmarried the full rites may not be performed, and he remains forever outside the company of the clan god and the departed clan members. (Haimendorf 363)"<sup>10</sup> Death during young age and childhood is not considered good. Some of the Gonds are of the belief that old hood death transforms the old body into new one through rebirth. But those who die in childhood or adulthood cannot attain Moksha without completing their full age and so remain dissatisfied for the rest of their life. Therefore there is no concept of

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid

rebirth for them. These dissatisfied souls become Bhuta-Preta and reside in lonely places like old trees, old wells, streams, hills, dense Bushes etc. In most cases they latch on to the trees and attack the passers-by that too mostly pregnant women, nursing mother, children and cattle.

### **The Gonds Woman and Children:**

Women play a prominent role in society. For centuries a women's role was overseen in many fields. But slowly this culture is getting wiped due to the selfless efforts of few to empower them. As a Food Provider, Folk doctor for the family member and first teacher of the family Gond women are playing their part. Some are good in Local Herbal medicine and food medicine. They do household chores getting up very early in the morning. After the completion of their household chores, they go to forest or field to work and get wages. In raising Family income they are not lagging behind when compared to males, they are playing a proactive role by earning incomes and supporting the family in doing household chores. But being women they give in lots of blind faith and restrictions during Pregnancy, nursing Period, Menstruation and Delivery. They have to follow some restrictions on food for the good health of the child during breastfeeding.

“Women wear glass bangles of heavy colored variety, as well as several types of beads, including their marriage necklaces made of small of black beads. Here mentioning the ornaments worn and treasured by the Gonds women:

1. Nadikattu – this silver ornament around the waist
2. Dandakadia –arm bands made up silver or aluminum
3. Chiccha- toe rings (married women ornament)
4. Mangatti kadia- Bangles made up of silver (married or un married women can wear)
5. Kanta- worn around the neck (married or un married can wear)
6. Kadal/Kalkadia – Anklets
7. Potti – A chain of black beads with a pendant attached, the husband ties this at the time of marriage.
8. Sakiri – A slender silver chain
9. Tada kata – Hair pins
10. Natti and Mudda – Nose rings



11. Gantilu and Barek – Ear rings (Mamata 35)”<sup>11</sup>



**Figure: 8.** Women and children walking in the Keslapur village

Note: This photo took while leading the path by the Katoda's wife (Jangu Bai)

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 9.** Children are playing and women are in their work

Note: This photo took when in the village of Katoda

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

<sup>11</sup> Mamata, V. "Cognition and Communication in Tribal Art A Case Study of Gonds of Adilabad District." Hyderabad, 1994. Print.





**Figure: 10.** Gond women have been worn some ornaments

Note: This photo took when in the village of Katoda

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

In Community Panchayats Gonds do not allow Gond women to take part. The same holds true even with Sacrificial Rituals. Wives of Village head and the village priest doesn't have any hold in the Panchayat and ritual. But they play a very important role in decision making in Family.

Politically Gond women are not so active. But these days they are taking part in elections. The Gond women "Kova Laxmi and Marsakola Saraswati are contesting as candidates of TRS and TDP respectively from Asifabad Assembly Constituency reserved for STs. It is the first time two sisters are fighting against each other in the MLA elections in the state. Laxmi, the elder of the two siblings, and Saraswati are daughters of former tribal welfare minister and prominent Adivasi leader late Kotnak Bheemrao. Both Saraswati and Laxmi are educated and married. Earlier, both sisters contested against each other in the elections for Sarpanch of Asifabad Grampanchyat in 2013 which was won by Laxmi of the TRS.

Laxmi was elected Sarpanch and MPTC and MPP in the past on Telugu Desam ticket but she joined the Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) in 2010 and now contesting for the first time for Asifabad MLA. While Saraswati was senior Congress leader and was elected as Sarpanch of Asifabad Grampanchayat and was also state joint secretary of AP Mahila



Congress and AICC member for some time. She contested as a TDP candidate for Asifabad ZPTC and was defeated by Congress candidate Ajmeera Rekha Naik. Saraswati joined Telugu Desam in 2009 and is contesting on the party's ticket. (Two Sisters Fight MLA Seat)<sup>12</sup> Ajmeera Rekha Naik and Kova Laxmi are present Telangana Rasta Samithi (TRS) MLAs in Adilabad district of Telangana state, Kova Laxmi is a Gond woman and is now the MLA of Asifabad constituency.

1. Kerameri
2. Wankdi
3. Sirpur U
4. Asifabad
5. Jainoor
6. Narnoor
7. Tiryani
8. Rebenna

These are the mandalas under this constituency. Some women are members of political Parties and Supporters. But many of the Gond women are not leading the prestigious life in the Society. The Gond children are considered darlings of their tribe by most in their society. Usually, children are loved by societies and Gond's take special care of their tribe children. Children too reciprocate the same feelings towards their elders. Though there are instances of disobedience here and there, mostly these children adhere and stick to the codes given by these elders. Children imbibe values, traditions, culture, and virtues from their family members and elders in the society. They play in groups with sibling, neighbors and other community children. Chika, chor-sipahi, Gulel, Andi, Bow arrow, Dol-Pata, Kabaddi, Bagh-Bakari, and Paisa are some of the games played by these children.

Poverty is the main obstacle for the children to get enrolled in the schools. But thanks to Social welfare schemes and other development programmes. The Literacy rate is slowly improving in these tribes. Some areas are too remote to benefit from such schemes and so to make children a source of income. Some are driven by child labor. Some earn grains and some earn a very meager amount of money. They can be taken advantage of really easily due to the lack of literacy. The Literacy rate among the Gond children of Adilabad is negligible. But these days with the aforesaid schemes, things are changing. With the Advent of

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<sup>12</sup> "Two Sisters Fight MLA Seat." *Deccanchronicle* 15 November 2015: 1. Web.

Telangana rule and separate state. Government is involving more and focussing more on development programmes.

Children learn to use hunting tools and musical instruments. Playing Gulel, bow, arrow, hunting implements and musical instruments. Children imbibe norms and values and are also trained in the art of performing the dance (Gussadi dance) and protecting the community during the attack from other community. They learn these things during the night or daytime. The biggest festival for the Gonds belonging to Adilabad is Diwali. By the time of completion of harvest, colorful dresses are worn by these Gonds and they go to neighboring villages in troupes. Different ornaments are also worn by them for this occasion. The cool and friendly season is when this all happens. These troupes are called Dandari dance troupes who sing and dance. Each Troupe comprises of twenty to Forty members. There are two to five members in Gusadi which is a part of Dandari. This goes on until the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Diwali which started on Full moon day. Unreal mustache, Beard and Goat skin are used for wearing on the body. Peacock Feathers and horns of the deer are arranged on a turban and worn by each member. These are accompanied by Dappu, Pippiri, Tudum, and Kalikom. Following certain steps and rhythm in the circular form and also supported by beats of Gumela, the Dandari dance reaches its climax.

All the members in this dance have two small sticks in their hands. In the beginning, they strike two sticks in their own hands. By slowly stepping towards the left side and also by moving the right foot on to the left foot at every step, Dandari Dance holds its ground. After striking the sticks in their own hands they strike the sticks of the person on the right side, repeating the first process (i.e. striking sticks in their own hands) and then again strike the sticks of the person who is to the left. In this pattern, they do Kolattam by doing steps and beating sticks together which are held by them in their hands. After coming back to their original position they bend down to touch the ground and also touch the four directions with their sticks. This is part of offering worship to the deity. After this they put their sticks down and then standing in a circle they sing and clap their hands, they also sing a group song in duet. If one group sings the first line then the second line is sung by the second group.

As this is in process, the Gussadi troupe intervenes into their group and latch onto to their circle with turbans made of feathers of peacock, covers made of skin of goat, beards and moustaches that are unreal, Beads around the neck and cowrie strings, tinkling bells on wrists, dots on bodies and also white stripes, with simple pieces around the waists and poles

in hands. Later the Dandaris spread out, farmers raise their hands and moving slowly along with the quick sharp sudden movements they tune to the sounds of the bells and cowries with their bodies. To the onlookers, it gives a very frightening picture. Jumping here and there they give out war cries and with intense motion and uncontrolled excited laughter they come on to the onlookers and scare the boys. With poles in their hands, they also touch the waists of onlookers and brush them. Front and Back, Here and there and also Zigzag are the movements in a regularly repeated pattern which are added to the instruments. People from the village who receive and entertain them and make preparations to wash their feet after welcoming them to their house.

### **The Gonds of Aged and Youth:**

Old age is the age of wisdom and the ripe age for attaining Nirvana. Gond elders have their own ideologies for attaining nirvana. Most of the knowledge has been passed on by their ancestors orally. Talking about their Evolution, they have been considered one of the remote tribes in past years. The stories which evolved in their culture have the flavor of originality, mostly uninfluenced. The stories were passed on to the later generations by the Elders in the form of songs and stories. In the later years, some wise men from these tribes have made efforts to get their stories written. They have their own myths and culture. The stories from these that are passed on by the Elders are followed as guidelines during any of their festivals or Rituals. Aged people in these tribes always knew that arrival of old age is natural and this idea always filled them with a sense of calm. They made themselves ready for the challenges that faced them during that age. Folk medicine was depended upon mostly for treatment of their Diseases or sickness. Even the knowledge of these medicines and the herbs required to make these medicines were passed on by their ancestors and followed generations after generations. The elders are served food with children. As they are incapable of doing any work they are not of much economic value. Sometimes in Families, these elders stand as a burden adding to the poor economic conditions faced by these Gonds. They look after the toddlers and sometimes youth unwilling to work that stay back after the working members of the family take their leave are also looked after by these elders. They play with children and do very minute works like looking after the chicks, goat, and other family possessions. As discussed before though they do not have much economic value, but they have social and ritualistic value. The children spend most of their time with them to learn tales, idioms,

riddles, songs etc. With great wisdom and experience, they look forward to making the life of young pleasant and easy by sharing them. They bless the family members during rituals, ceremonies, and festivals like Nagoba Jatara.

The Gond's youths are fuel and power for their community as they are the working force. They are the earners of bread. They are early to go to bed and early to rise. After having dinner they sleep by 9.00 pm. In the morning after they wake up, get fresh up soon and get to work. Income is less so they toil really hard for the maintenance of their family. This quality of toiling hard runs in their family and if carefully observed their physiology also can be seen to have evolved to perform the task with ease. Where in normal cases that could prove a little difficult for urban and the other status of societies. Some of them do not get regular work, and they are on and off in their role as the provider for the family.



**Figure: 11.** Patels, Katoda, Pradhan and some of the Gond elders

Note: This photo took In front of Goshala

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 12.** Pradhan and some of the Gond Youth

Note: This photo took at the Indra devi temple in Indravelli mandal

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

### **The Gonds Economy:**

Agricultural and labor are what Gond basically as an economy is an example of. Previous Animal stalkers, unsettling peasants, and Accumulators are now earning wages and doing Agriculture. Cliffs and woods are the places where these Gond communities are situated upon, Forest produce is collected for consumption and it is sold in the market. The fair amount of money is acquired. Gond Families have Farming tools, plots of land to prepare and grow crops, a house with adjoining land and also buffaloes. On the house with adjoining land to one corner, the house is positioned. Shed filled with cows and bulls are reared for milk and other things are near to this house and again joining to this house there is a Bari land in which vegetables, Maize etc. are grown. "Gonds distinguish three main types of soil: Patar, Alight, very stony soil of reddish colour on the flat hilltops; chelkar, a light soil, also reddish, but finer, found in the plains and in hilly country mainly on the gentle slopes; and kanar, a heavy black soil, in the Deccan generally known as regar. (Haimendorf 395)"<sup>13</sup> The agriculture is done by own labor or by the exchange of labor with community members.

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<sup>13</sup> Haimendorf C.V.F., Elizabeth, Haimendorf E. *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh: tradition and change in an Indian tribe*. New Delhi: Vikas Publisher, 1979. Print.

Farming is done by possessors work and also by the society members work which happens by the act of providing this for something.

Adequate area of land is not under possession for some families. Therefore Ploughs and he buffaloes are absent in their picture. The families who possess buffaloes and plough are provided service by these families in return for plough and he buffaloes. Output got out of farming is not enough to pay for the expenses round the year. For six months they do not have any problem due to the produce received from their farmlands is enough to keep them occupied i.e. from June to December months in every year. The produce from the fields feed them for 6 to 8months.In seasons that are off from farming and produce they work in soil digging, filling, road construction, building construction and they also do casual labour for earning wages in the forest.

Gonds don't plan to save money, they work hard to maintain themselves and their family. Their economy depends on their livelihood. Their family expenses are greater than family income. Throughout the year they do not have work. They are not given loans by the govt. for their consumption purpose. They are given loans by the local rich in cash and kind anytime. They labor in rich houses to give back money which has been accepted as loans. Jatara is visited with great joy by Gond men, women, and children. They give each other fried grains, Jilebi sweets and other sweets besides marketing in necessary goods. They get in touch with each other especially relatives and friends in the Jatara. Social relations being important from all. They give each other News and views also. In this way, markets are playing a very important role in the life and culture of the Gonds. These days medium of exchange is money only.

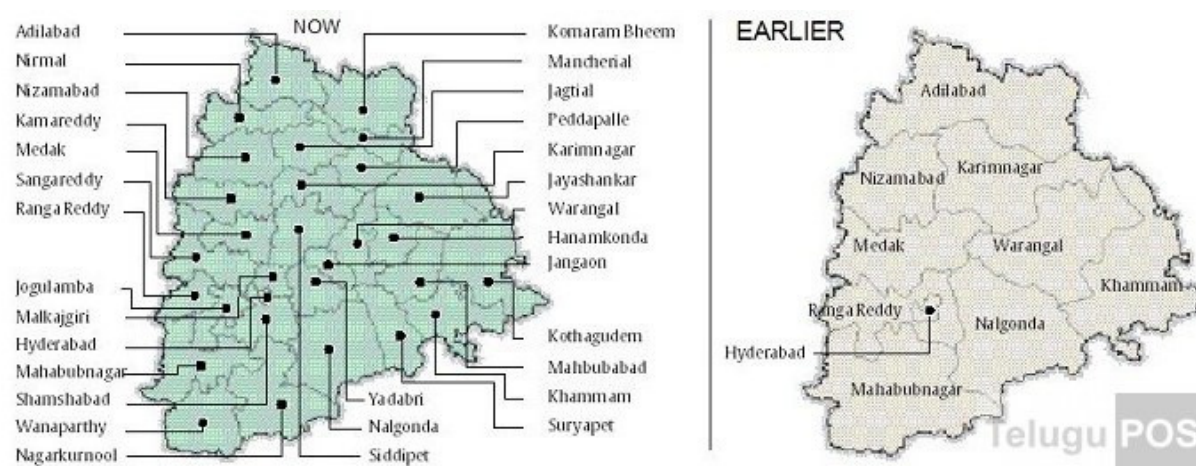
### **The Gonds Political Organisations:**

In the process of bifurcation, Andhra Pradesh got divided into two states, Andhra and Telangana. The chief ministers of Andhra and Telangana are N. Chandra Babu Naidu and Chandrasekhar Rao respectively. Recently another issue came to the foreground. Telangana State was divided into some more districts for easy and efficient administration. After Completion of all procedures, Telangana right now has 31districts which previously had only 10 districts. Adilabad being the foremost in Alphabetical order has been further divided into four districts along with other districts. Adilabad, Nirmal, Manchiryala, and Komarambheem (Asifabad) are the names of the divisions or districts from Adilabad. In Adilabad, there are



Totally 18 mandalas. Telangana Legislative Assembly has 119 constituencies out of which 14 constituencies are for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been allotted a total of 9 constituencies. Adilabad has 10 constituencies and in the reserved category 3 constituencies are given to ST and 2 constituencies are given to SC. TRS has a clean sweep in all the constituencies of Adilabad District.

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(Telugu Post)”<sup>14</sup>

**Map: 2.** Telangana State map with districts now and earlier

Source: <http://telugupost.com/2016/10/12/telangana-map-redrawn-adding-21-new-districts/>

In the District of Adilabad, there is own community Panchayat for the Gonds. The members of community panchayat are heads of families. Patlal or Patel is considered the head of the community panchayat. He is also known by the name Padiyor. Cases related to Fornication, molestation, premarital relation, running off, Extramarital relation, divorce, inhuman behavior, property division, theft of bundles of crops, chicks, goats, theft of grains and Witchcraft are heard for decision in community Panchayat. In the judgement of a case and in the process of putting the decision into action the community members are involved. In Gond Society, these are the ways that laws are followed. Some who do not follow the decisions of panchayat is declared lawbreakers. They are removed out of the society. No Family member or person is allowed to give them water or food. For them to be accepted into the community again, the person who is held guilty along with his family members will have to admit to their transgression in front of the Panchayat members. He has to beg for excuse from the members of the panchayat. He is declared guilt-free after the sharing of community

<sup>14</sup> *Telugu Post*. 12 October 2016. Web. 31 December 2017.

feast. These days, Gram Panchayat, Police, Court have started within the Gonds. Putting forward the Indian system of Judgement, traditional Panchayats are getting affected by them. Though many Gonds do not have much idea about the modern day politics due to lack of education and poverty. MLA and, MP elections and the Modern Gram Panchayat officials have given political powers to Gond society. Slowly educated tribes are getting to know the importance of elections and casting of votes. They have also started to take part in elections. Some illiterate tribes know the names of popular parties like Congress, TDP, BJP, TRS, TJS, CPI (M) and CPI. They are also aware of the party symbols.

### **The Gonds Religion:**

Persa Pen and Nagoba (Shesha Naga) being their Chief Gods. The Gonds believe a number of Gods and Goddesses also. Boundary deity, Gram Devatha (village deity) and Kula Devatha (family deity) are also worshipped by them. They celebrate festivals like Nagoba Jatara, Nagula Panchami, Dusshera, Holi, Diwali, Polala, and Ramnawami. They mostly follow Hindu traditions.

Skin, Head, Feet, Horns, and Meat of the sacrificial animals are accepted by the all the Gonds whenever deities are offered sacrifice in the event of worship. Relating to the above statements the sacrifices made are of Goats, Sheep, and chicks etc. Women take part in cooking special food items and performance of dance in end of Bheati koriyaad in the Nagoba Jatara. Sindhur, Dhoop, Incense sticks, Coconuts, Rice puffs, flowers, leaves, and water are given to deity along with sacrifices. Women do not take part in sacrifices. Gonds do a lot of white magic for rain, Agriculture, good life, and health. Gonds used to have belief in Bhuta Preta in the old days but these days majority have stopped believing in such stories.

### **Gond Festivals**

1. Keslapur Nagoba Jatara, the most popular religious event in Adilabad District.
2. Males among Gondi tribe perform robust dance called “Dandari”, there are five varieties of Dandari Dance a) Gusadi. b) Gummela. c) Parra. d) Tappal. e) Kodal.
3. Both males and females perform “Damsa” Dance during marriage ceremonies.
4. Pola Festival.



5. Akadi Festival.
6. Nagula Panchami (Snakes Festival).
7. Dhasara Festival.
8. Diwadi (Deepavali) Festival.
9. Pongal (Sankranti).
10. Holi Festival.
11. Ugadi Festival.
12. Gonds worship Bhīma's deity in all occasions and also celebrate "Chanchi Bhima" Festival in the Bhimalmatam.
13. "Aki Pen Matam" locates in the village and villagers worship "Aki Pen Deity" in all the religious and social occasions.
14. Deity of "Awwal" (Pen Marke Yayal) locates in the village and villagers worship deity in all the religious and social occasions.
15. "Siwa Bodi" Festival.
16. "Bhoolachimi Deity" worship festival, this time Gondi people commonly cook and dine together and worship Bhoolachimi deity.
17. Supreme God (Persa Pen) and "Satik Deity" in particular village where all the members of specific clan gather and worship Persa Pen.
18. "Lord Mahadev" in the village and worshiped in all occasions.
19. Deities "Jangu-Lingu" in the village and worshiped in all occasions.
20. "Betal Pen", "Ban Pen", "Masemal Pen" of Tribal deities situated in the village and worshiped in all occasions.

### **Traditional Shrines:**

Traditional shrines are the worship places of Gondi, Thoti, Pradhan, Kolam, and Naikpods which are situated in the forest of different regions. According to their convenience tribe's visit the shrines i.e., Jangu Bai (Arjunloddi/kota, Parondoli/Rampelli), Padmalpuri

kako (Gudirevu), Chinnaiah- Peddaiah (Luxetipet), Gandhara Maisamma (Mandamarri Mdl), Jangunabuyri, Rangasani Buyari (Sulugupalli, Bejjur Mdl), Bondki Metta Rajul (Devaiguda), Pothuraju (Indapur, Kerameri Mdl), Nagoba (Keslapur), Pavan Madugu (Gadepalli).

Specific trees considered as sacred, worshiped by tribal:

1. Dondera Marra (Are tree)
2. Irp Marra (Mohwa tree)
3. Veduru (Bamboo)
4. Teka Marra (Teak)
5. Lim Marra (Neem Tree)
6. Hali Marra (Papal Tree)
7. Mahka Marra (Maredu Tree)
8. Sale Marra (Anduga Tree)
9. Samaka Tree.
10. Vada Marra (Marri chettu)
11. Rela Marra (Tree)
12. Mur Marra (Butea Monosperma). (Gond)<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "Gond." *Tribal Welfare Department*. Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, May 2002. Print. (Annexure-II, Illuminati list of community rights, Gond, 106)

## CHAPTER- III

### 3. THE MYTH OF GONDS IN NAGOA JATARA

The story (The Myth) that is being presented here is the first hand information obtained from the Gonds of Adilabad. Gond people poured in all their efforts to give this story in their mother tongue (Gondi). In spite of the best efforts there are some areas in the text that lack coherence, and this is mainly due to the direct translation of the text obtained from not so educated people. The pattern of their text has been preserved to not affect its flavour and sadly this might add up a little bit more to incoherence. Before, going into it, let us see some definitions of "Myth" from all over the world.

According to Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English, the meaning of myth: "1 A story from ancient times, especially one that was told to explain natural events or to describe the early history of a people; this is a type of story. 2 Something that many people believe but that does not exist or is false (Hornby 1012)."<sup>1</sup>

According to Flaherty "A myth is story that is sacred to and shared by a group of people who find their most important meanings in it; it is a story believed to have been composed in the past about an event in the past, or, more rarely, in the future, an event that continues to have meaning in the present because it is remembered; it is story that is part of a larger group of stories (27)."<sup>2</sup>

According to Segal "The Greek word from which comes our word "myth" originally meant simply, "something said" or, "something told," i.e., a story (109)."<sup>3</sup>

According to G. Doty, "He finds the myth with narrative or story and it has a beginning, middle, and end (12)."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hornby, A. S. *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English*. India: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print.

<sup>2</sup>O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger. *Other Peoples' M.y.t.h.s.* New York, London: Macmillan Publishing Company, Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1988. Print.

<sup>3</sup>Segal, Robert A., ed. *Myth Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*. Vol. I. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2007. Print.

<sup>4</sup>Doty, William G. *Myth A Handbook*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1939. Print.

“The word myth, taken from the Greek mythos, literally means “utterance,” or, “something one says.” The Myth is commonly expressed as a story involving gods and /or heroes (Stephen 8).”<sup>5</sup>

According to Lang “The belief in a Creator is itself a myth (5).”<sup>6</sup>

According to Cavendish, “a common definition of myth is ‘a story about the gods’. Another broader one is ‘a sacred story’ (8).”<sup>7</sup>

According to Leeming, “a myth is a narrative projection of a given cultural group’s sense of its sacred past and its significant relationship with the deeper powers of the surrounding world and universe. A myth is a projection of an aspect of the cultural soul (vii).”<sup>8</sup>

According to Dowden “Myth is often reserved for tales which perhaps have a clear involvement of gods or a clear religious or philosophical purpose (7).”<sup>9</sup>

According to Holderness, “Myth is not a non-existent fantasy or ideological conjuring-trick: it is the real and powerful form of human consciousness, holding some significant place within a culture (11).”<sup>10</sup>

Joshi mentioned in his book “Myth in Indian Drama” myth is a “certain type of story. It is a story in which some of the chief characters are gods or other beings larger in power than humanity (33).”<sup>11</sup>

According to Roland Barthes “Myth is a type of speech (Wolf 12).”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Stephen L. Harris, Gloria Platzner. *Classical Mythology Images and Insights*. Mountain view, California, London, Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1995. Print.

<sup>6</sup>Lang, Andrew. *Myth, Ritual and Religion*. Vol. I. New Delhi: Aryan books International, 1993. Print.

<sup>7</sup>Cavendish, Richard, ed. *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mythology*. New York: Crescent Books, 1980. Print.

<sup>8</sup>Leeming, David Adams Leeming with Margaret Adams. *A Dictionary of Creation Myths*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Print.

<sup>9</sup>Dowden, Ken. *The Uses of Greek Mythology*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.

<sup>10</sup>Holderness, Graham, ed. *The Shakespeare myth*. UK, USA, Canada: Manchester University Press, Martin Press, 1988. Print.

<sup>11</sup>Joshi, R.G. *Myth in Indian Drama*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1936. Print.

<sup>12</sup>Wolf, Colin Counsell and Laurie, ed. *Performance analysis an introductory course book*. London: Routledge, 2001. Print.

“The term "myth" refers to stories that are intended to provide explanations for things that people do not understand. Most often myths explain natural phenomenon. Myths exist in nearly every culture and country from English mythology to Mayan mythology to Baltic mythology and Slavic. Myths typically focus on gods, goddesses, and creatures as their characters in order to make their explanations of nature. For example, a common myth about black cats is that they are evil.

Greek mythology is amongst the most well-known and well-remembered set of myths. The mythology was told and retold, and also expressed through artwork. Sculptures, vases, and various other forms of artwork were created by the people of ancient Greece in order to show their appreciation to the gods and goddesses or to tell the stories (“Yourdictionary”).”<sup>13</sup>

After observing their life style, it can be said that their culture references are from "The Myth". Gonds, strictly follow their ancestral knowledge, i.e one that is passed on by their forefathers and elders. Their culture and religious activities are considered to have been carried forward from their elders who were not less than divine. Their tradition was oral before Haimendorf. Haimendorf is the pioneer of written texts on Gonds, as written by Haimendorf. “All Gond tradition is oral and consequently subject to almost as many variations there are narrators. Guardians of the sacred lore are not the Gonds themselves, but the hereditary bards the Pardhans and Toties, who recite at each of the major annual feasts the appropriate myths are legends; it is largely the manner of recitation by a principal bard and his two assistants which must be held responsible for their successful transmission from father to son (Haimendorf 179).”<sup>14</sup>

When Gonds were asked about the story of Nagoba Jatara ("The Myth"), they guided to Pradhan saying that, Pradhan is the apt person for telling the story, he is considered to be the only traditional storyteller about the Gonds culture. Some of the Gonds too know the story, but they consider only Pardhan as the head for telling the story, because Gonds, do not have the habit of accepting, wrong words and missing lines or episodes in the story, so they believe with all their heart that Pradhan delivers the story with out these faults. Pardhan knows the story very

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<sup>13</sup>Yourdictionary. n.d. Web. 5 January 2018.

<sup>14</sup>Haimendorf C.V.F., Elizabeth, Haimendorf E. *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh: tradition and change in an Indian tribe*. New Delhi: Vikash Publisher, 1979. Print.

well. According to Haimendorf “Few Gonds themselves capable of reciting a whole myth in the poetic form in which is sung by Pardhans, but many are familiar enough one or other story to be able to relate in it prose, and some men, and especially the priests of the clan gods, are so conversant with the songs of the Pardhans that they know line is wrong or episode missing (180).”<sup>15</sup> Though, I have taken the help for text from many, I recorded myth from the Pardhan Thukudoji. Here keslapur Nagoba Jatara's story "The Myth" is being written. The myth is divided into seven episodes.

## **THE MYTH**

### ***“EPISODE: 1***

Krita yuga, Treta Yuga, Dwapara yuga, Kali yuga and Satya yuga were on the run. Jaardevi saw all animals and birds (Jiva) and felt sad for having not been blessed with a partner like them. She, then decided to go to Bola Shankar (lord Shiva) and went to Kailasa. Over there she offered salutations with full devotion to the supreme by joining both her hands. “Why have you come here? What is your problem?” asked Shiva to Jaar Devi."Bhagawan, in this world, every animal, bird and microbe is blessed with a pair but not me, this is the reason why i have come to Kailash, Oh Lord!"Said she. Then Adi dev closed his eyes for a moment and said," If you are looking for a partner, go to the sea shore. At 12 yards distance from it, there is a dense forest, in that forest there are Peepal and Banyan trees, Under the Banyan tree, there is a serpent hole. Every day, perform pooja sticking to the rules and in 12years you will get a suitable pair".

Then with out delay, Jaardevi went to the dense forest. She reached the place as indicated by shiva. Daily, after the bath, she would get water in a vessel (Kalasam) and would perform pooja to the hole near Beruli tree. At nights, she would sleep on top of the tree. After doing so for 12 years, the ear ornaments (Kundalas) of Sheshnarayan, who lived inside the hole, started moving. Having observed these changes, he said to himself, "who is thinking of me? Who is performing my puja"? He then opened his eyes and saw Jaardevi on top of Vatvriksha, SheshNarayan looked straight into her eyes and even she did so, they both got attracted to each other at that very moment."As commanded by shiva, i think i have found someone after 12 years, may be he is my partner", thought Jaardevi." what is this? Did god send her? Did she come for

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid

me?" thought SheshNarayan. Both of them fell in love with each other. But, women belonging to others are not to be conversed with in Satya Yuga,"what should i do? And how can i ask her?" thought he, in the mean time even she thought the same. After lot of contemplation, asked Sheshnarayan "Who are you?" for which she replied, "I am Jaardevi, i don't have a partner, Bola Shankar said that i will get a suitable partner here. He himself has sent me here." At that time the god's blessings (Bhagawans Krupa Kataksha) reached both of them. They got married and soon Jaardevi got pregnant, as 9months, 9days and 9hours passed, she gave birth to a beautiful child.

After that, Jaardevi went to Shesha Narayana with the child, "Everything in here is fine, but what about this little child? Who will show him the life path?" asked she to Shesha Narayana. Shesha Naryana was in a dilemma, "it's true, how? And what should be done?" thought he. He had with him, Sudhyaal, Budhyaal, Hiryaal and Sukkha who were the four Patadis (Pradhans). SheshaNarayana asked Grandpaa Hira Sukkha,"If my progeny should continue in this world, you should leave this world and go to Kali yuga", for this he said,"No, No... I am fine here, you are asking me to go to a place where there can be many troubles, and I will not go". Shesha Narayana, then received God's command and out of inspiration said, "Please don't say like that, My Kitta (Progeny) people will serve you, you should go and show life path to them in Kali yuga (future). As long as there are Sun and Moon they will not stop following your word, they will obey your every command, if you show them the correct path, they will offer you all 7 types of alms (Daana), they all will remain obedient the same way, till there are sun and moon. I will take an oath on Sun and Moon that if they change, their head will break like a Cotton ball, so please, and you will have to go". Then Hira Sukkha thought, "What should be done? He took such a big oath. Anyway, i should go" and then he started. In future, he met Jaardevi and talked to her about her son Bhaar dev, who was now all grown up. Hira Sukkha married him off to a virgin girl Nagmoti. After Bhaar dev's marriage to Nagmoti, they went to Nagbeedi and stayed there. Then happened the birth of Jaachkal Thatha in their family. After him attaining 12years of age. Hiraasukkhaa was again called by the family and this time, Soonn Devi Baapi a virgin girl was asked for Jaachkal Dev in Marriage. After his marriage, Bhaar dev said to his son Jaachkal Dev, like this."Son, very soon our (his parents) life journey will be coming to an end because, we have reached the age of this stage completion. My mother Jaar Devi, would get Sea water and perform pooja to the Vatvriksh (beruli tree) and the hole near it with great reverance every day. I was born at the end of this worship (pooja). This jaar (Kalasha)



was given by your paternal Grand mother, and the responsibility of protecting this lies with you now. See that our family line's (vamshas) status is enhanced further more in future", after saying this... Bhaar Dev and Naagmoti disappeared.

Jaachkal Dev, does not have Mother and Father now,"what should be done?" thought he. As indicated by his Father and Mother, he journeyed to Bhoovur Macchva which was in Keaslapur village (the place where there is this Beruli tree) and laid foundation. As the time passed, very soon the foundation turned into 22 streets city with a farming field suitable to be worked with 80pairs of oxen, Grazing field for 60 pairs of oxen was cleared. He began farming, Keslapur was now shining with wealth and grains and there was full of prosperity and bliss. There was no lack of wealth given by goddess of wealth (Dhana Lakshmi) and also the wealth given by Raitadh (the house god) was nothing less. The entire house was warbling with wealth (lakshmi). Sheltering Ashta Lakshmis, 12 forts full of Goats, sheeps, Buffaloes, horses, Chakdas (small oxen carts used for journeys), 80 Lakhs worth royal palace, 9lakhs worth Darbar and with Grain Fields at the corner of the village, there was no room for discontentment. Wealth and grains looked alike, the hearts of thieves can be easily stolen by looking at the Forefather time's 7large gold boilers and 7forts cows, and there was absolutely no lack of anything. In this kitta, Vedchaal Dev took birth from Jaachkal taatha and soonn Devi. From the young age he moved to Adulthood, after he attained the age of marriage, HiraaSukkha was called by Jacchkal taatha, he was asked to get his son married. Then, a virgin Roop Devi was asked for Vedchaal Dev and married to him. Their life went on happily as there was everything i.e wealth and food given by God. Then, there was this birth of seven children to Vedchaal dev and Roop Devi; the elder son was -Baalee Sooryal, Baale Aayityaal, Baale Jaital, Baale Sheekal, Aan Molaal, Dhan Molaal and Soonn Molaal, respectively in order. Grandpa Jacchkal was now very happy to see his Grand sons. As given in one of the expressions, "there was no lack of Wealth during wealth and prosperity and also offsprings during procreation". Seeing Grandsons who were like Gold, Soonn Devi was Happy. Like this the entire family remained in comfort and happiness. One day four shaktis (powerful dieties) -the sisters, who were fed up with their stay in Deva loka wanted to see 14 Bhuvana Bhandas, and so they started roaming all the 14 Bhuvana Bhandas. Which ever way they went, they didn't find peace and bliss that their heart desired. They visted North and south directions and as they continued roaming, they saw the boundary of Bhoovur Maachva. Scent and Fragrance of Ambrosias were all over the place. They thought, "Ah! We saw many

provinces and kingdoms, but didn't see any area like this "saying so the four shaktis, expressed their happiness and entered the city. The place was truly worth staying with wealth, crops, grains, prosperity and enjoyment, the city was full of them with no room for discontentment. People in the city were leading a life of comfort.

Jaachkal was now of 60years age. 12years of destitution arrived, when these shaktis entered the kingdom. Grazing cows and oxen died then and there, Cow garner vanished, Wealth stacks got empty, and earnings were gone. Wealth and prosperity disappeared then and there itself. Jaachkal felt sad, he called his son Vedchaal dev and gave him the Kalasha given by their Paternal Grand mother. "Protect this, and think of Hiraasukhaa"saying so he passed away. Soonn Devi Baapi, started grieving, as there were no assets and her husband too has passed away. With all that misery, in some time even she met her death. With no wealth and prosperity and with no father and mother, what a misery it was and so Vedchaal dev grieved. He called elder son Baale suuryal and said, "Son, now it's your kitta's turn to receive Kalasha, protect it son", then the Kalasha was put in son's hands and he too met his death. Mother Roop Devi, called all her sons and said, "Look sons, 12 years of destitution period has come. You may have many relatives, but nobody will help you when you are in problems. You have father in laws, so you may go to them. Father in laws may help you but mother in laws will not. Uncles may help you but aunts may not. So do not depend on them. You all go to Soonn Dharithri area, your lineage received the Jaar (Kalasha) so protect it carefully". She then showed kalasha and passed away. There were younger brothers: one was crawling and another one was slowly taking steps, in this way they all were very small brothers and so thought Baale suuryal," they all are small kids, how can they come with me? There is not even porridge or gruel for them to eat". Then the younger brothers were made to sit and worrying as to what should be done, he started crying. Some time later, after composing himself, he made a bangy (yoke), and to its front side three and at its back side three people were made to sit, leaving Keslapur (bhoovur Maachva) Baalesuur started his journey..

He continued his journey, after sunset, he would stop near cow herd in corner of any village and clean that place, then a fire would be made, and the younger brothers, would sleep in front of him, thus was his journey. Going further, he reached the place soonn Dharithri, he didn't know that this was the place he was looking for. In soonn Dharithri, he stopped near the cow

herd again, cleared the place, made fire and sat. The younger brothers were put to sleep. In soonn Dharithri, there lived 7Brothers called Gollalu (progeny name), they had cow herds as wealth. A tiger would come everyday to their herd and would kill and eat atleast 5 to 10cows. Even that night the Tiger was to come, at the same time 12 years of Destitution period for Baale Suuryal ended.

Good luck embraced Padiyor Baale Suuryal. Facing the east, and holding his brothers tight, he sat. As Padiyor was sitting there, the tiger came that way to eat the cows. At the same time luminous and divine light started to spread from his eyes, then theTiger thought, "What is this strange light? For many years I have been hunting, but, never have I seen this kind of light, this is coming towards me, what will this do to me? "Frightened by it, the tiger moved back and ran. After running a little far, it looked back, but, it could still see the light following it.

Baale suuryal unaware of this occurrence simply sat. At daybreak (i.e morning time), calves were left, and to milk the cows, the 7 Brothers came to cow stand. This time, No loss occured in anyone's stall. Every day, atleast 10 cows were found dead, but today it didn't happen, this happened after so many years. The Brothers said to each other "look at your stall and look at my stall", and they checked each other's with wonder. They saw Baale Suuryal holding small children. In them, one was playing and one was walking, they had Divine spark. "All these days loss occurred, but today, their arrival time is special and good ", said Golla's after seeing them.

Baalesuuryal unaware about him being watched by brothers, prepared the bangy (Kavadi) or yoke again, to carry his brothers to Soon Dharithri, he didn't know that this is Soon Dharithri. "Who are you?" asked Golla's, for which Baale suuryal replied, "We are the residents of Keaslapur city, we are seven Padiyors", "Where are you going?" they asked again, "to Soon Dharithri" replied Padiyor, "this land is Soon Dharithri" said Golla's. Golla's did not have children, "Brother, let's think that these children are our children and fosterage them" saying so one by one Golla's adopted one each from the children.

After reaching house, they arranged for their bath and food. With the passage of time, they were nurtured like their own children, they were sent to feed the cows. A cow was given to Baale Suuryal, and it gave birth to a male calf, things went on like this and Padiyors entered adult hood. Golla's seven wives said "Let's give all our niece to them in marriage", Padiyor's

heard these talks. Then Padiyor's cried, "Aw! What to do? None from us meet in the mornings for discussions", then said the youngest of all, "Brothers, today by seven, we all should meet at one place". At seven, when they met, there was a big discussion, "Brothers, proposals are being made regarding our marriage, talking about Marriages, Our Kitta will become Nirvamsha, We have our Vamsha's *Moola Purusha*, our god, and we have our capital (Vatan), our village and our Streets. So, what should be done? We cannot let our marriage affect our family line and nativity". Early in the morning, after attending Nature call and after they were done with other things, they went to Golla's, slowly by Sunrise.

"Baapu (father), here after we can't stay, we will go to our city", said they, then Golla's said, "Why son? We do not have children, that's why we looked after you like our own children. We will give our entire wealth to you if you need", "No Baapu, we have our own God and Dharma, we can't stay here", replied seven brothers, sternly. Padiyors, already had 12 thousand cows as wealth, and adding to it, more 12 thousand cows were given as wealth by Gollas. The entire cow herd was being led by an Ox (Aabotu) at the front, it was a bright Ox. "See you Father and Mother", said Padiyors and embraced them, "We raised you like our own children, but you are leaving us and going", said they and unable to control their grief, tears rolled down Golla's eyes. "We are indebted to the love shown by you, we should save our capital and Lineage", said Padiyors, and with heavy heart, all the seven took a step forward to share the cows before leaving. The Ox (Aabotu) lingered here and there and then came and stood before BaaleSuuryal's cow wealth, they took the Cowherd and went. SevenBrothers passed through, Piyakhandi, Ellapaaitadwaa, Chinnakoosani, Peddakoosani, EduHanumaan, and Kotthapeta. OX (Aabotu) came at the back of cow herd. Then they journeyed from Kotthapeta to Chinna uttnool, Pedda Uttnool, Roohipeta, Mankapur, Tiryaani, Gudipeta, Mohidu, Budpunoor, Loddiguda, Jaamuldhara, Kannepaaili, Geetabandaa, Taati-Loddi. They drank water in Hastan pond and again at Mandaapaaili they stood for a brief Moment. From there they again went to Geethabandaa, Bugga, Lingapuur, Vankamaddi, Motaakasaa and BoodumGutta. After reaching this place, it was Sunset, So, they halted there. Next in the line to Ox (Aabotu) was pregnant Mother cow, it gave birth at night. At Sunrise, they continued their journey, Cowherd woke up but even after many attempts the calves didn't wake up, these calves were Stubborn. And so they got tired waking them up. "Let it be, we have to travel far", saying so, the Padiyors continued their journey. From there, the Cowherd crossed Gumnoor, chapri, Dhaanoora, Deevudpalli,

Paalagutta, Pangadi, Pullaaraa, Jaamni, Paavuraaer, Jainoor Raagapoor, Maarlawaaai, Koomti-Loddi, Khandi, Bheemankhundu, Keryer, Sanjaybheemal, Kundunpaaili, Hasnapuur, Enka, Enda, Pookurguda, Pulimadugu and reached Muktee village.

The Chahakati Vamsha Kings belonging to 4<sup>th</sup> Saga (Gattu) have started for hunting from Taaripet to Dagaaripet, the cow wealth of padiyors in large numbers was coming from the dense forest. Mother earth trembled, Red sand rose in the form of thick cloud. Seeing it they thought, ah! It seems a big herd is coming, then the brothers thought, what herd could it be? "It is coming towards us", cried they, and struck by terror they ran, unsettled, they ran, fell, stood and ran again. The sound of the arrival of the herd was like earth and sky being shattered, running they all reached Indravelli. Their daughter (Miyad) Roopal Jaru saw them, "What happened? Why are you all running in such great terror? Who is after you?" asked she, for which they said, "No, No, Tremors were felt on Earth, Some herd is after us, some big problem is about to come." Hearing this, immediately Roopal Jaru climbed on to the top of the building and started observing. She saw 12 thousand cows coming towards their direction, and it was pitch dark because of the dust clouds that rose as they moved. Like this the 7padiyor brothers, who were following their cows reached Anji village. Roopal Jaru saw them, passing through Hirapur, Keslapur the cows were taken finally taken to Gowrapur. In Gowrapur, they kept the cows in Gowad (Goshala), they looked after the herd and lived there eating what they cooked in turns.

Roopal Jaaru out of instinct, came to believe these 7padiyors Brothers to be her own brother in laws. While they slept, she would come to the house, clean its front portion, do all the work, cook food and would leave the house before anyone woke up. "Who is cooking? And who is doing all the housework?" asked Padiyor to his brothers seeing the changes in the house, "it's not me, it's not me" replied they. "Then, who is doing all this work?" inquired Big brother, and asked Madadhada Madaavi (one of the brother) to catch hold of the person doing this. "Today, without sleeping at night watch over and find out who is doing it ", said he, "Ok, Let it be", replied Madaavi (Elder Brother). At night, he was watching over, when slowly he slipped Into Sleep. Like Everynight, Roopal Jaaru came, cooked food and went away. In the morning, the Brother was asked, "What Happened? Why didn't you catch?", "Couldn't control my sleep, I don't know who came and at what time they did all this?" replied he, "So, you failed to catch" said they. Now looking at another brother, "Brother Marsukoala, it's your turn", said Padiyor

(elder), “Today, in some or the other way I will catch him”, replied Marsukoala. Watching over at night, slowly, he too went to sleep and like every night, she came, did all the housework and went away. The next morning said Padiyor “Even you could not do it, then how?”, he chose Korveeta, Pandra, Vedma and totally all six brothers in Purkha order, but they too failed to catch her. Now, it was the turn of the youngest of all, as to meet his commitment successfully, he cut his small finger and kept some chili powder on it, to be alert, and to catch her, he sat watching over all night. The entire night the cut was burning due to chilli, how can he get sleep? He groaned in pain, he covered himself with sheet, to appear as if he was asleep. Then, very late at night, she came inside the house and as she thought of cooking and cleaning veranadah with Cow dung, her hand was caught.

Trying to awaken all the brothers, he said loudly, “See, she is the one coming everyday, doing all the work and leaving the house, Ah! Isn’t she our Sister in law? Wake up”, and everyone woke up. “Brother you are the youngest of us all, who caught her hand, and to us, she is sister in law. We will marry you to her”, saying so there itself they stopped her. After two days, she said, “Let’s go to my birth place and come back”, in no way should her word go unfollowed, and so together they started the journey.

After reaching Harkhapur gully from Keaslapur, she asked padiyor to stop and both halted. She told him that she will go to attend nature call (Dheerga Shanka) and come back. Padiyor agreed to it and said, “As you wish”, and he sat on a stone. Having said that she was going for DheergaShanka, she has gone to some other place and has done Parakaya Pravesha (leaving one’s body and entering others body) instead, she entered a Tiger’s body. She came to him snarling in the form of Tiger, then looking at her he thought, "Ah! She is coming to kill him in the form of the tiger, what should I do?" He looked around, remembered Persapen wholeheartedly and prayed, “Sun and Moon, Netherworld head Sesha Narayana, I must disappear at once", then all at once, he disappeared. As she ran for the stone, he was not found, at that place grew a Mango tree and its branch bore a mango fruit. Tiger stood still looking at the fruit and thought of eating it, when it falls. A Parrot came to the tree and biting the fruit with its beak flew into the sky, following its shadow on the ground, the tiger ran. The Parrot reached Sirikonda Lake and the fruit slipped from its beak into the lake. “Ah, the fruit fell into the water”, saying so the tiger sat under Tamarind tree near the lake bed.

If she remains in the form of the tiger, anyone may come and kill her, so she-the Magical lady transformed into a virgin immediately, and sat leaning on Tamarind tree. Sirikonda was ruled by Chikram Gattu, fifth Saga king Pirampattu. To hunt, roaming the lands, youngsters from the kingdom reached the lake. They felt glad at the sight of this heap of beauty, with full of lustre and grace sitting alone in the shade of Tamarind tree. They said, "It will feel good to see such a beauty as queen beside our king, it is better to take her to King", then one of them ran to the King and said "Oh Lord! Oh, King! Great beauty has come to our village", "Where is she? ", asked the king, and they replied, "She is under the Tamarind tree, near the lake", then the King commanded them to go and get her. They went and brought her to the kingdom and Kings Marriage was fixed with her. On the day of marriage, Raja was taken for Mangal Snana (bath using turmeric as ritual), when it was her turn to go for Mangala Snana, she objected to it and said to king, "I will accept you as my husband, but the stain of turmeric should not touch me for 12 years, so get married to my hand ring", then as decided, he married the ring.

Mornings in the form of a woman and at nights in the form of the tiger, she roamed all the houses. One fine day, fishes floated on the lake and all the villagers went fishing. One by one, they came back with the caught fishes. An old woman (Pedaraasi Peddamma (Moke Maatari)) asked people for some fishes, then they said. "Go to the lake, there are lots of fishes". As said, the old woman (Pedaraasi Peddamma) walked towards the lake and slowly reached it, she tried to catch fishes and while doing so she caught Red Snapper fish, this was the one which ate mango dropped by parrot into the lake. Red Snapper fish was big and fat, looking at it, "Ah! What a big fish did I find, all the villagers found small fishes", thought she and started rejoicing. She lived in a poor hut outside the village. After reaching the house, she cleaned the fish with water and started cutting the fish. Then, all of a sudden said a voice, "Grandma, cut slowly to avoid wounds on hands and legs", then Pedarasi Peddamma was surprised, "Ah! What a wonder, fish is talking to me", Even then she continued cutting and uncovered a shining nice baby boy out of its stomach, even this boy is Maayavi (illusionist).

At nights, sniffing the house doors, Roopal Jaaru searched for Padiyor in the form of tiger. This boy, born out of fruit, an illusionist (Maayavi), who knew all about her, hid near one of the doors with a soft knife, as she came close to his place sniffing with her nose, he jumped from his hiding place on to her and cut her nose, then out of pain she transformed into her

original form (Avatar) and started running after ascertaining his living place. She returned to her kingdom and covered her face completely with a sheet, she pretended to have got affected with sore eyes, she didn't remove the sheet saying it was paining and hurting a lot, in fact, how could she remove the sheet, when her nose was cut. She said that a kind of flower (Mahamangdoor pungnyar) if brought can ease her pain, otherwise not. "But who will get that? Who knows? Where is it? What should be done?" Thought Pirtumpatti King. An announcement was made that whoever gets Mahamangdoor flower will be given half of the kingdom. No one tried, none knew where the mahamangdoor flower is. "What should be done?" Thought everyone in the kingdom. The old woman (Pedaraasi peddamma) once went to visit the king in palace and came back, the boy growing in her house asked her what the matter was and she told him about the announcement made by the king, then he asked her to go and tell the king that he will get Mahamangdoor flower, doubtful, she said that she cannot do that, then he affirmed again, "You go and tell the king that I will go and get it". She then went to the king and informed the same, Happy to hear it, the king asked her to proceed. After she reached home, without further question said Padiyor "Grandma I will go and get the flower", and he took her permission to leave.

## ***EPISODE: 2***

Padiyor in his journey reached 4<sup>th</sup> Saga (Gattu) capital, where the four Banaaraa Bheemu brothers -Janga Deval, BaamdhaDeval, PottaalTaapeen, Paalun Kotaal lived. Seeing Padiyor, affectionately they came to him and saw in him their son in law, then with all love offered their blessings and enquired about his well being. From there covering Raj Darbar (royal court), they went to Antahpura (palace). As they arrived at Antahpura (palace) the wives of these brothers too saw son in law in Padiyor, they brought a base level pedestal (peeta), water in jaar (kalasha) and then his legs were washed after they were placed on Peetas, from there holding his hands he was made to sit on the cot.

With the conviction that he is their son in law, they talked to each other like this, "why has he not come till now, after such a long time we see him" and then they brought leafy vegetables from 18 Plantations, cooked them nicely and arranged food. The food had, four lumps of happiness, four lumps of troublesomeness and five great elements (Panchaboota) as to make 4 happy Souls, after he took the food, he was made to sit on a good cot. Mother in laws gave beetel leaf (Taamboola), then said Elder Mother in law, "Years after, our son in law has come and Deva



Deva! There is only one daughter, let's give her in marriage". Let it be so, said village kotwal (one who communicates village issues to people) when informed, and announcement programme was asked to be fixed. Very soon announcement was made "Tomorrow is auspicious bath ( Mangala Snana) programme and Day after tomorrow is marriage, so do come to kings Antahpura, Rajas Daughter Macchal Indho marriage is being performed, everyone is invited". As announced, on the Second day in Rajas Anthapura, Macchal Indho and Padiyor's marriage was performed. After marriage, Padiyor said, "I am going to Sea edge to get Mahamangdoor flower, if I get the flower than i will come to become your Life partner (Janma Jodu), In case of any danger, keep my ring with you, if it breaks in your hand think that I am no more." He took the Marriage card (Vivaha Patra) and started from there. From there he journeyed and reached the capital place of sixth Saga Gattu Jammithokoor Velkinagur, a place where the six brothers- Aheodal, Maheodal, Bandekusurodal, Apaiodal, Gopaiodal, and Deepaiodal lived. He reached their Darbar, then all the six brothers stopped their Darbar activities and instinctively believing that son in law has come, they took him to Anthapura. There too, the wives saw their guest and believed that their son in law has come, they washed his legs, arranged food with eighteen plantations green vegetables having seven flavors and tamboola, these were consumed for lunch. Elder Mother in law said, "Deva Deva! Though, there is only one Daughter, let's give her to our son in law in marriage", as decided Macchal Thoorpu was given to Padiyor and marriage was performed. Again, after marriage, Padiyor said to her, "To get the Mahamangdoor flower, I am going to Seashore, if I get the flower I will become your life partner, In case of any danger keep this ring with you, if this breaks in your hand, and think that I am no more." Saying so he took the Marriage card and moved forward.

Then he reached the capital of Gudh Gudh Sottha Gudmasoor Patedaa where 5<sup>th</sup> Saga (Gattu) five brothers-Aaherahud, Maherahud, Dhondheraahud, Sedmaraahud and Khodekhav valava raahud lived it. After reaching Darbar, even here the five brothers assumed him as their son in law and stopping their Darbar Activites took him to Antahpura. Again in the Anthapura, all the house ladies assuming him to be their son in law washed his legs and arranged food and Tamboola, with eighteen plantations leafy vegetables and seven flavors. Elder Mother in law said, "Deva deva there is one and only one daughter and she should be given to son in law in marriage", then Kankabundo was given to Padiyor in marriage. Padiyor said, "To get Mahamangdoor flower I am going to Seashore, if I get the flower I will become your life partner.

In case of any danger keep this ring with you, if this breaks in your hand think that I am no more.” then he took the Marriage card and resumed his journey.

4th saga Macchal Indoo father has knowledge of sticking bones, 6<sup>th</sup> saga Macchaal thurpo father has knowledge of sticking flesh, and 5<sup>th</sup> saga Kankabundoo father has the knowledge of making alive the dead person.

Padiyor reached the sea-shore to get Mahamangdoor flower. In the middle of the sea on palm tree there is the Mahamangdoor flower. To get that he got into the sea, climbing palm tree after the flower was cut his hands and legs rendered lifeless. It felt like dark clouds were covering and there was pitch darkness. Way was not found, numbness came over and he fell from tree top to bottom. He lost his life.

Padiyor's Marriage cards fell down and scattered. A Parrot came to that place, bit the Marriage cards with its beak and flew into the sky. On the other side the rings which were with the three princesses broke and fell down, then the three princesses remembered the words of Padiyor and were grief stricken, rubbing off the tilaka on their foreheads they changed into white clothes, they broke their Bangles and with widow's attire they started crying. The parrot, which took the Marriage cards found at Padiyor's place, dropped them in the capitals of 4th saga, 5th saga, and 6th saga kings.

All the three Father in laws seeing those Marriage cards, realized that their son in law was in some kind of danger. Along with their daughters, all the three went to the seashore, they saw Padiyor's broken body on the ground under the palm tree due to the fall. "What an unfortunate thing to happen", grieving so they used their skills and did the following; 4th saga king stucked the bones, 5th saga king stucked the flesh and 6th saga king poured life into the body, then the Padiyor was alive. After coming into life, he thanked his father in laws and did salutations, "I promised Pedarasi Peddama (Moke Maatari) that I will get Maha Mangdoor flower. To keep my promise, I will go to Sirikonda", said he and took leave from his father in laws.

Padiyor reached Sirikonda and said, "Grandma lets go to the king, I brought the Mahamangdoor flower", then both of them went to the king. In the palace, Raaja sent for the queen but she was not found. The Queen Roopaal Jaaru, after hearing them talk from aside,

slipped through the back side of the palace and escaped to Indravelli and hid in a place. Padiyor said to the king that if there is no queen then who should he give the Mahamangdoor flower to, and also adding to it he said, "Give half your kingdom to this PedarasiPeddamma".

Seeing that the younger brother has not returned with his wife. The Brothers Madaavi, Marsucola, Purkha, Korweta, Pandra and Vedma set out in search of Padiyor but they ended up at different places, got married and lived there.

In Soon Dharithri, the Gollas remembered their sons and said, "Sons (Padiyors) took cow wealth and went, how they are?". To find out, the elder Golla has gone to Keslapur (Bhoovuur Macchva), but none were found. He continued his search and fortunately found only the younger brother (Padiyor). Seeing Padiyor he asked, "How did this happen? Where did the remaining six go?" And the Padiyor replied that he didn't know. Elder Golla started for the return journey, and reached Indravelli, over there Roopaal Jaru saw him."Is he the one who raised all the seven brothers from childhood to Adulthood In Soon Dharithri, then I will kill him," she thought so and changed into a tiger, "In one go, I will jump on him", as she said this, a spell was cast on her, the Chalipaaga (one made with hair on cows tail) was put on her neck, a Yantra (spell cast diagram) was drawn around and she was captured. "From now on, you will not move or go anywhere, Padiyors before going for worship in Keslapur, will worship you and go", said elder Golla.

### ***EPISODE: 3***

Padiyor (youngest) returned to Gaurapur and wanted to see the cow wealth of his brothers. Even after searching a lot, he didn't find anyone, everyone left. The cow wealth was the same as it was, to take care of them like an eyelid, there was a bright ox (Aabotu). Standing in the front, it used to lead all the cows to the grazing field, and after grazing, it would get them back with great care.

"This is our grandfather's place (Aasthana), as it is lots of troubles have come upon us, after reaching this sacred place, I don't know where my elder brothers have gone from here. Where should I go? All the cow wealth here is Nothing less," murmured he. Getting his three queens to this place, he started ruling the kingdom. In Gaurapur, Padiyor had a land equal to 80 plows of plowing, it was made suitable for raising crops. 60 villages, 80 lakhs worth RajMahal (Anthapuram), 30 lakhs worth Darbar, again A RajBhavan with seven Simha Dwaras, lot of cow

wealth and Goshala, Buffaloes were in Volmadri village, calves were in Boruj, Koradera and Koparghad Elephants in mendapalli and savajyothi in Mallepur, like this with out any scarcity, God-given Wealth, food, and Raitadh Goddess given cow wealth were there, with these the place was illuminating with prosperity and happiness.

One day morning, as the sun was rising in the east. Nature call was attended by Padiyor, all the three wives prepared hot water for his Bath, One of them was giving a head bath and other was holding the below wear (Dhovati) and after bath shining material (Dhavala), cloth (Vastra) was given. Chandana and Kasturi bottu (tilak) was applied to head, Daftar Pagdi (turban) on the head, Kanduva (Shoulder cloth) on shoulders, Gold ornaments, and pearl rings in hands, a Raja Danda that showed rajas stature were all arranged, and he went to his workplace (Rajaprasad) assembly (Darbar).

At Darbar, well known and intelligent people stood up with respect, offered hospitality and welcomed him. Lawyer, Rukum, Desai, DeshPande and Village Patel were sitting in Raja Darbar. All the people were ruled with justice, his reign was entertaining also. In the afternoon the Darbar was closed and he went to Anthahpura (palace).

In Anthahpura the three queens were waiting for him to come. After his arrival, they gave him water in Golden jaar (Kalasha) to wash his hands. One of them gave Aarti and arranging Peetas (small wooden pedestal) washed his legs, a bed was arranged and he was made to sit. 11 plantations green vegetables were offered to him as food. Padiyor took a lump and performed pooja in the name of the Raitad goddess, "after reaching you then only we will eat", saying so, prayed him in his heart. Then he ate, 5 lumps for Luxury, 5 lumps for Sadness and 5 lumps for Happiness, after eating he washed his hands and went to swinging bed, he sat on it. He accepted Tambula and swinging on it took a nap. All the three wives ate after Padiyor slept. Small wife said to the elder wives that something crawled in elder sister's hair, maybe some lice are moving or so. Looking at her head and thinking that Padiyor is asleep, small wife said, "There is no happiness in heart, tell me some story sister", then Elder sister said that she does not know storytelling, she didn't learn stories from anyone, and so, "you only tell me a story" said she. "Is it so, then younger sister, atleast you tell me a story?" Asked the small wife, "I don't know anything, you only tell me", said the second one. Then Padiyora small wife said, "Even I don't know stories, but I will tell you about the programmes that happen in my father's house."

Padiyor's small wife started telling her story. "In the capital (Gudmasoor Pateda) of my father's place, at the beginning of May (Bud Baaveey Mahina), after seeing the crescent moon, my mothers would sprinkle cow dung water inside and outside the house. Announcing the arrival of crescent moon, Hira Sukkha would be called by my father for big God festival. Cleaning the house and its front portion. And Hira Sukkha holding musical instrument Kikiri, offering salutations to four corners, tying the turban of Patka and diamond of Vairaagada, and saying that four Brothers if gone to Four corners it should be good, he would catch hold of musical instrument Kikri and do obeisance (in Gondi jahar). Tobacco would be sprinkled as Tradition and hoping that where ever one goes their work should happen properly and should receive their dead ancestors support, salutations would be offered to ancestors. My father would come to Gudhmasoor pateda (Capital) and say that from North, South, East, and west arrived this Diamond of Vairaghad, the box of Kikri would be put in front of the house. Later my mothers would get water in Kalasha and give it to Hira Sukkha, he'd say "Kaidhaga saati sandhoor aire vaata pavarava Jahaar (seawater reached the hands of Dev Jahaar)" and offering salutations to god, washed his hands and legs. "Young goddess of God, Parvati of Eeshwara, Princess of Kings, the city of Gods and Daughter in Law", saying this, he would ask about their welfare and give his blessings to my mothers. My father after asking about his welfare would also ask Hira Sukkha for blessings, with respect he would also offer Beedi. Hira Sukkha used to praise my father like this, "Surya Mandala's Surya (Sun of the Sun), Chandramandala's Chandra (Moon of the Moon) south kings, King of Bharata dweepam (India)." and then he would sit on Gaadi (seat offered to someone out of respect). Raaja's throne is made of gold, Raaja would sit lighting a flame to Beedi and catch Hookah in hands, he would do prayer to God of fire (Thaaajeem, Thakshim, Kurnaas, and Dhandos Mujra), rajas with great respect would offer salutations to lighted Beedi" "Discussions on ruling by Rajputras, discussions on God by son of Gods used to happen. In the evenings, pair of dol, Dahaki, Nadas, sannais and othermusical Instruments would be played, Raithad would also be there. In the mornings after taking the head bath, carts were prepared and beautiful Calves were tied to cart. Pradhan of the house, Hirrasukha, would sit in the front as tradition and my father would sit later. Then to see all good things, they would start from a village and go to tailor to order a stitched flag. During punnami (moon day), we would come back saying that there is a prayer in our house, neighbors would come and we would talk to them and perform programmes related to god. On the Second day, getting the big god down

from his place and doing decorations, My mothers would say house god (Ilavelpu) has come and they would give Aarti with Karpooora, then they would come to big God and meet everyone with respect. That way all programmes happened merrily. At the end of pooja programmes, they would keep the god on Indian tree (Ippa tree). Our brothers of Kitta used to spend time happily. This is how my family programmes are,” she said. “Say more”, asked the remaining two elder sisters. “If Akadi month (Aashada Month) begins, then festival begins, from then for four months Dandari and Gussadi dances would happen, till Diwali, singing the Dandari songs, Rela... Singing songs with Parre and Vette (the musical instruments) and performing a dance on them would be done. It felt very nice to celebrate Duradi (Holi) festival and playing with colors in the morning.” Said she. Padiyor acting as he was asleep, was hearing their talk.” There used to be a very happy environment in our mother’s house.

Here in rajas house, when is the Diwali? When is any Festival? There’s nothing, No full moon day (Punnami), No 'No moon day' (Amavaasya). We are here because we get something to eat, otherwise, there is no order here. He knows nothing about god, knows nothing about Justice (Dharma). He does not have elder or younger Brothers, if he had elder brothers they would become our brother-in-laws (Baavas) and if there were younger brothers they would become our younger brother-in-laws (Maridi’s), If he had younger sisters they would become our sister in Laws, for festivals they would come to our house, with them the House and its surroundings would Warble with happiness, there is no relation to the front or back. Looking at his richness, we are here in an illusion. There is nothing here. No Prayer, no pooja, no patri (holi lamp), no Vrata (fastings) or traditional activities. Maybe he has fallen from Sky to the ground, he has become our Husband,” said they. When Padiyor heard about this, from heel to Head he was filled with anger. In anger, he stood up at once from swinging bed, and with a hunter in his hand rushed towards them. “Now say what you said,” said he and waved his hunter very hard. He hit all his three wives till his anger cooled, unable to bear it they groaned in pain, he dropped the hunter on the floor and wearing Golden Footwear, rushed back to Raja Darbar. The three wives, scattered here and there and started crying where ever they could. He went to Raja Darbar and sat there. The important ministers and people went silently and sat down, they all saluted him and did Namaskara as their Raja has come, but he didn’t talk to anyone, didn’t greet anyone and with bent head went without looking at anyone. Arey what happened to him, who or what they could have done to him, what kind of punishment will be given, thinking so, everyone was sad.

There was a huge discussion about “What could have happened?” One day passed and then two days, he was not getting down the throne. Over there at the palace, all the queens too were in different condition, they sat where ever they could in Ranivasa (place of queens). For two days there was no fire in the stove, nothing was cooked, “what is happening? Which story have you told us sister, what a grave difficulty has it brought on us? Due to your story only, such things have happened” said sisters to each other.

After 3 days, the younger queen sent a letter to brothers, it read, “Greetings to Brothers, Big calamity has come over me, you all should immediately start for my mother in laws village, you should come so fast that, if you take food there, hands should be washed here. Without any delay come here immediately”. The letter reached Gudmasoor Pateda, this is the capital with 5 entrances. There was hubbub in the capital city after brothers read the letter, the content in it was to come quickly. Sister is in some problem realized brothers and they Closed RaajDarbar, then all the 5 Brothers decorating their horses began their journey to Keslapur (capital of Padiyoor). Reaching Keslapur, they started for Anthapura. But, what if elder sisters are not there, thinking so, they changed their idea and went to Rajas Kachuri (A place where conflicts are settled), Padiyor was sitting silently on the throne. Getting down the horses, all the five brothers did namaskar to the brother in law, looking at them he turned his head from east to west, when they went north he turned south and sat sulking. “Brother in law we have come to see what calamity has come over you, without talking if you remain silent like this then how?, tell us your difficulties, if you remain so obstinate then it is of no use”, said the Brother in laws. Even then he didn’t listen and without talking remained silent. “How much ever we request, Brother in law is not saying anything, and the reason for his sadness is not known, Let’s go”, saying so all the four brothers started, but the youngest of all without going stood near the horse. Even after being called many times by four brothers, younger brother stood there only. Elder brother went away saying, “Let him be here, he will come later”. Younger Brother in law went to Padiyor and asked, “What is your calamity? Say it, and I am ready to do anything for you. What should I do, how much weight should I bear? Shall I roam the entire kingdom and come? I am ready for any kind of sacrifice, but tell me your problem”. As he said this, Padiyor's anger got down a little bit and he said, “Brother in law, for me you are ready to do such sacrifice, but your sisters have mocked me saying that. I have no one to my front or back, No relatives or relations, No Brothers or sisters, i do not have any feeling or devotion to God.I do not have anyone,” said Padiyor out of

sadness. “Brother in law, should you worry so much about this! Go home and ask them to clean the house and its surroundings. Do Chudoor gangaamani hooda and Persa gangaamani hooda Pooja's, your Brother's and your God will meet you”, said he. When he was told this, the anger of Padiyor came down completely, then Brother in law climbed at the back of horse and started for the return journey. Padiyor with golden footwear went to Antahpura (palace). Listening to the sound of footwear (kir kir), the Queens started fearing and thought, now, what will the king do? Again what dispute will take place? Padiyor left his footwear near the entrance and said entering, “See, I have got to do pooja to Goddess, clean the house, its surroundings and decorate the house”. When he said this, the faces of the queens got bright, they were happy to hear such good words after a long time. The sadness and anger that remained for three days vanished. “Ah! Today he took the name of our cast God”, saying so they cleaned the house and its surroundings. The things required for pooja were brought. An announcement about pooja in Padiyor’s house was made in the entire village with Dolu, Sannai, and other musical Instruments. Pooja of god began, Smoke (Dhoopa), Light (deepa) and Naivedya were arranged. The pooja continued amidst Baaja and Bajantri. Chudoor gangaamani Hooda, Persa gangaamani hooda a kind of yajna was being done, a scary sound was heard and it spread all across the sky. It felt as if there were tremors on earth. In the kingdom of Vairaaghad there were Hira Sukkha, his wife from washroom has gone outside, and hearing the sound, she ran back to her house, “ ah!...what has happened, one and only Padiyor is here as a grain of rice, as a lamp lit in forest what did he say to anyone?Who did he make enemies with?Enemies may be coming for Padiyor, What has happened?” said she to her husband. Immediately, Hiraasukkha came to the front of the house and looked in the direction of Keslapur. A really big noise was heard, "what should be done?" he Thought. Next day, he woke up early in the morning, took bath, did worship (Pooja) with patri (Holy lamp) and said to his wife that he will start for the capital of Bhoovur Macchva (Keslapur) and he began. Hirasukkhha, before going anywhere, would keep the Kikri in a place and pray Raitadh and elders, it was about the brothers who have gone to North, south, east and west directions, hoping that they should be good, and “while coming and going look after us carefully and see that no problem arises”, saying so he offered Salutations to the elders in heaven, along with this he also prayed, “your blessings should be there and the work should finish successfully,” and then he started.



Firstly, Hirrasukkha went to the elder Brother Madadhada Madaavi and did Namaskara to him. Telling about seven Gods (devala ghattam) and him which are from eight names of the house, asked about the elder daughter in law of the house, he kept the Gorkha (Kikkri carrier box), than heartily prayed to Raitadh and big God, in the prayer, he remembered all the four fathers, then Madaavi and his wife thought “Arey...My entire Gotra (family name) was explained by him”, then the house-elder daughter in law, brought water in Kalasha to wash his hands and legs. After washing his hands and legs asked him regarding his welfare. “With all heart Namaskara”, said Hira Sukkha after he was offered hospitality and then he asked Madaavi, “Do you know things about Bhoovur Maachva?” then Madaavi said that he didn’t know anything. Then Hira Sukkha, “there is one and only one brother over there, what problem has he faced? I heard the sound of Phirang firing from Keslapur, What enmity has he gone into? Oh! Thinking that you will offer support to your brother, I have come” he said, then Madaavi said that he will come with the army and help his small brother.

#### ***EPISODE: 4***

Madadhada Madaavi began with 12 thousand soldiers. He ordered the soldiers not to say anything to anyone. Go to Keslapur corners and remain there building tents. “Till I say, don’t take any action“, said Hira sukkha. From there, he has gone to another brother Marsucola and said the same thing which was said to Madaavi Brother. He said that someone has come for Battle on Bhoovur Macchva, small Brother is in some kind of Problem. To help his elder and younger Brother he is ready for anything, saying that he started with his 12,000 soldiers. The same way Korweta, Pandra, Vedma, Purkha, and Tadam were given the News. They all reached Bhoovur Maachva with their soldiers. The Armies which reached there built tents and shelters. Just before to searching younger brother Padiyor, some have gone from Bhoovur Macchva and settled in different places. The Brothers could not recognize each other. In the meantime, Hira Sukkha came and kept his Kikri in front of the shelter and have gone to Madaavi Brother. “Come Come to me Hira Sukkha, I was looking for you only”, said he. Then Hira Sukkha said, “Madaavi Brother they are all your brothers who built tents”, “Battle atmosphere is not seen here, Enemies are not visible, whats the matter?” said Madavi brother. Then Hira Sukkha, “I will go to the capital and come back”, said, started he to Keslapur. “Sun’s brightness, Moon’s soothing coolness, King of kings, Earth’s king, God of seven (saga) Ghattas Namaskar”, said

Hira sukkha. “After many years, names of my family members were remembered which made me happy”, said Padiyor. “Grandpa, why have you come? Tell me”, asked padiyor to Hira Sukkha. “Nothing”, said Hirrasukkhha, “from the capital of Bhoovur Macchva the Phirangi firing noises were heard, who declared war on you? Worried, I brought your seven brothers with their armies”, replied Hira sukkha. Padiyor was Happy, he said that till then he didn’t know where his brothers were and today his brothers have come. Padiyor went to meet his brothers who were in the corner of the capital city. After meeting them and doing Namaskara, they said, “What happened? Who has come to battle on you? We heard the news that Phirangi sounds were heard by Hirra Sukkha. Where are the enemies?” They asked him. “Nothing Brothers, your sister in laws said that I have no one and I am an orphan, they mocked me for not having Festivals, that’s why Chudur Gangaamani hooda and Persagangaamani hooda yajna with pooja was done by me and that’s why Phirangi sounds were heard, you all came and I am very happy”, said Padiyor. “Grandpa Hira Sukkha, you go to the city and please get their sister in laws. They mocked me that I have no one. All my Brothers have come, ask them to come and meet my brothers”, said he and sent Hira Sukkha. “Yes“, said Hirra Sukkha and went to Antahpura. He went to Rani Vaasa and offered Salutations to queens. “I am Vairaaghad Diamond Hirasukkhha”, said he. “Ah...He is calling Vamsha Purusha by names. After many years we have heard such talk”, saying so they gave water in jorum. Washing his hands and legs they asked him about his welfare. After meals and tamboola, Hira Sukkha said, “In the corner of our capital, Madaavi, Korweta, Pandra, Vedma, Marsucola, Purkha, and Taadam the brothers have come. To see your brother in laws, you will have to come”, said Padiyor. Wives were happy that after many days relatives have come. Immediately, they went inside to get ready, Earrings, Nose ring, Gold ornaments, waist ring, foot bracelets and Gold bangles were worn by them beautifully. HiraSukkhha called the wives of Padiyor and said, “You should do as said. If you look up and go, they may say you are counting stars in the sky. If you look here and there, they may say you don’t know anything. If you look down and walk, your brother in laws may call you sheep. Offering salutations to everyone, looking at your foot toes and covering face with veil, you walk”, he said. Hiraa Sukkha was walking in front and the three Queens were following him. All the brothers were standing in a line, with in the visibility range but not visible clearly. Brothers-in-laws stood there with the army. From morning till evening sister in laws met everyone and touched their feet, but still it didn’t finish, Queens’s forehead got sore and bulged, knees didn’t

rise and their head started rotating out of giddiness. Hira Sukkha said that meeting them like this is not possible, so leaving alternative people do salutations. Even then the people were the same, It was evening and all the three queens out of giddiness were about to fall, they didn't meet even half the people, what should be done? They thought. Hira Sukkha went to brothers and said, "It is evening, tomorrow evening, they will come and meet again", said he. Then Padiyor remembered wives words and said, "I don't have any brothers and no one is to my front or back, they said, so they should meet all my Brothers". With no other choice, Queens, met everyone, and were sent to Ranivasa by Padiyor. Then all the brothers assembled and said," we came as we thought, small Brother is in some danger. Now we will go back", then Padiyor said, "Brothers, Your sister in law said, we don't have god or devotion, that's why, let's go to our God." "We have come for Battle, but you say we should go to god for pooja, there are no Puja materials, then how can we go to god", said 7 Brothers. "I will get the required pooja Materials and make sure nothing falls short, but not matter what we should go", said Padiyor. Then, immediately, he started for the house of kings and then Peas, edible things, and the other materials of Pooja were arranged. All the seven brothers got ready for Darshan (to meet) of God, Bullock carts were decorated. The entire capital was echoing with the sounds of Dhol, Sannai and other musical Instruments. The oxen were decorated with colorful clothes, bells in ox neck were making sounds and cart after the cart were getting ready to start, after meeting people and saying that they are going for pooja, they started. After crossing some small lakes and 7 lakes an Orre (moving water place that's narrow and dept) they reached one big Stream (Vaagu). After reaching it, the soldiers in the front drank water, some group of soldiers were crossing mud and another group of soldiers, at the end were walking and causing Dust clouds. With 60 Streams being a river, with many rivers being a sea and with sea every where, it was full of water. There was no way anywhere, what should be done?, thought seven Brothers, then Soldiers built shelters, No idea was crossing their mind as to how they are to go further in their journey. So, they stayed there for that night and the next day having finished his morning calls, Padiyor came to the Brothers. "Brothers, all of you finish your morning works and do bath", said he and then a mat was spread on the ground for everyone to sit on it. After having a bath, everyone came there and sat down. Padiyor said, "Brothers listen to me carefully, one of us will have to go and have Darshan of our God Raitadh, do his Darshana and come back". "Someone will have to take the Veeda and go to our God Raitadh. Two and a half days to go and two and a half days to come

back, the journey will be on the water.” In the beginning, the eldest of all Madaavi was asked if he will go, “Small Brother this work is not possible for me, please send someone else for this I will do Namaskara to you,” said he. After Madaavi the Marsucola brother was asked if he can go, then, “Ah! It’s not possible for me”, said he. Later, Korweta, Purkha, Pandra, Vedma and then the youngest of all Taadam was also asked. “Being the youngest how can I do something which cannot be done by elder Brothers”, said Taadam. “What is HirraSukkha doing? Let’s go to him”, saying so they have gone to him. Over there Padiyor Sat before him and said, “Grandpa, Darshana of our God should be done. I will go for Raitadh’s Darshana. Here, continuously for five days, without halt, you should play musical Instruments like Dol, Peprang (Sannai) and Kikri. Describing God, the story of big God should be told till I come Back”, said he. “Hiira sukkah, we will give you 7 Daanas Devadaan, Paaldan, Marmingdan, TanGedoola dan, Mooyar Dan and Sadedan. We make this commitment here. I will make sure that for you there is no lack of anything. Whatever may be the situation, the sound of musical Instruments should not stop. I will not cross my word, it’s a promise, and I will not break my promise till there is Sun, Moon, Earth, and Sky. If I cross my word, my head will break into four pieces like a cotton ball, so promise” said Padiyor. The sound of Dol, Sannai, and Kikri began. Looking at the Brothers, “Brothers, wait for me for five days, In case I don’t come, you can go back on the sixth day. If I don’t come, take care of my three queens. Taadam the youngest of all can look after them. In five days if I come back, I am yours, otherwise nothing.” All the brothers stood there and said, “You have taken such great sacrifice on your shoulders. Without caring for your life you are going in search of our God (Moola Purusha). We will give you all kinds of respect. We will not stay in the house you stayed, the field which was used by you will not be used by us”. Then he said to all the brothers, “I will start”, he brought both his hands together and prayed to the Sea like this “Jalpaakeyjal, Jalpaanyaa, Jaanjaar, Jalmaata, Jalpeetam, clear water you are jal maata and Jal pita please give me way”, said he and kept his right leg forward, water came to his knees and then till waist and finally till neck. All the brother saw this. Their small brother was going, Will he come back? Or not, they thought. As they were looking at him, he got immersed in water completely, then the music (Mangala Vaadya) started. One day passed, he was still immersed and moving. After two and a half days he went to opposite sea shore. There the capital city with luminous golden temples were found. On the throne, in the Kings Palace Raitadh or Aadi Seshu was not there, Boodimeen Budhyal was present, he was kept for protection of the

throne by Adishesha and he has gone to look after his treasury filled with Diamonds, Emeralds, Pearls, and others. Padiyor after entering the Paataalaloka of Snake God, Boodimeen Budhyal was surprised as to where from was this human scent coming, he came away from the Throne and looked outside. By then, Padiyor reached there, “Who are you? Why have you come here?” Watchmen of Palace Boodimeen Budhyaal stopped him and asked. “This human is coming to make this throne unholy”, saying so he went to the front of the throne and tried to stop him. “Whoever you are, I am doing ten thousand Namaskaras to you, don’t come near the throne.” pleaded he. “Raitadh Aadishesha (Nagoba) will be very angry, He is not here. He has kept me as the protector of the throne and left”, he said, “Ok. I am Padiyor from Keslapur, a devotee of Aadishesha, allow me to see the Throne from distance,” said Padiyor, “See the Throne from distance but don’t touch it”, said Protector Boodimeen Budhyal. Padiyor was taking a step forward, and the protector came in front of him, “Stop here and see”, he said, “I will go a little near and see it,” said Padiyor. All of a sudden, at 12 feet distance from it, he jumped towards throne and reached it. Padiyor went and sat on the golden Swing Bed (Tungutuyyala). Boodimeen Budhyal in surprise thought, what!? He has gone straight to the swing and sat there. Swinging on it, Padiyor remembered 4<sup>th</sup> saga Mamas Ramtek, 5<sup>th</sup> (saga) Ghattas and after that 6<sup>th</sup> (saga) ghattas Mamas. There were Raitadh 8 (veedas) Tamboolas over there, of them Padiyor kept one in his mouth and the rest he folded and kept them inside his Turban, the Veeda which was in his mouth was gargled and spit by him, and the throne was made unholy. Padiyor said to Protector of Throne that he was the Padiyor from Bhoovur Maachva and asked him to pass it on to Raitadh. After five days, the Brothers started looking for him and thought, If padiyor would come or not. In the meantime, Padiyor came from that coast to this Coast, “Our Vamsha god was seen by Padiyor” saying so everyone met him and praised him. After meeting everyone, “Brothers, I have got Tamboola for you from God”, said he and gave it to Madaavi, Marsucola, Vedma, Pandra, Purkha, and Taadam. “From now on they are your house Goddesses and we should not stay here anymore, Remove the Shelters and start moving,” said Padiyor. Day and night without halt, they continued their journey, they reached the border of Keslapur. After reaching there, with the sounds of musical Instruments the Villagers, Relatives, and neighbors welcomed them. They kept Peethas for washing his legs as he has gone to (God) Raitadh and had his Darshana, some were getting water and Carpets were being arranged for people to sit. After

washing legs everyone greeted each other, saying that Padiyor had darshan of Raitadh (God) everyone met him out of happiness.

Padiyor too out of happiness decided to do free distribution of food to all people. Free distribution of food, gifts, duty (Daana Dharma) to one who comes was done, whatever the people asked, it was given to them. The (gifts, duty) Daana Dharma did by Padiyor was known to 14 lokas (countries), Padiyors (gifts, duty) Daana Dharma was known to Pradhan Sumanth from Vairaagadh city, he thought "Oh! My father HirraSukkha has gone to BhoovurMaachvaa for battle and didn't return till now. And now Padiyor is doing Daana Dharma and free distribution of food", trying to inquire into the matter, "I will see and come back", said he. Sumanth had Seven Daughters and Seven Sons, taking seven nodes Bamboo stick, and wearing Khanduva (Long cloth) on his shoulder, he journeyed towards Bhoovur Maachva. From Vairaagadh he reached Bhoovur Maachva village corner and to take rest he faced east and sat. In PaatalaLoka (a place below earth), Raitadh Adishesha came back from the treasury, he sniffed human scent on the throne. "Which human has come here?" Saying so he rebuked Boodimeen Budhyaal. DwaaraPaalaka (security guard) ran towards him and said "Raitadh God, Impropriety happened, someone saying that he is a Padiyor from Bhoovur Maachva took the tamboola, saved by you and sat on the Throne, he spit here on Swinging Bed. I have pleaded him but without listening he jumped 12 feet in one go and sat on your Throne "What lacked in my doings to Padiyor. I have given him prosperity, bliss, Wealth, Grains, riches, Fame, glory and reputation. Why did he do like this? How could he make my Place and throne unholy?" he thought. "I will destroy him, I will make him without Vamsha", said Raitadh with great anger and starting from Paatala Loka (a place below earth) reached above the sea and sat on the corner of the coast.

### ***EPISODE: 5***

Raitadh Adishesha, out of great anger reached the coast and saw a place full of shelters, Horses were harnessed in that place, he said to himself " a lot of people are here", hissing in Frenzy, he reached the boundary of Keslapur. There sat Sumanth the Pradhan, he reached him, spreading his red eyes to North and south each and resting the upper Mandible on Sky and lower Mandible on Earth he remained. The Pradhan Sumanth looked towards Sky and thought, "what is this? It's so dreadful, what could it be?" The entire sky was full of Darkness. Taking his sevennodes Bamboo stick he stood up, "Who are you? Why did you come here?" asked

Sumanth," Are you asking me, I am Raitadh Adisesha" he hissed. "Raitadh why have you come" "I am going to Bhoovur Maachva, to destroy Padiyor and the seven brothers because my throne and my Abode was made unholy by them. To destroy their Vamsha, I Have come", hissed again Raitadh (Aadisesha). "Raitadh, what you said is true, you have given them everything. Prosperity, bliss, Wealth, Grains, riches, Fame, glory and reputation. Your Holy place should not be made unholy. In this Bhoovur Maachva city, there are 22 streets and 23 old cities, in this capital city Relatives, Neighbours, siblings, Brothers in law, elderly people and small babies, like this many are present. Who will you destroy? If you listen to me, I will tell you one thing. Whoever has behaved disrespectfully towards you, I will get them here and I will make them stand in front of you. But from here you should not go anywhere" pleaded Sumanth. "I will be here only", Raitadh gave his Word. With the seven nodes Bamboo stick in his hand, Sumanth Pradhan drew a line around Raitadh. "If you feel that you can cross the line when I am gone, you will not be able to crawl" saying so he took his oath, "No...No till you come back, I will go nowhere", Raitadh gave his word. Sumanth Pradhan went to Bhoovur Maachva city. Gifts were being given in the city, free distribution of food, Diamonds, Pearls, Gold and whatever was being asked it was given by Padiyor. The people who were to come were coming and the ones who were to go were going. Sumanth Pradhan stood there and remained the same way for some time, he was not accepting gifts, without talking he stood with folded hands. Padiyor thought so in his mind, "He is not coming near, not asking for anything, who could he be?" Then he stopped the Daana Dharma programme for a moment and asked him, "Who are you? Where from have you come? You are neither asking for gifts nor talking anything, come here" Sumanth Pradhan went to Padiyor," I will tell you who I am, but for once turn towards Bhoovur Maachvaa boundary and see what is there", said he. Turning back when he looked, everything was dark and appeared as if it was covered with black clouds. "What is it? Looking so dreadful", said Padiyor. "I was sitting in the boundary of Keslapur area, then Raitadh with great anger came to me and said that he is coming to destroy you." 'Whatever you have done after going to Raitadh's capital city is unacceptable', he said, and so, he will wipe away you and Your Vamsha, and for it he is over there with open mouth," said Sumanth Pradhan. "Then how should I escape this danger, you only show me a way", requested Padiyor to Sumanth Pradhan. Then Sumanth Pradhan said "Padiyor, get Seven Pots of Milk, Curd, Ghee, Peas, Jaggery, Honey, Almonds, Cashew nuts and cardamom, get these things ready, I will also come with you," said he. As instructed by Sumanth

Pradhan Sesaa (naivedya) was made ready with these, with seven nodes bamboo stick in hand Sumanth Pradhan was walking in the front and Padiyor was walking at his back. Taking Sesaa, he went to Adishesha and poured it into his open mouth, but Sesha didn't move his mouth. Sumanth Pradhan went to Aadishesha, offered salutations and said. "We request you to accept the Naivedya poured into your mouth", then Aadishesha slowly started twisting it, with his tongue. The taste of Milk, Curd, Ghee, Cashew nuts, cardamom, other fruits pieces, and jaggery touched his tongue, entire Naivedya was accepted by God. "I have roamed many places, Vajra, Vaidoorya, Mani, Manikya were seen by me but I have never seen such tasty Naivedya. You are my true worshippers" said Raitadh and took his Jaws near, his anger came down. Sumanth Pradhan said to Raitadh (God). "As said Padiyor along with his seven Brothers is brought before you by me", then these seven Brothers biting grass with mouth and joining both hands did Namaskara to Raitadh. Looking at them, Raitadh said, "Padiyor, knowingly or unknowingly you have come to my capital city, touched my throne and made it unholy. From now on you will not turn towards it. If that happens then the consequences will be terrible", and he made him take an oath. Then Raitadh, "I will roam all the fourteen Bhuvanas and after coming back, I will tell you the place I live, you should do Pooja there," saying so he left Keslapur. He reached Kunjapoor Taluka, after roaming and seeing it, AapNeeda, JaapNeeda, Jaavuri, Bhoovuri, Keevadaa, Dasera, Parkhnaag and Naagapur was visited by him. After reaching Naagaapur, he stood at its centre, looked at all the four sides and said, "This Naagapur city's name will ring in all areas of this country, this city will gain name and fame", and from there he visited 24 more cities like Kusur waada (street), Chikram Kusur waada etc; and reached Bandung Bhataaraa. He felt thirsty and so he drank the entire water. The fishes and animal life forms in it were Squirming due to the lack of water, this entire play was seen by God Eknaadh. "Ah! What happened? Entire water shrank, without leaving even a single droplet in the river you drank it completely, who are you?" Asked Eknaadh. Than he replied, "I am Raitadh Aadishesha, who are you?" "I am Eknadh, I am watching everything over here," said he. "You said, you are Raitadh, life forms are squirming and preparing to die because of you. What kind of God are you?" said he, then Raitadh got angry and his eyes got red. Eknaadh looked at his anger and got frightened, then Raitadh took some water in his mouth, Gargled it and spat it in one go. With milk like color, White Water Lake formed and then again all the creatures submerged into it happily. Raitadh from there went to the place of Sathik Goddess (Bori village and Evuti village in Maharastra). From there he went to



Mangalaguru, Neelmichaanda, and Chandraapur. Reaching Chandraapur district in Maharastra and looking at all the four sides he said, “This Chandraapur will be famous for Gond’s life, four (Sagas) Ghattas Gonds people will come here and taking Persapen (Big God) things of Pooja will go. In coming days this will shine as Gondi center”. From there he went to Kolparighat, Sasthi, Goovuri, Dhohegaam, Lakaadkot, Beendhi to old Raamjiguda, Bambaara, Waankidi, Khamaana, Sammelana chirdi, Khirdi, Bhoovurguda, Bendraa, Saaleguda, Lendiguda, Paanduraaghat, Akshapur, PidithaBorigaam, Parchaati, Eenigutta, Guraipeta, GudiPeta, Mohida, Budpunoor, Loddhiguda, Jaamuldhara, Kannepalli, Mootuguda, bugga, Lingapur, Vankamaddhi, Motakaasa, Bodumgutta, Gumnoor, Surpamguda, Chapri, Dhanora, Bhoornoor, Khodakaasa, Devudpalli, Taatigutta, Pangidi, Pullaraa, Jaamni, Paavurer, Raaghapoor, Maarlavaai, Komti loddi, Kudam, Sanjay Bheemal (Utnoornu). Left side Dantan palli, Gandhi Rampur, Udumpur (Udhumpur), Kalledu, Dastoorabad, Moolaguda, Gonduguda, ChinnaBellal, (Persa) Pedda bellal and Kudela rev, after going there he drank water and started his return journey. “This place is not suitable for me to stay,” said he, then he Journeyed towards the east and reached Butapura (Buttapur) and then HastanMadugu. After seeing Hastan Madugu Raitadh Happily said, “Whoever I command them means they are my people, Pen Bhoopyal (Katoda) Pradhan should come here and take Godavari water from here itself and do Pooja”, from there he went to Kalmadgh means Kalamadugu, Murmaadgh (Murimadugu), Indoorpaayili (Indanpalli). Kundunpayili, Hasnaapur, Enkaa, Venda (Endhaa), Pookurghadh, PuliMadugu, Mukti, Andeli (Aandoli) and Hirapur, from there Raitadh went back to Keslapur. Command was received from Keslapur God by Padiyor who was facing east, he said, “Padiyor I have roamed fourteen Lokas. In PushyaMaasa and on the day of Amaavaasya, you, your family and relatives should do Pooja to me. Your house Pradhan Hira Sukkha, and PenBhoopyaal Katoda should go to Hastan madugu and get Godavari water. With it they should do Pooja here, you should not go to HastanMadugu, My Naivedya will not be useful for you. PenBhoopyaal Katoda, Hira Sukkha (Pradhans) Naivedya alone should be accepted”, and then he disappeared in the place where there is Nagoba temple even today.

### ***EPISODE: 6***

Bhoodumdev means Ox God. The entire cow wealth belonging to Mesram Vamsha is in Gaurapur, this is in Indravelli Mandal Adilabad District. In Gaurapur, at the front of the Goshala

(Govad), there is Maisamma temple. Here and there the cows were thousands in numbers, they were being watched by Bhoodum Dev, Bhoodum grazed with cows in the mornings and at nights reaching Goshala, it would go out of the west door. Starting from Gaurapur it would reach Tosham, Gudi Haatnuur, Sindi Gondi (Seeta Gondi) and then it reached Evti from Turkalchandaa. Waking up early in the morning, when Padiyor looked at Govada, the ox was found missing. "Where did it go, what happened to it?" saying Brothers worried, "Where did it go? When we were struck by big calamity, being in the front it got us from Soonn Dharithri", said Padiyor. The next day ox reached, Taelipeking, chinchuGhat, Tosham and from there in three days, Bhoodum reached Gauraapur.

"Brother our Aabotu has come. We thought it left us but it came back", said they and were Happy. After some time, the Ox did something, after the arrival of cows after midnight, it jumped up from Goshala and went to Gaurapur, Indravelli, Puli Madugu and then Shyampur. From there it would go to Naagapur cane plantation to graze, Gardeners (Kori) were guarding it. Going there and jumping from the fence, it used to eat Sugarcane. From there, it started in the mornings and again reached Gaurapur Goshala and remained there. Everyday it happened the same way, everynight it left Gaurapur and in the early mornings, it returned. Like this ten to fifteen days passed. One day, owner of the Plantation roamed his field and saw that the entire crop was destroyed in one corner. "Arey! Which animal has destroyed all these cane sticks, even after covering entirely with the fence, how did it come? And how did it destroy? There is no way for it to come. How is it coming? Must it be some big animal?" Thought he and holding a gun, hid himself to catch it in every possible way. Like every day, even on that day, starting from Gaurapur the ox traveled to Nagpur and jumping from the fence it started eating cane. Plantation owner pointed his gun and thought, what could it be? as everything was so dim, assuming it to be a buck he fired the gun and the bullet entered ox's stomach, then It shouted Ambaa in pain... and jumping from the fence it ran towards Shyampur River. To one side of the River is Shyampur, and to the other side is the place where the Boodumdev temple is right now. Reaching the peepal tree, it leaned on the peepal tree with lather in its mouth and died. Kori (Owner of the plantation) saying that he has shot a buck, took a knife, some things and followed the blood trace. They were searching it to take its flesh, but all they saw was the dead body of Boodum the Ox. Shyampur is the place where the dead body was, they were looking at it. Due to dim view, they didn't see that it was an ox, but they thought it's a Buck. "This caused us a huge loss", saying so they cut its

head, separated it from its body and kept it in front, then they removed its skin and kept it at the back, its front and hind legs were removed and they too were kept at the back. When it was cut into pieces, it turned into stone immediately. The knives and Baskets brought by them vanished. The ox-like god changed into stone Nandi. Padiyor Seven Brothers were sad, as the ox was not there. It would go and come back, they thought maybe it will come back the same way, and waited for it. One day Padiyor was in deep sleep. The ox appeared in Padiyor's dream and said, "Padiyor, I am at Shapapura (right now Shyampur) in west direction. I have become your God". Immediately, he woke up from sleep and thought, *what could have happened? Ox was seen in the dream like this, I will go to Shyampur*, and he started from Bhoovur Maacchvaa Keaslapur. After reaching Shyampur, Boodum (ox) was seen leaning in front of Peepal tree. As Raitadh (God) this ox was seen in dream, thinking so, he felt sad, tears rolled down his eyes, swallowing up his sadness, he said, "from birth till all our Calamities were gone, you were with us, from Soonn Dharithri you have brought us, walked our Cow Wealth leading from the front, when we all brothers were scattered at different places, even then you protected cow wealth being in front, It's unfortunate that, I had to see you in this situation", said he and tears rolled down his eyes. "From today onwards you are our Vamsha's God. In Keslapur during Amaavaasya in Pushyamaasa, after pooja is done to Raitadh Adisesha (Nagoba), we will perform your pooja here. Our Vamsha people that are, sisters, Brothers, Brother in laws, Katoda and Pradhans will get your things of Pooja and do your Pooja. As long as Sun and moon are in the Sky and Raisekhar Adisesha (Nagoba) exists in the nether world, my Vamsha people, small and big after arriving here, will perform your pooja, and give them your blessings. Coming to you they will perform Pooja till our race remains, it will not forget the help you have done", said Padiyor.

Days passed, one-day Padiyor's cow wealth which was in Lakhs were being grazed. They made cows drink Water at Ramsai River and the herd was lead to take a turn, In the meantime there came fourth Sagas wealth Cows over there, they made the cows drink water and halted. Then came the cow wealth of sixth Sagas and after them Gudmasuur Pateda fifth Sagas girls and sisters came to Raamjaani River for washing clothes. After coming to the River, they saw cow wealth. As Ants at their Ant holes, the Cows too were visible the same way. "Oh! So much cow wealth, elder Sister, whose cow wealth could this be?" talked Sisters and came looking at them. "To washing place, so much of cow wealth, who's could be this? Over there are the ones belonging to fourth Sagas, beside it sixth Sagas, this is our 5<sup>th</sup> Sagas and that could be our 7<sup>th</sup>

Sagas”, said they. Looking at 7<sup>th</sup> Sagas wealth, “what a cow wealth, like the group of Ants there is wealth “, said seven Brothers. “How good they are? Our life partners should also be good, like them”, talked sisters. “Padiyors Jatara will be happen, let’s go to their Jatara”, saying so, they washed their clothes quickly and started for their house. Wearing silk clothes, nose ring, earrings, necklaces, Bracelets to hands and waist rings to the waist, they got ready and reached the market. Over there in Bhoovur Maachva, all the seven brothers were standing in a line. In the meantime, these two girls reached there. These seven Brothers saw them, who could they be? Thought they and asked them, “who are you? Where have you come from?”, “Ours is Gudmasur Pateda, one of us is the Daughter of Aadaa Bhuthubaal and other is the daughter of Aada Kammal Katooda”, said they. They also said, “It’s not possible for us to marry”, then these seven brothers thought, what can be done, you have come to God. In their tradition ShivarVaasimattake is a kind of marriage process in which if a boy is liked by a girl, she will enter his house. Then, “to Padiyor, Katoda’s daughter will be given and Patidi Pradhan daughter will be given to patidi’s in marriage”, said they. During Mesram Vamsha Gods Pooja, beating Dol used in marriage is a tradition. Mesram Vamsha people, during God’s pooja programme, use different musical instruments belonging to Marriage. From Mesram Vamsha one elder person is appointed as a taker of raajrusum, to him, Raajrusum (Money) is given as the gift. In this tradition, everyone should go and meet him, something should be given as gift, Katoda and Pradhan should also give gifts to him. In Gond’s marriages, Mother in Laws doing ‘Kumme kummaal’ to Father in laws has been coming as a tradition. It means in Pandiri Polu they keep small pots and lights, and then they carry small clay bowls. The same tradition is followed by Mesram vamsha people even now. The accumulated Gifts includes Rupees in Copras (dried coconuts), Cashew nuts and Dates, they are taken and then Bharni Avaana (Pocchamma Pooja), Govad Avana Pooja (Goshala Pochamma pooja) and Gadi Maisavva (God) pooja are done. Later, Mesram Vamsha ladies get ready and do Bride introduction Programme (Beatikoriyal). In this tradition, Mesram Ladies during Bride introduction programme (Beatikoriyal), decorate new Brides and the Brides get a Saree, Shawl, and one decorated traditional Indian lights and give it to god. Then instruments belonging to marriage like Dol, Peepre, Sannai and Vaidyaa naadam are used while doing Beeyting Kimmad (means introducing Bride) pooja. Taking them to God ilaka is applied and then Mesram ladies do Bheti Koriyal Programme. This way Mesram Vamsha people traditions have begun, in here three princesses Macchal indoo, Macchaal Toorpoo,

Kankaboondoo were present, Macchaal Indo belongs to 4th Saga, she does not have sons, Macchaal Toorpo belongs to 6th Saga and she has four sons. On the other side, In Bhoovur Maachvaa Padiyor was helping the poor and following justice, showing a way to the one who strayed from the path, free distribution of food, giving water to the thirsty, like this many welfare programmes were done by him. Walking with Satya (Truth) and Dharma (Justice) he was ruling kingdom (Raajya). In some time, Keslapur developed into a big city. No one knew, what was happening in the capital city, things like, the number of streets, the number of houses and the population figure were Unknown to Padiyor. Roaming entire city, I will find out how big my capital is, he thought. Chekdaa (small cart) was arranged and he started on that, to drive chekda driver was arranged, roaming all city, I will have a look at everything, thought Padiyor. Poorooying sodita (Westwards Street of Pooyem people), eastwards street of Sidaam people, Northwards street of Kalura people (street of Palm wine sellers), street of Sokara Soyam, South street of Talanda, VishwaBrahmana Kamsula street where taka taka sound is heard, and Kammari (Iran workers) street where Using Titti and blowing fire Block smith happens, were all visited by Padiyor as he roamed all the streets in the capital city. Whichever street Padiyor went, those street people stopped his Chakdaa, washed his legs and made him sit on the cot. Before going, they offered him Pearls and Diamonds as gifts. Like this roaming the streets he again went to west direction and saw thick smoke, as he was getting closer, he saw a liquor making place. Saying that Raja has come, they gave him hotwater and made him sit on the cot. What can be in liquor making place? But liquor, and as expected, Padiyor was given liquor in a small pot. Till then, he never drank liquor and so he did not know its taste, but when liquor was given to his hand for the first time, he tasted it slowly and the intoxication reached his head. "I have roamed the entire capital city but no one has given me such stuff", said he. From then, where ever he went, everyday morning he drank liquor and after the intoxicated state is gone, and he would drink again, like this, entire money in his hands was spent. In that intoxication, he forgot about his house and surroundings, other than drinking he had no other work, People who followed him went away, Kingdom was gone and he was living a life of a slave. If there is wealth and power, only then people will be behind a person, leaving him everyone went away, because of heavy Drinking his clothes were torn and his beard and Moustache have grown long. One Liquor small pot was given to him only when he would get a pot full of water in exchange, falling in that intoxication he left everyone, he looked like a Madman, he forgot his own house and

surroundings. *Where can I go for him? Who can I ask? Till now I have been in Raja Mahal Antapura, but my King... where has gone? To know about him whom should I ask?* In Anthapura the queen started thinking so. A curd selling woman saying, “curd, curd”, came there, Queen called her and said, “listen to my word, the curd you are selling and the accessories you wear, give them to me for one day”, to this the curd selling woman nodded her head in acceptance. Dressed a curd seller and taking the curd pot, the queen was roaming streets saying, “Take milk and curd”. Roaming here and there, she reached the street where the Padiyor was, He with beard and Moustache was without a shirt, and wearing small Langoti (under wear cloth) he looked like a madman. She recognized the king who turned into a beggar, *what kind of person has been brought to which stage by liquor?* She thought. She with the same appearance asked him to take milk and curd, he used to have Milk and curd everyday when he was in kingdom. *Arey...will she give milk and curd if I ask? There is no money, what should I do,* thought Padiyor, inspite of this. “Give me a vessel of Milk and curd”, said he, “Is there money?” asked she, “No”, said he. “They are not given for the sake of deed they are sold, Come to my house I will give you a substantial amount of Milk and curd,” said she. “Then, I will come to house”, said he. She walked in the front and he followed her, she took him to the house, putting down the pot of Milk and curd, she went inside and changed here attire, with Aarti in her hands, she came to him like the queen. One Look at her and his memory returned, realizing that she is his wife he continued looking at her. He with revived memories, said to her, “what a mess happened, I forgot everything for 12 years, such a grave mistake”. Washing his legs Queen took him home, immediately she called people who remove Beard and Moustache and later gave him new pair of clothes. Without saying anything he remained silent, See, What has happened? I forgot my own wife for Liquor’s sake, I lost family, capital, Kingdom and finally wearing only a Langoti went mad, this was brought upon me by Liquor, from now on, I should not go after liquor, thought he.”PushyaMaasa is a Pavitramaasa and with this feeling, I shall remain with niyama nishta”, said he.

### ***EPISODE: 7***

Staying put at the house he thought, "What should I do, I am such a big king but my condition is very poor." In these 12 years, trees grew in fields making it look like a forest. Cutting the roots of trees, they were dried, burnt and cleared by him. To do farming there was no ox, so taking a plow he dug the field and then Millets, Foxtail millets (Korralu) and Maize or

corn seeds were put, after sowing these seeds, rain God showed mercy and the seeds sprouted. In few days, Foxtail millets and corn crop were growing well and he was happy. For guarding the field, a cot was arranged on one side and he watched over and slept, everyday at nights, Suyveelad (Porcupine) would come and destroy the crop. Waking up in the morning, when he looked at his crop, it looked like, someone has pulled the crop, "Arey...what to do? All the crop will be destroyed, all these days hard work will be wasted," thought Padiyor and felt sad. Whatever it is, this animal should be caught, decided he and cut his small finger, and then kept some chilli powder over it, at night he sat as not to get sleep and remain alert. Out of pain, the finger was burning. When it was midnight, slowly came Suyveelad and started plucking out the corn. Padiyor got down the cot, and with a thick stick in hand went to beat it. Suyveelad saw him, and slowly crossing the crop it went outside. To catch it, he followed it, after going some distance into the forest, he saw a spacious Building, It was decorated nicely, and Suyveelad entered inside. Padiyor was surprised, the sight of a building and its decoration was not understood by him. He entered the building and in the guise of a female, Suyveelad came to him with Aarti (Indian traditional lamp) in her hand. She gave Aarti to him and washed his legs. "What is all this?" asked he, "nothing, it is my love on you," She said, "that's why, I have kept the grains stolen from your crop here, with love I used to come to you in the form of Suyveelad", said she obediently. "What you said is right, but I can never touch another woman", said Padiyor, the more he said no, that more she didn't listen to him. Finally, he began Sansara (family life) with her. He spent his time with her. Padiyor's Bhoovur Macchva talks, his wife, children and like this no one came to his mind. Eating and living with her, 12 years passed. Three baby boys with Suyveelad in these years and 4 sons with elder wife in Bhoovur macchva, now he was the father of seven.

One day Suyveelad's smaller son was made to sleep in the swing, while Padiyor was sleeping on the cot, no matter what was done, it didn't stop him from crying, he cried continuously. Lullaby and cradle-song belonging to Father in laws and grandfathers were sung, and like this whichever song was sung, he didn't stop crying. At last, she got irritated, and threw him to one side in swing, "Oye! Your four brothers are in Bhoovurr Macchva, and you are alone in this forest" said Suyveelad, then the boy stopped crying immediately. Listening to these words Padiyor woke up and stood, he remembered his past. "Ah! I came to look over the crop but I have stayed here only, my four sons are in Bhoovur macchva", When this was being said the

small boy stopped crying, looking at Suyveelad's he said, "I can't stay here anymore, I will go to Bhoovuur Macchva". "If you want to go, then go, but who will do the nurturing of these three children, who will take care of their good and bad", said she, "I will take my sons with me, and I will meet my sister in law and come back", said he. After going to her he said, "Sister in law, I will go to Bhoovur Macchva, to see you I have come", "Brother in law you can go but with little curd and rice have lunch and go", said she. After lunch, Padiyor said to his sister in law that she should not eat the remaining rice and the remaining rice should be kept on Utti (food hanger). "I will go", saying so he took his three sons and got ready to go, Suyveelad said, "I will come to younger son's marriage. There you should not touch me. Your hand should not touch me" said she, Padiyor Walking both the sons and lifting up the younger son said "ok" and continued his Journey.

In the meantime, here in Keslapur, four Brothers said, "Our father Padiyor has gone to watch over the field and didn't return till now, Did any animal like tiger or bear eat him?, Even after so many years he didn't return", thinking that he died, Kaarun (Karma Kanda that is done in the name of dead people) was done. A bamboo was buried and keeping a nail beside, Karma kanda pooja was done, from there Kormara (place given to Bird) was gone, pooja was done and Naivedya was being offered. While this happened, Padiyor was seen coming with his three children. "Arey! Who is coming from there see", said someone and everyone looked at that side, "what a grave mistake happened, in his name we were doing Karma kanda and he is coming to us", again said, someone. "You have gone for 12 years, thinking that maybe you will not come and assuming that animals must have done something to you, your sons have done these ceremonies", said people. "I have gone to watchover the field and stayed there only, please don't get angry for this, This Naivedya is for me isn't it", saying so he ate it. Then he came to Keslapur and was living his life. Day by Day, these three children grew up and entered adulthood. Six brother's marriages were done with father in laws daughters. The one left was youngest of all, and if his marriage is performed then all work is done, thinking so arrangements were done for small son's marriage. The word regarding small son's marriage reached Suuivelaad. *I should go to son's marriage*, thought she, and got ready nicely in silk clothes, wearing a nose ring, Ear-rings, Golden Necklace, Bracelets, foot bracelets, waist ring, Golden bangles, and also applying Tilaka to forehead she started, and it was a lovable sight. In the Marriage house, she appeared like a lightning. Looking at her, *so she came*, thought Padiyor. In the past, she made him take



oath on her and said. “I will come for small sons marriage, but donot touch me”, Padiyor forgot about it. He thought, Let the younger son marriage happen, let the sacred rice fall on him, then I will see how she goes. Then, he followed his idea, after coming from Govardaan Gotaan (In Adivaasi marriage a place outside the village where Akshintia is thrown) to the Marriage house. In Mandapa while offering blessings with sacred rice, and as she was going to offer blessings to Bride and bridegroom, thinking that she may go, Padiyor went and caught her hand, after catching her, she turned into the fire in no time the entire marriage Mandapa Caught fire, One hole formed on top. She in Satik (Goddess) form, went from there. (Haimendorf 220-231) and (Pradhaan Mesram Thukudogi)’’<sup>16</sup>

**List of Characters in the Mythical story of Gonds in the below table:**

1) Jaar Devi,	38) Sri Shambhu Maha Dev (Shivudu)...
2) Shesha Narayan (God Naga)	39) Hirasukka Thatha and Wife
3) Sudhyal (Pradhan or Patadi)	40) Bhudyal (Pradhan or Patadi)
4) Bhar Dev	41) Nagamothi
5) Jaajkal Thatha	42) Son Devi
6) Vedchal Dev	43) Rup Devi
7) Bhaale Suryal	44) Bhaale Aiethyal
8) Bhaale Jaithal	45) Bhaale Shekhal
9) Anmolal	46) Dhanmolal
10) Sonmolal	47) Four Shakthis
11) Seven Gollas	48) Wives of Seven Golla
12) Puli (Tiger)	49) Bhodum (Aabothu) (Ox)

<sup>16</sup>Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf and Elizabeth von. *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad A Peasant Culture of the Deccan, Book I, Myth and Ritual*. London: Macmillan & Co., LTD., 1948. Print.  
(In 1948 this myth wrote by the Haimendorf with the different title that is “The Myth of the Seven Panior Brothers”)

and

Pradhaan Mesram Thukudogi, Mesram Chinnu Patel, Mesram Badhirao (Reddy) Patel, Gayki Mesram Issru. *Mythical story of Gonds* Chunchu Jampaiah. 27 January 2015. Video.

(Source: The Myth of Gonds: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara: Pradhan Mesram Thukudogi told story in front of the all the Gonds in the Nagoba Jatara.

Places of telling The Myth: “Under the Banyan trees at Gaadhe”, “in the Nagoba temple”, “in the Goshala”and “in the Shampoor Bodem Pen Jatara”) and personally again told story in front of Mesram Chinnu Patel, Mesram Badhirao or Reddy Patel, Gayki Mesram Esru and family members of Pradhan Thukudogi, date: 27-01-2015, in Vadagam village, Indhravelli mandal. Adilabad district, Telangana state, India.)

13) Miyad (Rupal Jaaru)	50) Madadhada Madavi and Wife
14) Marsukola	51) Purka
15) Korvetha	52) Pandra
16) Vedma	53) Mesram Padiyor
17) Thaadam	54) Parrot (Rama Chiluka)
18) Kanya	55) Some Youth
19) Chepa (Fish)	56) Mokemathiri (Peddharari Peddhamma)
20) Bodhemeen (Korrameenu)	57) Bhaludu (Boy)
21) Kummari (Potter)	58) Janga Deval and Wife (Fourth Saaga)
22) Bhamdha Deval & Wife (Fourth Saaga)	59) Pottal Thapeen and Wife(Fourth Saaga)
23) Palun Kotaal & Wife(Fourth Saaga)	60) Kothwal
24) Machalendho	61) Ahe Odhal and Wife (Sixth Saaga)
25) Mahe Odhal & Wife (Sixth Saaga)	62) BhandekusurOdhal & Wife (Sixth Saaga)
26) Apaai Odhal & Wife (Sixth Saaga)	63) Gopaai Odhal & Wife (Sixth Saaga)
27) Dhepaai Odhal & Wife (Sixth Saaga)	64) Machal thurpu
28) Aaherahud & Wife (Fifth Saaga)	65) Maherahud & Wife (Fifth Saaga)
29) Dhondherahud & Wife (Fifth Saaga)	66) Sedmarahud & Wife (Fifth Saaga)
30) KhodekhavValvaRahud & Wife (Fifth Saaga)	67) Kanka Bundho
31) Vakeel (Lawyer)	68) Rukum
32) Dheshai	69) Dheshpande
33) Patel	70) Aadhi Sheshudu (Nagendhrudu)
34) Bhodhimeen Bhudhyal (Security Gourd)	71) Sumanth Pradhan
35) Eknaadh God	72) Pen Bhupyal (Katoda)
36) Kori (Ownner of Sugar-cane fields)	73) Curd seller (Perugu Amme Amma)
37) Suyveelad (Edhu)	

*Table No.10*



**Figure: 13.** Pradhan telling the Mythical story Under the Banyan trees at Gaadhe, January, 2015

Note: This photo took while telling the Mythical story of Gonds

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 14.** Pradhan telling the Mythical story in the Nagoba temple, January, 2015

Note: This photo took while telling the Mythical story of Gonds

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara





**Figure: 15.** Pradhan telling the Mythical story in the Goshala, January, 2015

Note: This photo took while telling the Mythical story of Gonds

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 16.** Pradhan telling the Mythical story in the Shampur Bodem Pen Jatara, January, 2015

Note: This photo took while telling the Mythical story of Gonds

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

## CHAPTER- IV

#### 4. THE NAGOBA JATARA PERFORMANCE PROCESS

To know about "The Nagoba Jatara Performance" of Gonds, it is important to know the definitions of 'performance' put forward by various scholars and performers. These are the words of Established practitioners, researchers, and intellectuals about 'performance'.

According to Oxford Advanced, Learner's Dictionary of Current English meaning of performance is

- "Performance: 1) The act of performing a play, concert or some other form of entertainment,  
2) The way a person performs in a play, concert, etc.  
3) How well or badly you do something; how well or badly something works,  
4) The act or process of performing a task, an action etc.  
5) An act that involves a lot of effort or trouble, sometimes when it is not necessary to carry on (Hornby 1127)."<sup>1</sup>

Schechner mentioned "Rituals, play, and games, and the roles of everyday life are performances (30)."<sup>2</sup>

David Harradine told in his article "a body that performs its own presence (Campbell 69)."<sup>3</sup>

Colin Counsell told "Performance is a cultural practice (Wolf 31)."<sup>4</sup>

"Performance: the broadest, most ill-defined disc. The whole constellation of events, most of them passing unnoticed, the take place in/among both performers and audience from the time the spectator enters the field of the performance – precinct where the theatre takes place – to the time the last spectator leaves (Schechner 71)."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hornby, A S. *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English*. India: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print.

<sup>2</sup>Schechner, Richard. *Performance Studies An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2002. Print.

<sup>3</sup>Campbell, Patrick, ed. *The Body In Performance*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2000. Print.

<sup>4</sup>Wolf, Colin Counsell and Laurie, ed. *Performance analysis An introductory course book*. London: Routledge, 2001. Print.

<sup>5</sup>Schechner, Richard. *Performance Theory*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. Print.

The "Nagoba Jatara" is the second biggest tribal festival held in Keslapur village, from Indravelli Mandal, Adilabad district of Telangana State in India. This annual festival is celebrated by Mesram clan of Gonds. There are 22 Mesram (clans), who are deemed to have the right to perform worship (Puja) of Nagoba (serpent god). This right comes from family tradition. In them, everyone gets the opportunity of doing worship (Puja) and it goes as follows.

1. Katoda (Priest): Katoda (priest) is the devotee of the God. He fasts and does worship at all the places that are in order of worship like Goshala, Satik, Persa pen etc; before finally arriving at the place of worship of Nagoba, in the temple of Keslapur village. He looked like a hermit and even his manners suit his look. He follows all the rules and vows strictly.
2. Patlal (Patel): He is the chief of worship (Pooja). He supervises entire ceremony. Everyone follows his instructions meticulously.
3. Nayakwadi: He is a kind of potter. He provides all things required for ceremony. He keeps the entire place clean after the worship, and also decorates the place before the arrival of people for performing puja.
4. Ramkhamb: He decides the place for performing Puja and the settings, arrangements for each God. He also decides as where to keep the Gods (idols).
5. Aarke: 22 privileged women of Meshram, who participate in the Pooja with new baskets. Aarke has the job of keeping the God (idol) in every basket. Nobody is allowed to perform this job.
6. Wadir: Wadir does the job of a carpenter. He makes the idol of God from wood. He also provides a large wooden ladle for cooking. This big ladle is known as Sukudu.
7. Gaykir: This man looks after the cows and bulls (Bodem) of the God. He is also known as cowherd.
8. Zopalir: He moves all the cows of the God in the Gowad (Goshala) and keeps patrolling.
9. Zadyalir: Zadyalir is said to be housekeeper of the temple. He keeps the temple and its premises clean and hygienic.
10. Bande: Bande keeps all the bullock carts in a proper manner. He parks them and keeps watching them all night. He takes care of all the belongings.
11. Yewati: There is Goddess called 'Satik'. The Puja of 'Satik' is performed by women called Yewati. Yewati keeps all the articles offered to Satik with her.

12. Empililir: He foretells about all the devotees who visit the temple.
13. Sapalir: He protects all the idols, weapons of God and other things.
14. Bejelkar: All the messages and instructions given by the Gods are known to him and he passes on the same to his devotees.
15. Garudi: Garudi chants all the mantras on the day of Pooja. He discourages the people who catch snakes and protects the God Nagoba.
16. Daf: He plays the drums in the ceremony. He plays various rhythms on drums.
17. Hawaldar: Hawaldar has given instructions to the devotees regarding Pooja.
18. Sankpayala: He blows the 'Shankh' (Conch shell).
19. Udrapurya: He looks after the maintenance of all the idols of Gods. Earlier, Gonds used to make idols with wood. These wooden idols are protected from the insects and other worms.
20. Kotwal: Kotwal is not a Gond but Pradhan. Kotwal is also known as King Priest. Kotwal shares all the religious traditional songs and narrations to the people in the form of songs.
21. Boddiguda: He performed Pooja at Hole (Putta<sup>6</sup>).
22. Dahaklir: He stayed near God Nagoba. He plays Dahaki (musical instrument) ("Case Study of Keslapur Nagoba Jatra or Fair: A Socio-Anthropological Approach").<sup>7</sup>

But according to information gathered from the fieldwork in Nagoba Jatara, the performance of the ritual process is held in 20 parts, and this is documented to know the Nagoba Jatara performance process of Gonds. In this chapter the Nagoba Jatara process has been divided into the twenty parts from beginning to the end for the sake of convenience, these parts are mentioned here.

### ***"PART: 1***

**Looking the Moon:** During Pushya Maasa, when the crescent moon (crescent moon is considered to be Sri Nagoba *Pendha kal kerval*<sup>8</sup>) appeared. It marked the beginning of Nagoba Jatara. On the second day of appearance of the moon. All the Gonds from Keslapur village assembled for a meeting (this was recorded on 24th Dec 2014). All the Gonds who attended belonged to Mesram Saga. From then, everyone was filled with the zeal of the

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<sup>6</sup> Snake living place, it made by the ants.

<sup>7</sup>Salunke, Sanjay B. "Case Study of Keslapur Nagoba Jatra or Fair: A Socio-Anthropological Approach." *International Journal of Advanced Research* (2014): 1049-1050. Web.

<sup>8</sup>Pendha kal kerval is a Gondi language word, it means in English language is Looking the Moon, in Telugu language Chandhrudi Dharshanam



festival. Gond women, cleaned the insides and outsides of the house early in the morning and sprinkled water mixed with cow dung to give a smooth layer to the land outside the house. Dung mixed with water is seen as an anti-infectant and also is considered holy by them. By observing strict vows (Niyama Nishta) they worshipped serpent god Nagoba. In the meeting, all the structure from the beginning till the end of Nagoba Jatara were discussed and planned. During this (i.e in the year 2014) totally seventy-five people were chosen for getting the holy water in *Jaari (Kalasam)*<sup>9</sup>. All the names of the people who have to arrange the feast were taken in the meeting. People wilfully volunteered for this as this is considered to be a holy thing. In the meeting, Pradhan decided how many *Mukhams*<sup>10</sup> and *Nilkadas*<sup>11</sup> will the group do. When the group visits any house in the village. Coming to the meanings of the above two terms

1. Mukham = Sleeping at night
2. Nilakada = Take resting some time

The people who invited them, offered them to sleep nearby their house in the village and sometimes that can be adjacent to any forest, as their villages themselves are closer to the Forests. Even the meals sometimes were arranged at the same place. When going to the Godavari (Hastana Madugu) they did Seven Mukhams and when coming from there to Keslapur they did three Mukham's. Nilkada was done whenever they wanted. When doing Nilkada, the Pradhan and the others halted at a place and the Kalasam or the Jaari was tied to a stick and hanged by a stick to a tree. It was believed that the Kalasam should never touch the ground. They greeted everyone with the word, "Ram Ram", at other times the Kalasam was hidden in the white cloth. During Nilkada, after the people drank water, some people took to smoking. whichever person spitted or did *Laghushanka*<sup>12</sup> (Urinating) during the journey, stopped at the place where there was water and after washing their hands and feet started the journey again. Whichever group went with Kalasam were counted now and then, to see the increase or Decrease in the group according to their desire or willpower. Katoda, Pradhan and all Mesram Gonds wore white shirt and white *Dhoti*<sup>13</sup>, Turban (a short or long

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<sup>9</sup> Jaari (Kalasam) is a Gonds very important holy water carrier in the Nagoba Jatara, they prey the Kalasam every time in the Jatara.

<sup>10</sup> Gond tribe in the Jatara when taking rest in the night called Mukham in their Gondi language.

<sup>11</sup> Gonds while going to somewhere in the Jatara in between they sit some time to take rest, it called Nilakada in their Gondi language.

<sup>12</sup> It is a Telugu language word, it means urinating outside or open place when taking Nilakada

<sup>13</sup> It is an Indian village men's traditional dress, it cover lower part of the body

cloth used for tying around the head). They also used 7 nodes Bamboo sticks and they walked with bare foot.



**Figure: 17.** In Keslapur village Meeting attended people, seventy five people of Gonds went for holy water (Hastana Madugu), and Gonds wore white dress and white Dhoti, Turban, December 2014 to January 2015

Note: This photo took after Mukham early in the morning before moving to Keslapur with holy water

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

## **PART: 2**

**Ordering the new Pots:** The gathered group made preparations for their next step. *Chakda*<sup>14</sup> (bullock cart) was decorated and after few decorations, Nagoba God was worshipped. In Keslapur house of Gods all Gonds gathered, and then they travelled to Ichhoda Mandal, Sirikonda village and talked to the Potters. Pradhan and Katoda asked Potter to make pots for the Nagoba Jatara. These observations were made on 25th December 2014 during the field work. During puja, they played *Drums*, *Pippiri*, *Kikiri*<sup>15</sup> and other musical instruments. Next came the money earning ritual. This was done by the sisters of Mesram *Kittha*<sup>16</sup>. They kept towels or any other long cloth in front of Katoda, Pradhan and surrounding people. Then everyone around them started giving them money in change. The denominations were one or two rupees. The amount sometimes changed according to the will of the people present there.

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<sup>14</sup> It is small bullock cart, Gond used for travel in the Jatara

<sup>15</sup> These are all God tribes traditional musical instruments

<sup>16</sup> Gonds family lineage (Progeny)

Certain people went till ten rupees also, sometimes decision happened on the spot itself and accordingly money was given. Katoda and Pradhan carried the *Sindhur Dhup (Chandhram, Guggilam)*<sup>17</sup> to ask Potters to make pots. When they reached the house of potters, the whole family invited the Katoda and Pradhan and they sat together on the floor to talk about Pots. Then they moved from Sirikonda to Sunkidi village and then they went to following places. The dates of visit to these villages have been given chronologically following the fieldwork data. 26th December 2014 from Sunkidi village to Dhaba village, Pradhan and Katoda took Mukham in a village of Dhaba (Mukham meaning is sleeping in the night), 2nd Mukham happened on 27th December 2014 from Dhaba to Sathmori, 3rd Mukham happened on 28th December 2014 from Sathmori to RajamPeta, 4th Mukham happened on 29th December 2014 from RajamPeta to SoyamGuda, 5th Mukham happened on 30th December 2014 from Soyamguda to Ginnersa, 6th Mukham happened on 31st December 2014 from Ginnersa to Vadagaam, 7th Mukham happened on 01 January 2015 from Vadagaam to Keslapur, here they took Mukham at Big (elder) brother Madaavi's place. Madaavi invited his brother with all the warmth and arranged a good and sumptuous food. The food comprised of seven varieties.

1. *Garelu*<sup>18</sup>
2. *Burelu*<sup>19</sup>
3. vegetable curries
4. Green leaf curry
5. *Bajji*<sup>20</sup>
6. Lentils
7. Sweets (Sweet Pancake).

Sirikonda Village Potters Vamsha(kitha) are continuing as potters from their great grandfathers time, single *Vamsha*<sup>21</sup> is doing Pottery and it has been coming as a tradition. In *Pushya Maasam*<sup>22</sup>, after the onset of Crescent moon, they cleaned the House surroundings and they sprinkled the water mixed with cow dung (Kallapi). This was done both inside and outside the house. Observing strict vows (Niyama Nishta) they went to the Sirikonda snake hole, got the mud on it and prepared pots with it. The mud was small-grained, sticky and

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<sup>17</sup> Sindhur Dhup ( Chandhram, Guggilam) used in front of god and in many rituals in India.

<sup>18</sup> It is round shape, made with rice flour.

<sup>19</sup> It is round shape , made with sweet and rice flour

<sup>20</sup> It is available in different sizes, made with Gram flour, Vegetables

<sup>21</sup> lineage of potters family

<sup>22</sup> It is a month Indian calendar

aply suitable for making pots, it was also considered as holy. The following items were made by the potters.

1. two large Pots (Gaavulu),
2. sixteen larg Pots (Banalu) and lids,
3. forty five Pots,
4. thirty-five Kopalu,
5. one hundred and five tea lights (Dheepalu)

In the end, the total of all these items came to two hundred.



**Figure: 18.** Gods house with Chakda and bulls in Keslapur village

Note: This photo took after the ordered of new pots

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

### **PART: 3**

**Going for holy water:** Godavari River (from Keslapur to Hastanamadugu with barefoot and white clothes): After ordering the new Pots, On Second January, 2015, The Mesram people assembled again in the Keslapur Nagoba temple and took Kalasam (Jaari) for pooja. They prepared for the journey to get the Godavari River sacred water (It's called Sri Nagoba Ganga Jalam Padhayathra). Katoda, Pradhan, son-in-law's of Mesram Kitha (in Gondi Soairel, Dhairael) and whoever gave names in the meeting the first day, those people began the journey with Kalasam. They wore white dress, and holding the seven nodes Bamboo stick they



walked in a line, and their formation looked like Snake. As a Snake moves in forest, mountains, stones, river, trees, sand and other places. Even these tribes walked the same way to Hastanamadugu to get the Godavari holy water. Whoever came in between and tried to break their line were shooed off. People were not even allowed to pass through the line while their walking was in progress, People had to wait till the entire group cleared the way, only then they could go. This has been coming as a tradition, because they consider cross walking in the line by the outsiders as unholy. All the Keslapur village people with reverence, sent these selected people to the Godavari River, they were accompanied by the sounds of musical instruments.



**Figure: 19.** All the Gonds holding the seven nodes bamboo stick and walking on barefoot to bring the holy water from Hastana Madugu, January 2015

Note: This Photo took after cross the Somugudem village while going to Hastana Madugu

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

With barefoot when they left the border of Keslapur village with Kalasam, Katoda and Pradhan made five rounds around the small tree, while walking around the tree, all Mesram people threw pieces of tobacco leaves. They believed that all the Good things in the village, will not go out from the Keslapur village. From there they reached the following Places.

1. They halted at Indravelli, near Goddess Indraani Devi and did puja.
2. They reached Keslaguda village and did Mukham.

3. 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 2015, from Keslaguda they went to Narsapur and did Nilakada, and at Gotti (G) village they did Mukham,
4. 4<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, from Gotti they reached Gundala village Mandal of Naarnur and Nilakada was done here
5. In Khaidhatava village, they did Mukham.
6. 5<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, from Khaidhatava village they reached Maankapur and did Nilakada, they did Mukham in Lendijala (Jamguda) village of Jainoor Mandal, 6<sup>th</sup> January 2015 from Lendijala village they went to Gouri (village of Katoda) and here they did Nilakada.
7. Mukham they did in Dhaboli village.
8. 7<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, they went to Dhanora from Dhaboli, they did Nilakada in the village of Dhanora and Mukham they did in Gumnur village.
9. 8<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, they went to Eslampur Mountain from Gumnur and again from there to Mallapur village.
10. Then they reached Somugudem and did Mukham.

#### ***PART: 4***

**Puja at Hastanamadugu:** During the journey, they halted at the village corners for four days. On 9<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, they went to Murimadugu from Somugudem, and then from Kalamadugu village they reached the Godavari at Hastana Madugu. While they halted near this place. Cooking materials for Seesa (Naivedhyam) arrived in a vehicle. These all things were planned beforehand, in the meetings that were held at the onset of crescent moon declaring the arrival of Nagoba Jatara. They were something like this

1. Two big Barrels
2. Two medium-sized buckets
3. One big Ladle
4. One small ladle
5. Two medium sized Bowls
6. Two water carriers etc;

The Mesram people kept their bags on the riverbank. Katoda and Pradhan kept Kalasam on the riverbank, and then together all prayed the Kalasam and greeted each other

with "*Ram Ram*" <sup>23</sup>word, later they sat there for some time. The people who were preparing *Seesa (Naivedhyam)*<sup>24</sup> came there and did the same like them. Then all Gonds removed their upper garments (shirts) while lower Garments remained, and they tied white clothes to their heads as turbans. Katoda and Pradhan spread a white cloth together and kept Kalasam inside the long white cloth, and then all Mesram people went into the river with the Kalasam. When they went into the river they held each other's hands.

All Gond people stood around Katoda and Pradhan in the river, they sank completely drenching even their hair and rose up, and they did this together for seven times with Kalasam. After that, all people crawled back to the riverbank and then Katoda, Pradhan, Gayki, Sankepayilal and other people have taken out Kalasam from the long white cloth. Katoda removed the rope on Kalasam which was tied on the event of the same festival last year, and took the Kalasam to the river to clean the insides of it, after the cleaning was done, he gave it to Pradhan. Pradhan saw the inside of Kalasam and gave it to Jhadiya, Gayki, Sankepayilal, Jopa, Patlal, and Kothval. These people took Kalasam and another vessel (Chembu), cleaned it properly with sand, lemon and water of Godavari River. While they were cleaning Kalasam, all the Gonds have spread the white long cloth on a wide stone and started gathering the food items as *Seesa (Naivedhya)*, Each Gond got some or the other food article. Each food item was kept on spread white cloth in parts using both hands for seven times, this ritual was done in the remembrance of seven Padiyor (Mesram) brothers. The entire community kept the segregated items separately on different areas of the cloth, seven type of food items were kept on the white cloth in bits for seven times as *Seesa (Naivedhya)* using both the hands. While this was going on, one of the Gonds threw two coconuts into the Godavari River. After the food items were collected on the cloth, the entire gathered items were used for cooking. Then they washed their clothes and took bath. While these activities happened, Nayakwadi people were making *Seesa (Naivedhya)* for Ganga (river).

*Naivedhya* is called *Seesa* in Gondi language, this *Seesa* is made with wheat, brownrice (which was made with their own hands), Green grams, all type of Legumes, Jaggery and Sugar. These things they did not buy in shops but raised it in their fields and made it all by themselves naturally, they never use machinery made foods. When the *Seesa (Naivedhyam)* was ready, one person took *Mothuku leaves*<sup>25</sup> and *Seesa (Naivedhya)* was

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<sup>23</sup> It is greeting in the Gond community.

<sup>24</sup> It is an eatable thing, and keep in front the God or Goddess in Jatara.

<sup>25</sup> These leaves of *Mothuku* tree, it uses for making leave plates in Telangana

arranged on it, then it was kept in front of Kalasam (Jaari). Water carrier (Chembu), *Dhevanar Kadi (male bamboo stick)*<sup>26</sup>, *female bamboo stick*, folded long white cloth, ropes, Naivedhya, and water were used by the person for worship (Puja). He lighted incense sticks first and then took water and poured it seven times in front of Kalasam with devotion. Like this he did puja and after that, he took Seesa (Naivedhyam) and offered it to the river and prayed. Kothval spread a white towel on the stone, and on the towel, he kept two bamboo sticks vertically, the two bamboo sticks were covered over the top with another white towel and was kept leaning to the rock on the river bed. This structure is called Kothval Khadi. After that Pradhan, Kothval and some people sat together to the left side of the Kalasam, Katoda sat to the right side of the Kalasam and all other people sat in front of the Kalasam. Nayakwadi people gave Naivedya to Kalasam, Katoda took the food which was given as Naivedya and ate it. Pradhan, Katoda and all Mesram people were given Naivedya in paper plates. After that, every person went to Kothval Khadi, prayed and gave some money as (Dakshina). Then they sat together and did *Bhajan*<sup>27</sup> accompanied by claps, and then everybody got up and looked at Katoda and Pradhan, these people took Kalasam (Jaari) and went into the river and immersed the Kalasam into the water filling it to the brim. Later it was taken out of the water and brought from the river to the riverbank. Immediately Katoda, Pradhan, Jhadiya, Gayki and other people tied a rope to the edge of Kalasam and packed it with leaves of Mothuku, one person took a bamboo stick immersed it into the water and brought it back to them. People held the bamboo stick from both ends and tied the Kalasam to the centre of the bamboo stick to carry the water to the Keslapur Nagoba temple. While the Kalasam was being tied, one person took remaining bamboos, prayed to them and threw them into the river. Katoda showed smoke seven times under the Kalasam, In the meantime, Pradhan tied rope to water carrier. Katoda folded long white cloth and kept it on his right shoulder. Then everyone looked at Kalasam and Prayed to it. The people who were holding the bamboo with Kalasam they adjusted on Katoda's right shoulder white folded cloth, Katoda held Kalasam on this shoulder. After that all Gonds took green grams from the leaf plate (Vistaraku) for making Payasam (Sweet liquid), they believed it was a holy thing. Whatever activities happened in the Hastanamadugu, is called the Panchalinga Pooja. They took luggage and started walking in a line with the Godavari water to Keslapur Nagoba temple. In this return journey from Hastana Madugu to Keslapur, they came across Murimadugu village, Endhanpalli, Rajampeta, Raykunta, Mallapur Kavval forest and reached

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<sup>26</sup> Gonds called some bamboo sticks Dhevanar Kadi, it means in English is male bamboo stick.

<sup>27</sup> It means praying the God Nagoba through songs



Mallapur village forest (Mallapur village forest is well endowed with trees, there were many pebbles and stones on the way that these people have passed, they have also crossed many small lakes and bushes.) and did Mukham. While going to the Hastana Madugu, Katoda and Pradhan walked in the front leading the line, to avoid the group following them from falling into danger and during the return journey they walked in the end and this too for the same reason. They do this as their leadership comes with firm faith in Nagoba serpent, they believe that he will take care of all the people (along with them) from all the dangers. After Mukham and before sunrise they crossed the area border and continued their journey.

While at the start of the journey to Hastana Madugu and during their return journey. Whenever they were in need of food and water they halted at some villages. The information regarding their halting places was provided beforehand by the villagers, from the villages which were on the way to Hastana Madugu. These villagers belong to other tribes, and they consider it holy to invite people who are on their way to Hastana Madugu for food and water. Tents were erected, blankets were spread and all the Gonds sat in a line for their meals. They were served food in Brass and steel bowls. It comprised of Sweet Chapatti, Bajji and vegetable curry. Even black tea was given to them. The people from the village who served food, offered their prayers to the holy Kalasam. After that, the Gonds did Nilakada under the tents and again started their journey.

From the next day they covered the following places:

1. On 10th January, 2015, from Kavval forest (Mallapur) via Eslampur Mountain they reached Gumnur village and did Nilakada.
2. From here they went to Dhanora village and did Mukham.
3. 11<sup>th</sup>, January, 2015, from Dhanora they reached Mandal Siripur (U), Bhavurguda, Kolamguda.
4. From Kolamguda they reached Gouri village. This is the village of Katoda and here they did Mukham three days.



**Figure: 20.** Naivedyam kept behind the Kalasam at Hastana Madugu, date: 9th January 2015

Note: This Photo took after the Puja of Kalasam at Hastana Madugu

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 21.** At Hastana Madugu Katoda filling holy water into the Kalasam under guidance of Pradhan, date: 9th January 2015

Note: This Photo took while filling the holy water from Hastana Madugu

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

## **PART: 5**

**In the village of Katoda:** When they reached Gouri village, People of that village welcomed them with Bajathri (sound of their regular musical instruments but in a different tune), it had a devotional impact. All People went near the tree, Katoda, Pradhan and all Gonds hung the Kalasam (Jaari) on that tree with the support of stick in between branches and covered the Kalasam in folded white cloth. *Kalikom*<sup>28</sup> was blown and everyone was called for prayer. Then everyone assembled, a person arrived with water in a bowl and everyone was given a hand full of water to clean their hands and mouth. Water was poured directly into their hands and they took water into their hands forming a cup shape with their hands to retain water, then they rubbed both the hands with water and again poured some water into their mouth gargled it and spat it off, they touched the tip of their mouth with single index finger to ensure the cleaning process was done. Then they prayed to Kalasam, the process in which they did this was;

1. The people spread in lines
2. They bowed and prayed to the Kalasam
3. They turned Back and again prayed to the Kalasam
4. They again turned front and prayed

In the directions mentioned above, their prayers were done touching the ground with both the hands first, and then doing Namaskara and touching both the hands to the Forehead and again positioning both the hands near the heart in Namaskara posture. Every one said "ram ram" to each other and came back to Katoda's house. His relatives, daughter in laws, brother in laws, house women and all Mesram people came with water in Buckets and cleaned Pradhan, Katoda and other people's legs. This was done by the ladies alone. They said "ram ram" with Namaskara posture and asked about their Journey details, i.e. goods, bads and situations. Then all people sat on the floor covered by mats and clothes in two groups i.e. Katoda's and Pradhan's, some people served drinking water, black tea, and Beedi and then they served food items like sweet Chapattis, Bajji, and rice with vegetable curries to eat. Then from the house of Katoda, all people have gone back to their hometowns, because they have to prepare carts, rice, roti and things for Puja within two days. Then for the evening prayer (Mujrayala in Gondi), Katoda, his family members, and village people gathered together and went near the tree with Kalasam. They offered their prayers and came back to

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<sup>28</sup> It is a long musical instrument

the house of Katoda and sat there. Some people served water, black tea and Beedi to all the people, they chit chatted for some time, ate food and after saying "ram ram" to each other, went to their houses. At night Katoda and other people made a fire in front of the house with fire sticks and they all slept around it.

On the next day i.e. 12th January 2015, people from Katoda's house and other people from the village got ready and went to Kalasam tree without Bajathri (playing Musical Instruments) and prayed Kalasam. After that, they came back and everyone sat. One person served Beedi, tea and drinking water to all the people, then they ate food and went for their works. In the house of Katoda, villagers and relatives made rice into powder, made corn into flour, millet into flour and finger millet or red millet into flour and then tomato, onions, garlic, and other grocery items were segregated. In the evening prayer (Mujrayala), Katoda and other people went to Kalasam. After returning home all the people again sat together and one person served drinking water, black tea, and beedi, then they all ate food with vegetable curries. After that, they arranged fire and sat sometime around that and then all slept including Katoda. 13<sup>th</sup>, January 2015, they did Morning and Evening prayer (Mujrayala) to the Kalasam. At night, family of Katoda with Seesa (Naivedhyam), Corn roti, Coconut, and Incense sticks came out from their house, and did puja to Land.

*Land puja Description:* Brother's two sons, Brother's wife, and Katoda's wife were present at the Puja. A person was holding the Flashlight to guide them throughout the pitch darkness. At the beginning both the sons sat side by side. They gathered all the things required for the Puja. Two coconuts on white cloth, incense sticks, a round bowl and carrier (Chembu) made of brass, a normal steel carrier (Chembu), two plates and Naivedya. Firstly one of the brothers lit 7 incense sticks and inserted it into the soil. Then the brothers stood up and did Namaskara (touching the ground and rising, touching forehead and doing Namskara with both hands near the chest, this was repeated two times). Then they sat down and broke the coconuts striking them to a hard rock on the land. The coconut water was sprinkled at the base of the incense sticks by the elder as well as the younger brother. Now one the brothers took the coconut and broke it into small pieces and kept it in the bowl of brass, then the coconut pieces were also offered as Naivedya. In the meantime, two plates were kept near the puja place by their mother, both the plates were covered with white clothes and under them were the rice and corn roti. Both the brothers lifted the cloth on the plates and offered Naivedya to the place where incense sticks were. Naivedya was ripped bit by bit with hands and offered, Sprinkling and offering Naivedya was done for an average of four times by



rotating and moving hands. Later the house ladies, Katoda's wife, and his Brother's wife sat near the incense sticks. They also offered the Naivedya by ripping the Naivedya bit after bit with their hands. Lentils were poured into the Brass Bowl and it was also offered as Naivedya. Then they did salutation (Namaskara) and it was the end of Land Puja. Then everyone came back to the house and did House puja.

*House Pooja Description:* Again the Brother's wife, Katoda's wife, and two brothers came to the puja room in their house. It was a small room and looked very old. There were no lights except the light of a small lamp. To one corner there was a wooden frame attached above little height from the ground, there were two idols and a photo on that platform. Two idols were that of the Nagoba serpent and the photo frame was also of the Nagoba Serpent. The brothers again lit some incense sticks and kept it in the stand, only one plate with Naivedya reached Katoda's house. So now the Naivedya was offered by ripping the corn rotis and giving bits of rice from one plate, again two coconuts were broken and their bits were offered as Naivedya. Then they offered salutations and that was the end of House Puja. For this, the whole day they were prepared Roti with Millet flour, with gathered fire sticks and made items of Seesa (Naivedhyam), they also collected dried corn leaves for bullocks, rearranged cart-



**Figure:22.** In house of Katoda two idols of Serpent God (Nagoba), date: January 2015  
Note: This Photo took before 'House Pooja' inside the house in the village of Katoda  
Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

-wheels, painted on plates, glasses, cart, and bullocks. At night they slept behind the fire. 14<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, was the day to go to the Keslapur Nagoba temple with families of Gonds. Today as usual Katoda, Pradhan and people of the village went to Kalasam with Bajathri (Musical instruments) and offered salutations (Namaskara) and came back, they sat together and took beedi, black tea, and drinking water. Then people ate food and went for their works. Some people kept things like big chunks of firewood, corn dried leaves, plastic water containers, Dried roties, Regular garments for wearing and covering, rice-bags, Flour Bags (Ragi, and Cornflour), Oil containers, Blankets, Plates, Utensils, Combs, Mirror and other Accessories, Tent materials, Mats (Plastic & Jute), Onions, Lentils, small steel Glasses, Tea making container etc. in carts. Some people decorated bullock carts. They cleaned and oiled the wheels of the bullock cart, A Semi Hard frame was made by weaving Bamboos and later it was bent and installed on the Cart, as a covering from Sunlight and Rainfall. Different people in the Tribe applied different colors to the wheels of the Bullock cart according to their taste. Oiling was done not only to the wheels but also to the people carrying case at the back of the bullocks. Then comes the work on oxen. Magenta, red, yellow and other coloured Pungaks (it is flowers, made with threads) were hung on the forehead of the ox and colours were applied to the horns, a reflecting mirror was tied in between their horns, Geel Gaagra (rope with musical metallic bells) were hung from their necks and a cloth (it was a hand woven cloth with a swastika mark at the down right corner, zig zag borders, pictures of two oxen and two elephants opposite to each other were on it) was hung on their backs. When enquired it was informed that the cows needed protection from the sun and the cold as they were starting a long journey. At the back of the cart firewood, the huge stack of dried corn straws were also placed for grazing purpose of these oxen and whatever things needed by oxen were kept in the carts, along with the things mentioned before. People who played musical instruments (Bajathri) collected their Instruments like Kalikom (It is very long musical instrument and when played is an intimation for everyone to be ready), Pepre (Musical instrument) and Thudum Dhap (Drum), Katoda's wife with coconut and things of puja went to village Hanuman temple and did worship (puja).

*Hanuman Puja:* Hanuman temple was dilapidated to look at, it was open from the front. Hanuman idol and Shiva idol were side by side to each other. The Hanuman idol was a carving on a stone. The carving didn't match the traditional hanuman image, but, there were certain similarities like the orange-red tilak smeared on to all the image like in the Hindu temples, and the mouth of the carving like an ape. Katoda's elder wife took incense sticks,

Brass Chembu (Water container), coconut, Bowl, and Naivedya with her and performed Pooja and offered salutations to the Hanuman idol.

Then Katoda's family, Pradhan with all villagers and relatives did puja to Baipen (Bai God) *Description:* Baipen God Temple was at the back side of the house of Katoda. It was a triangle roofed structure, erected on pillars and walls open at the top. The Baipen God idol is three clay Pots of different sizes in a line, the necks of these pots were tied with mango leaves and clay bowls were inverted and covered over the mouths. This entire set up was arranged on a Pedestal, enough distant from the ground. An incense sticks stand was nearby this. One of the Katoda relatives lighted 7 to 8 incense sticks and kept it in the stand. Later, he poured some water from the Brass water carrier (Chembu). A coconut was hit on a stone and its water was poured into the brass carrier and Naivedya was offered. A Neem tree was present a little distant from the shrine. It had the orange red coat with the look of the idol and there was a stone like a statue beside the tree. Both were also offered prayers. Incense sticks were lit and Naivedya was given to them. Then, they went to Kalasam and did prayer. Later all the people took Kalasam kept it on the shoulder of Katoda (Kalasam was tied to a stick and given to Katoda, A white cloth was spread over his shoulder before the weight was put over his shoulder).



**Figure: 23.** Wife of Katoda performing puja to Hanuaman (Monkey God) in their Gouri village date: January 2015

Note: This Photo took while performing puja to God Hunuman

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara





**Figure: 24.** Katoda's elder brother's wife and son is performing puja to Baipen in the Gouri village, date: January 2015

Note: This Photo took while performing puja to Baipen

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 25.** All the Gonds of Gouri village while moving to Keslapur with Kalasam and Kaslas at the village chourasta Puja perform to Baskets of puja things and bull carts date: January 2015

Note: This Photo took after perform puja to Baskets and bullock carts

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



Pradhan, Katoda and whichever villagers went to Kalamadugu, to get water from the Godavari started walking to Keslapur accompanied by five Bullock carts from the house of Katoda. But, before leaving Gauri village, Pradhan did puja in front of bullock carts.

*Description:* This Puja took place at the X-Road (Chaurast) of Gauri Village. New baskets filled with Things (new Clothes, Chembu, Oil etc;) required for puja were kept in them. In front of the baskets, incense sticks were arranged on a dung heap and lit. Water from Brass container was poured on the ground for seven times and Naivedya (Lentils & Coconut pieces) was offered in a Brass bowl. The Naivedya was also put before the incense sticks. The entire process was accompanied by the music from instruments before the entire village people. The entire village offered their salutations by doing Namaskara as mentioned already in previous puja processes. Then all the village people followed Katoda and Pradhan, they walked barefoot with their baskets of Sesaa (things of Naivedhya). When they crossed the village border, Katoda, Pradhan and the people did Nilakada (stop and took rest). After that, they prayed to Kalasam and all Gonds prayed to baskets of Sesaa (baskets of Naivedhya). Then they resumed their journey, Nilkada and Mukham (sleeping) were done at required places on a planned basis. On 15<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, early in the morning all the people started walking to Indravelli mandal. When they reached there, they went to Indra Goddess (Indra Devi) Temple playing Musical instruments.

#### **PART: 6**

**Pooja of Indhra Devi:** The "Indra Devi Temple" looked like a very old structure. It is surrounded by a compound fence built out of not so strong sticks in lines of three, parallel to the ground. The entrance to the compound, leads to the entrance of the Indra Devi temple. Outside the fence to the left there is a Beruli tree, under it there are lots of idols. They performed Pooja even to these idols. When they halted, they hung the Kalasam to Beruli tree through its branches tied to the stick. Outside the fence, just opposite to the entrance of the temple, a beautiful *Rangavalli*<sup>29</sup> design was seen on the ground, made using mostly chalk or other finely grained white powder. The design comprised of flowers, petals, and circles. The filling colors comprised of Pink, Yellow etc; Inside the compound fence to left there was a Neem tree and passing through its leaves, precisely extending from the base to the top two white flags were hung to two big wooden sticks probably made out of teak wood. Under the

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<sup>29</sup> Traditional Indian decoration and patterns made with ground rice, particularly during festivals.

neem tree, there were four wooden columns, with carvings on them representing a deity. To a little right there was this main temple of Indra Devi, from a distance it was uniform grey in color to look at. As one goes near them, it can be observed that the walls were built out of bricks joined using cement. The uniformity in color vanishes as one gets closer. To the front, there were two round pillars separated by a fairly good distance and supported a roof, the floor down this is little higher off the ground. Next, to the roof, there is this inverted cone smoothened at the top like a tomb and three rectangular carvings with increased size in each step. On each of these rectangular blocks, there were carvings of the pillar. Inside the entrance, there is a grill painted in orange-red color. Inside the room separated by the grill, there is a window to the top left with cross railings. The Indra Devi idol looked like the lump of flour, only that the material is stone. It is archly curved on the top, and the base is erected on a pedestal. Near the base, there were small figurines or idols of horses, a goddess Lakshmi look alike idol, Trishul, and many familiar looking Hindu goddess idols. The Pradhan and the party arrived at the compound place with bullock carts, they halted their carts and throughout their stay, they got divided into small groups and sat on the blankets spread in the open place in front of the temple. To the right of this open place, there were houses and their compounds made out of sticks. Pradhan and Katoda entered the temple and offered Namsakaras and then came back and stood in the front of the temple with others and offered Namaskaras. Later again when they were about to sit on the Blankets. They greeted each other with "Ram-Ram" touching each other hands with Namaskara Posture. After everyone sat in their positions water, Beedi and Black tea were offered to them by some in the group.



**Figure: 26.** Goddess Indradevi in Indravelli Mandal, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took after perform puja to Goddess Indradevi

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

*Puja Description:* Pradhan, Katoda, and others entered the temple accompanied by the sound from Musical instruments. In the beginning, Katoda completely cleaned the orange-red tilak which was smeared on the idol. Even others helped him in this process. Then people made a fresh mixture of Orange red Tilak (orange-red powder mixed with castor oil). Then the main idol along with the small idols below the main idol was applied vermillion, Turmeric and decorated with flowers and Bangles. Then 7 incense sticks were lit and kept under the idol. A lamp was lit and placed nearby these sticks. A coconut was broken and its water was collected in a container. While this entire process happened. Goats were cut in front of the temple and its meat was cooked. Then the prepared rice and meat were offered as Naivedya to Indraani Devi. The main goat which was sacrificed in front of the temple was offered as Naivedya by Katoda under the instructions of Pradhan. Others who have entered the temple also offered the meat which was got after sacrificing their own small animals for gaining the blessings of Indra Devi. Katoda, Pradhan, and others had Naivedya in the front part of the temple raised by two pillars. Whereas the others had their Naivedya inside the compound structure in front of Indra Devi temple. Some of the Mats were arranged outside the compound structure made out of sticks. This is the first time after such a long journey, considering from the beginning of the Jatara that these Gonds have taken Non-veg, till then they have been eating only Veg during all the Pujas. After having Seesa everyone got ready to leave the place. Till the border of Indravelli, their farewell was accompanied by the sounds from musical instruments.

#### **PART: 7**

**Under Banyan trees:** Banyan trees are in the area extending from Keslapur temple to Keslapur Village. Teak trees are more in number when compared to these Banyans. They surround the Banyans and are in between the Keslapur temple and Banyan Trees. From Keslapur village to Keslapur temple main road banyan trees are exactly to the left of this main road. Under these Banyan trees, there is a well which is believed to be filled with Holy water. Keslapur village people believed that the water from this well was used by their ancestors, and as a tradition this water was to be used even then. Water was carried from this well to the temple to clean the idols (Nagoba, Satik) inside, and around the Nagoba temple. In one of the areas near this banyan trees. A small space was cleared, for the meetings of these

Gond tribes. This space is surrounded by Banyan trees and is called *Gaadhe*<sup>30</sup>. From Gaadhe towards right there is a water tank and to the left, there is a place where clothes are washed.

According to Gonds, the Keslapur Banyan trees had a story. During the old days, these trees were very thick and big in appearance. It was believed that Even a grain of sand would not fit in this place. In the later years with fast flowing winds and rains, most of the great old Banyans fell. The elderly Gonds, who have seen old times say that these Banyans are not so dense compared to the old times. From then, Gonds started pouring in great numbers into the Keslapur village. Gonds from other states like Maharashtra, Chattisgarh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, and Jharkhand can be seen in Keslapur. Their arrival to Keslapur brought a wealth of new ideas and innovations to the locals. After Indravelli, all the Gonds arrived on 15<sup>th</sup>, January, 2015 ,evening to the area where all the Banyan trees are in Keslapur, for this they crossed small lakes, Mountains, Bushes etc. when they reached Keslapur Banyan trees (Vata Vriksha), they kept Kalasam with holy water on the nearby tree, and offered Prayers to the holy water in Kalasam. They said "ram ram" to each other and settled at different places with their group of people, Blankets were arranged for convenient seating, a pattern was seen in the way they sat, example: Katoda's family sat together and then Pradhan's family followed by Gayki family, Vadde family, Jopa family, Sankepailal family. Like this order was maintained by all 22 Kittas. After that, all the male Gonds, went to Patel's house at night time and the ladies stayed with the carts. Patel is one of the Kitta of Gonds, Patel's family welcomed the People who visited them, they sat on the mat inside Patel's house and said "ram ram" to each other. After that Patel's elder brother Mesram Venkat Rao arrived, and said "ram ram" to all the people and sat on the mat. Patel's family served drinking water, black tea, and Beedi to all the people and discussed the journey details to holy water, and the upcoming Program.

After that, all the Gonds went to the house of Mesram Badhi Rao Patel. They were given food and after having their food, the Gonds have gone back to Banyan trees. Over there all the Gonds gathered at "Gaadhe". "Gaadhe", is the meeting place of Gonds. Over there, discussions and storytelling of Nagoba Jatara were done, Kaslas (Bullock Carts) of Gonds were arranged at the borderline of Gaadhe. Gonds stayed in this place for four days i.e. 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> of January, 2015. In these four days, every morning and evening they did prayer (Mujrayala) to Kalasam and then gathered at Gaadhe and followed their traditional greeting patterns. Every day, at night after finishing their dinner, Pradhan told the story of

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<sup>30</sup> It is place of meeting

Nagoba to everyone, by playing Kikiri with his own hands. Dol, Pipiri and other musical Instruments were played, when Pradhan stopped playing Kikkiri and telling of the story momentarily. This was to give him rest for some time.

On 16<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, at midnight, all the Gonds including Katoda and Pradhan went to Patel's house with Bajathri, when they reached the house of Patel, the inmates were ready with things of puja like Kasla (bullock carts), their forefather's Mashal (old torch) and castor oil container. Patel's family offered black tea, water, and Beedi to all the Gonds. Then with the sound of Bajathri, Patels lit up the Mashal with castor oil. All Gonds, did puja to photos of Gods in their houses. Patel house ladies kept Puja materials (flour, Lentils, oil, etc.) in new baskets and carried them on their heads, they started walking towards Banyan trees, accompanied by the sounds of musical instruments as they passed through the village of Keslapur.



**Figure: 27.** Pradhan telling mythical story playing with Kikkiri at Gaadhe, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while telling mythical story of Gonds early in the morning at Gaadhe under Banyan trees in Keslapur village

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

When they reached Banyan trees, people who halted at that place, woke up and welcomed Patel's family. Then Patels did puja to the old well of holy water, Gaadhe, and Kalasam. All the Gonds came to Gaadhe, lit the Mashal and kept castor oil container at Gaadhe and did puja. All Gond ladies kept Deepam (Oil lit traditional Indian lamps) in front



of puja baskets and sat at the Gaadhe around the fire, including Patel, Katoda, and Pradhan. Pradhan with his Kikiri told the story of Nagoba till morning.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of January, morning, the entire process was repeated again. From now on no one left the Place. Banyan trees became the temporary abode for these Gonds and Patels for four days. After all were done with their morning chores. Everyone assembled at Gaadhe. As the entire Gaadhe is surrounded by carts. A point in the inside area was chosen to erect a structure considered to be holy. The structure had traditional Mashaal (made of Brass), two lamps were lit and kept side by side to each other at the base, few sticks and a medium size circular weaving of bamboo strips was made touching these Mashaals. Adjacent to this a white cloth was spread. Blankets were arranged inside Gaadhe.

With the sound of Kalikom, all the Gonds got ready for the Prayer. They all stood in different lines a little distant from the blankets spread on the ground. One of the Gond, offered them water and they washed their mouth and hands with it. Later together they all offered salutations (Namaskaras) to the structure installed using Mashall. Then they turned back and before sitting, tobacco leaves were mashed, put on the blankets and then Namskara was done. The entire salutation ritual is accompanied by the music of Kalikom, Kikkiri, Pippiri and Thudum Dappu. Then the seating process began, as discussed earlier the Kitta people sat with their own group. In the beginning, Katoda and two Patels sat on the Blanket and then they were greeted with "Ram Ram" and Namaskaras by the others from the group. The Patel and Katoda groups gathered behind them and sat. Opposite to them, all the Pradhans occupied a Blanket, and even they received "Ram Ram" as greetings. This process was repeated two times a day i.e. Morning and evening. For the evening session, lights were arranged on wooden poles by the govt. for the visibility and easy completion of this ritual. Wooden Poles with lights alighted on to them were spread all around the Gaadhe, next in line to outside carts. The Gond ladies covered the Basket full of offerings with a white cloth, for the protection of baskets, because they can get trampled in such huge groups. Baskets comprised of Lentils, oil, food etc. as Naivedya. Lamps were lit and kept under the baskets as a part of the ritual. The border changed and looked more like tents than carts for their stay during four days ritual. Issue discussion took place, and one by one people came up with different issues. The discussion happened in Gond language. Patel stood up and he discussed the requirement of raising a wall along the borders of Gaadhe. Later stood Mesram Manohar and he addressed certain issues and then stood Pradhan and he addressed some more issues. Like this, in turns, most of the matters troubling them were put forward in the gathering. At

the end of all talk, all the people started getting into the carts. The carts which were at the edge of Gaadhe were missing cows as the cows were left at grazing ground near Goshala to the Back side which was on the right of the Holy well. At nights again the storytelling by Pradhan to the villagers happened and it was accompanied by the sound of Kikkiri.

### ***PART: 8***

**Bringing the new Pots:** The process of getting the pots does not happen at a different time from the previous event. While people assembled in Gaadhe, this happened parallel to Pooja. This took place on the next day of their arrival. Getting pots is crucial for Gonds, because It been traditionally followed, as their God Padiyor was hidden in a Pot by Moke Maatari away from the knowledge of the king. On 17th January, 2015, afternoon Katoda, Pradhan and some Gonds with 7 Kaslas (Bullock Carts) started walking from Keslapur Gaadhe to Sirikonda village, the number 7 here is significant as it represents the 7 Padiyor Mesram Brothers. When the Gonds reached Sirikonda village, they went to a house of Potters, the Potters family welcomed all the Gonds. Their house was the third from the main road, it was a slab house. Of all the houses in that locality, the house of Potter looked good. The front part of the house rises a little from the ground. It is for the people to sit in their leisure hours. There were two rooms in the house. The front door was found to be made of Teak wood. Teak wood is costly in today's market, but for them in Adilabad, teak is not a matter of worry as most of the times it is readily available to them in large numbers from forests. Leaning to the slab house there was a single room ceramic hut used for keeping the pots. To the front of the house, there was a structure with 8 to 9 pillars supporting the roof on both sides. The pillars are normal wooden sticks. At the top again wooden sticks were used, this part is perforated and not a protection from rain or sun. In times of need, this structure can be conveniently made into a place of shade by lodging branches and leaves on to the top of the roof. This seals the roof and makes it rain and sun proof. To the left of the house there was another house with bricks and ceramic tiles, to the right of this house there was a shed for keeping the cows of potters. A little distant to the front there was an oven for baking the pots. This entire construction has been housing even the potter's from previous generations.

After Gonds arrived at this place, they were meted with a warm welcome from the inmates. House owner is Guggilla Swamy and his wife is Kalavathi. Guggilla Swamy was dark in complexion might be in his fifties, Average in size and height. His wife Kalavathi must around 45 to 50 in age. They had a very humble projection. After some exchange of

words, the work began. Carts were separated from the bullocks and they were tied to the shed at the left side of the house that lead to a street connecting the main road. As seen in the second chapter i.e. ordering the pots. The following things

- two large Pots(Gaavulu),
- sixteen large Pots (Banalu) and lids,
- forty-five Pots,
- thirty-five Kopalu,
- One hundred and five lamps (Dheepalu) were ready.

Then began the process of getting them onto the carts. Guggilla Swamy himself took the initiative and one by one kept different size pots on the cart, in between them, were kept dried grass and dried corn leaves to provide a cushion to the pots and save them from breaking during the Gonds return Journey to Keslapur. After that, a big synthetic cloth was spread on the top of these pots and was tied firmly to the cart to prevent them from falling. This entire process took at least 2 hours. Like this 7 Carts were filled with the ordered pots and everything was ready. Then all the Gonds got on their carts and started their return journey to Keslapur.



**Figure: 28.** Potter Guggila Swamy is arranging the new pots on the Bullock Cart in Sirikonda village at his house, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while arranging pots on the Bullock Cart

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



During brief moments, in an interview with Guggila Swamy and his wife, the following things were learned. They got the soil, sieved it to remove the hard crystals and then mixed an appropriate amount of water to make soft the lumps in soil. Then this lump is used for making pots and piggy banks (around the closed structure with a little opening at the top for dropping money into it for saving purpose). After the pots and piggy banks were made, they were kept for drying in the shade of the house for 6 to 7 days, while this happens they were regularly monitored by soaking them with a wet cloth to avoid cracks, then they were sent to the Kiln. The oven is a structure surrounded by a medium height wall on four sides and a small opening at the base in front. After to 6-7 days of drying the pots, they are kept in this kiln and covered with rice husk at the base as well as the top. Now the fire is lit from the hole in the base and then the pots are left in the burning kiln for some days. After removing them from the kiln, they are ready for use, however, things changed during rains. Some more interesting aspects came to the foreground during the interview. Guggilla Swamy said that previously he used to get soil for making pots from the banks of the river in Sirikonda. Due to some land issues, the venue got shifted to Utnoor. These days Nagoba Jatara is being funded by the government. So Swamy is being asked by his mates to urge the government to sanction the same Sirikonda river bank for getting the soil. In previous days the returns Money (Katnam) for making Pots were not given immediately. The potters had to wait until the completion of Nagoba Jatara and then they had to go to Jatara and collect their money. But these days the government is paying them immediately after the work. No other person is allowed to work on the pots except potter and his wife. This happens to keep the Gond tradition alive. When they reached Keslapur village, all the Gonds went to Nagoba temple and kept all the Pots on the temple ground. Then they came back to Banyan trees took rest and all gathered for Mujrayala (i.e. evening prayer) at Gaadhe. They did prayer to Kalasam and Mashal in Gaadhe. Then they sat for some time and went to have dinner. Later all gathered at Gaadhe including Patel, Katoda, and Pradhan. Pradhan started telling the story of Nagoba all night till morning i.e. 18<sup>th</sup> January 2015.

#### ***PART: 9***

**Thum:** Thum happened one day before the Puja of Nagoba Keslapur God i.e. 18<sup>th</sup> January, 2015. Gonds took rest till evening, then they all gathered at Gaadhe did Mujrayala (evening puja) and started Thum (Pindapradhanam). In Thum, Katoda, Pradhan, Patel and all Gond's Participated. If any of the family members die in Gonds, then the remaining family members

do this ritual. All Family members came with Jowari flour, curry items, Chilli, Turmeric, Hen or he - cock, Goat, and money to Thum.

*Description:* Thum happened at Gaadhe during night. In the beginning, all the Gonds sat in Gaadhe with their hens and goats tied to one corner in Gaadhe. They had been holding the Jowari flour (sorghum flour) and Rava (wheat flour) in a tied white cloth, and curry items in a separate tied white cloth. The Ritual began with Pradhans and Katoda sitting on opposite sides, but close enough to be heard in Gaadhe. It was a chilly night, and everyone was wrapping blankets around them. As Pradhans and Gonds took their positions. One by one family members who have lost a person in their family, came with their possessions and sat in between the Pradhans and Katodas. The main Pradhan and Katoda sat closer to them. He untied his cloth full of flour and spread it on the ground, a lump was uncovered. Now Katoda took a brass a vessel (Chembu), extracted the flour given by the person, and poured two vessels full of flour on prior spread blanket. Then the person offered money of one hundred and Two rupees (102rs) to Katoda. Katoda took the money and kept it in the folds of his Dhoti. Then the person offered a hen which was touched, lifted up and given to his mates of his clan by Katoda. This process was repeated with each and every member in the gathered Gonds. Only male Gonds were seen. In the end, a big lump of collected flour was seen on the blanket. No bird or Animal passes through the procedure, without Katoda placing his hands on the animal. All the things, were being collected and the name of the donor was written in a book by a fellow Pradhan. In spite of the light coming from the surrounding pole lights arranged by the Government, it was dark at the ritual place, therefore, torches were used. After all the members were done giving their possessions. Katoda and Pradhan stood up and went to their carts, the remaining Gonds collected all the flour in three synthetic bags and a tumbler, and then, small bags of curry items were also sorted. Then carrying the animals on their shoulders, they all went to Persa pen at the back side of the compound wall of Nagoba temple. Pradhan and Katoda also joined them for Persa pen. All the remaining stuff was also carried in bags. Then, it was already early in the morning of 19<sup>th</sup> January, between 2 am to 3 am. As they all walked towards Persa Pen it was pitch dark and very cold, they all carried torches and Blankets. They passed by the compound wall of Nagoba temple, and went to Persa pen straight from the backside Compound wall. Then they all reached Persa Pen.

*Description:* Persa Pen looked like a cluster of rocks with orange-red Tilak smeared on it, it was in between the teak trees. Gonds carrying bags and animals on their shoulders reached the place. Then Katoda sat near the Persa Pen and cleared the dust, fallen leaves of

trees and other wastes with a small stick, surrounding people helped him. Pradhan stood near him. With the collected wastes and dropped leaves from the Teak trees they made Fire. Katoda in that meagre light, took some incense sticks, lit it in the made fire and came back to Persa pen, it was kept at the base of those simple rocks, which were considered as an idol. Then he kept a hand full of some grain mixture and flour near the Persa Pen, this one was extracted from the collected items of Gonds, at Gaadhe. Everyone followed, the ritual, a hen was brought near the grain mixture, and was made to eat the grains with its beak. Later, one more hen was brought and both the hens were made to eat the mixture. In the beginning, the hens didn't eat, but later the hens accepted a bit from the mixture kept on the ground. As soon as this was done, one by one, all he and she hens were caught hold, shown to Persa pen and rotated in a circle over it by Katoda, then he gave them back to his mates. Then, was the turn of goats, a goat was taken to Persa Pen, and water was Sprinkled over it. If a goat shakes its entire body to get rid of drops of water on its body. It is taken as an acceptance from the goat to be offered as a sacrifice for the sake of Dead members in Gonds families. After this in that early hour in the morning, all the Hens and Goats were sacrificed and Seesa was prepared with them. Then this Seesa (Naivedya) was shown to God Persa Pen immediately after it was cooked. This part is called Thum (Pindapradhanam). This is when, all the Gonds believed that their loved ones souls, were free and merged with God. If this process does not happen, they say that their dead family member's souls will not find solace and keep roaming close to the grounds of Earth as Bhuta-Pretha, It will not become one with Persapen.



**Figure: 29.** In the Thum festival Katoda collecting the flour from the other Gonds under the guidance of Pradhan, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took in the Thum

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 30.** In the part of Thum festival at Persa Pen Katoda and Pradhan praying with chickens making for Naivedyam, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took at the Persa Pen

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

## **PART: 10**

**Castor Oil making for God:** On 19th January, 2015, afternoon, all the Gonds including Katoda and Pradhan went to Patel's house from Banyan trees. Their Arrival was accompanied by music from the instruments. With reverence, they extracted oil from castor seeds .

*Description:* Patel's house was a hut with the ceramic ceiling. It had a single opening at the front. The remaining people from Patels Family, who were not in Gaadhe, received Gonds cordially for the purpose of "castor oil" ritual. Things required for making castor oil were uncovered. Formerly, these things were covered with synthetic bag, followed by Jute Bag, and a stone was placed on its top to prevent it from getting uncovered. When these covers were removed, an appliance for the making of castor oil was seen. It comprised of a Base made of wood (mostly Teak wood), it had a hole at the centre, and imprints of square edges



around the hole, it looked unfinished, its edges were rough, the hole inside this base was deep and wide enough to insert a thrash log. Nextly, there was this thrash log around 5 1/2 feet in height, it had an arch-like log attached to it. As these Gonds have the natural wealth of Teak wood in forests. The log and base seemed to have been made out of Teak wood. The thrasher was very heavy in weight, and required at least 3 to 4 people for the purpose of thrashing castor seeds and making oil. These natural handmade appliances, were arranged right in front of the visitor's door of the Patel's. Along with this, a brass vessel (Chembu), a brass plate and a white cloth were used. The process of extraction began with the live music from the instruments. An elderly lady from the Patel's, sat near the appliance and started putting the castor seeds from the rectangular semi-hard woven sheet (used mostly to husk rice) into the hole of the base, then the helpers from Patel's house, started moving the heavy log to thrash the castor seeds. This went on for some time, and then the spilled oil from the seeds onto the base was extracted using a white cloth i.e. the white cloth was soaked with oil and squeezed into the bowl like brass plate and the oil was collected. The process happened for quite some time. Generally, Gonds visiting Jatara from various places carry castor oil with them. But, only after the completion of this castor oil making ritual in Patel's house, everyone would proceed to Nagoba temple with their share and the one they just made. They didn't prefer oil from outside source to be used for lighting up the lamp (Deepam). All the villagers actively viewed this ritual, and then went to Gaadhe with the Castor oil.



**Figure: 31.** Traditional Caster Oil making date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while making Caster Oil

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

## ***PART: II***

**Entry in Goshala:** On 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, evening, all the Gonds gathered at Gaadhe under the Banyan trees and did Mujrayala. Thereafter they discussed their issues and took opinions from the all the Gonds for Darbar (a meeting which takes place at the end of Jatara). When they were finished with their discussion, they went to their bullock carts and got them ready for the journey. They removed temporary tent-like structures erected around the Gaadhe during their four-day stay, and started their journey from Gaadhe to Goshala. It was near the temple of Nagoba and the distance is below one kilometre from the Banyan trees to the temple of Nagoba.

*Description:* Goshala means a place for keeping the cows. Goshala is to the left of Nagoba Temple. It can be viewed from the second small entrance of Nagoba temple. It is circular in structure and fairly big in Diameter, it can house Gonds in big numbers at a single point of time. Its circumference is similar to Gaadhe, but instead of carts along the circumference, it has built walls. Along the circumference, walls were built on the outside and on the inside pillars were erected to support roof on the top joining the outside wall and inner pillars. Outside walls were not completely joined to the roof, instead, a small ventilator like opening was carved onto these. From the inside, in between pillars and the base of the inner area of the outside wall, a platform was raised. There were four openings in four directions along the circumference, in pairs, one opening was opposite to another in Goshala. Leaving the borders, the inside open space had no roof and was exposed to the sky. This open space was not furnished, it was all soil.

After their arrival at Goshala, all the Gonds parked their Bullock carts outside the Goshala along the circumference, some were parked even near the Nagoba Temple. Tents were also erected, from then, the Gonds remained at this place, till the completion of Darbar. Patel, Katoda, and Pradhan also did the same. One by one, the parking was done in an orderly manner. After everyone settled down, married women including newlyweds went into the Goshala at night and stayed there, their entry was accompanied by live music from the instruments. That night, the Gond women arranged their baskets with puja materials along the edge of Goshala, they kept lamps in front of each basket as it's been coming as a tradition. Gonds believed that if the married, and Newly Married stayed in the Goshala till the completion of this Jatara, they become purified.



**Figure: 32.** Goshala, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while lighting Mashals (Traditional lamps)

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

On 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, morning all the Gonds including Katoda, Pradhan, and Patel went together to the house of God Nagoba, also called God's house, it was near Patel's house. Old Nagoba statue was in this God's house. All the Gonds, entered the house and prayed to God Nagoba. They used Incense sticks, coconut, and Naivedya for worship (Puja). After the puja, they had a lit lamp in basket, and then Katoda and the Gonds went to Banyan trees, took Kalasam and carrying lit lamp in the basket went to Nagoba temple. They walked with reverence in a line and it was accompanied by live music from the instruments. Holding Kalasam they circumambulated the temple for seven times. Then, they built a structure at the back side of the temple inside the compound wall. The structure was made using four Bamboo sticks, two bamboo sticks were put crossly to form alphabet "X" and tied, and then another two sticks were tied the same way. In the next step, both of them were erected opposite to each other, the space in between the crossed sticks did the work of a holder. In this in-between space, Katoda who has been carrying Kalasam tied to the stick, was got down from his shoulder and placed on these. After Mounting the Kalasam with the stick onto this structure, they covered it in the folds of white cloth. Then all the Gonds offered salutations to

this Kalasam. After this Katoda, Pradhan, Patel, and Gonds went inside the temple of Nagoba, kept the lamp in Basket and did Namaskara.

On the same day, Gond women; married and newlywed, wore white saree with white blouse. They carried cow dung in a round basket and also other basket full of Puja materials (Incense sticks, Vermillion, Rice puffs etc.) into the Nagoba temple. These Materials were kept to the left side of the temple inside the compound wall, where there was a rectangular mud platform in between the tiles. There were two ant hill like structures that stood side by side in the Mud Platform. Slowly, people gathered at the temple in large numbers. As already mentioned, women were in white. Men wore White Turban, they were also seen in white Dhoti and shirts. Pradhan and Katoda wore coat and waistcoat over their shirts. Katoda and his group, assembled to the left side of the Mud Platform, and all women sat opposite to them and spread themselves. With things like Brass vessel, Incense sticks, Naivedya and Lentils, Katoda performed puja sitting near the Mud platform, throughout this puja, musical instruments were played. This event was covered by a Photographer from Local Newspaper. Then, the next step was, going to Holy water well and getting water, women were accompanied by the Son in Laws of Mesram for this. The numbers started growing inside the compound wall. Gonds poured in from the main entrance which was to the front of the temple. To the left side of the temple inside the compound wall, people sat in order leaving some space at the backside to facilitate the ceremony of handing over the pots to women. Pots were at the backside of the temple before Kalasam, from the previous day ritual. Katoda, under the guidance of Pradhan, did puja to the pots using Incense Sticks, Coconut, Brass vessel, Magenta Colour Tilak and Naivedya. During this puja, Sankapailal, Gayki, and all Mesram Gonds were at the front, and remaining people were at the back. List of names of women was made by one of the Pradhans. Son in laws of Mesram, Gaiki, Sankapailal and other Gond males, stood near the back wall in a straight line and facing the temple. When the names of women were called, they responded to it by standing up. By then, all the Pots which were already kept at the backside of the temple were rearranged for convenient hand over of them to the women. One by one, women covering their hair with white cloths, came and did Namaskara by touching hands of all the males, who were in the line. At the end of the line, they touched the feet of the Gond, who handed over pots to them in order. Some women, when called during their turn, touched the feet of all the guys who stood in a line, with covered heads. A single pot was given to women in Pairs. After that, with the feeling of great piety, women handled the pot with both hands on sides, they walked to the front compound



wall of the temple and kept it in the soil border, where there was the growth of small plants, and they sat down at the same place. Like this, it took time for the entire group of women who were assembled in such big numbers, to be done with the process. In the meantime, to the left of the temple, and opposite to the standing line of Gonds next to the pillars, Pradhan and his group sat in a semicircle formation on a spread blanket. Pradhan Played Kikkiri and sang "The Gonds Myth". People at the back, were carefully listening to the songs sung by Pradhan. Throughout this programme, people didn't stop coming from the Main Entrance. After some time Pradhan stopped singing, and then instrument players took the stage. They played musical instruments for the next half of this entire session. As the handing over of pots ritual came to an end, women and son in laws of Mesram gathered in a line at the second entrance door for the next step. This entrance was used as an exit.



**Figure: 33.** Pradhan telling the Mythical Story in Nagoba temple. Date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while telling the Mythical story of Gonds

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

Next to this was, going to holy water well with pots, and to get water. All the women clad in white, stood in a single line and followed the son in laws of Mesram clan, to holy water well with pots over their head. The place was near the Banyan trees, and it didn't take much time for the people to reach the venue. After going there, Gonds spread around the well and all over the place. Then, son in laws of Mesram, using incense sticks, coconuts and Naivedya, did Puja to the well. After that, they tied a rope to the holding handle of the steel

bucket and pulled water out of that well. All the pots which were kept on the ground, were filled in turns. After the filling was done, in a line, all Gonds, kept pots on their heads and went to Nagoba temple.

After reaching the Nagoba temple, every one entered the temple through the second entrance. The pots were kept near the Mud platform, and this was to the left side of the temple. The Gond women washed the entire temple floor with water, and the son in laws of Mesram helped them. Patel sat in front of the Mud Platform, and did Puja to the ant hills which were built previous year. The puja was performed with Incense sticks, Coconut, Lentils as Naivedya and other stuff. Four wooden sticks, sharpened on one end were kept ready on the Mud platform during Pooja by the Son in laws of the Mesram. Then the son in laws (Sade) of Mesram, took those wooden sticks which were sharp at the edges, and dug the Ant hill like structure made by the Gonds, during the previous year. They went into the Mud Platform while doing this. Then the Gond women, gathered near the Mud platform and made the Anthill soil lumps soft by squeezing them. The lumps which were hard and crystallized were mixed with water and Dung (which was bought at the beginning of the ritual). Now they again made Ant hill-like structures, at the same position where the previous ones were. Then, some women gathered around the Anthill to the left of the Mud platform and sat in a circle, the same way, some more women sat to the right of the Mud Platform in a circle around the second Anthill. While these positions were set, starting from the left of the temple, two groups of women stood in a straight line, and the ends of the line met the two groups of people who sat in circles around Anthills. One more group of ladies sat to the right of the Mud platform. The people who sat in a circle around both the Ant hills (remade) started digging the soil out of the base of the inverted cone-shaped hill using both hands. Like this, all the women sitting around the hills, dug soil at the base and moulded the clay into balls. Both the groups on either side of the Platform, did the same thing. The balls were of medium size. As and when they finished making balls, left side group, gave it to the standing group who were to the platform's left, and the right group gave the balls to the standing group, as well as the other group sitting near them to the right. Clay balls were passed on to all the three groups like this. The groups which stood to the left and right of the Mud platform took the mud balls, with both hands in a revered manner and passed them to the people next in line. Like this balls were made and transferred to the area under the temple pillars (i.e. the marbled floor to the front of the main temple). Parellely, people who sat to the right side of the platform took the clay balls and passed them in their group the same way, then they built

an inverted cone out of them. The temple people, who accepted clay balls from both the standing groups, also built an inverted cone out of the clay balls. The process of building the inverted cone was as follows; after accepting the clay balls one by one, a medium sized circle was made arranging the balls in circular form and then again a smaller circle of next size was arranged inside the bigger one, like this in descending order, the clay balls were arranged in the bigger circle till the unfilled area inside was completely full. When this first level was done, they again arranged the next level in the circular form with clay balls on the top of the base but leaving the outer circle. Like this, the coming level outer ring was reduced to single clay ball by the time it reached the top most, and last level. The same procedure was adopted by the sitting group (not the one involved in making clay balls from Ant hill but a different one) to the right of the mud platform. Like this two Ant hills were made using clay balls, the standing group to the right also passed on certain clay balls to the group who were arranging things in the room (the room was white plated inside with a medium sized platform raised above the ground, to the right of it there were brass vessel, lamps and lampstand and to the left side, it was free.) to the left of main Nagoba idol room. The passed clay balls were arranged in a line on top of the platform, but mixed and joined in one piece, the same was later used to make two circles to the left and right side in the room. Both the circles were filled completely with clay balls in a concentric manner and later made soft into a single piece. Like this, the passed clay balls were used in all the three areas. After the process of building these structures were done, the people who were making clay balls out of clay from Anthills, ran out of clay, the reversal process began, the clay balls were passed back to ant hill making groups, by the same groups from the same points excluding the balls passed into the room beside the Nagoba idol room. Then one by one clay balls were arranged in the same way (concentric circles and into an inverted cone) and made into a soft single piece using water on Mud Platform. This entire process or ritual is known as Bhovla Vaatval. Gonds saw these ant hills as Rain Gauge (an equipment used to measure the amount of rainfall). Their explanation was that they would decrease in size, when the rain is high and remain the same whenever it was less. This was their way of measure for the entire year.



**Figure: 34.** Women of Gonds are passing the clay balls (Bhovla Vaatval ritual), date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while making the Ant Hill in the Nagoba temple

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 35.** Clay balls keeping on floor of the Nagoba temple (Bhovla Vaatval ritual), date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while making the Ant Hill in the Nagoba temple

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara





**Figure: 36.** Ant Hill (Bhovla Vaatval ritual), date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while making the Ant Hill in the Nagoba temple

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

## **PART: 12**

**“Bheati Koriyal:** In Mesram Kitta, the girls after their marriage, are taken to Keslapur Nagoba temple and are made to participate in Pooja without miss, the bride is introduced to the entire Mesram Kitta. This is called Bheati Koriyal. There is an exception to this procedure. If, any of the newly wed or the married women families have deceased people. The women from those families, were allowed to enter the temple and do puja only after the Thum. If one more death occurs after Thum, then those family women become ineligible to attend this Bheati Koriyal. However, there is no restriction on males.

On 20<sup>th</sup> January night, Gonds at Goshala had their dinner, and got ready to go to Nagoba temple. Some male Gonds who were in Goshala, lit two Mashals. All the remaining Gonds were around them under the roof at the border. Their edible items, clothing, and things required for Puja were wrapped in a cloth and kept under the same roof. In the open ground to the centre, firewood supporting stones and wood were present, they were the remnants from the previous day fire lit by the Gonds to make themselves warm from the chilling cold, and out in the open the temperatures were quite low. Kalikom was played in the beginning to

alert the Gonds of the forthcoming ritual. All the Gonds were ready, then the sounds from other musical instruments were added to the Kalikom representing the beginning of the Bheati Koriyal ritual. Newly wed wore white sarees, and some other woman wore white sarees, left were only few who wore color sarees. Newlywed females covered their heads with the white cloth, and they made sure that their faces were not visible to anyone. The remaining women who were clad in white and colored sarees too wore white cloths on their shoulders, but they were not following this not to be seen rule particularly. Every newlywed female was accompanied by some elder women from their family. Together they all were called as sisters of Mesram. Many women were in the scene, wife of Pradhan was seen with a plate full of things (a small brass bowl with lentils, coconut, small clay pot with water and lamp), wife of Katoda was beside her, and the remaining ladies too carried things like coconuts and rice puffs to be offered in the Nagoba temple. Then, everyone formed a line, Patel's wife, Patel and Katoda leading at the front, they all moved towards the exit which was facing the second entrance of Nagoba temple. It is the shortest possible route from the Goshala. Everyone came out of the Goshala accompanied by the sound from musical instruments, and started walking towards Nagoba temple. After reaching the second entrance, they all turned left and proceeded towards the main entrance of Nagoba temple.

They walked down the path laid with white plated rough stones, at its top, there was a tent-like covering laid with green cloth having pink edges, the borders of it were cut in curves. This cloth was supported by painted (white) iron pillars at the base. As they passed through this setting, soon they reached the front entrance of the Nagoba temple. There was a single stone smeared with vermilion tilak to their left called by them as "Masai God". It has been coming as a tradition for these Gonds to worship Masai God, before entering the Nagoba temple during Bheati Koriyal. They do this every year. Everyone stopped there, Patel took the initiative and started the puja. He took the incense sticks, lit them and kept it at the base of the idol. A coconut was offered with Namaskara for two times, and breaking it into two pieces, it was offered to Masai God, Its water was collected in a brass vessel, and the Naivedya was also offered. Rice puffs were put on the top of the idol. Patel's wife stood in front of the Masai God with a Plate in her hand, and concealed head in white cloth. Patel taking Brass vessel and brass bowl in both the hands, climbed on the steps (steps had steel railings as hand support on each side) of the main entrance. People at the back, who were led by the Patels, also offered salutations to the Masai God by bending down and touching the ground for two times. All through this, the live music was being played without halt. Then

entered wife of Patel into the temple climbing steps, and she was followed by others. The entry into the Nagoba temple from the main entrance was covered by three to four reporters from the local newspapers with cameras. After entering the temple, everyone was made to sit in order by one of the male members. Everyone sat to the left side of Nagoba Temple in two groups leaving some space in between, this was inside the compound wall, and beside the Mud Platform. All the people were facing the left side front space of the Nagoba temple. The Facilitator of this sitting process was moving front and back adjusting the people. After some time order was established. In the meantime, inside the room which was to the left of the room containing Nagoba idol, arrangements were being made. One lady each from the house of Katoda, Pradhan, and Patel was inside this, and was taking care of the arrangements. In the previous part about Bhovla Vaatval, A straight frame that was made out of clay and installed on the pedestal above the ground and two clay filled circles that were made and installed to the left and right side of the room can be seen. The three persons inside the room arranged all the seven bases, those were believed to be Mesram Gods (they are made out of clay in the form of balls and installed into seven lamp bases) on the clay frame. Previously they were to the right side of the room. Then they were decorated using Marigold flowers and leaves, again 7 coconuts were installed in front of the frame. The three ladies who did all this were following the group till the puja to Masai God was done, later when the seating arrangements were in the process, these three entered this room. The Patel's wife who has been carrying the Brass plate with things, entered the room and kept those things to the left side of the platform where these 7 Goddess were installed. Incense sticks were kept in the holder at the right side base of the platform along with a clay bowl. To the extreme right of the platform two 7 nodes bamboo sticks were kept. Pradhans seated on the blankets under the roof supported by pillars, and this was straight in front of the room. To the left of Pradhans, seven members sat in a straight line; each belonging to a Kitta on a blanket. One of the Pradhans, made note of all the newly married people and started calling the newlywed females to the Mandapa (area under the pillars). Below this Mandapa, to the left of the Nagoba temple where all the people sat, a white cloth was spread on the in-between path. Whomsoever names were called, they kept some change on the cloth as offerings to the sisters of Mesram. The Newlyweds were accompanied by a female member of their family. They entered the Mandapa and then entered the main Room, through all this process, they were covering their heads and faces. After entering the room they touched the feet of all the three females inside the room, and Dupatta like white cloth still covered their faces. They also touched the hands of all the three, did Namaskara and offered some change to each in them. A coconut was offered to Satik



Goddess breaking it into two, this was followed by offering rice puffs at the base. The three people inside the room were revered as next to Gods. After things got finished, then they entered the Mandapa and touched the feet of the seven people from seven Kittas sitting to the right side of the room, each person from the group was also offered some change. Then all the Pradhans who sat at the front holding musical instruments, were combinedly offered some money. After all this, the new brides along with their accompanying members, got down the Mandapa and sat in the positions from which they rose. This process was repeated for all the newlywed, till each and every member sitting outside the Mandapa got the chance. Whoever entered, followed similar procedure, and after some time, the room got fully filled with coconut pieces and rice puffs at the base of the Satik Goddess. The venue or the place which was utilized for introducing all the newlywed to the Satik Goddess is called as "*Parichaya Vedika*"<sup>31</sup>. Throughout this process, the people who lit Mashals in the Goshala. Followed the group to the Nagoba temple, and remained at the front of Nagoba God. Two daughters of Mesram, sat near the entry of the Satik Goddess room. The inside ladies were also seen as daughters of Mesram. While offering money to the Pradhans, the money, in reality, was not for the Pradhans but for the Music instruments like Kikkiri, Pippiri etc. The offering was made separately to each musical instrument. Throughout this "Parichaya Vedika", people sitting to the right side of the room also changed in numbers. Playing of musical instruments happened on and off as this continued till morning, and the players too needed some rest in between. Uninvolved people, sat all around the temple inside the compound wall. After all, the newlyweds were done with the process of offering salutations, they sat in their previous positions. By then, it was already 3am in the morning of 21<sup>st</sup> January. Then the Pradhans played a high note with the musical instruments, inviting all the newlywed for the second half of this ritual, which was dance. Then all the newlywed, having heard the high notes, gathered in a circle, but the relatives of these people went inside the Satik Goddess temple, and offered salutations. The newlyweds began the dance moving their right foot front and back, and revolving in a circle. Like this step by step the speed increased, even the people who played music, made it louder. This continued for at least an hour, and all the people giggled and laughed in a jolly mood, as they danced. Everything got crazy at the end, loud noises and screams came from dancing members. Even the musicians played everything on a very high note. This dance has been coming as a tradition for the newlyweds, who symbolically

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<sup>31</sup> It means place of introducing

expressed delight over the possibility of seeing Nagoba God after this ritual. In the end, the music stopped, and it was the declaration of the end of the dance.



**Figure: 37.** Mesram Sister is helping the Bridegrooms, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while happening the Bheati Koriyal ritual in the Nagoba temple

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara



**Figure: 38.** All the Bridegrooms are dancing, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while happening the Bheati Koriyal ritual in the Nagoba temple

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

From there, only newlywed, and their relatives walked back to Goshala. They reached Goshala in the early hours of 21<sup>st</sup> January. They arranged stones for two firewood places, and prepared Naivedya (Rice and vegetable curry) in two medium sized clay Pots and two big Barrels. For the preparation of Naivedya, All Gond women came together and shared their work like cutting vegetables and other chores. Rice was prepared, and in some time curry items were also ready. They have installed a new pot full of water on hay inside Goshala to be used for purposes (cooking) like these. Using Big Ladles, all cooking was done under constant supervision. After they were done, they took a new basket and arranged teak leaves at its base, the prepared rice was taken from the barrels and pots using ladles, and the basket was filled with it. Remaining women collected things like 5 small pots (Muntalu), two brass water vessels and other articles necessary for puja like- incense sticks, Matchbox, and leaves of Teak trees. When everything was finished. Some women with collected things, went towards the tents outside the Goshala. They all were in same dressing (i.e. white sarees by the newly wed) which they wore during the "Parichaya Vedika" ritual. They in a line reached the tents, and stood in a circle leaving some space in between, they were in between Goshala and the compound wall of Nagoba temple, where there was the second entrance. After they settled in their places, some women took the brass vessel, and kept a lit traditional lamp inside the brass vessel. This was covered with big teak leaves, to prevent the inside lamp from putting off. This was a centre for their ritual. Then, four Motuku leaves were spread on the ground beside this Lamp in the Brass vessel with rice lumps, and curry items taken from the baskets of Naivedya, five small pots (Muntalu) filled with water were to the front of carrier lamp. Gond women held the basket with rice and curry items, and another brass vessel filled with water was kept beside. This was to facilitate the easy extraction of rice from the basket.

After these arrangements, they lit 4 incense sticks and kept them in front of the carrier lamp. From then on the puja began. One by one, all the Gond women approached this place, sat before it, took water from the small clay pot and sprinkled it before the lamp in a straight line. Then a lump of rice was taken from the Motuku leaves, and kept at the front of the carrier lamp. Like this everyone from these Gonds came to the carrier lamp's place, and did the same thing and offered salutations. Money in change was also offered by each and every one. Whenever the rice was no more in any of the Motuku leaves, or whenever water was finished in any of the small clay pots, it got refilled from the basket and the Brass carrier kept



beside respectively. A person was appointed exclusively for this job. The positions from which these women came forward to offer their salutations, were once again filled by the same persons after the completion of the process. Of the entire group, some women got separated from the main group, and gathered to the left of the group in a circle. With two steel vessels and two Motuku leaves, they did the same Puja. Incense sticks were burnt and rice lumps were kept on the Motuku leaves. However, the lamp in the brass vessel was not used for this. Two people parallelly did puja in this place.



**Figure: 39.** All the Bridegrooms are doing puja to God on the ground, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while happening the Bheati Koriyal ritual

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

After ascertaining that all the women were done with the Procedure. Two sisters of Mesram came, sat near the Puja place and collected all the rice and change in polythene covers. The place was cleared of all the things, but only the brass vessel remained in the place. One by one all the women came to the place again, and did salutations touching their forehead to the ground. Later all of them relaxed from their positions and collecting those things returned to Goshala. Throughout this Puja, not a single Gond male was present. Now at Goshala, they reached the place where two big clay pots were kept on the rocks, these were the ones which were used during cooking. The surroundings in the Goshala had other Barrels kept the same way on the rocks. These were also the barrels which were used for cooking. They kept the carrier with a lamp at the base of the pots. Two small pots were kept to the

front, filled with water, and rice filled Teak leaf was spread before them. Incense sticks were lit and kept in between the main and small pots. A lamp was also lit, and placed near the brass vessel. The basket filled with cooked rice, and a brass vessel filled with water were placed to the right side of the pots. This time only the newly wed, who were clad in white sarees, performed this ritual. One by one, they came to the Puja place and sprinkled water and rice from the leaf and small pot respectively. Money was offered, and in the end, they did salutation by bending down and touching their head to the ground. The ritual came to a halt when all the women clad in white sarees, were done with their turn. Now the Gonds, especially Pradhans entered Goshala. An arrangement was made at the centre of Goshala. All the Pradhan Kitta people with the main Pradhan, sat on a spread carpet on the ground, and in front of it two carpets were spread, all the Gond women sat on them in a semicircle facing Pradhans. Pradhan sang about "Parichaya Vedika" in "The Myth" and it was supported by him playing the Kikkiri instrument. This continued for some time. The remaining Pradhans, who sat with the main Pradhan have done the chorus work. The Ambient noises from Nagoba temple were clearly audible. All the Gond women who sat, listened to the songs of Pradhan. After an hour or so the songs ended. Then Gond women stood up, and started offering money on the carpet where the Pradhan sat. Some of the sisters of Mesram, who were seated to the right of Pradhan on the carpet, spread a white cloth on the ground. Then the Gond women offered money in change even to them.

After some time, all the male members gathered under the tent, which was previously used for puja by the women Gonds. All the Patel people carried the Mashals and lit them. In between, they were pouring castor oil from the castor oil containers which they held in their right hands. All through this, sound from the musical instruments was heard. Then they moved to the front of the tent and stood in a straight line. The Patels carrying Mashals were in between, and Katoda, Pradhan and others were standing on either side. The music was being played non-stop. They crushed the tobacco leaves which they had been carrying, kept those on the ground and did Namaskara standing up. Again they all bent down, touched the ground with their hands, stood up and did Namaskara. After that, they said "Ram Ram" to each other, Later they all started walking towards Goshala. The people carrying Mashals were in the front, and they were followed by the Pradhans who played Musical instruments. At the back of them Pradhan, Katoda, and others walked doing dance steps. Slowly everyone reached the Goshala. Till then this entire group, walked in the space between Goshala and the compound wall of Nagoba temple. Three ladies carrying three steel vessels walked towards

them and kept them to the left of Goshala on the ground. By then, the music was played in high notes and all the members of the group formed a circle and started dancing and moving in the circle with small steps. The dance continued for some time and the women from Goshala gathered around them to watch them. Two new wooden pedestals were kept near the two water carriers. Katoda came towards them, a steel Mug was dipped into the carrier water, and mug full of water was given to Katoda by Patel's wife. He took the mug, and poured the water on nearby rock. later, one of the Patel Member put some change in the water carrier and stood near the Pedestal, his legs were washed by Patel's wife one after the another with both hands as another lady from the Katoda Kitta group poured water on both the legs with a mug, she touched his feet after washing his legs. Then another Patel came near the pedestal and kept his 7 nodes Bamboo stick on the Pedestal holding it with both hands, Patel's wife took the water mug and washed it from the top till the base. Later he kept his legs one by one on the Pedestal and as done to the former member, even his legs were washed by Patel's wife with both hands and Katoda family women helped her in handing over the Mug and touching Patel's feet. In the after order, came the people who were carrying the Mashals. The base of the Mashals and the castor oil carrier were washed with the Mug water, and then the washing of legs was repeated. Like this, all male Gonds arrived at this washing place and one after another their legs were washed the same way.

Whichever person was done with washing, they moved back and stood in a line. The person whose legs were washed first, stood first in the line and the people who came next to him, touched his hands and said "ram ram" and offered him some money. The money was kept in his pocket. After this, he stood next to him in the second position. The person who came next to both, occupied third position by touching the hands, doing salutations and offering money in line order. Like this, the process was repeated by all the persons in line order. Gond women came to the persons who were carrying the Mashals and filled their Mashals with oil. They carried the oil in small glasses. One after another, the male Gonds accumulated in the line. Doing like this, they stood in a pattern. Their pattern resembled a whirlpool model rings without closing at the centre. By the time everyone was done standing in the line, the pockets of the Male Gonds standing in the front got heavy with change. The male Gonds remained the same way for some time, even after the completion of the ritual by the fellow mates. Then came the turn of the female Gonds, they entered the ring one by one, offered salutations and money in change by touching each male Gond's feet in the line, they even said , "ram ram". But like the male Gonds, they didn't stay in the circle. They came out

of it and stood in the place where the washing of the legs was done. Even they stood in the line. As done by male Gonds, the person to come and stand next to them in the line had to do salutations saying "ram ram" to the former female members in the line. But the female Gonds who came next, did not offer money to the former ones. When it came to females, males did not come and offer them their salutations. The process ended with females offering salutations to only females, whereas males were offered salutations by their fellow mates and also the female Gonds. The entire ritual took place in the space between the second entrance compound wall of Nagoba temple and the main entrance of Goshala.

After the male and female Gonds were done with the procedure or ritual, they began another ritual. For this, they relaxed from their standing positions in whirlpool model circle, and cleared the place with legs. All the coconut pieces, and other unnecessary wastes were cleared by them. Then they spread a carpet on the ground, and stood around it. Like this carpets were spread in two places. Katoda, Patels, and others came in as a group and the Pradhans came together as a different group. Leaving Pradhans, everyone else was in the former group. Then in both the groups, the following things happened. In Katoda's group, everyone offered crushed tobacco to the group where the carpet was spread and did Namaskara, the same way even Pradhans offered crushed tobacco to the spread carpet in their group. In the Katoda group, Patel sat on the carpet first facing the people and offering salutations, then came Katoda, touching both hands with his hands he offered salutations and said "ram ram". The people who followed them, did the same way by offering salutations to the people who sat before them in order, and sat in the position which was next to the last person whom they have offered salutation and said "ram ram". In some time, the entire carpet was filled with members by Katoda's, Patels, and related people. The same carpet which was spread facing Goshala was occupied by the Pradhan's with their musical instruments

In some time, The Gond ladies sat facing the Pradhans, Goshala was at the back side of them. Some ladies even sat on the steps of the main entrance of Goshala. After everything got settled. Two Pradhans and Pen Kotwal (comes under Pradhans) stood up and went to the place where Katoda's were. They kept crushed tobacco on the carpet and in turns offered salutations to the Katodas, Patels and the group by touching the ground. Then, a person from Pradhan Kitta, sat in front of the Katodas group and spread his white shoulder cloth on the ground facing the Katoda's. After some chat, money in notes and change were put on the spread cloth. Everyone one sitting in the group took turns and offered money. People sitting at the back who failed to reach with their hands, stood up walked to him, offered money and



sat in the same position. This continued for some time till it was ascertained that everyone from the group was done.

Then the same Person from Pradhan Kitta, carefully handled the money in his white cloth and moved to the ladies sitting with their backs facing the Goshala. After going to them, he sat the same way that he sat before the Katoda group, again a white cloth was spread before them. Everyone from the ladies started offering money in change and notes. The ladies group were not sitting on the carpet, they were sitting on the ground. Some even stood at the back side. All through this process, people who carried Mashals and the oil container stood near Goshala.

Then began the next ritual. In this ritual both the Pradhan and Katoda groups participated. In the beginning, Pradhan and two persons from his Kitta took initiative and started the ritual. One of the Patels stood up and came to the Pradhan, then Pradhan crushed the tobacco and kept it in the hands of Patel, a 7 nodes bamboo stick was also given to him. After receiving both, he held the shoulder cloth and Bamboo stick with left hand and with the right hand, the powder like tobacco specks were offered to all the four directions by bending down and sprinkling it on the ground in bits, later salutations were offered. Then he stood, with a bamboo stick in the right hand and cloth in the left-hand, some movements were done by him. They involved jumping and throwing both hands left and right in the air with bamboo stick and cloth. Drums were being played. The music slowly got intensified and then even his movements increased in frequency and intensity. Suddenly a hysteria kind of attitude overcame him and as he was about to go out of control, Pen Kotwal and Patel Kitta person came to him, and stopped him immediately catching him tightly by the waist. By doing so his movements were disabled, and the stick was grabbed from his hand and he was walked back to his place. If this is not done, they believe that the person doing movements gets more violent and would hurt himself and others. Then, in the same way, another three Patels came and repeated all the things done by the first Patel. Even they were stopped in between as their movements intensified and then they were also walked back to their places. All this ritual happened in the space between seating places of Katodas, Pradhans, and the women Gonds. Music continued. Now, it was the turn of the Pradhans. The entire steps were repeated by Pradhan and then Pen Kotwal, even their movements were stopped in between by the Patels and escorted back to their places. PenKotwal movements were of high intensity. Patels could not control him in the beginning, but later gained control over him. This ritual is done with the belief that Nagoba enters the people while doing movements, and he himself does these

things with their body. This entire play, was recorded by the cameramen and photographers from local newspapers and channels. Patel then went to the women, and called everyone with hand gestures. They entered the ground and started doing small steps in a circle expressing happiness. During this, some guys stood on the steps of Goshala, and some stood away from their dancing place and kept watching. Before this, only Drums were used for the ritual, but now all the instruments were played simultaneously in high notes facilitating dance. After some time women stopped dancing. Then entered Gond men, and with musical instruments played by group members they did dance movements. Whistles were blown and the entire atmosphere was filled with vigour and delight. Then, they all gathered around the carpet where the Pradhans sat previously. They all stood in lines around the carpet playing Pippiri and other musical instruments. The Mashals were put off. They offered tobacco to the ground and touched it, Later they stood up and did Namaskara, this was done thrice. Then everyone dispersed and after sometime, this ended.”<sup>32</sup>

### **PART: 13**

**Satik Puja:** A worship dedicated to deity Satik in shrine built exclusively for Satik is called "Satik Puja". Clay balls were made, and were then treated as idols, they were worshipped for the occasion of Nagoba Jatara. Satik is at the backside of the compound wall of Nagoba temple. Satik is a hut-like structure erected on wooden pillars i.e. three wooden pillars to its right, three at its centre and three to its left. The left side pillars are covered with a flap made of sliced Bamboo layers. The top is covered with ceramic tiles in an arch shape. Under it, eleven medium-sized lamp bases filled with clay balls were kept. Vermillion and Orange colors were smeared on them, probably from the previous year arrangements made during Nagoba Jatara. They were installed on to a straight clay mold and at the back of this mold, a medium size lamp base with still smaller lamp bases inside it were seen. These were called Satik Goddess by the Gonds.

On the evening of 21<sup>st</sup> January, all the Gonds reached "Satik" playing musical instruments. This place and puja (worship) are especially for new brides, but even the other Gond women joined them. All these women got new pots to this place. Some got big clay pots carrying on their heads, some got steel carriers on their heads, and few more carried

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<sup>32</sup>Jampaiah, Chunchu. "Gond's Nagoba Jatara; Performance of Bheatikoriyal." *International Research Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* (2017): 1-7. Print. pp. 2-7  
(The Information Included in the 'IRJMS' Journal)

ding in a basket. After reaching Satik, Patel, Pradhan, their group and all other Gonds offered salutations to Satik, the group was lead by the Pradhans and Patels from the front. They bent twice and offered salutations to the Satik, People at the back followed what they did. After that, one of the Patels took the medium sized clay pot and installed it near the left side corner of the hut, two ceramic tiles were kept under them. Gond women, mostly from the Patel Kitta gathered at the centre where the eleven idols were kept. There were already heaps of rice puffs before the idols. The Gond women with bare hands cleared all the Puffs, Patels Mother cleared the Puffs and Katoda's wife helped her in the process, even other women from Patel's participated in this. Then Katoda's wife collected all those rice puffs into a cloth spread on the ground, other women too collected those rice puffs into some random clothes. This procedure was winded up after they finished clearing and collecting the rice puffs. As these things were done, some people sat near the pillars of Satik, some sat facing the tents between Goshala and Nagoba temple and some people were moving to different corners.

All the newlywed Gond women clad in white sarees, went for the holy water with clay, steel, and brass pots carrying on their head. A cloth was in between their head and base of the carrier acting as cushion. Even the son in laws of Mesram followed them. All of them started walking in straight lines, in between they passed through stalls, shops in Fairs ( edible items shop, ox Accessories shop, Nagoba God photos shop, Sweet shops and Balloons etc;), other crowdy places and lanes with teak trees on both sides. Ambient music from speakers was heard from the Nagoba Temple. They all continued this way till they reached the holy well.

After they reached the holy well, all the carriers on their heads were kept to the right side of the well in line. The land was uneven, the place of the well was lower from the normal ground level, and the place was irregular with ups and downs. All the newly wed Gond women, sat on the ground in squatting Position. Most of them too sat in squatting position. After they all settled down. Then, one of the son in laws of Mesram began doing the Puja to the holy well. Incense sticks, steel carrier, steel bowl, coconut and lentils as Naivedya were used in Puja. Seven incense sticks were lit and kept near the well. A coconut was broken and its water was collected in the bowl, later, coconut pieces were mixed with lentils in the bowl. Some droplets of Coconut water were sprinkled into the well from the steel carrier and the Naivedya was offered at the base of the well, then some pieces of Naivedya were also thrown into the well. Patel who has been doing all this in squatting position stood up and offered salutations to the holy well. One of the Patels made rope out of white clothes by tying their

ends like a rope. One of its ends of the rope was tied to the handle of the steel carrier and was dipped into the well. Inside the well, one half of the area was covered by rock plank and the other half was free. He pulled water from the well with the rope for three times and then poured it into the clay pot, all the other pots were not filled, only this pot was filled as a symbolic representation of the tradition, which required carrying holy water from the well to Satik. Then, Gond women stood up, took their Pots, and went to a nearby place where there was water tap, they filled all their Pots and carriers with this tap water. After filling them they stood in two lines and started for Satik shrine. While coming from Satik, Son in laws of Mesram led the line and while going back, son in laws of Mesram followed the line. Again they all passed through streets with teak trees and reached Satik.



**Figure: 40.** At the Holly Well son in law of Mesram filling pot with water, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took before Satik puja

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

At Satik, all the clay idols were removed from their place under the hut, and were kept on a big Brass plate. The pattern of their arrangement was from outside to the inside, 8 of them were first placed along the circumference on the outside and the insides were later filled with other clay lamp bases. Three male Patels were involved in this. After all the eleven clay bases were arranged inside the big brass plate. The lamp base which was at the back of the clay model, was also kept on the Plate. The Brass plate was then lifted up by the Patels and was taken to the back side of the shrine. Some women, arranged pots filled with water to the

left side of the Satik. One of the Patels, was handed over a small steel carrier filled with water, and he started washing the clay moulds inside the brass plates. One by one, he poured water onto all the eleven moulds and also the lamp base carrying other small lamp bases. After doing this, the moulds got cleaned a little from the smear of vermilion and other colors which were seen on them prior to this. In this process, Patel was accompanied by some other Patels, One of the Patels took a dried coconut and crushed it into very small pieces, and the crushing was done on a flat stone with a heavy stone. Then, from a small cover filled with sesame seeds, some seeds were put on the same flat stone where the coconut was crushed and mixed with it, both of them were crushed and was made into a rough textured powder. Then, this powder was applied on the same clay moulds, and was rubbed on them, due to this the remaining tough stains on the clay moulds from the previous year puja, were completely washed away. Preliminarily, they were washed with water and then the crushed powder was applied. From the later discussions with Gonds, it was understood that the crushed powder has been doing the work of a scrub, For eg: as a face scrub removes the layer of dirt and dust on the face, in the same way, this powder when rubbed on them removed the tough stains of smeared colors, friction from the hard particles of the powder wiped the color out of the clay moulds. After these two things were done, the moulds looked clean. In the meanwhile, at the front of Satik and in between people, the son in laws of Mesram gathered and the carriers filled with water were to their left, four of them were of steel and one was brass. Then these son-in-laws started digging soil, all the pots were then seen on their right. The four sticks which were previously used in Bhovla Vaatval, were again kept near them. One of the son in laws of Mesram, did Puja to the land with incense sticks, coconut, Lentils, and Naivedya, and then they started the process of digging. Two son in laws were involved in this digging process, while the digging was being done, the Pradhans who were at the compound wall; i.e. to the left side of Nagoba temple, played Musical instruments. After some digging son in laws left the scene.

Gond women who were seated on all the corners moved to the dug place. From them, some women took initiative and formed a circle around the dug place. Then they made two Ant hills like structures using the dug clay, this process involved ripping, gathering and softening. The clay was mixed with the dung from the basket, which was kept at Satik in the beginning. After mixing it with dung, they poured some water into it and then made the clay into Ant hills like structures, One Anthill was big and the other was comparatively small. Some steel pots were kept with water, and the women used water from them during moulding

process, they softened the moulds on the surface using water, then one of the women lit seven incense sticks and inserted them into the bigger Anthill, and then, all the women offered salutations. After this, some women stood in two lines from the Ant hills till Satik, they faced each other, to one end of both lines, there were the Gond women who did the Anthill moulds, and to the other end sat Katoda's wife. People who were close to the bigger Ant hill and the people who were close to the small Ant hill, ripped clay from it and made clay balls. Within the same circle, people now unpreparedly got divided into two groups. One was making clay balls out of the bigger Anthill and the other from the smaller one. Then the people who were making clay balls from the bigger Ant hill, started handing over those balls to the people from both the standing groups. Going to details; People who sat near the Bigger Anthill passed the clay ball to one to sitting next to her, and then that person passed it to the person sitting next to her. Like this, they passed it to both the lines in either directions. Then the women standing in line, took the clay ball with both hands and then passed it to the next in line with both the hands, this further continued until each and every one from the line passed on the clay ball till it reached its destination which was Katoda's wife and the inner area of Satik shrine. This happened with both the lines. One group handed the clay balls to Katoda's wife from the left, and another group handed the clay balls from the right. The people who were at smaller Anthill, ripped clay the same way, made it into balls and rotated the balls in their own group.

Katoda's wife made a circle outlined by these clay balls, and then filled it with the same, as the process progressed, enough of clay balls were gathered and were arranged in concentric circles in descending order to the top, She made an inverted cone structure. One of the Patels, came in between and conversed with Katoda's wife correcting the structure built by her. Then, after the completion of the structure. The people who were previously standing in their place didn't move or made any adjustments. Now the reversal process began. The way all the clay balls were segregated into an Inverted cone. Similarly, one by one all the clay balls were removed and handed over to the people standing in both the lines by Katoda's wife. People in the lines, passed these back to the former people sitting in the circle close to a bigger Anthill, who by now completely ripped off and cleared the Anthill. In that cleared space, they again built an Anthill with the segregated clay balls. This was similar to the one built by Katoda's wife. Later they smoothened it on the surface using water from the water carriers kept beside.

Now the clay balls which were passed to the inside of the Satik shrine, were used to make the platform. The Platform which was made the previous year, was shred to bits and cleared completely. In the cleared place, the segregated clay balls were kept in a straight line and smoothened at the top using water. This process continued, till all the balls were moulded into a rectangular platform shape. A round platform was made at its back, It was also moulded using water, in the end, it was made into a round structure little higher from the ground compared to the rectangular platform, the top of the round mould or structure was made flat, this was for the lamp. At its back and front, the ground was made smooth. Another round platform was made to the left corner of Satik using the same clay, and was smoothened using water. Two Gond women, smeared the ground with dung and then sprinkled the water on it from the steel carrier. The dung would become soft when mixed with water, this made it possible for spreading it on the ground. They smeared it to the sides, front and back side of the platform completely. Finally, the picture was that of a smooth and glistening ground with the rectangular platform on it and a round mould to its back.

Now it was the time for the next step. All the Patel males entered the shrine, one of the Patels got a basket filled with items required for the upcoming puja. The basket comprised of; steel carrier with castor oil, a steel bowl full of lentils, coconut and other puja items, a white cloth full of flour, a black cloth full of flour, a transparent cap container filled with castor oil. After keeping that to the right side corner of Satik. A round steel container (old and rusty in look) with a lit lamp in the inside was brought, it was kept beside the round mould. Then two Patel women arrived, one of them sat at the back of the container lamp and round mould, while the other woman went to the right of the Satik, and kept a container filled with castor oil near the previously kept basket by Patel. At the back of Satik, previously washed and cleansed moulds (Eleven in number) were brought on the Brass plate by some Patels. The woman who sat near the carrier lamp, was given a Teak leaf, she took the leaf and kept it below the base of lamp carrier. The Patel guy who handed the Leaf to Patel women was Badhi Rao Patel, generally, he is addressed as Reddy Patel by the Locals over there. He brought a brass carrier full of water, and kept it beside the carrier lamp but a little distant from it. Soon two more Patels joined him, and all the three sat near the Rectangular Platform facing the Patel women. In between was Reddy Patel, the person to his right (Nagu Rao Patel alias Sipai Patel) carried a black stick with a metal edge. Now the people who sat at the back of Satik shrine with Brass plate full of molds. Started handing over the molds (clay holding lamp bases) one by one to the Patel (Mesram Chinnu Patel) sitting to the left of Reddy Patel.



He took them, and gave them to Reddy Patel. He arranged them one by one on the rectangular Platform to his front, this was created using clay moulds. Then he arranged, till the wooden pillar lying at the centre of the Satik. Then for the other half from there, the moulds which were given to Reddy Patel were again passed on to the Patel sitting on the right, he took those moulds and filled the other half of the rectangular platform arranging them in a line, Like this all the eleven moulds were kept on the rectangular platform. After this, the male Gonds who sat at the backside holding the brass plate, cleaned the plate with white cloth they held after all the moulds were removed. Going to people inside the shrine, Head of the Patels Venkat Rao's mother appeared in the scene and sat (squatting) in the front of the all the three Patels, she started unwinding all the things, which were kept inside the basket, She took the brass container filled with castor oil, and poured it into the bowl in her hand, she filled the small bowl to its brim and handed it over to Reddy Patel (Guy in the middle). The Gond guy at the back side handed a clay bowl (with stains of orange-red tilak) to Mesrm Chinnu Patel (Guy to the left of Reddy Patel) and he passed it to Reddy Patel. Again Venkat Rao's mother gave him a cover from the Basket which had orange-red tilak powder, he emptied the powder from the cover on to the clay bowl, he then poured the castor oil from the bowl given to him, the tilak was insufficient so some more tilak was given to him by Mesram Chinnu Patel unwinding a paper fold, he then with all the orange tilak in the bowl, started mixing it with the castor oil. Now the Patel woman, who has been sitting beside the lamp clay mould or post cleaned the lamp, filled it with castor oil and kept it on the round structure at the back of the clay moulds on the main rectangular platform. After a brief chat, Sipai Patel (person to the right of Reddy Patel) moved away from the scene, and only Reddy was seen sitting, he finished mixing all the orange-red tilak in the bowl, the paste was now thick and smooth without any lumps, he smeared the tilak on the clay moulds on to the top of clay base, he applied it from all the directions. One by one, he reached the end and then drew seven small lines at the base of the rectangular platform using the orange-red tilak. After that, the same was repeated at the base of moulds to the front. Then progressing the same way, all the moulds were smeared with enough tilak, and then, all the clay moulds got a shiny look. All the Gond people were sitting at all the corners of Satik, but most of them were sitting in the front group. Now the Patel women, at the back arranged cotton wicks inside the clay lamps, the carrier lamp was now at the back of lamp mould. Then, one of the Patel woman came and sat near the moulds, and lit the lamp on the lamp mould or post and offered salutations. While the woman offered salutations, Reddy Patel stood up with the tilak bowl in his hand, and smeared tilak on the pillars to the left and right edge of the moulds in round

shape. Wicks were arranged on a lamp and kept on the mould to the right side of Satik from the front. One of the Gond women sat near it, and lit it.

Simultaneously, another process happened at the back of Satik. One of the older women brought a white cloth full of Ragi Flour (a little grainy because of the uneven grinding) and emptied it on to the Brass plate. Son-in-law of Mesram, sat beside the brass plate looking after the plate, then, the Brass plate was passed to the Gond women standing to the right side of the shrine at the outside. Remaining women gathered near the brass plate with white cloths filled with flour. Some women, sat around the brass plate and unwinded their white cloth full of flour. Then one by one, each woman filled the plate with the flour they brought, extracting it with both the hands. The Flour was kept on the plate, in 4 to 5 turns with both the hands by all women. The flour was of different Kinds i.e. Ragi Flour, Rice Flour, sorghum flour, corn flour etc.; and as usual, the flour was little grainy. After the women who sat around the brass plate were finished, the next set of woman sat near the plate and repeated the same thing done by the others. Like this, in some time, the entire plate was full with heaps of variety of flours. After the plate was full, a synthetic cloth was then used for collecting the flour brought by Gond women. In the similar manner, remaining Gond women offered Flour on the Synthetic cloth. After all the People were finished, the cloth was folded and catching by its both ends, some Gonds took it to the Fireplace for Preparing Seesa or Naivedya.

From then, slowly the light started fading and this ritual took turns. A white cloth was spread before Satik Goddess (11 clay moulds) inside Satik shrine. A Patel woman, sat inside Satik, to the left side of the shrine, all the sisters of Mesram also sat beside her in a line, their line extended till the outside ground. All the son in laws of Mesram, sat to the right side of the Satik shrine in a line, even their line extended till the outside ground. A white cloth was spread before their group by sisters of Mesram and another white cloth was spread before their son in laws of Mesram. The Newlywed Gond women, clad in white sarees approached Satik and formed a line in between the sisters and son in laws of Mesram, the newly married entered the shrine in pairs, they sat before the Satik Goddess (11 clay moulds) and unwinded the white cloth they brought and emptied rice puffs from it on to the cloth before Goddess. Then both from the newlyweds, offered some change to the elder woman sitting at the back, then some change was offered at the base of Satik Goddess twice in two different areas. After this both the women with bent knees and bent heads touched the ground, and with hands in Namaskara posture, offered salutations twice. Then they both stood up and moved to the

place where the Patel woman was sitting (to the right side of the shrine). They did Namaskara to her and offered her some change (money), in return she marked tilak on their foreheads from the bowl. This tilak bowl was previously used to smear tilak on the clay molds. After each from the pair of newlyweds was marked with tilak, both of them went to where from they entered. They offered change to both sisters and son-in-law of Mesram on the White cloth spread before them. Then as they passed both the lines, they held hands of each and every one from both the groups offered salutations and said "ram ram". The women who were done with this, walked out of the shrine and sat in little groups. During this process, Music instruments were played by Pradhan Kitta People. Like this, each and every one from the newlyweds had their turn. Then, it was night and the lights mounted on wooden sticks were lit, But, the inside area of the shrine was still dark with only two lamps at the back of the Satik God. After the Newlyweds left the scene, now it was the turn of the Gond men. Arrangements were made for their entry, the long cloths which were spread before the entry and in the inside were removed. Inside the shrine before the Satik Goddess to the left and right, 7 coconuts were arranged, rice was poured in seven heaps in front of both marks seven lines drawn using orange-red tilak made by Reddy Patel in the afternoon of that day, while decorating Satik with orange-red tilak) to the left and right of the centre pillar. The marks that were seven in numbers, were made bold using a Magenta colored powder. Then, some incense sticks were lit and kept before the Satik Goddess. All the Pradhans, who carried musical instruments, stood at the front of the shrine and Venkat Rao Patel along with others entered the shrine. By then, the Satik was swarming with Gonds, It was Venkat Rao, the head of Patels who supported the further process. She and he hens were brought before the Satik Goddess and rotated for one time over the Dhoopa smoke, they were made to eat the rice before the Satik Goddess. In beginning, the hens seemed reluctant but in some time, they took the bite from the heap of rice, one of the Patel sprinkled rice in bits from the back. It was dark, so Mesram Chinnu Patel was guiding the people with the torch. One by one, all the Gonds brought their hens near the Satik God and did the same. People got divided into two groups, one group brought their hens and made them eat the offering on one side and the other group did it on the other side, this was done before making Naivedya using hens, whichever hen did not touch the rice, even after continuous patting was not used in Naivedya. After that, all the people exited from Satik shrine. This continued for some time, then Pradhan with steel carrier full of water, Base made of Motuku leaves, coconut and incense sticks came towards the lamp base which was to the Right side of Satik. He sat near it in squatting position and lit few incense sticks and kept them near the wooden pillar which was

close to the lamp. Then, he took some rice from a white cloth, and poured it into eight small heaps in front of the Lamp. A pattern was seen, when he did this, seven of the small heaps made out of rice were in straight line and the remaining heap was made under this line, exactly to the centre. After doing this, he sprinkled some rice on them, this didn't disturb the former pattern made by Pradhan using rice, and then he sprinkled some water on these heaps again. Some rice in Motuku leaf as the base was offered before lamp and a coconut was kept under the pillar housing the lamp and the Platform. A hen was brought and again it was made to eat the rice before the lamp. As Pradhan did this, all the newlyweds, including some Gond women continued the process, till then, only the newlyweds have done this. Everyone one from the Gond women, went to the Satik idol, offered change to the it and to the woman sitting beside it, the Patel woman sitting to the left of the Satik from the front, were offered change but this didn't end here. While Pradhan was doing puja, Gond women who were finished with offerings inside Satik, offered change before the lamp to which Pradhan did puja. Then, all the Gond men, brought their goats; one by one before the shrine, and sprinkled water on its body, this was done by one of the Patels in the beginning. Badi Rao Patel used the smoke base (Dhoopa Made by using Motku leaves as its base and charcoal as fuel) and showed those goats to smoke after the sprinkling of water on them was done. Then the Gonds and the Patels, waited for the Goat to shake its head and body in order to get rid of water. This gesture was seen as a confirmation by the Gonds that they are ready to be used in Naivedya, If any of the Goats did not do this, they were not used in Naivedya, this continued till all the Goats were done. In the next step, all the Goats and Hen which have complied to the acceptance procedure (i.e. Goats shrugging bodies and Hen taking a bite from rice) were taken to the back of Satik, and slaughtered, they were used in the Preparation of Seesa. For this, as always, fire was made and big barrels, pots were used for making Seesa. The flour collected that Afternoon i.e. Rice and the Meat were also used. Ladles were used for checking in between, faint light from light source arranged at a distance from the cooking place, helped solve the visibility issue in that area. By then, the weather got very chilly, and so, some men, gathered in small circles and made fire, they made themselves warm using fire. In the Satik shrine, arrangements were made by some Patels for the next part. Before the Satik Idol, eight Motku leaves were spread on the ground to the left and right side of it, making it sixteen totally. This arrangement followed a pattern. In the afternoon, as the orange tilak was used for drawing seven straight lines before Satik, the same way, seven Motku leaves were arranged in a straight line and one more Motku leaf was kept at the front of these seven Motku leaves. Then, after the people were done with the cooking of Naivedya on the other side. The

Naivedya was carried to Satik in a basket. Then Patels arranged Naivedya in bits on all Motku leaves i.e. sixteen and covered them with the same sixteen more Motku leaves, then, it was the time for Puja, one of the Patels was looking after the coconuts on both sides of the Satik idol and the process thus began. Incense sticks were already lit, and they have been continuing from the puja done in the afternoon, a leaf filled with lentils was kept on both sides of Satik idol followed by two brass containers. After these arrangements were done, one by one all the Patels and Gonds approached this place and did the following. They took the coconut, and broke it on the stone at the centre of the idol. Then whichever side they did the Puja first, that the brass barrier at that side was filled. Then the coconut inside the broken pieces was scraped and extracted as small pieces. A piece of the coconut was offered in between idol and seven Motku leaves, and another piece was kept on the eighth Motku leaf in front of the seven and covered. Then, the water which they collected inside the brass container was taken into palms and sprinkled for seven times before the idol. Then, they took the Naivedya from the eighth Motku leaf as a lump and again sprinkled it for seven times in the space between the leaves and idol. Afterwards, lentils which were arranged on both sides were again taken a lump and sprinkled for seven times. The sprinkling of water and the Naivedya was done alternatively for two times. After they finished doing all this, with reverence they offered salutations by touching their head to the ground. Till then, all this was done on only one side of the idol, the same person shifted to the right and the things which were done on the left were repeated on the right. Like this, all the Gonds came to the idols place and did all this. Patels like Mesram Chinnu, Venkat Rao Patel etc.; were the first to do this and then Katoda and others followed them. Musical instruments were played by Pradhans, throughout his process. All this happened in the faint ambient lights from Nagoba temple, and also from the lights tied to the tree beside Satik. By then, the Gond people sitting around Satik were covering themselves with blankets. People who sat outside, slowly dispersed leaving only Patels and others like Pradhan, Katoda, and people who went to Hastana Madugu. Then, Pradhan, Katoda, and five members who were involved in getting Kalasam, gathered inside the Satik shrine, and sat facing the Satik idol in a semi-circle. One of the Son in laws of Mesram, took initiative, and with a big bowl and a glass of water went to each and every one, they washed their hands with the given water, and the used water was collected in the bowl, after everyone was done. Dhoopa in Motku leaves base was shown to everyone sitting there, they allowed the smoke onto them, with over arm receiving gesture. Then the person serving them, went to the left of the idol and one by one removed all the Motku leaves with Naivedya out of their place, then they were placed before all the Seven

Patels, along with it, they were served some more Naivedya items (solid and mutton gravy) from a bowl with ladle, this went for some time and they finished eating. After that, they left the place, and then the leaves in which they took their food were removed by the same person who had been serving them food. Then the seven Patels gathered in the shrine, and the sat the same way in which the former group did, even they were served with Naivedya by one of the son in laws of Mesram, but, this time, the Naivedya was taken from the right side of the idol, and with curries were offered to them. They too finished eating, and then it was the turn of Gond Women and children, till then all the women with their children were dispersed into different areas, and then with word of mouth, all the Gond women gathered in the Satik area. They sat in four lines, starting from Goshala till Satik. The first line sat with their backs facing the second entrance wall of Nagoba temple, and the remaining three groups sat facing them. Enough space was left in between for eating and for the serving person to fit in. After the seating was done, they all were served Naivedya in steel plates. It was late by the time they finished eating, then entered male Gonds, they too sat the same way in which these female Gonds sat and accepted their Naivedya. By then, it was 11:00pm in the night. After this, they have gone back to their carts and then this ritual of Satik Puja, came to an end.



**Figure: 41.** Sathik Goddess Puja, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while happening Satik puja

Source: Photograph: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

## ***PART: 14***

**Persa Pen Puja:** Persa Pen was referred by the Gonds as their supreme God. It was to the left of Satik shrine. A rock with seven open edges was shown as Persa Pen idol, around it several rocks were seen. To its left, there was a water tank built by the government. It was installed for meeting the drinking purpose of Gonds. To the back of this idol, there was an old structure with a pillar and an entry, for cooking purpose only. It is called Vanta Shaala (Kitchen) by them. In between this structure and the Persa Pen, there were banyan trees.

On the 21st of January, afternoon, the Gond women did puja to the Pots inside Goshala, and some male Gonds assembled at the main entrance of the Goshala and started collecting things, they were as follows; Brown rice, White rice, Jaggery, Lentils, Ragi flour, Coconuts and Javari flour. A big carpet was spread for this purpose near the main gate. All the male Gonds got these things in white cloth as a bundle from their houses. Special mention can be made regarding these things, as all of them were prepared Using Rolu Rokali (Indian traditional grinder). Then they approached the spread carpet on the ground and offered all these things in seven Lumps with both the hands in turns, flour was collected separately, brown and white rice were mixed after collecting and remaining things were separately kept on the cloth, this went on for some time and the entire carpet which was used for collecting was full. Again, they have spread a white cloth to the front of Goshala and started collecting from the people who were left. Gayaki was actively participating in receiving and segregating items one by one. After some time the process of collection was done.

In the same Afternoon, the Pradhans who played music played Kalikom as an invitation to all the Men (Gonds) for the oncoming process, all the Men (Gonds) assembled at the place which was in between the cooking place (Vanta Shaala), Persa Pen Idol and Satik shrine. It was a large open place and could comfortably fit in a large number Gonds. Throughout their settling process, the music instruments kept playing, Dol, Kalikom, Pippiri, and Kikkiri were played offering different tunes. A medium sized clay pot with a clay bowl covering already existed when all these Gonds approached this place. With the clay pot at the centre, all the male Gonds stood in a semi-circle, Katoda was at the centre. Katoda was briefly communicating things to the members, when a heap of coconuts were brought and kept near the pot, one of the Gonds brought some incense sticks packet and kept it leaning on the pot.



The same Gond took some incense sticks from the packet and divided them into four parts, one part had seven incense sticks, the second part had six incense sticks, the third part had five incense sticks and the fourth part had four incense sticks respectively. Katoda, sat in squatting position and cleared the ground of hard stones and wastes near the pot, all the Gond members were standing behind looking at him. One of the members, brought Dhoopa in the base of Motku leaves, magenta color tilak in the base of Motku leaves and also an orange-red tilak in the same base, they were kept to the left side of Katoda.

In the beginning of the Puja, Brass container full of water was given to him, water was poured into it from the clay pot. He took the container, and sprinkled the water for seven times on the ground, then lit Incense sticks were given to Katoda in the same pattern as they were divided, firstly Katoda took the bundle of seven lit incense sticks, and inserted them in the ground to his front, in the after turns, he inserted other bundles of six, five and four respectively in the same ground beside each other. Then Dhoopa (one which emits smoke) in Motku base was lit, and given to him. He accepted it with both the hands, and then sprinkled some powder on it, It created dense fumes, then with the Motku base, Katoda like an Aarti (showing to God) rotated seven times in front of the first bundle with seven incense sticks, six times in front of the second bundle, five times in front of the third bundle and four times in front of the fourth bundle, this was done in accordance with the number of incense sticks in each bundle. Fumes of smoke spread all over the puja place.

Then he was given the brass container full of water, he took it and again poured some water into his right hand, and sprinkled it on the area before these incense sticks, by then they were already standing in a straight line, he with his right-hand palm facing the ground, wiped the soil and then again cleared the soil at the base of the incense sticks, he repeated this process for some time till the water soaked completely into the deeper layers of the soil. After some time, the soil appeared a little soft and mushy, then he took one of the Motku leaves the base with magenta colored tilak, pinched some tilak from it and sprinkled it in front of seven incense sticks, the sprinkling was done in small heaps of seven, then in heaps of six, five and four, the same color tilak was put before the other bundles with a similar number of incense sticks.

Next, he took the Motku leaf base with orange-red tilak, and he again pinched some powder from it and sprinkled seven small heaps at the base of the Bundle of seven incense sticks, even this was in straight line, right under the Magenta color tilak, the lines were

parallel to each other. Then the same process was repeated with other lines under different bundles in descending order i.e six small heaps were made parallel to a former made line at the base of six incense sticks and five under five incense sticks. After this was done, with the same orange color, Katoda joined the points in parallel lines at the base of incense sticks with vertical lines, the vertical lines matched the number of heaps put before. After this process was followed for some time in descending order at the base of the bundles, the Magenta colored tilak was again taken and the orange-red lines were made bold with magenta tilak, this was done, till it looked like vertical sections in a rectangular figure filled with intermingled colors.

The soaked soft soil provided a firm base for these colors, otherwise, the colors would have got sprayed by the winds all over, and the entire design would not have come out so well. All the colors were given to Katoda by Gayki, who sat next to him and Jopa gave water from the clay pot to Katoda. Pradhan was standing to the left of Katoda, and he had been instructing him throughout the procedure. All the people stood around the puja place like a whirlpool circle beginning at the left of Katoda, and ending somewhere at the outer end of the circle. Coconuts were given to Katoda by Gayki, Katoda took them and placed them one by one before the 4 bundles of incense sticks, Again the same pattern mentioned before was followed, i.e 7 coconuts before the bundle of seven incense sticks, six coconuts before six, five coconuts before five and four coconuts before four respectively. Throughout this, Pradhan to his left was guiding him. The coconuts which were kept in front of the incense sticks covered the drawings made by Katoda using Magenta and orange-red tilak (colors).

Then Gayki gave him Dhoopa in Motku leaves, and Katoda with both hands rotated in air before the coconuts, and followed the same number in which they were placed. Then a bundle of white cloth was brought, and kept close to the puja set up before Katoda, the bundle had rice inside it. It was uncovered, rice heap laid bare open and then Katoda took Dhoopa with Motku leaves base and kept close to it, he took the Powder (Guggilam) and sprinkled it inside the hot Dhoopa, Fumes emerged. He took the rice with both hands and showed it to Dhoopa, then he placed the rice once again in the heap, like this he took the lump showed it to Dhoopa and placed it back in the heap for four cycles in different counts. The way it was done was as follows; First time in seven counts, Second time six, third time five and fourth one four, this again followed the same count as incense sticks in all the four bundles. After showing the lumps of rice to the Dhoopa, Katoda stood up with the Dhoopa. One of the Gond members was given the Dhoopa in Motku base, and he went to get the

burning coal in it. Katoda took a small towel, and tied it over his turban covering his ears, and knot was made at the chin. In some time, the Gond got the Dhoopa with burning coals and gave it to Katoda. Katoda took some Sambrani (Guggilam) powder from another base, and sprinkled it on the coals, a member of Katoda's carried the clay pot, and rushed to the front of Katoda, Gayki took Sambrani powder in a base, and stood at the back of Katoda. Then all the three went to people standing around in Whirlpool circle formation. Katoda person sprinkled water on the people from the front, Katoda showed the fumes of Dhoopa to the people and they did Namaskara, Gayki followed Katoda offering fumes from Sambraani powder in a base, whenever the fumes got thin he took the powder (Guggilam) from Gayki and sprinkled on it. Music people were playing Bajatri and the intensity heightened during this process. Like this, in one and a half revolution all the Gonds were covered, then all the three again reached the puja place and kept the small clay pot, Dhoop base and Saambraani base near it.

Katoda along with six other Gonds, took rice from the white cloth as lumps with both hands, and then approached each and every Gond sharing the rice in small bits with them. Different people chose different directions in the inner circle, but he went to them and shared the rice with them, then the process was repeated with the people from the outer circle. Six Gonds kept both the hands carrying rice on top of cup-shaped formation made out of both hands by others and released rice in small parts, Whoever was out of rice went back to the heap near the Puja place to refill his hands. Six Gonds who took initiative, poured the remaining rice back in the heap of rice near puja place, after they were done sharing, then only the rice equal to that shared with all the other Gonds was retained by the Six Gonds in their hands. After this, all the six Gonds along with Katoda re-grouped at the back of puja place in front line. Hands with one holding rice, and other supporting the former were both kept down at the waist level facing the front side. By then, all the Gonds were alert and looking at the puja place, then the six Gonds who regrouped at the puja place did the following; Katoda and others bent and touched the ground with both the hands, the fingers of their palm remained closed with rice in it, then they stood up did Namaskara, and after that paused a bit and offered Prayers silently, After prayer ,they touched their head with both hands, and repeated the same steps again, surrounding Gonds, did the same simultaneously with the leading Gonds. In the end, all the six Gonds approached the Puja place and poured back the bits of rice, which they held in their palms into the same white cloth. Then, all the six Gonds spread the towels with both hands and approached the people, the people around returned the bits of rice which were given to them before, they poured it back into the towels

held by six Gonds. In some time, all the six Gonds collected rice from each and every one, after ascertaining that they were finished with all the Gonds standing around, they came back to the puja place and poured rice from their towels into the same heap of rice kept before Puja set up.

Then Katoda sat in squatting position in front of the Puja set up, Pradhan sat to his right and one of the Katoda was to his left. Katoda took lumps of rice from the heap beside him and kept it in front of the Coconuts, this was done in a pattern. In the beginning he took a lump of rice in his fist and made seven dots on the ground, then under it another line (with seven dots) parallel to the former was made with same rice, in the end another small heap was poured under these two lines, totally there were 15 small heaps of rice. In the second round the process was repeated by Katoda and some more rice was poured on to the same heaps i.e Seven on seven in first and second line and one on one in the third line, this was done gradually and carefully as not to spread the rice all over the place, However, all the dots got mixed and appeared in the shape of Letter T.

After this, he moved to his left into the area where there were six incense sticks, He again took a lump of rice from the rice heap and Poured it into two lines of six heaps each, this was added by one more heap at the bottom, the total count was 13, in the second round, again the entire pouring process was repeated on all the heaps. Then, later he again shifted to his extreme left and created lines with heaps numbering 5 and 4 respectively joined by one more heap at the bottom, the pattern which was followed for the former two was followed for even this. By the end of the entire process, Heaps of 15, 13, 11 and 9 were seen before the incense sticks with the same base number equal to the number of sticks. Pradhan guided him in the beginning, and then a person from Katoda Kitta guided him.

Now the Puja place was approached by all the Gonds one by one, They kept money in change before the heaps in all the four groups, they also offered salutations by touching the ground and doing Namaskara, Like this all the Gonds standing at the back approached the puja place, and one by one offered money in change, some people even offered notes, this process began with Venkat Rao Patel. As offering continued, Katoda sat in the same squatting position and went to the next step in Puja. He took a Motku leaf base full of lentils and kept near him, then he was given a small clay pot full of water by Jopa, the water for this was taken from the clay pot seen at the beginning of the entire Puja process. Katoda poured some water into lentils and mixed it with his hand, then he poured some water into his right

hand and made seven rotations on the heap before the first group comprising of seven incense sticks, the water was slowly released from his closed fingers, then he took a lump of Lentils and sprinkled them on to the same heap for seven times in small bits and finally water was again sprinkled onto the heap in small portions for seven times. This procedure was repeated for all the heaps with counts of offerings similar to the number of incense sticks kept before them. In some time this process was done for all the four heaps in front of the coconuts. Then, again each and every Gond approached the puja place with their hens and Goats, Hens were made to take a bite from all the four rice heaps, Whereas goats were sprinkled with water from the small clay pot. As usual hens which took the bite from the heap and the goats which shrugged off their body after they were sprinkled with water were considered suitable for sacrifice, only their meat was used in cooking.

In the evening when Satik Puja was happening at the back of Nagoba temple. A structure made of cloth was arranged at some distance from it below Banyan tree, It was made using 8 sticks, these sticks were buried deep into the ground in the shape of an octagon, then a white cloth was wrapped around these eight sticks leaving only one side open. Whom so ever were present in the ceremony of getting water from the Hastana Madugu took the building job of this structure. Katoda in squatting position sat inside the structure, Pradhan, Gayki, Jopa and few other Gonds stood behind him. Then Katoda began Puja. In the beginning, Incense sticks were lit and kept in four bundles of 7, 6, 5 and 4 respectively along the edge of the white cloth, after these sticks were inserted into the soil as different bundles, salutations were offered with rotations, the number of rotations were same as the number of sticks in each bundle i.e seven rotations for seven incense sticks in the first bundle, six rotations for six and so on. The Goats and Hens that were shown at the puja place in the afternoon were now the part of Naivedya that was going to be used in this puja.

After that, Katoda under the guidance of Pradhan, made a line with seven dots using Magenta tilak before the bundle with 7 incense sticks, and another line was made under it, Later they both were joined. The same was done before other bundles matching the number of incense sticks that those bundles had. Naivedya (Rice, Mutton curry, and chicken curry) was brought in four Motku leaves and kept before all the bundles of Incense sticks, 3 clay plates filled with rice, Mutton pieces, and chicken pieces were brought and kept to the left side of the incense sticks, and some coconuts were brought and kept before the incense sticks. These were the coconuts from the puja done in the afternoon, totally they were 22 in number.

After offering Naivedya, all the coconuts were broken in front of these incense sticks, and its water was collected inside a brass carrier.

Katoda took a lump of Naivedya from the Motku leaf in front of the bundle with seven incense sticks, and with the lump in his closed fist, he rotated it seven times before the first bundle and sprinkled it slowly before it for seven times. The same was repeated before all the other bundles, but with the Lumps from the Naivedya kept opposite to them. Then coconut pieces and Lentils (in Motku leaf base) were again offered before the bundles with salutations, these matched the incense sticks in each bundle, with hand rotations these were sprinkled in front of all these bundles. Water in clay pot and Dhoopa in Motku leaf base were offered the above-mentioned way before all the bundles, in between Saambraani (Guggilam) was sprinkled into Dhoopa base, the 3 clay plates kept to the left were covered with Motku leaves. Then Katoda, Pradhan, Patel, Gayki, Jopa, Wade, and Sankepailal sat along the edges of the cloth structure inside and to the left of incense sticks. Two Gonds took the initiative for serving food to these seven people. One of them with a clay bowl and a clay pot filled with water, went to each Gond sitting in the line. Then one by one, all of them using water from the clay pot, washed their hands and the dripped water from their hands was collected inside the bowl, the bowl was then taken outside and discarded. Next, Motku leaves were spread on the ground before all the seven Gonds, then they were served Rice, Mutton curry, and chicken curry from the clay pots, and they were to the left of the Incense sticks, throughout the dinner, the Gond men served them curry's from buckets. After they were done eating, the Satik Puja which was going on simultaneous to this also reached its final stage. People at Satik, sat in rows and ate the Naivedya that was offered to Satik Goddess.

While the Naivedya was given to the seven Gonds. One of the Gond, with coconuts, incense sticks and rice in a Motku leaf did puja outside the cloth structure. It was as follows; first he lit four incense sticks and inserted them into the soil, then a coconut was broken on a stone nearby and its water was discarded. The coconut from the shell was scraped into small pieces on to a Motku leaf which already had rice in it, and then water from a brass carrier was poured into his right hand and sprinkled for seven times before the incense sticks. Later, the mixture of rice and coconut pieces were sprinkled before the same incense sticks in seven turns. After this was done, the Gond leaving those incense sticks in the same place left the place.



**Figure: 42.** Gonds are doing Persa Pen puja, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while happening Persa Pen puja

Source: Photograph: field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

### **PART: 15**

**Big Puja of Nagoba (Pedha Puja):** Keslapur Nagoba Temple is of great importance Mythologically when compared to the remaining places (places where other Pujas were done), which we have come across throughout this thesis. The birth of Nagoba Jatara has the direct connection to its existence, because Gonds strongly believe that Nagoba God roamed this place. From "the Myth", Gonds have come to believe that, Adi Seshu (serpent) after roaming this entire place hid in a hole of this ground and vanished. He assured that every year in the month of Pushya Maasa (Dec-Jan), he will appear to the people of Keslapur at the same spot. This spot after some modifications, was made into a shrine, in the present times, this is famous by the name Keslapur Nagoba Temple.

Keslapur Nagoba Temple was to the right of Satik. It is about 1km away from the banyan trees. This temple was surrounded by a huge compound wall painted in white, this wall was interrupted at two places making way for two entrances, one is the main entrance and the other one is the secondary entrance. Three steps made of Marble stone are at the Main entrance leading to the inside of the temple, and from the inside three more steps lead to the front of the temple. On the outside of the main entrance to the right of steps, there was a steel railing and it extended to the inside of the temple. To the right of this Main entrance, at the



outside, there were a heap of stones referred by the Gonds as Masai God. A stone pathway leads to the main entrance of this temple, this pathway is covered by a tent like structure erected on white poles. After immediate entry through the main entrance, there is Dwaja Stambha (holy pillar made of wood) enclosed in red iron square railings in rows of three. To the left of main entrance from the inside, there were again rows separated by 6 to 7 railings for maintaining large crowds during festivals. To the left of these white railings, there was a big Beruli tree and a stone platform was raised around this, A thin white thread was woven around its trunk, At some distance to the left of Beruli tree, there was a platform made of stone raised above the ground, it was close to the backside compound wall, Two Nagoba serpent idols (One with five hoods and one with only one hood) were seen on the platform, two more idols of divine serpents made of stone were found to the right of the brass idols on the same platform.

To the right of the main entrance from the inside, there was a rectangular Mud platform. Few feet away from this Mud platform, towards the entry compound wall, there was a second entrance. All the sides and corners at the inside of the compound wall, were left open exposing bare soil, there were no tiles covering them. In this soil variety of plants were found. Straight from the Dwaja Stambha to the centre, there was Nagoba temple. This temple was cuboidal in structure, three-fourths of the cuboidal structure was covered with marble platform, and it rose one and a half feet upwards from the ground. On the platform towards the entry, there were four Pillars and to the opposite end of it, there were three Pillars, Each pillar was widely moulded at the base, top, and centre, leaving the remaining narrow area. Paintings of Flowers with branches and peacock were found in the wide areas of the pillar, the colors used for painting them were Green, Light Red, and Yellow. These pillars supported a roof made of bricks and mortar, Pillars and the roof were painted in white, the roof's base facing the ground is bigger in the area compared to the one at the top, the perimeters of both the base and top were painted in plain red. A huge structure joined to the pillars at the backside had two Gopurams painted in yellow color and mounted on its top, they laid side by side with some design carved on them, this structure was again a cuboid fitting the marble platform at the front perfectly. To the front of this cuboid, there were two rooms at the joining point of the two structures, these rooms were in between the pillars at the back of the first structure. Bells were seen hanging from the roof of the first structure, in front of the two doors. The joining areas (where the rooms are) base is painted in light yellow. The surroundings of the second structure leaving the Gopuram, was painted in light yellow. Grill

doors were to the front of the room, it was painted in black, white and gold color with some design on it.

The room to the left from the main entrance housed Nagoba idol, and the room at its side was Satik Goddess. After the doors, the corners at the entrance were lined with Gold color material, It had some design on it, Inside the room, there was a platform raised above the ground out of marble, a rectangular shaped structure joined by a cylinder structure to its front, the top of the cylinder was covered with a dark granite flat stone, and a rectangular opening was carved at the centre of the stone for serpent. During puja, a medium sized brass carving of Nagoba serpent with 7 hoods was found over the rectangular hole on the granite stone, an arch of brass with carvings was also present at the back of this Nagoba idol. Tiles were used all around the room, until certain height. The other room to the side of this room, also had the same grill doors and Gold color lining at its entrance. Inside the room, there was again a platform raised above the ground, the platform and the whole room was lined with white tiles, to the right of the platform a small protruding rectangular area was made of cement, this room was used to house Satik.

Only men Gonds can take part in Big Puja, women are not allowed into this Puja. Before the beginning of the Big Puja, Katoda and the Gonds (who went to Hastana Madugu), totally 14 in number, entered the temple compound at approximately 6:00pm in the evening. The other Gonds were not allowed inside the compound wall, as this activity was not for all the Gonds. Then the Gonds entered the first structure (Marble platform), only three to four people entered the First room which housed Nagoba idol. They removed the Nagoba idol and all the embellishments made of Brass from the first room and cleared it, later all the seven clay bases and other articles were removed from the adjoining room, finally all the brass idols (one 7 hooded Nagoba brass serpent, two one hooded brass serpent, one 5 hooded brass serpent) were removed from the puja place at the backside area of compound wall, they all were kept between Beruli tree and compound wall, which was to the left from the inside of the main entrance. Then the work was divided in between two groups, first group comprised of 4 members and second group comprised of 10 members, the first group looked after the work near Beruli tree and the second group looked after the work inside the temple. Both the works happened simultaneously.

The members, from the first group, arranged three clay pots and one brass pot full of water, at the base of Beruli tree. To the right of clay pots, all the seven clay bases from Satik

with inside molds, lamp post, and a brass Shiva linga were arranged. Again to the right of these articles, four idols of the divine serpent made of brass and other brass embellishments were kept. Two persons from this group, sat down at some distance from the tree and made arrangements for cleaning all the above-mentioned articles, a dry coconut was broken into pieces and crushed using a heavy stone, besides this, all the sesame seeds were kept already arranged in a white cloth. Other two persons cleaned the brass idols with a local detergent kind of powder, it was handed to them by one of the members from other group and they scrubbed those idols using a coconut fiber as scrubber, they scrubbed the items using coconut fiber with their bare hands, they did this to wash away the colors used during the previous year. Water was supplied to them using the brass carrier, the washing group used the water from it and cleaned them. After all the washing was done using the local detergent kind of material, then was the turn of the handmade scrub i.e Coconut pieces and sesame seeds. All the four people, engaged in rubbing the coconut crush and Sesame seeds at the top of these idols, this made the idols filth free and shiny.

The members, from the second group, again got divided into groups. Two members scrubbed the inside walls of Nagoba idol room with a cloth, local detergent was used to scrub the walls, this was to make them free from the stains of colors applied during previous year puja. Water with a long pipe was held by one of the Gonds outside, its water was used to clean the insides of the room by spraying water from the pipe. Cleaning work inside was done scrupulously scrubbing every nook and corner inside the room, in some time, it shined bright with white tiles. One person was assigned the cleaning work inside the room adjacent to the first room. He also cleaned every nook and corner of the room using a cloth, but here he was careful not to spoil the clay platform settings, which were made during the Bheati Koriyal ceremony, without touching them all the other spots were scrubbed and washed with local detergent clean and white. Katoda and two more Gonds supervised the work standing outside the rooms. One of the Gonds swept all the marble platform and cleared all the petals and other filth on the floor, after this, the puja place, which was on the platform outside the temple and also close to the compound wall, was cleaned the same way by the Gonds from the second group. In some time both the groups were finished with the tasks assigned to them. Then all the things which were removed for cleaning, were replaced in their original places. After this all the Gonds closed the doors of the inside temple, main entrance and second entrance of the compound wall and went to their Kaslas, and had dinner. In some time

the Big Puja was about to begin, so they made sure that everyone from the same group was ready by the meantime.

The Big Puja began at night nine o'clock of 22nd, January. This time Pradhan, Patel, Pen Kothval, Gayki, Vadde, Sanke Paylal and few men Gonds (who were present for the cleaning activity) entered the temple. According to their belief, it is banned for the outsiders and other Gonds from entering the temple, so they locked the main entrance and also the second entrance. Unfortunately, as an outsider, the process was prohibited for filmography by researchers or other people. So the information that is being shared in the next lines is entirely from the secondary sources i.e interviews. Pradhan, Pen Kothwal, and Patel after the completion of this puja, shared the facts with specific details the following way; All the Gonds who entered the temple, carried articles like Milk in a brass container and puja materials tied as a bundle inside a white cloth. Katoda went to the backside of the temple unmounted the Holy Kalasham from the sticks and sprinkled the water on the inside and outside areas of the temple. Then all the Gonds gathered outside the first room which housed the Nagoba idol, milk was poured into a big copperplate and kept near the hole inside the room with Nagoba idol. Naivedyas, Sprouts, and fruits were also offered to Nagoba idol. Then a new towel was spread over the residing hole of the Divine serpent Nagoba, after that, all the Gonds left the room silently and sat at some distance from the room without facing the room, they maintained utter silence at least for one hour. Then they went back to the same room to check the towel. If the towel was found to have moved even a little, they believed it to be the work of the great God Nagoba, who came out of the hole and accepted milk and Naivedya. Pradhan and Katoda would confirm this and declare the official beginning of Jatara from that point.

After About an hour or so, all the members arrived at the entrances of Nagoba Keslapur temple and the Main and the second entrances were opened. As the main part of ritual was done, there was no restriction imposed on people for watching this. Then, only the Male Gonds entered the temple, the people who were not involved in the previous ritual, (offering Naivedya to Nagoba) entered the temple from both the entrances and stood in the place between compound wall and the main temple in a semi-circle. Then entered Pradhan, Katoda, Gayki, Sankepailal, Vadde and the Gonds who participated in getting water from Hastana Madugu. Of all, only these people entered the main temple on the Marble platform. They carried a basket full of Puja materials covered with white cloth, a brass plate full of Marie gold flowers, a brass carrier full of water, a bundle of white cloth and some bags. As

they walked in, they asked all the other Gonds to maintain line and discipline. The things were then kept in the first room (i.e the one with Nagoba idol). The room already had a medium-sized brass Nagoba idol placed on white towel, this towel had been covering the hole on the marble cylindrical platform from the previous process, a brass arch at the back of the platform, a one hooded small Nagoba idol to the right of the arch, five hooded small Nagoba idol to the left of the arch and a five hooded Nagoba idol inside the centre space of the Big Nagoba idol on the towel were seen. After placing all the things the room looked as follows, to the left of the cylindrical platform a basket full of things covered with white cloth, two handbags full of things and a Motku leaf base full of Saambrani powder, At the center base, two incense stick holders (one old and one new) made of clay, a small clay lamp base and a bottle with some castor oil. To the right, a small brass water carrier, a brass lamp post and a white cloth bundle was placed, Vermillion was passed inside to one of the Gonds. Outside the room, three Gonds carried lit Mashals and brass oil carriers, they were pouring castor oil to keep it burning continuously. Katoda then took initiative, and went inside the room, he sat in squatting position facing the idol, and he was assisted by one more Katoda to his right. Venkat Rao Patel stood at the backside, Outside the room, Pradhan and some other Gonds also stood outside, then Venkat Rao Patel handed a big brass plate full of small brass things like; two small brass lamp holders, one small holy grain holder, brass incense stick holder, a flower with leaves and a small plastic vermilion holder to Katoda. He took those things and sat down again. Vermillion holder was separated from the big brass plate and the plate was kept on the right side of Nagoba idol, one more Motku leaf base full of Saambrani with hot coal was kept to the front of the idol by one of the Gonds. Then Katoda took mixed castor oil and vermilion in a brass base and kept it aside, Katoda then exited the room. Then entered the brother of Katoda, he took the plastic vermilion base and pinched bits of it from the holder and applied on all the seven hoods of main brass Nagoba idol, in the same way vermilion was also applied to all the five hoods of small Nagoba idol inside the medium size brass Nagoba idol. Throughout the process of arranging things Bajatri (Musical instruments played by people) played continuously. After the brother was done applying tilak. Jopa, Venkat Rao Patel, and one more Gond entered the temple room, Venkat Rao Patel with the help of one more guy standing beside him arranged folded white cloth on the Nagoba brass idol; the cloth was spread from the one edge to the other edge of seven hoods, hanging on the sides, then a marigold garland was placed around the hoods of Nagoba idol hanging symmetrically from both sides. Pradhan, then removed the old incense sticks holder which was at the center, then there remained only one new incense sticks holder. Katoda came from

outside and intervened in the next process, the brass plate at the right of the Nagoba idol was taken into both hands, and some of the things on it were removed, a 4 cup small steel holder was kept on it, Vermillion was poured into one of its cups from plastic holder, a Marie gold flower petals were plucked and kept to one side on the plate. Jopa took incense sticks out of the incenses sticks case and divided it into two bundles, one bundle had seven incense sticks and another bundle had four incense sticks, Both the bundles were lit with the help of one more Gond to the right of him, then they were placed in the new incense sticks clay holder as the same two bundles. Then Katoda sat down and unwinded the white bundle which was the place on the right side of Nagoba idol, then rice was exposed from the bundle, Katoda then held the rice in the palms of both the hands and started showing the rice to the Dhoopa base at the centre, this was already emitting fumes due to hot coal and Saambraani powder, Rice was showed to Dhoopa and again kept back into the heap of rice, like this the process was repeated for seven times, then the Dhoopa in Motku base was shifted a little more to the right.

At this point Katoda was still sitting to the right of the idol, one more guy from the Katodas was sitting to the left, Venkat Rao Patel and Jopa were standing to the left and right side of the idol at the back of a Katoda member and Katoda respectively. Now the Katoda guy who was sitting in the left, placed five Motku leaves at the centre of the marble base, then they were arranged in a line by Katoda, Again second Katoda sitting to the left unwinded the basket covered with white cloth and passed the basket to Jopa and Venkat Rao Patel. Things like Apples, Oranges, 3 to 4 bunches of grapes and a bunch of bananas were revealed. Later a big brass plate was uncovered and kept at the base in between both the Katoda's by the Katoda sitting to the left, It was full of things like Bengal grams, other peas in covers, A small steel plate full of sweet rice and small sweet chapattis, raisins, small honey bottle, Cashew nuts cover, big honey bottles, badams (almonds), berries and a packet of cherries etc.. After both the things were uncovered, Katoda took a bunch of bananas from the basket and kept them on the top of cylindrical marble platform, near the Nagoba idol, some apples were spread to its left and right side, and then some Oranges were kept to the left of the Bananas. Venkat Rao Patel and Jopa monitored the fruits throughout. Then the five Motku bases which were kept at the base of Nagoba idol were filled with sweet rice by Katoda who sat to the right of idol in the first turn, then the small sweet chapattis were ripped into pieces and in bits were shared into all the five Motku bases, in the next turn, raisins were spread on the top of Naivedya. By this time two more Motku bases were passed on by Jopa

and they too were filled with the same things. Then Katoda, unwinded curd from a packet and poured it into all the Motku bases over the items which were previously kept.



**Figure: 43.** Katoda sprinkling holiwater of Hastana Madugu, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while happening Big Puja

Source: Photograph: field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

Then Katoda who sat to the left, kept three to four Cashew nuts on all the edibles in Motku bases, Bengal grams were poured on these from the cover. Venkat Rao Patel and another Gond went towards the Nagoba idol, they approached the open area at the centre of the idol, picked towels up and kept them at the back of the idol. The process of putting things on these still continued. Katoda, sitting to the right, poured some of the stuff releasing only small bits from his closed fists, sugar crystals about two to three in numbers were sprinkled over the stuff, some betel leaves were taken out and kept to one side in the brass plate. Katoda stood up with a honey bottle in his hand, and moved closer to the hoods of the Nagoba idol at the centre, he opened the bottle and with a finger applied honey on the tongues of seven heads of the Nagoba idol. Some honey even dripped into the centre area of the idol. He sat in his place, and poured the same honey on to the stuff in all the Motku leaves. Then the Katoda, to the left, took some beetle nut from cover, he stood up and poured them fistful into the centre area of the Nagoba idol. Some Betel leaves were kept aside, and some were also kept at the centre of the idol. Beetle nuts were poured by Patels, who were to the left of Katoda at the same place. Then a cover full of coconuts were uncovered, and



Katoda who was to the right, kept seven coconuts in a straight line at the base of the idol, All of them were not kept on Motku leaves but were spread along the border of the base, only few were on Motku leaves stuff. By then Venkat Rao Patel and the other guy standing to the left were given the brass plate, in its materials like a small cup holder, incense stick holder, brass lamp holders and colored rice were present. Wicks were made using cotton, then the four cup holder with vermillion was passed to Katoda sitting to the right, he pinched the Vermillion from it in small bits using thumb and index finger, and then applied it on all the seven coconuts like tilak, this marked the ending of Big Puja.

All through this puja, Pradhan had been instructing Katoda from outside the room, near the door. Then the people inside stood up and everything outside the room went frenzy for a moment. Press people were ready to get more footage. In some time Katoda, Pradhan, and others (totally seven in number) exited the room and went to the backside of the temple. Holy Kalasam was unmounted from the sticks, that were kept leaning on the backside compound wall. Then, all the Gonds who stood, were alert and arranged themselves in four rows around the front part of the temple in a semi-circle. Patels (4 in number) went to the backside of the temple and poured oil into already lit Mashals, this was done to extend their life. Katoda, from there carried the Holy Kalasam with the thin rope tied to it and walked towards the Gonds who were standing in front of the temple in rows, he was following two other Katodas from his group, they both had lit Dhoopa on Motku leaf in their hands, one holding Dhoopa in the front showed the smoke to each and every one standing and facing the temple. Then, Katoda followed them in the same line sprinkling holy water of Hastana Madugu on to their heads, while this continued, people stood in Namaskara posture in their lines. Katoda and the group, circumambulated the entire compound area around the temple space which was inside the compound wall, this was to reach the other end of the line of people who were standing semi-circle. Like this, Katodas went from one row to another, showing Dhoopa and sprinkling holy water on each and every Gond in the line. By then, the Patels who poured oil into their Mashals came back to the platform in front of the temple, and stood to the left of the Nagoba idol room to its front. Some of the Pradhans sat under the Platform which was to the left side of the temple, and played Pippiri. Four members from Katoda's went inside the room of the Nagoba idol and took some rice (which was used previously in puja) as lumps in both the hands, then they approached each and every Gond standing in line and shared the rice in bits, rice was released only in small amounts into both the palms of Gonds standing in rows. After the completion of a row, they moved to the

immediate next row in order, but, they didn't circumambulate the entire temple like Katoda while sprinkling water. This went on for some time and the persons who shared rice to other Gonds increased in number, it has gone up from 4 to 6. As soon as the rice got finished in their hands, they went inside the idol room in a line and refilled their palms with rice and shared it. The Gonds who visited Hastana Madugu i.e Jopa, Gayki, Sankepailal, Pen Kotwal and others stood on the platform, unlike others who stood in the compound, Two to three Utnoor (ITDA) government officials were also present in the line. Rice was given even to them in the last turn after ascertaining that everyone else was done. The Gonds who had been sharing the rice, went and stood with that in the front line above the platform. The Pradhans who carried Mashals, were facing the people all throughout this process. Bajatri continued and everyone facing the main idol room offered salutations. The process of offering salutations was as follows; All the Gonds clasped the rice in their hands and folded it into their fists, then they bent, touched the ground and stood up doing Namaskara, then they touched their heads with the same Namaskara posture of their hands and then repeated the entire process again. The main Katoda and some from his group, went into the main room and released the rice into the same heap from which the rice was taken. Then, Katoda with a white cloth tied over his head and knotted under his chin, and also others went to all Gonds who were around them in different directions, they spread their shoulder cloth wide with their both hands showing it to the Gonds. Then, the Gonds poured the rice from their fists which was shared to them previously. Like this Katoda's went to each and every person who stood in rows, and collected rice from everyone. After ascertaining that everyone was done, they went inside the room, and poured the rice back into the same heap from the cloth which was already heavy with the collected rice, in some time this process was finished. Then the Katoda with his group went inside the room with Pradhan and his associates, he accompanied him till the door. One of the Katoda, held the Aarti plate (it had the vermilion filled cup, four small steel cup holder and also a brass incense stick holder) and the main Katoda kept a lit camphor tablet on the plate, more tablets were poured into it by one more Katoda. Katodas held the brass Aarti plate with their hands from both sides, and showed it to the Nagoba brass idol, then they rotated it for seven times before it. Pradhan from the outside had been instructing till then. All the Pradhans who stood outside, chanted some words, and the Aarti plate was rotated before the idol again, this time the rotation was without any count, and was done till the completion of the chants. Outside the room, Pen Kotwal rang the bell continuously which was hung from the ceiling, and the main Pradhan and some other Pradhans, sang songs into microphone, Gonds around them, clapped their hands in tune with

the song. With the completion of the song, the Aarti was also finished, then, one of the Katoda's from inside, holding the Aarti plate with both hands, came outside the room and showed it to the people who sat on the Platform, they raised both their hands and did the acceptance gesture. After that, Aarti was shown to all the other Gonds, who were sitting in their own places on their mats, even they did the acceptance gesture and soon the process was finished, then Aarti plate with fire was carried back to the idol room and kept at the same place. Then the main Katoda, took one of the coconuts from the seven coconuts arranged in front of the Nagoba idol, and showed it to the idol, then he came out of the temple and broke it on the platform to the left of Dwaja Stambha. One by one, even the other six coconuts were taken out the same way from the line by the other Katoda's and broken on the same platform, some Gonds lit some incense sticks and kept it on the that platform, this was the end of Big Puja. Then all the Gonds, one by one, went inside the temple in a line and did Namskara, whichever Gond brought coconut, broke them on the same platform the Katoda's used previously, some even offered rice puffs and money in change. Slowly the crowd dispersed.



**Figure: 44.** God Nagoba with Sesaa, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took after Big Puja

Source: Photograph: field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

## **PART: 16**

**Masai God:** This idol is outside the Nagoba temple compound wall, and to the right of Main Entrance. To look at, there were a heap of rocks of which a fairly big rock smeared with

vermillion, Magenta, and other colors was considered as the Masai idol. This God is believed to be the watchman of the temple. From the beginning of Nagoba Jatara, this was worshipped many times, and also this was followed by the entry to the Nagoba temple. A single visit to the temple, opens up two possibilities of worshipping this idol, one is while entering and the other is while exiting. Nagoba temple was visited during three rituals 1) while getting the Kalasam to the Nagoba temple and placing it leaning to the wall at the backside of the temple. 2) During the Bheati Koriyal ritual, when all the women visited the temple from Goshala, 3) During Big Puja of Nagoba idol. But, while counting money from the Hundi in the Big temple, they did Puja to Masai God only once (this will come later).



**Figure: 45.** Masai God, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while moving into the Nagoba temple

Source: Photograph: field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

*Puja Process:* Gonds got some Puja materials (coconut, incense sticks, Vermillion, magenta color tilak, Rice puffs, Dhoopa etc.) in the beginning, a coconut was offered with Namaskara, and then incense sticks were lit. The people who attended differed in different situations.

1. While getting Kalasam to the Nagoba temple: Pradhan, Katoda, Gayki, Jopa, Sankepailal, Pen Kotwal and some other Gonds.
2. During Bheati Koriyal: All Gond women, Badi Rao Patel, Venkat Rao Patel, Chinnu Patel, Sipai Patel, son in laws of Mesram and other Patels
3. During Nagoba Puja: only the Men of Gonds



4. While counting Hundi money in the temple: Katoda, Pradhan and other Male Gonds.  
(this will come later)

They offered salutations and Naivedya (lentils, coconut, and rice), Dhoopa fumes in a Motku leaf and in the end, Hens and goats were also brought to the idol place. Hens were fed (rice, lentils etc.) and water was sprinkled on the goats. Hens which accepted the feed and goats which shrugged their entire body after sprinkling water were considered eligible for sacrifice, they were used in the preparation of Naivedya. People came to the idol, and in turns offered money in change and rice puffs in the end.

### ***PART: 17***

**The Darbar:** According the myth of Gonds it is a big traditional meeting, but it conducted during Nagoba Jatara, in Keslapur. Professor Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf started this tradition in the year 1941. Asifabad District, resident of Jodeghat village, Komaram Bheem, was against the Nizam and so after his death, to study the living Conditions and surroundings of Adivasi's here, Anthropologist, Prof. Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf, was appointed by the Government of Nizam as a special officer. Then, he elected Jainoor Mandal Maarlavai village as his study centre, he roamed the entire District, and studied Adivasi's conditions. With Independent lifestyle, and adapting to their culture and tradition, the attacks and unlawful practices on Gonds were noted. A report was soon prepared on these, and sent to the Government of Nizam. In it was mentioned most details about their life style.

The assembly place of the Gonds during Nagoba Jatara was called Darbar, it was arranged with an intent of solving their problems. From then, till now, Gonds attend it without miss. As a tradition, Government heads go there and listen to the problems faced by Gonds. They offer to them suggestions, and also their help. On the basis of the report of Professor Christopher Haimendorf, the then Nizam Government for the Gonds arranged a division called "Adima Girijans Akhwaamee Khadim" i.e Tribes Welfare Association. From then, till now, it's been active.

For this assembly of Gonds i.e. Darbar, settings were done in a ground outside the main entrance of Nagoba temple. The building of the tents and other arrangements were done one week before the beginning of Darbar. Under ITDA (Integrated tribal development Agency) Utnoor, Telangana govt., this programme was conducted. The then chairman of ITDA was, Dr. Jagan Mohan. Nagoba temple committee members work in collaboration with them to give a face to the entire programme. Big tents were erected on the pillars and a stage

was arranged, the tents looked like square blocks in white arranged over four pillars on all sides. Like this, a huge structure was made arranging this kind of square structures side by side to each other. The ceiling made of white cloth, had the flower-like structure made of the same cloth extensions, the colors used in this were maroon and white, similarly, at the end of each square block the extensions of the cloth were hanging with folded lines, all together it appeared in some pattern. The stage cyclorama was covered with a banner, it had the pictures of the chief guest, Telangana chief minister, Mr. Kalvakuntla Chandrasekhar Rao and pictures of some ruling party members. Some party members and the chief minister, could not attend the Darbar due to some official reasons. The stage was set with many chairs in two rows, a podium was arranged to the right side of the stage. Similarly, the area down the stage was also filled with lots of chairs arranged in an orderly manner. Speakers were arranged on the iron pillars at the edges, the pillars to the edges were given support with ropes (one end was tied to the top of the pillar and another end was given support from the base, this end was tied to the iron nails, dug and erected inside the soil). At the entrance a triad structure was built with pillars and speakers were arranged even over them, these structures were visible all around the tent. Inside the tent, divisions were made with iron railings, this was to separate classes in people and also to gain control over the certain mischievous crowd. Different classes had people like, the VIP's, local political leaders, Press, Artists from different Tribal dances and Gond people.

From left to the right of the stage, at some distance from the tent, many stalls and shops with Brass items, steel items, house utility items, decorative items for oxen and carts, edible items especially sweet shops were present. There were Giant wheels, Columbus, Merry go round, attractive rides for children, Exhibition items, games, Daredevil stunts, and ITDA awareness program groups. On 23rd January, around afternoon time, slowly, all the Gonds filled the audience seating places. MLA's and MP's from the ruling party and some more from other regional parties attended this programme (Darbar). Candidates like Smt. Ajmeera Rekha; MLA (TRS Party), Sri Joguramanna; MLA ( TRS) and Forest and Environment ministry, Smt. Kova Laxmi; MLA (TRS), Sri Allolla Indra Karan Reddy; MLA (TRS) and Minister of Housing, Law, and Endowments, Diwakar Rao Nadipelli; MLA (TRS)), Durgam Chinniah; MLA (TRS), Nallala Odelu; MLA (TRS), Koneru Konappa; MLA (TRS), Government officials and ITDA Utnoor and District collector participated in this programme. From the Gonds, Keslapur Sarpanch, Nagoba Temple committee members, Patel, Pradhan, Katoda, Local Gond government Teacher's Association and others

participated. Keslapur Sarpanch spoke about developmental issues of this Jatara, and need for the outside world to involve more into this procedure. Then, one by one all officials, Chairman, and MLA candidates took the stage. The entire programme, circled around the need to provide more facilities for the swift conduct of this Jatara. The problems which were discussed amongst Gonds during their stay under Banyan trees, were made into a list and read by the chairman of Nagoba Temple before everyone. In the final stage, the list was given to the Govt.officials. The following is the disclosed List of works:



**Figure: 46.** Keslapur Sarpanch is giving speech in the Dharbar, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took while speaking in the Dharbar

Source: Photograph: field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

1. Building Dormitory Halls for Devotees: For the devotees to sleep comfortably in the temple land premises during Nagoba Jatara, mention was made regarding the requirement of sleeping halls (dormitories)
2. Permanent departmental stalls: The area from the left to the right of Darbar stage, has always been housing many stalls made of cloth tents during Nagoba Jatara. A request was made for the construction of permanent stalls, in the place of the temporary ones to the Govt.
3. Guesthouse building: Request was made for proper housing facilities of Guests and Govt. officials who stayed for Nagoba Jatara.



4. Children Park: Request was made for building up a children park, around the Nagoba temple premises. This was mentioned because, Nagoba Jatara in itself is a very long and Big Festival, and managing children outside their home place can be really hard. Building a Children Park would solve the need of engaging the children, while, the parents are stuck in the works of Puja during the Festival.
5. Building Permanent Darbar Hall: Request was made for permanent Darbar Hall .Building temporary set up with cloth on such huge scale is costing lot of money to the Govt.
6. VIP Guest house: Request was made for housing facilities of very important people like the C.M, Bureaucrats, and delegates from other countries.
7. Building Mandapam around the Nagoba temple: Request was made for constructing Mandapam around the Nagoba temple.
8. Building Raja Gopuram in front of the Nagoba temple: Request was made to erect a Raja Gopuram in front of Nagoba temple
9. Building toilets and Fence at the Banyan trees area: Under Banyan trees, Gonds during Nagoba Jatara stayed for at least four days, so requirement of toilet and fencing facilities were mentioned.
10. Building wall around the land housing Nagoba temple: The Land around the Nagoba temple was big and need to conserve it from being occupied by others illegally, was one of the primary concerns, therefore even this point was mentioned.

Some Govt.officials like MLA'S, Local political party leaders, Collector, responded to this and took an oath to fulfil their needs. With this Darbar came to an end. Throughout this programme, many policemen were employed to look after the security issues, some strictly guarded the entry points at the railings. People, in an order, cleared the Audience area using all the exit points. The Officials on the stage, together went to the Komaram Bheem (A black stone statue of Komaram Bheem erected over a cement Pedestal very long in length and a photo frame of Komaram Bheem) statue to the right of the Nagoba temple entrance and did Namaskara, later they offered garlands to Photograph and the black stone statue of Komaram Bheem, then they went inside Nagoba Temple, offered prayers to the idol and came out. In some time they got into their vehicles and left the place. Patel (Paatlaal), Katoda, Jaadya, Jopavaade, Gayki, Naykiwaadi, Pen Kothval, Pradhan and all the other Gonds went to the temple when these Govt.officials visited the idol. Then, with the exit of these Govt.officials even they exited the temple. After this, they assembled under the tents, which

were erected in between Goshala's main entrance and Nagoba temple's second entrance. Things which were used from the beginning of the Nagoba Jatara till then like;

1. two large Pots (Gaavulu), sixteen large Pots (Banalu) and lids, forty-five Pots, thirty-five Kopalu, one hundred and five lamps (Dheepalu)
2. Rice, Brown rice, Flour (Raagi, Corn, Wheat etc.), Curry items (Turmeric, Mirchi Powder, Pepper, Masala ingredients etc.
3. Tilak Colours like orange-red, vermillion, yellow and Magenta along with Sambraani (Dhoopa)
4. Surma (A kind of dark grey powder used for smearing it under the eyes).

Were segregated by some Gond members after they were used in the puja, they were not discarded. Instead, they were all kept under these tents. Patel, Pradhan, Jopa and likewise the people who went to Hastana Madugu stood under the tent and invited Katoda's and Patel's wives. Then, they were given two big Pots; these were lifted by them onto their heads and the male people from the Gonds too helped them in doing it. Then, both the ladies carried the pots and walked to the God's house, over there they brought down the pots and kept it inside the God's house. Gonds like Katoda, Pradhan, and members who went to Hastana Madugu sat in a circle and uncovered the items that were bound with clothes and folded inside the paper (mentioned above in 2nd and 3rd points). Different kind of pots mentioned in the above (1st point) were distributed among Gonds, this included even lamps. As these were limited, all Gonds got desperate about getting at least one from these, so they all rushed to the dispatching group. Till this point, this was the only place, where they didn't maintain any line. Gonds believed these to be very holy, so the people who received at least one from the items, took them to their houses for worship. Potter's son Rajeshwar, came to this place for his remuneration (Dakshina) from SiriKonda and he was paid by Pradhan and Katoda.

While these things were going on, the remaining Gonds were got ready for the next step. They went to their Kaslas, removed the tents, collected the cattle fodder, arranged the things into the carts, got the bulls and tied them to their Kaslas. Then the carts were moved from Goshala, Men and women walked beside the carts leaving the children inside the carts, children sat beside the possessions, like this, in a line, they left the Goshala Premises.

Pradhans, Patels, Katoda, Jopa, Gayki, Sankepailal, Pen Kotwal and the people who visited Hastana Madugu didn't go with the Kaslas. They all assembled near the 4th entrance of the Goshala, where the Kalasam (Jaari) was tied to the two stick structure, and kept leaning

on the wall nearby. Then, Jopa with a brass carrier poured water into the palms of the people around him, they cleaned their mouths and hands with the water, Immediately, everyone from the group formed a straight line, then, they offered crushed tobacco to the soil by sprinkling its pieces, this was followed by salutations to the soil, all of them touched the ground for two times and did Namaskara. A small section from this group offered crushed tobacco to the soil near the Kalasam. Katoda was then handed the Kalasam by getting it down from the sticks; a folded white cloth was spread on his shoulder, and the Kalasam with the stick was kept on his shoulder over the cloth. Then all the people began their journey, Pradhan and Katoda stayed in before last and last positions, respectively. Patels stayed back and gave send off to the journeying people. The journeying people, in a line, walked a bit and halted before the main entrance of Goshala. Then Pen Kotwal and some other Pradhan came out of the Group and stepped inside the Goshala. Then, both of them with 7 nodes bamboo sticks in their hands, made a gesture of drawing a line around the inner circumference of the Goshala, With the Bamboo stick in their Right hand, they moved in a clockwise direction. Then, they came out of the Goshala and the same action was repeated at the outer circumference with the bamboo sticks, this time the sticks were in their left hand and they moved in clockwise direction, doing this, when they reached their starting point, which was the 1st main entrance of the Goshala, they touched the steps of Goshala, offered salutations and went to their group. Till then, the group which halted for a bit, resumed their journey with both Pradhans back in their position. Then, they walked on the ground outside the temple of Nagoba-parallel to the main entrance line of the temple. Totally they were 15 in number and after 5minutes of walk, they halted near a Motku tree. Katoda kept Kalasam hanging to the Motku tree branches and covered it with a white cloth, some people helped him in the process. Then, some people from the group spread a white cloth on the ground in front of the tree, then one by one, the group people walked towards it, did salutations and offered money, after the offering was done, salutations were offered, Like this, in some time the cloth was full of money (in change). Then two of the Sade (son in laws of Mesram) lifted up the cloth from both ends after offering salutations and kept the money with them. A Short period of rest called "Nilkada" was taken by them and then the journey was resumed. Again, after traveling for approximately 50 min, they stopped near a Java plumtree (Regi chettu) at the border of the village, then all of them together circumambulated it for seven times. Locally, it was their belief that, whatever good and bad aspects or vibes of the village which they carried with them till then, will be left behind with those circumambulations.

After this, they walked towards Arkapur village and by then it was night, they halted at the outskirts of the village in an open place. They kept Kalasam hanging it at stick on bushes and lit fire to escape the cold, then around the fire, mats were spread and they sat on it, later Mukham was done. The other Gond group, who along with these 15 people on 23rd of January, started from the Goshala in the Kaslas, got divided into groups (Pradhans, Katoda's and 22 Kittas etc.) by night. Different groups did Mukham at different places like Arkapur, Indravelli and its nearby places. Then, on 24th of January, 2015, early in the morning, all the Gonds woke up, collected themselves and their things, and resumed their journey to Shampur. Some Gond women carrying baskets full of Puja materials, walked in a line and the others followed them in Kaslas. In Arkapur village, all the 15 people (the Katoda group) woke up, packed their stuff and reached Indravelli village. In here, they kept the Kalasam, hanging to a stick on a temporary set up made of other set of sticks, then a white cloth was spread over Kalasam. Another white cloth was spread in front of the Kalasam, and all the 15 people offering salutations kept money on it, one by one all the people from the village came to the Kalasam set up, touched the ground with their hands and offered salutations, then they touched the hands of two members from Sade and said "ram ram", but they didn't offer them money. The white cloth with money was again taken by the Sade people. Leaving these two Sade people (whose hands were touched), the remaining from the group sat on the spread mat in a place little distant from Kalasam. They were served black tea by some villagers, the villagers who had been visiting Kalasam, came to the remaining Gonds and touched their hands one by one and said "ram ram," all this finished in 20 -30 minutes approximately. Then, all the 15 Gonds, came to the Kalasam set up, sprinkled crushed tobacco before Kalasam and did salutations. Then, the entire setup was removed, carrying Kalasam and belongings they got back on the track to Shyampur. From there, twice at three hour intervals, they did two "Nilakadas", Kalasam was set up the same way on trees without touching the ground, food and black tea was offered only during the first interval by some Gonds from the nearby Kaslas who were following these 15, synthetic cloth was spread and salutations by touching their hands were offered before serving the edibles. During Nilakada in the second interval, this didn't repeat, but they all reached Shyampur directly from there in 4 hours approximately. By then, the other Gonds who started in their Kaslas already reached Shyampur.

## **PART: 18**

**Shampur Bodem Pen Jatara:** Shampur is located in Utnoor Mandal of Adilabad district, in Telangana. It is 120 km away from Keslapur. In Shampur, there is an open ground and in this open ground lies "Bodem pen" temple. A pathway leading to the front of the temple divides the Landscape.

*Temple Description:* It's a structure painted in white. In the middle there is a square room painted in white, to one side there is an entrance and at the top, there are ventilators, they are perpendicular to the entrance, giving it a "T" shape look from the front. The top of this structure is a slab, protruding like wings in three directions i.e. front and sides, these wing-like extensions are supported by pillars. To the front four pillars supported the extension; i.e. two at the front and two at the back. To the right and left there were four pillars each supporting the extensions in a straight line. The entire structure was built on a platform a little above from the ground. Two small walls were built joining the first front pillar to the sides and back pillars of the entry side i.e. right pillars to the right and left to the left. Three small steps lead to the extension from the front side, and two small steps lead to the extension at the front from both left and right side. In the same manner, three steps can be seen to the left and right side of the extensions. From the top, it appears like a flower with petal-like extensions on three sides. On the top, there is a pyramid-like structure painted in green, Blue and white, steps were carved onto it in ascending pattern from the top, in all directions this pyramid is had a cement line in between and it is painted in white. At the top of pyramid-like structure there is another structure-they are four domes (Gopuram) like structures on top of each other made of metal, and to its top, there is a metal Trishul with rings to its handle. From bottom to the top the domes are colored in silver, brown and last two again in silver. The back part of the temple is also a simple wall painted in white and ventilators at the top and bottom. Coming down from the Platform of the temple, there are rocks with natural semi-smooth edges, these are considered to be the Mutilated body parts of the Holy Ox –Bodem Pen. Going into further details, four rocks to the backside left part of the temple are considered as legs and the remaining parts were seen as the flesh pieces of Bodem Pen. It is believed that the Knives which were used for mutilating the cow have also turned into stone. Seven big dots of orange-red tilak was smeared on each of these rocks (mostly from the previous year puja arrangements). There was a wooden pillar at the front of the temple, this is called as Dwaja Stamba by them, there is also a rock smeared with tilak below it.

The inside of the temple is guarded by a grill, and it is orange-red in color, at the immediate entry there is a big rock at the centre of the room, It is smeared with orange-red tilak, Magenta Tilak, this is considered as the stomach part of Bodem Pen. At the back of this idol, there is a Photo frame of Lord Hanuman. Outside the idol temple, over the platform where the circumambulations are done, there is a rock with 3/4th of the area buried under concrete and only 1/4th of it visible from the top, this is seen as the head part of Bodem Pen. Like this of all the body parts, the temple was built only over the top of the stomach part of Bodem Pen.

When the Gonds-leaving most Patels, started in their carts and reached Shyampur, they settled with all their belongings at the outside area of the temple in a big ground. They made tents, kept their carts beside them and left the cows for grazing. A pattern was followed during their settlement-Patels belongings were arranged by the others from the Kaslas group, at the front of the temple, their Kaslas and belongings leaving the entrance path in between were placed, to little left of the temple, Pradhans made their tents to the exact left, Katoda's made their tents, to the front a little left to the temple, Sankepailal people made their tents leaving the entrance path in between and Jopa, Nayakwadi, Gayki and all 22Kitta clan people made their tents at the back and to the right of the temple. The 15 Gonds reached Shyampur a little later compared to the Gonds, who started in their Kaslas earlier. To the left and right side of the pathway, stalls were arranged by some people. White cloths were spread on the ground, and articles (Rice puffs, different kind of Sweets, Snack items) were arranged on them to be sold during the Puja.

After reaching Shyampur all the 15 Gonds kept their Kalasam on a bush, and waited for the Bajathri. The intimation was given regarding their arrival by one of the members of the same group, then in some time, the Gonds who were at the Kaslas came to them with musical instruments and they were welcomed to the temple playing the instruments. Pippiri, Tudum Dappu, and Dhol were played by these people, they lead the walk and the 15 Gonds were following them in a line. Like this, they all reached the temple using the pathway which was going towards the front of the temple, as these people walked towards the temple, the people around were alert and watching their arrival. In some time. They reached the front of the temple. The people who were playing the musical instruments moved to the left of the temple and continued playing, whereas the 15 Gonds moved to the back side of the temple in an order, they reached the stone idols with Kalasam. They looked for a place in between the stones and dug two holes, then sticks were inserted and a stand was made for keeping up

Kalasam on it, 7 nodes Bamboo stick was used in this stand, then Katoda brought down the Kalasam which was hanging to the stick on his shoulder and with the help of the surrounding members the Kalasam was tied to the stand. The folded white cloth was also arranged on it. A water carrier which they had been holding throughout their journey was kept beside the stand. Then, all the Gonds arranged themselves in a line before the Kalasam and did salutation (first time they touched the ground with both the hands, and standing up did Namaskara and touched their forehead with the same posture, the same was repeated even the second time). After them, some male Gond people from the Kaslas and tents came and did salutations in the same pattern. Then, all the 15 moved in a line to the front of the temple and again did salutations in a straight line. Even in this, they followed the same pattern of salutations which was done before the Kalasam. One by one, in a line, they all entered the temple from the front and played bells, each member from the line touched the idol with their right hand and then touched their chest with reverence, some of them even pinched a little of the tilak from the idol with their index and thumb finger and took it with them. After their turn, they came out the same way they entered, but from the other end of the idol in a line, even in here some Gonds from the surrounding Kaslas joined them. Then, they all moved to the platform at the front and sat on the sides of the edges in a line dividing into two equal groups, they sat facing each other. By then, incense sticks were already lit before the Dwaja Stambha. Then women came to the temple, touched the steps of it with their hands, did salutations and then entered the temple ringing bells, they too touched the idol and prayed for blessings. Like this, many people including male and female entered the temple and offered salutations. Then, the Bajatri (people playing musical instruments) people entered the platform touched the hands of all the sitting people and said "ram ram", then they too got mixed up with the people who sat. The Gond women from the Kaslas have been sitting around the temple near Beruli trees during this process, and also, some Gond's were still arriving with their Kaslas. These all happened from Afternoon till evening.

Soon it was night, and then entered Patels with some of their Kaslas. They were also welcomed inside with Bajathri. When they reached the temple, the Bajathri people went to the left side of the temple. By then, bulbs were lit placing on sticks and erected in between the tents. Patel people, along with their women, entered the area where their tents were made. The Patel women carried, baskets full of Puja items on their heads, the baskets were totally 25 in number approximately. The male Patels accompanied them and helped the women Gonds keep their baskets on the ground in a straight line. Some of the baskets had items like



Mashals and castor oil holders also. Lamps were lit in clay carriers and kept before baskets and then Brown rice was taken as Naivedya in a plate and offered near Lamps. The process was as follows; at first incense sticks were lit and kept before the lamps, then one by one woman came and sat near the lamps, In a water carrier they took some water with their hand and sprinkled it before the lamp, later, with the same hand they took a lump of rice from the plate kept beside and sprinkled it before the lamp, after that Namaskara was done to the entire set up. This was done by all the women in turns, however, the rice plates changed because the rice plates were invited from each and every Gond. In some time, the process ended. The same process was repeated by all the Kitta people around the temple area, they (Pradhan, Katoda, Sankepailal, Jopa, Gayki and other Gonds) have chosen an open place in their own allocated area and did the above mentioned process. It was getting cold, and soon fire woods were lit, Kalikom was blown and all the male Gonds assembled at the temple front part, then they all offered salutations (everyone together bending down touched the ground together with both hands and then they did Namaskara standing up, this was done twice). After this, mats were spread to the left side of the temple ground before firewood, All male Gonds leaving Pradhans stood before the mats and sprinkled crushed tobacco on to them and did salutations, then, a Patel came and sat on the mat, and he was followed by Katoda, other Patels, and other Kitta people. Each and every Gond who sat before them was acknowledged by touching hands and with the greeting , "Ram Ram" by the person who is due to take his seat next in the line, very soon the spread mats were full of Gond people leaving Pradhans. Then one more mat was spread opposite to them leaving the firewood in between, this time Pradhans sprinkled crushed tobacco on the mat, and sat on it sticking to the same procedure followed by Patels. Then, some people from both the groups served tobacco and black tea to members on both mats, after this, they all chit-chatted for some time and left the place. Gayki's, then invited all the Gonds to their place (allotted area around the temple) for dinner, arrangements were made before their Kaslas in the common area, then all the invited people were made to sit in lines on both sides of the baskets (the ones for which Pooja was performed), they were given bowl full of water to wash their hands and were later served edibles (rice, vegetable curry, sweet chapattis, lentils, mutton and chicken curries) on paper plates. Like this, for the next three days of Bodem Pen Jatara, all the Kitta people invited Gonds to their allotted areas for meals, following the tradition Men ate first and then women. As the time was less, in a single day invitations were given by at least 5 to 6 Kittas as a necessary way to finish up with all the 22 Kittas. Also, the people who were invited made sure to have at least a lump of food at each and everyone's place who invited them. After

dinner, everyone assembled for hearing the "Bodem pen" story narrated by Pradhan along with others from his clan, Kikkiri was played during Narration. Pradhans sat on a spread mat and others too sat on mats, even women and children were present in the Audience. Narrating Pradhan took breaks in between, and whenever Kikkiri was not played, drums were played to fill the gaps. Sometimes everything was stopped and black tea was served to Narrators and remaining Gonds, the narration was long and continued till dawn, like this the narration happened at nights till the completion of Bodem pen Jatara.

On, 25th January 2015, morning Kalikom and other musical instruments were played by Bajathri People, hearing these sounds all the Gond women gathered with steel water carriers and plastic water carriers in their hands, they all gathered at the front of the temple as the instruments were played there. The Bajathri (people who play musical instruments) people in a line walked at the front and they followed by the Gond women in the same line, like this they walked and reached a place where there was a hand pump, then they kept the pots near the pump and filled all the pots. 15-20 women were present and all of them waited till these were filled, Bajathri was stopped while these were being filled and was played again when all the filled carriers were collected by women. Then, all of them again walked at the back of Bajathri people in a line and reached Bodem Pen Temple, then, they kept all the water carriers in front of the temple. Mats were arranged in front of the temple for the Bajathri People, then some of them from the group sat on the Mats, People who played Dholak and Kalikom stood. Male Gonds were alert when these instruments played and they all gathered near the temple, by then, the women who brought these water carriers have gone back to their Kaslas. Katoda, Pradhan, Patel and other Gonds took these carriers one each in their hands and in a line headed to the inside of the temple. From the previous description it is already known to us that, orange red tilak from the previous year celebration was already present on the Idol inside the room, in this ritual attempt was being made to clean this smeared tilak. So, all the Gonds in a line went inside the room, poured water from the carriers on to the idol and tried to clean the idol with their hands, they took it as a great privilege to clean the idol. In some time all the Gonds were done with pouring and cleaning of the idol, the smear didn't come off completely from the idol, but the water clogged inside the room. Then some of the Gonds from them, took initiative and tried to drain all the water from the room, attempts were made to push all the water outside the room with bare hands, after that, cloth was used to suck the remaining water till the floor was dry. Leaving these inside people, the remaining people stood outside the temple watching the process. Pradhan stood inside the

temple, a clean white cloth was spread on the idol and it was cleaned and dried. The insides of the temple were decorated with color paper, the ceiling was decorated with wires from one end to the other like a net and colored papers were wrapped on to them, the colored papers were wrapped on even the ventilators present on all the three walls of the room. At the outside, the other Gond people were already carrying small clay carriers full of wet orange-red Tilak and a tumbler full of edible oil, they were alert and ready for the next step. While the room cleaning was in progress, Pradhan, Katoda, Patel and few other Gonds totally 15 in number, went to the back side of the temple and brought down Kalasam from the stand, then, they together moved to the inside room in a line, in them, Katoda was carrying Kalasham in his hands. Inside the room, Katoda showed the Kalasham to the idol, rotated before it for seven times and sprinkled water from it in bits, then, with Pradhan in the front followed by Katoda, Patel and other Gonds, circumambulations were done around the idol for seven times, pouring the water from the Kalasam again in bits. After seven rounds they stopped and did Namaskara, then they all bent, touched the ground and again did Namaskara by standing up. Katoda and some members of the group left the room, but 3 to 4 members stayed back wetted their hands with the water remains on the idol and sprinkled the same on the Mashals, oil carriers and Photo frame at the back side of the room, some of it was sprinkled on the two seven nodes bamboo sticks placed at the ventilator to the right side of the room, after this, these people too joined the remaining group members who went outside. Then, Katoda, Pradhan and all the members from the group went to the back side of the temple sprinkled water on the rock idols of Bodem pen for seven times, like this all the rocks at the back were covered. Next, they went to the front of the temple and sprinkled water from Kalasam for seven times on the rock which was believed to be the head of the holy Ox, as mentioned before, this was to the left side of the idol room, at the outside where the circumambulations are done. Then all the 15 members again went to the backside of the temple, tied the Kalasam to the same stand, covered it with a white cloth and finally winded the cloth with a rope, till here all these procedures were done under the guidance of Pradhan. The people who mixed orange-red tilak, waited for these 15 Gonds to come and join them, in no time these 15 joined and together they went to the inside of the room. Around 15-20 members stood around the idol and some stood aside for handing over the required articles, Katoda took a small clay pot full of wet orange red tilak and going around the idol smeared tilak in tiny amounts on the idol, the remaining members circumambulating the idol smeared the applied tilak on to the rock, slowly the speed increased and almost all the circumambulating members were given tilak packets or wet tilak to be smeared, one of the

Gonds poured edible oil on to the rock, then dry tilak from the packets was mixed with oozing oil on the rock and smeared, in some time the entire rock was smeared with tilak. From there, the people who applied tilak, didn't wash their hands but rubbed the same hands-on Dwaja Stambha in the front of the temple. Then, they went to the rocks at the back side of the temple and taking some wet tilak from the clay cases, applied some of the same marks which existed from the previous year. From there, Katoda followed by some Gonds, went to the rocks which were about to be used for cooking and applied tilak mark on them. In the meantime, garlands were made using local flowers and leaves, then these were taken inside the idol room and arranged on the idol by Katoda, Pradhan, Gayki, Jopa, Patel, and others, one was arranged from top to bottom to the front part of the idol and the other was laid on the back part of the idol facing the ceiling. But, before this arrangement, a big White cloth was spread on the idol, and on this another small white cloth was spread favouring the front side of the idol. Seven sugarcane sticks were brought and kept around the idol. Katoda, Pradhan and some Gonds went to the tree which was to the right side of the temple, Under the tree there were baskets full of Puja materials and an old lady was looking after the things, she made arrangements for the next step in the process, a brass plate full of Puja materials (brass water carrier, lit lamp, coconut, lit incense sticks, and small clay pot) were arranged along with another small plate full of coloured rice (mixed with magenta coloured Tilak), no sooner this group arrived at this place, they offered salutations to the Puja materials and caught hold of both the plates kept there, one of the Gonds who had one brass plate was covered from head to toe with a black blanket and one more brass plate was taken by Katoda. After this, they went to the idol room, by then the people who were inside the temple were tying the leaves of sugar cane plant in pairs, like this totally seven sugarcane stalks were present around the idol, the structure made out of them looked like a skeletal structure of a tent. Katoda and the others after entering the temple, kept both the plates in front of the idol, and then vermilion was emptied from vermilion packet onto the plates which had colour rice, then the same was applied as Tilak by Katoda, Pradhan and the people around onto the idol, then, Tilak was applied by Pradhan on Katoda and Katoda to Pradhan and others, like this the people who were inside the room applied Tilak to each other. A white cloth was again spread over the already spread cloths on the idol. Seven Motku Leaf bases were kept before the idol. Big brass plate with all puja materials was to the right of the idol. Katoda took curd packet and poured small quantities of curd into the Motku leaf bases, this was followed by following items-Jaggery, sugar, cashew nuts, dry grapes, dry coconut pieces, small bunch of grapes, Dates, and Plums in each Motku base, along with these 7 oranges, 7 Bananas, Grapes bundle

and 7 apples were kept at the centre, near the idol. Pradhan who was to the left of the idol sprinkled rice on the top and also on the left side area of the idol. Some rice was poured by Katoda in between Motku leaves and fruits, then some items were kept on them like-cardmom, badam (almonds), dates, dry coconut and Anjeer, Ghee was poured into the lamp base to the right of the idol, Dhoopa was lit in a Motku base and sprinkling Saambraani powder on it, the fumes were enhanced and shown to idol, it was rotated for seven times before the idol and kept down, someone from the group gave coconuts to Katoda and he kept seven coconuts in a line before the idol, then, a cloth full of rice was kept near the idol, A member of Katoda clan lit a bundle of 7 incense sticks and gave it to Katoda, Katoda then showed it to the idol rotating for seven times and inserted them into the fruits before the idol, one more bundle was lit and kept the same way to the left of the idol inserted into a banana. Some more items were seen to the left of the idol like-Mashals 2 to 3, 7nodes Bamboo sticks, oil carriers, brass plate full of colour rice and one more Motku leaf base. Then a lump of rice was picked up by Katoda from the rice bundle with both hands, and then he showed it to Dhoopa for seven times. After this, all the Gonds inside the room stood up and did Namaskara. Katoda offered some change at the base of the idol, and he was followed by others from the room the same way. Few people from outside came into the room and offered coconuts before the idol and did salutations, A person from them again showed Dhoopa for seven times before the idol and took it outside. Katoda and some more people from the Katoda clan went to the backside of temple where the Kalasam was, and got it down from the stand, by then, the outside Gonds arranged themselves in rows in the form of semi-circle. Katoda went to each and every one, and sprinkled holy water on them, the people following him showed the fumes from Dhoopa (one which was taken from inside), all the Gonds standing in rows received them in a reverent manner. Then, some people from Katoda volunteered for the next step, they went inside the temple picked some rice with both hands and gave small bits to each and every one who stood in rows, in some time everyone got the rice, then including the ones who volunteered, all of them clasped the rice firmly and did salutations by bending and touching the ground, this was done twice. After this, the people who volunteered, went inside the temple and poured the rice into the same lump and further the same was done for others, but their rice was collected by the same volunteers and left inside the same heap. Bajathri was played throughout this process. The same pattern was observed during Persa Pen and Big Puja. Then, Katoda and his clan, Patel clan and the 15 members who walked towards Shampur went inside the temple, Katoda took the Dhoopa base and it was rotated before the idol for seven times, then a lump of rice was picked up

from the nearby rice heap and rotated for seven times before the seven coconuts and placed back in the same heap, the same was done with even water from brass carrier, camphor was lit in brass plate and again showed to the idol and rotated before it, while this was being done a song was sung by each and every Gond clapping their hands, Aarti was offered to the idol, and it continued, till the completion of the song. After this one of the Gonds took the Aarti plate outside, and showed it to the people standing there, everyone did a receiving gesture with both their hands. Then, one more Gond to the right of the idol removed the spread white cloth on the Bodem pen idol and kept it near the idol, Rice which was poured before the idol prior to this was collected into the spread white cloth, it was then folded and taken outside. While, this happened some Gonds from outside came in, showed coconuts to the idol and took them outside, they broke all these coconuts at Dwaja Stambha. The change was still offered by random members from outside, before the idol. The person who collected rice in a white cloth went to the backside of the temple, Katoda, his clan and some other clans too followed the guy to the back side of the temple. Three medium sized rocks which were considered to be body parts of Bodem pen, were went for, the area before them was cleared, and Katoda sat before the first one, seven incense sticks were lit and kept before the rock, then using magenta colour powder, seven dots were made in a straight line and then one more line was made out of seven dots, in the same way parallel to the first one, then the upper and lower level dots were joined with the same magenta colour with small lines, collected rice from the inside of the temple was taken into hand as a lump and was poured into small heaps of seven followed by one more under it, this entire thing was done below the magenta colour diagram for the first rock, for the second and third rocks the magenta coloured diagram was not done but rice was poured directly in the heaps of eight (seven on the top and one at the bottom) before both, then, two coconuts were arranged before each rock making it totally six for all the three. Some Gond from aside, handed over lentils in a Motku leaf and also water carrier to Katoda, he took lump of lentils and rotating it for seven times, left it on the rice, later water from the carrier was poured into hand and was released on to the rice the same way as lentils. Like this, the process was followed for all the three rocks. Gonds came to the rocks and offered money in a change to the rocks. From here, Hens were brought to the Puja place and one was given to Katoda, and one more to one on the left. The Hens were made to eat the rice before the rocks, whichever hen accepted Naivedya, was considered suitable to be used in Naivedya, and each and every Gond brought a hen for this ritual. In the same way, Goats were brought to the puja place and water was sprinkled over their body, whichever goat shrugged its body, was considered suitable to be used in the preparation of Naivedya. To

the right of the Temple, a white cloth was spread and then rice, lentils and flour were collected from all the Gonds. There were big heaps made of all the three, next to them in the same direction, cooking set up was made with stones and big barrels, this was to prepare Naivedya or Seesa.

Then Patel, Katoda, Pradhan, Jaadya, Jopavaade, Gayki, Naykiwaadi, Pen Kothval and some Gonds totally 19 in number, sat inside the temple around the Bodem Pen. One of the Gond members gave them Naivedya which were in Motku leaves, they accepted it and shared it among themselves, fruits that were kept in the front of the idol and also prepared rice was given to them. It's been coming as a tradition to offer things of God first to those, by whom prayers are answered, it is out of gratitude. Dwaja Stambha at the front of the temple was worshipped with incense sticks, coconuts etc.; Calves were offered to Bodem Pen before the Dwaja Stambha. Whenever a calf was brought before the Dwaja Stambha, Tilak was applied to it by Katoda, and puja was done. Then, Gayki with devotees circumambulated the temple for seven times taking the offered calves with them, after that, devotees took the calves and went away. They were tied near Goshala and for the rest of their lives, they remain untouched as they were the offerings made to God. Devotees offered new white towels each to Patel (Paatlaal), Katoda, Pradhan, Jaadya, Jopavaade, Gayki, Naykiwaadi and Pen Kothval, on this special occasion with good wishes and respect.

As these two processes were in progress, Gonds were done with the cooking of Seesa (Naivedya). A white cloth platform was arranged using four sticks to the right of four rocks (considered to be the legs of Bodem pen). In 3 Motku leaves Seesa (rice, mutton, and gravy) was kept before the four big rocks and covered with the same Motku leaves. Then, Pradhan entered the scene and sat before the first rock which was to the right of the white cloth platform with Puja items (Incense sticks, steel carrier with water, and coconut), one of the Gonds approached him, sat to the left of Pradhan and made a bundle of incense sticks with seven of them in it, he lit them, gave it to Pradhan and left the place. Pradhan, broke a coconut before rock, pinched coconut pieces out of it, mixed them with the rice and mutton pieces on the Motku leaves, and sprinkled them before the Incense sticks for two times, then water from steel carrier was also sprinkled for two times, in the next step small bits of Seesa from the leaf was taken into hand and then it was mixed with water and thrown aside twice, with this ended the Puja of Pradhan to Bodem pen with Seesa. Then, arrangements were made for next step, two big barrels full of rice, a bucket full of gravy and tumblers full of mutton dried blood pieces, and Liver pieces were kept near these rocks. Patel, Katoda,



Pradhan, Jaadya, Jopavaade, Gayki, Naykiwaadi, Pen Kothval, and some more Gonds sat before the white cloth platform in a line with their backs facing it. Each from the group was given Motku leaves and Seesa was served to them by one of the Gonds, after they were finished eating, four Patels sat just opposite to them in a line and they were served Seesa. After this, all the male Gonds were served Seesa in Motku leaves and Paper plates, and finally all the female Gonds had Seesa, they all sat in the big ground beside the temple and had Seesa.



**Figure: 47.** Bodem Pen, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took after puja of Bodem Pen

Source: Photograph: field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

Then, all the Gonds came to the front of the temple and stood facing it, Katoda, Pradhan, Nayakwadi, Jopa, Sankepailal and other Gonds, and their clan members stood to the right side of Dwaja Stambha, the remaining Gonds-women, children, and others, were to the left side of Dwaja Stambha and also all over the place. Three Patels to the right held three lit Mashals, they also had oil carriers. Music (Bajatri) people were to the right, playing instruments throughout this process, all the people, touched the ground and offered salutations twice. People to the left of Dwaja Stambha, were offering salutations and also some things under it. Then all the Gonds entered the temple, following the order. They entered the idol room in a line from one end and exited it from another end, inside the idol room all the Gonds offered salutations and applied tilak to their forehead. Katoda and

Pradhan also offered salutations to Bodem pen inside the idol room, then, as all the people exited the Pooja room they all walked to Dwaja Stambha and broke coconuts before it. Katoda, Pradhan and some other Gonds came out of the temple, stood at the front of it, sprinkled crushed tobacco leaves before it and offered salutations. Next, Katoda, Pradhan and some heads from different clans, sat on the platform to the front of the temple, then the remaining Gonds, using both hands touched these people hands in a reverent manner and greeted them with “Ram-Ram”. Then two mats were spread to the front of the temple on the ground, Katoda, Patel and other Gonds sat on one of the mats and just opposite to them on the other mat sat all the Pradhans, they all were again served Beedi and Black tea by one of the members and then they went to their bullock carts. On that night, all the Gonds Gathered near the Dwaja Stambha, Pradhans narrated the story of Bodem Pen to all the Gonds, and this was accompanied by the sound from musical instruments. At the end of this session, all the male Gonds stood up and danced to the tunes of Bajathri (musical instruments), Drums played significant part in this ritual. It was around 3 am early in the morning, when this all finished, they went back to their Kaslas after this.

Next Day, in the morning all people visited Bodem pen temple and prayed, some of them sat inside the temple and some women sat in the front of the temple on both sides of the entrance. Then one person gave Seesa to all the Gonds sitting inside and outside the temple. Katoda, Pradhan, Gayki, Jopa, Sankepailal sat on a mat spread near the temple and shared- Rice puffs, Money from Hundi and coconuts, These were shared amongst all the 22 Kittas, After this, everyone dispersed back to their allotted places, and then, each Kitta people again shared the part which their Kitta received near the temple. Then, in front of the temple, Sisters of Mesram spread their towels and stood on both sides of it, they were offered money. In the afternoon, all the Gonds at their allotted places, made preparations for the further journey. Food items (roti, and chutneys) were cooked, packing of things were done, Kaslas were prepared, tents and stalls were removed, and all belongings were loaded on Kaslas. Then, one by one all the Kittas left the place in their carts, but before leaving the place, their family women did salutations to the stones on which cooking was done. Katoda, Pradhan, Jaadya, Jopavaade, Gayki, Naykiwaadi, Pen Kothval and others; totally 20 in number came to the Kalasam stand at the back of the Bodem pen temple, they removed Kalasam from the stand and dismantled the stand, Katoda took the Kalasam tied to the stick and kept it on his shoulder. Together, all the people did salutations bending twice, then they sprinkled crushed tobacco on the ground from where the Kalasam was removed, then one by one in a line they

walked towards Keslapur, they were 12 in number and some of them were left behind. As they walked towards Keslapur they did Nilakada for 5 times, and in some time they reached Keslapur. By then, the people who started in their carts already reached Keslapur and went to their houses. In Keslapur they stopped near Patel's house, Patel's house is a tiled house, to the front, there is a structure supported by wooden sticks. Katoda, got his Kalasham down from his shoulder and kept it hanging to the supporting sticks of the carts, these were present at the front of Patel's house. Three baskets were seen to the left side of the house with Puja materials (castor oil stands, Mashals etc;), Lit lamps were present before them. The Gonds cleaned their hands and legs with water and came to the baskets, they did salutations to baskets bending twice. It was night, so some people from Patel's family were sitting next to the parked Kaslas with lit firewood, all the 12 Gonds went near the firewood and sprinkled crushed tobacco leaves before the fire, then they touched the hands of both the Patels, and touching each other hands they greeted with the word "ram ram", then they sat in groups (i.e Patels and Pradhans separately). Then, some people from Patel's family came with food items (vegetable curry, and rice) and served it to the sitting members. Then the people, who arrived at that place did Mukham around the fire.

### ***PART: 19***

**The God house:** On 27<sup>th</sup> January 2015, morning hours, all the Gonds were made alert with the sound of Kalikom played by one of the Bajathri guy, then they all gathered near Patel's house. Katoda, Pradhan, Patel, Pen Kotwal, Jaadya, Jopavaade, Gayki, Naykiwaadi and other Gonds did prayer to the Kalasam, it was removed from the Kasla, and then Katoda held the Kalasam on his shoulder. Patel women held all the baskets (full of puja items and Mashaals) on their head. With these things, Patels and all the 16 Gond members started their journey towards the God's house, this was accompanied by Bajathri (people who play musical instruments). They all formed a line, Bajathri people walked in the front, followed by ladies who carried baskets, 3 Kaslas filled with belongings and the male Gonds with Kalasam. Some of the sisters of Mesram stood holding a cloth on the road, and they were offered change in money. In some time they all reached God's house.

On foot, God's house is 5-10 minutes away from Patel's house. To look at, it is a place with two entries and two windows in the front. It is painted in white, the top of it is corrugated metal roof, extending to the front there is a structure supported by four wooden pillars in a straight line and the top of even this is corrugated metal roof arranged in an

inclined manner. On the inside, both the entries lead to the same room, there is a cement platform raised above the ground in the room, on this articles like Photo frame of Nagoba, Brass Nagoba idol, clay lamp bases etc.; were seen. This God's house is protected by a fence made of weaved Bamboo fibre, there is an entry carved into this fence towards the left side.



**Figure: 48.** After the Jatar Patel family providing food all the Keslapur village people at the God house in the night, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took when village people taking food

Source: Photograph: field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatar

When all the Gonds reached the temple, they went to the room and kept Kalasam inside the clay pot. The water carrier was tied with a rope to a stick and it was arranged between the ceiling chords. Then, Katoda and the others offered salutations to Kalasham and the old statue of Nagoba by touching the ground twice. After this, all of them came out, and feet washing ritual was done, in this, all the females washed the legs of Male Gonds. After this, all the male Gonds sat outside the temple on two mats in groups, after greeting each other with “ram-ram”. On the platform outside the God's house room, all the female Gonds sat. Both the groups were served with black tea and Tobacco, then all of them chit-chatted and passed their time. Then Katoda, Patel and some Gonds ate food (rice and lentil gravy) together in front of the God's house, even Gond women ate with them. After that, Pen Kotwal and Pradhan people sat inside the Gods house, a white cloth was spread before them by Pen Kotwal, a Gond women came to them and poured rice into the spread cloth in 5 turns,

and then one of the Patels gave them some money, both the things were shared by Pradhans amongst them.

After this, all people prayed Nagoba God, and greeted farewell to each other, the people from villages other than Keslapur, went back to their places including Katoda. The Kalasam finally came back to the place from where it started i.e. Keslapur God's house. Again at night, before the house of God, Patel's family arranged food to only Keslapur village people. All the village people came for dinner and accepted the food (rice, Mutton, chicken, and gravy) with great reverence. With this ended the ritual at the God's house and then they were back to their houses.

### ***PART: 20***

**The End of the Nagoba Jatara:** 28th January 2015, Katoda, Pradhan, Patel, Pen Kothwal, some Gonds, temple committee members, Keslapur village Sarpanch, Government officials of Telangana state, Police and Press gathered at the temple of Nagoba. Patel and other people kept the money boxes (Hundis) at the centre of the temple and opened all the boxes, they took out money from it and divided it amongst themselves. Among them were Katoda, Pradhan, Patel, Pen Kotwal and some Gonds, after that the remaining money was taken by Government officials (endorsement department).

Amount details of Hundi:

1. Amount of Hundi – 3,38,647
2. Thai Bajar – 2,96,00
3. Total Amount – 6,34,647
4. Gold – 3g.
5. Bras (Vendi) – 1k.g, 670g.

While this was going on, under the guidance of Pradhan; Katoda's, Pen Kotwal and other people sprinkled holy water at the inside and outside areas of the temple, then they went to Persa pen and sprinkled holy water on it, they did the same thing at Satik, Masai God, Dhawaja Stambam and finally they sprinkled holy water at the corners and all around the Nagoba temple. After this, they went to Persa pen, lit the Agarbattis and did puja, goats were involved in this. So this is the end of Nagoba Jatara officially, the Nagoba temple will again



open next year in the month of Pushya Masam (December to January). The Gonds do this Nagoba Jatara every year.”<sup>33</sup>



**Figure: 49.** Venkat Rao Patel is opening the Hundi in front of his people (Gonds) and govt.officials in the Nagoba temple, date: January, 2015

Note: This Photo took when opening the Hundi

Source: Photograph: field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara

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<sup>33</sup>*Nagoba Jatara*. Perf. Gonds. Adilabad. 9th to 29th January 2015. Video.

(Source: The Nagoba Jatara Performance: from field work of the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara: I participated, observed and took video documentation from beginning to end of the Nagoba Jatara, date: 09/01/2015 to 28/01/2015)



**Map: 4.** Adilabad District

Source: <http://www.indiamapAtlas.com/andhra-pradesh/district/images/adilabad-district-map.gif>



## CHAPTER- V

## 5. CONCLUSION

This thesis is performance study of the “Nagoba Jatara of Gonds”. Here, the focus is also on “the Myth of Gonds” which guided these Gonds during the Jatara. For this study, Keslapur village was chosen for acquiring primary data, to collect this primary data for the research, Gonds were interviewed, documented, and observed. As part of this Nagoba Jatara, Gonds travelled from Keslapur to various villages, and came back. They went to the following places in this order: Keslapur to Sirikonda, Sirikonda to Keslapur, Keslapur to Hastanamadugu, Hastanamadugu to Gowri, Gowri to Indravelli, Indravelli to Keslapur, Keslapur to Shampur, and Shampur to Keslapur. During their journey, they were followed for documentation process. Nagoba Jatara’s performance, is very similar and related to their myth. The way rituals were followed in Nagoba Jatara, can be compared to the narration in their “Myth”.

Keslapur village, located in Adilabad district, Telangana state, is very popular for Gonds and their cultural practices. This village is believed to be the birthplace of God Nagoba, and this belief is clearly mentioned in their “Myth”, It was found that the “Myth” has more than important role in the life of these Gonds, Without the references from the myth, Nagoba Jatara loses its significance in Gonds’ life, and this is difficult to imagine. This myth, and these Gonds belief in it is the source for this performance. It is visible that elements of the myth are adopted and improvised in Nagoba Jatara. According to the myth, Nagoba god settled in Keslapur and hence, Nagoba Jatara is popular as the “Keslapur Nagoba Jatara”.

To study its process, Nagoba Jatara is divided into three sections. They are follows:

1. Pre-Nagoba Jatara (before)
2. Nagoba Jatara
3. Post-Nagoba Jatara (after)

In the first section; Gonds look at the moon, order the new pots, bring the holy water in the Kalasam, perform Puja at Hastanamadugu, perform specific offerings at Katoda village and offer Puja to Indhradevi.

In the second section; Gonds came back to Keslapur to start Nagoba Jatara. As part of this Nagoba Jatara, Gonds stayed under Banyan trees for five days to organize activities. In these five days, the ritual of getting the new pots was done on the second day morning, castor

oil ritual was done on the third day, and on the fifth day, "Thum" ritual was performed. The first four days, Pradhan narrated the myth to the Gonds and this narration happened at nights. Thus, they completed few rituals under banyan trees, from there, Gonds travelled to Goshala to perform a ritual, and it involved newly married women. In here, the women who were newly married stayed. From then, rituals like, "Entry in Goshala", "Bheati Koriyal", "Satik Puja", "Persa Pen Puja", "Big Puja of Nagoba", "Masai God" and "The Darbar" were done. Thus, they performed Nagoba Jatara rituals under Banyan trees, Goshala and the main temple.

In the third section: After Nagoba Jatara, there were some activities left at Shampur and Keslapur. Bodem Pen Jatara was performed at Shampur. Family members of Patel, donated rice and money to Pradhans, and they also arranged dinner to all the Gond's community. Significant people from Gonds and Patels, arrived at the main temple to conclude Nagoba Jatara.

From pre to post-Nagoba Jatara, the myth was narrated by Pradhan at Temple, Banyan trees, Goshala, and Bodem Pen Jatara. The narration of the myth was done accompanied by musical instruments such as *Kikkiri*, *Thudumdappu*, *dolu*, and *kalikom*. The myth is about the Mesram and the God Nagoba.

When Gond's life is studied, we see that, they are economically, socially, politically and educationally backward. Their belief in God Nagoba is strong. According to their belief system, Gonds organize the ritual in a specific pattern. They follow the rules of Nagoba ritual, in an uncompromising way. This happens every year, the visitors from all over India and other castes also come to observe this ritual performance. Year after year, the number of visitors have also increased, because of the popularity it gained. As part of the participation in Nagoba Jatara, Gonds from other states meet their relatives, arrange marriage proposals, and also discuss their community problems. Though they are from various regions, Gonds have unity among brethren during Nagoba Jatara. The Gonds walked entire forest, crossed various lakes, and climbed various mountains with barefoot. At every turn in their journey, Gonds faced difficulties, but they did not seem to mind these difficulties. Some of them appeared to enjoy those hardships. The younger generation of Gonds were also willing to face these difficulties during Nagoba Jatara.

During Nagoba Jatara, Gonds and Non-Gonds from other districts and other states of India visited Keslapur village to worship the God Nagoba and also to get entertained. People

stood in a queue to visit Nagoba temple during Jatara. Devotees gave Dakshina to God Nagoba, The Dakshina included money, gold, silver, coconuts, flowers, dry fruits and rice puffs.

Nagoba Jatara is a very ancient festival. Pradhan and Katoda played significant role in the rituals. In Nagoba Jatara, together, men and women from Gonds community participated in many rituals. The women and the men were separated only for few rituals like; "Bheatikoriyal" and "*satik puja*" for women and "*Going to holy water*", "*Big puja*", "*Thum*", and "*Persa Pen Puja*" for men. "Nagoba Jatara" has been adapting to new changes. For instance, microphones are being used to announce the rituals these days. Previously, only Gonds were allowed to put the stalls in the Nagoba Jatara but now a days, other community people are also being allowed to put the stalls.

Few responsible young people of the Mesram, are showing interest towards the Gond's myth and the Nagoba Jatara, because they believe that the myth belongs to their ancestors, and the heritage needs to be maintained. "The myth" is narrated by Pradhan and is accompanied by the sound from musical instruments, Other than Pradhan, Gond people do not accept anyone else to narrate the myth because, "The myth" defines the role of the Pradhan as the narrator of it. "The myth", revolves around events such as Mesram Saga Birth, Padiyor's sacrifice to god Nagoba, Aabothu's (Ox) help to Padiyor, and its transformation into Bodem pen (Ox God).

The Myth and Nagoba Jatara's performance are mainly in the hands of Katoda and Pradhan. Except Pradhan, others are not allowed to perform worship to the gods of Gonds' community. In the myth, Pradhan was referred to worship the gods and to organize the ritual. The myth also reveal that Pradhan as the mediator between Gonds and God Nagoba. It is also observed that Pradhan guides Katoda during worship of Nagoba God. From ancient times to the present, Gonds respect the role of Pradhan; they depend on Pradhan to organize the worships to the god Nagoba etc;

The events in Nagoba Jatara, look like a written script and the entire Gond community also looks like the one playing characters in that script. Pradhan narrates "the Myth", and Gond community performs the events in "the Myth". The entire process resembles a "play" in performance. The following table demonstrates the stories of "the Myth", and its similarities to the events in the Nagoba Jatara.

	<b>The Myth</b>	<b>Nagoba Jatara</b>
1	In the Myth, about Peepal and Banyan trees is written. Snake hole is below the Peepal tree, Jaardevi is the first person from the Gonds according to the story. Daily after bath, with Kalasam (Brass vessel) full of holy water, she performs puja to the snake hole, for getting a life partner. At the end of pooja, after 12 years, Jaardevi and SheshaNarayana (Nagoba) looked at each other and became life partners.	At present, Banyan tree (Vatavruksham), Peepal tree (Beruli tree), and snake hole are in the temple premises of Nagoba. Gonds built a temple around the Snake hole and it is under the Beruli tree. During Nagoba Jatara, Gonds have used Kalasam (brass vessel) to bring holy water and perform Pooja to God Nagoba. From the Gonds in the Jatara, the families of sons, and daughters of different Kittas, met with marriage proposals. The Gonds believe that, at this auspicious time, the God Nagoba's blessings reach them.
2	In the Myth, Shesha Narayan (God Nagoba) said to Hirasukkhaha (Pradhan), "My Kitta (Progeny) people will serve you, You should go and show life path to them. As long as there are Sun and Moon, they will not stop following your word. They will obey your command if you show them the correct path and they will also offer you 7types of Daana".	In the Gond society, all the members followed the Pradhan's words with utmost reverence during Nagoba Jatara, and this has been coming as a tradition. As said by SheshaNarayana in the story, at the end of Jatara, Patel people give rice and money as a donation,(Daana) to Pradhan people.
3	Bhaar Dev and Naagamoti are son and daughter-in-law of Jaardevi. While ending their life, they told their son Jaachkal Dev, 'Kalasam was given to them by his paternal Grand Mother (Jaar Devi) and the responsibility of protecting it was with him. After this, Jaachkal gave the Kalasam to his son Vedchaaldev, and asked him to protect it, before passing away, he also asked him to think of Hirasukkhaha. And then in his Final moments, Vedchaaldev called his elder son Baale Suryal and	Gonds believe the "myth", that's why, every generation under the guidance of Pradhan is offering worship to the God Nagoba with great reverence. Gonds are passing the "Kalasam" to their next generations and protecting it.

	asked him to protect Kalasam. From there, Mother RoopDevi called all her sons and announced the arrival of 12years of Destitution period. "Your Vamsha received this Kalasam, so protect this carefully", saying so, she passed away.	
4	In the myth, at sunset, Baalesuur halted his journey near a cowherd, in the corner of any village. And after cleaning all sides of that place, a fire was made, and then the younger brothers would sleep in front of him.	All the Gonds, when they went to get holy water during Nagoba Jatara, they chose a corner place in the village at nights, cleaned its surroundings, made fire and slept around the fire like Baalesuur and his brothers in "the myth". In the Gonds community, this was called Mukham.
5	Baale Suuryal's and Seven Brothers with lots of cow wealth, crossed some villages to reach Keslapur those were "Piyakhandi, Ellapaitadwaa, Chinnakoosani, Peddakoosani, EduHanumaan, and Kotthapeta. Chinna uttool, Pedda Uttool, Roohipeta, Mankapur, Tiryaani, Gudipeta, Mohidu, Budpunoor, Loddiguda, Jaamuldhara, Kannepaaili, Geetabandaa, Taatiloddi, they drunk water in Hastana pond and then at Mandaapaaili they stood for a brief Moment. From there Geetabandaa, Bugga, Lingapoor, Vankamaddi, Motaakasaa, BoodumGutta, Gumnoor, Chapri, Dhaanoora, Deevudpalli, Paalagutta, Pangadi, Pullaaraa, Jaamni, Paavuraaer, Jainoor Raagapoor, and from there Maarlawai, Koomti-Loddi, Khandi, Bheemankhundu, Keryer, Sanjaybheemal, Kundunpaaili, Hasnapoor, Enka, Enda Pookurguda,	These villages still exist in Adilabad district, and like the Seven Brothers in the Myth, all Gonds at the time of Nagoba Jatara, crossed these villages to bring the holy water from Hastana Madugu to Keslapur on barefoot. They stayed in Goshala.

	Pulimadugu, Muktee, Anji village, Hirapur, Keslapur and then they reached Gaurapur and kept the cows in Gowad (Goshala).	
6	In the myth, Mooke Maatari found the baby boy inside the fish in Sirikonda lake. She then went to a potter, brought a big pot, and kept the boy hidden in the pot during mornings, and got the baby out of it at nights	Like Mooke Maatari, Pradhan and Katoda after seeing the moon during Pushya Maasa, went to Sirikonda village Potters house, to order Big Pots. They kept their God in that Pot during Nagoba Jatara. The Potter made Pots with reverence using the clay from Sirikonda Lake, this was because, Mooke Maatari got the fish from Sirikonda lake. But nowadays, potters are not allowed to get clay from the Lake of Sirikonda, Potters family forefathers, fathers, children, and grandchildren were all making pots for Nagoba Jatara, It has been coming as a tradition to make pots for God Nagoba every year.
7	In the story, when Padiyor went to the fourth Saga, sixth Saga and fifth Saga Kingdoms. He was heart fully welcomed, and the Mother in laws washed his legs. Eighteen plantations green vegetables with seven flavors were consumed by him, and food and Tamboola were also arranged for him.	Like that, in Nagoba Jatara all the Gond women cleaned the legs of Katoda, Pradhan and other Gond men. When all the Gond men went to bring holy water with Kalasam, and as they took rest at the corners of the villages during their journey, these people arranged many types of vegetables, plantations leaves and curries for lunch or dinner to this batch of people.
8	In the story, when elder Golla was going to Indravelli, Roopaal Jaru saw him, she changed into a tiger and planned to kill him because he helped and raised the Padiyor and his brother. Then a Chalipaaga (scarf kind of thing) was thrown on her neck and a Yantra was drawn around her to hold her at	Whatever was said by Elder Golla to Roopaal Jaru in the Myth, the Gonds have been following those words even now. At the time of Nagoba Jatara, all the Gonds before going to Keslapur Jatara halted at Indravelli, did their first puja to Roopaal Jaru and then went to Keslapur. The Gonds called her Goddess Indhradevi.



	the place of Indravelli. “From now on you should not go anywhere and should not move, Padiyors before going for Keslapur Pooja will perform their first Pooja to you and then they will go,” said elder Golla”.	
9	In the story, Padiyor did farming for living, and he had a land suitable for the crop, under him “sixty villages, eighty lakhs worth Raj Mahal, thirty lakhs worth Darbar, A Raj Bhavan with seven Simha Dwaras. Well known and intelligent people who stood up with respect for him at Darbar, Lawyer (Vakeel), Rukum, Desai, Deshpande and Village Patel, like this everyone sat in Raj Darbar. All the people were ruled with justice and lots of entertainment was also provided to the people.	Like Padiyor, all the Gonds did Farming for their living, some people are into government jobs nowadays, a Darbar happened in the Jatara and it was conducted by the Gonds, ITDA Utnoor, and Telangana Government. Many people like Patel, Pradhan, Katoda, Pen Kothval, temple committee members, Gonds and political people attended it. Like the story, In Darbar they arranged entertainment programs like Gussadi Dance and other tribal dances, then they discussed their problems in the Nagoba Jatara Darbar, and closed the activity in the evenings, similar to the story.
10	Pradhan Hirasukkhaha, in the story, before going anywhere, placing Kikkiri in a place, prayed to Raitadh and elders about the brothers who have dispersed to North, south, east and west directions, and wished their wellbeing. While coming from and going anywhere, he looked at the front and back carefully to Make sure that no problem arises and offered Salutations to all the elders in Swarga (heaven), he would ask for their blessings, so that the work will finish successfully.	Like this Pradhan did prayer during Nagoba Jatara. This was done while going to holy water, Potters house, Bodem Pen Jatara and most part of the journey. After this only, he started his work or Puja.
11	In the story, when Padiyor met his	In the Nagoba Jatara, doing Namaskara was a

	<p>brothers who were at the corner of the capital city, he did Namaskara. Hirasukkhaa Pradhan, in the story, advised to women that, while meeting their husband's relatives, they should offer salutation looking at the foot toes and also should cover their face with the veil while walking.</p>	<p>common thing, the Gonds respected each other equally. As indicated in the story, all the words were followed by the Gond women. In the Nagoba Jatara, during "Bheating Koriyal", "Goshala" etc; rituals, they looked at their foot toes while walking and covered their faces with veils, they also touched the feet of elders, did Namaskara and then walked away.</p>
12	<p>Padiyor in the story arranged things of Pooja. "Seven brothers got ready for Darshan of God, Bullock carts were decorated. With Dol, Sannai and other musical Instruments, the entire capital city was echoing. The bells in oxen neck were making sounds and cart after cart, decorating the oxen with colorful clothes. They started moving. They crossed lakes, Orre (water moving the place that's narrow and deep), big Stream (Vaagu), rivers, Sea and stopped".</p>	<p>Like Padiyor, all the Gonds made things required for Puja at their houses and decorated bullock carts, they also played musical instruments. Whoever went with Kalasam and Bullock carts, were sent to God Nagoba by all the village people together, Oxen made bell sounds and rose dust as they moved. Many people came from long distances for Nagoba Darshan, they crossed lots of lakes, different roads, mountains, and forest, similar to the things happened in the story, and the Gonds did the same during Nagoba Jatara.</p>
13	<p>In the story, near the Sea, Padiyor said to Pradhan Hira Sukkah "I will go for Raitadh's Darshan. Here you people, Without stopping and continuously for five days should play musical Instruments like Dol, Pepreng (Sannai), Kikkiri describing the God, the story of big God should be told till I come back".</p>	<p>Like this, during the Nagoba Jatara, Pradhan and other people played musical instruments and told the story of the big God Nagoba. It was told with Kikkiri in front of the Gonds for five days.</p>
14	<p>In "The Myth", Padiyor at Sea, when going into the water, brought both his hands together and prayed the Sea like this, "Jalpaakeyjal, Jalpaanyaa,</p>	<p>Like that Katoda, Pradhan and all the Gonds at Hastana Madugu did Puja to holy water. This was similar to whatever Padiyor did before entering the Sea, in the story. After that, they</p>

	Jaanjaar, Jalmaata, Jalpeetam, clear water, you are Jal maata and Jal pita please give me way”, and then putting his right leg forward he started.	filled water in Kalasam.
15	Padiyor in the story, while he sat on God’s Swinging Bed, remembered 4 <sup>th</sup> Saga Mamas Ramtek, 5 <sup>th</sup> Saga Ghattas and after that 6 <sup>th</sup> Saga Ghattas Mamas.	Like this, in Nagoba Jatara. Katoda, while he was doing Puja, remembered fourth, fifth and sixth Saga people. When doing puja, Katoda kept separate Seesa and Puja things for fourth Saga, fifth Saga and sixth Saga in front of God.
16	After doing unholy things at the place of God Adishesha, Padiyor and his Brothers continued their journey Day and Night without stopping and reached the border of Keslapur. After reaching the place, with sounds of musical Instruments the Villagers, Relatives, and neighbors went to them and welcomed them. They kept Peetas (small pedestals) for washing his legs and saying that he has gone to (God) Raitadh and had his Darshan. Some got water and Carpets were also arranged for the people to sit. After washing legs, everyone met each other. Repeating the fact that Padiyor has come back having Darshan of Raitadh (God), everyone met him out of total happiness. In the story, Padiyor after seeing Raitadh (God), did free distribution of food (Annadaanam) to all people out of happiness.	In Jatara, Katoda, Pradhan and all the Gonds, carried the holy water from Hastana Madugu to Keslapur without stopping in the middle of their journey. When they reached Keslapur, with holy water, Katoda, Pradhan and all others entered Keslapur. Villagers and relatives welcomed them by playing Musical instruments, and then cleaned their legs on Peetas (for sitting made by wood) with water, then, many people took blessings of Katoda and greeted each other happily with “ram ram”. They also asked about their journey from holy water to Nagoba Jatara.  At the end of the Jatara, Kalasam came back to the Gods house, the Patel family members arranged food for all the village people of Keslapur, the villagers came to Gods house, ate food and went away happily.
17	In “The Myth”, Sumanth Pradhan had “Seven nodes (Ganne or Kanupula) Bamboo stick, and wore Khanduva (long cloth) on his shoulder.	Following the tradition from the story, Pradhan, Katoda, Patel, Pen Kothval and all the Gonds in the Nagoba Jatara used seven nodes Bamboo sticks and Khanduvas.
18	In the story, God Adishesha came to the	In the same way, during Nagoba Jatara under

	border of Keslapur to destroy Padiyor and his brothers. To calm Adishesha, Seesa (Naivedya) was made for him. Sumanth Pradhan asked Padiyor to get Seven Pots of Milk, Curd, Ghee, Peas, Jaggery, Honey, Almonds, Cashew nuts and Cardamom for preparing Seesa.	the guidance of Pradhan, Katoda made Seesa with the Milk, Curd, Ghee, Peas, Jaggery, Honey, Almonds, Cashew nuts, and Cardamom. It was served in Motuku leaves to God Nagoba as Seesa (Naivedya).
19	In the story, Nagoba said to Gonds that he roamed fourteen Lokas, and finally chose Keslapur to stay. He also said, "For him in Pushya Maasa and also on the day of Amavasya, they, their family and relatives should do Pooja to him. Your house Pradhan Hira Sukkah and PenBhoopyaal Katoda. Should go to Hastana Madugu and get Godavari water. Coming from there, they should do Pooja here. And Nagoba commanded Padiyor, to not go to Hastanamadugu. As Naivedya will not be of any use to him (Engul). PenBhoopyaal Katoda, Hirasukkhah (Pradhans) Naivedya alone should be accepted," saying so he disappeared from the place where there was Nagoba temple.	The Gonds strictly follow the words of Nagoba God from the story. During Nagoba Jatara, Gond families and relatives during Pushya Maasa and that too on the day of Amavasya did Pooja to Nagoba. Katoda, Pradhan and the Gonds, while going to holy water, visited places which were visited by Raitadh and then went to Hastana Madugu with Kalasam, they took some Godavari water in Kalasam and came back to Keslapur. They did Puja to God Nagoba and offered Seesa, but while bringing the holy water, Patel people did not participate in the activity, because they think that, Padiyor did unholy things in the place of Raitadh, so they do not have any chance to do other things. Like this, they are following rules of God Nagoba every year in Jatara.
20	In the story, Bodem (Ox) stayed with Padiyor and Padiyor Brothers from birth till death. It helped Padiyor a lot, the Bodem ,when the brothers were not with the cows, protected cow wealth being in the front. When the Bodem was dying, Padiyor with tears said to Bodem "From today onwards you are our Vamsha's God. In Keslapur during	Like this, after the Nagoba Jatara; Katoda, Pradhan, Patel, Pen Kothval, Gayki, Gond families and relatives of all the Gonds, together went to Shyampur with holy water and did Puja to Bodem Pen. As said by Padiyor in the story, all the Gond community is following his words every year in the Nagoba Jatara.

	<p>Amavasya in Pushya Maasa, after puja is done to Raitadh Adishesha (Nagoba), we will perform your puja here. Our Vamsha people, sisters, Brothers, Brother in laws, Katoda and Pradhans will get your things of Puja and do your Puja. As long as Sun and moon are in the Sky and Rasekhar Adishesha (Nagoba) is in Netherworld, my Vamsha people small and big after arriving here, will perform your puja. Give them your blessings, Coming to you they will perform Puja, and till our race remains, they will not forget the help you have done", said Padiyor.</p>	
21	<p>In the story, Padiyor's place Keslapur developed into a big city. One day Padiyor went to roam around his city and streets, he was also planning on meeting people. He traveled on a Chekda, roamed the city, reached a Liquor selling place and got drunk, then having become a slave to this habit, he forgot his family and lost all his wealth on this. When Padiyor's wife took him back to the house than he remembered his real self and cried to himself like this "I forgot my own wife for Liquor, I lost my family life, capital, and Kingdom. I got mad and wore a Langoti (very small lower wear), this bad time was brought on to me by Liquor. So I should not fall after liquor anymore. Pushya Maasa is a pure month (Pavitramaasa) and so, I should remain with Niyama Nishta".</p>	<p>Like the strong resolution of Padiyor, during Pushya Maasa, from beginning to the end of Nagoba Jatara, all the Gonds refrained from having liquor, they were following the rule of Padiyor in maintaining purity.</p>

22	In the story, Padiyor went with Suyveelad (Porcupine) and for many years he didn't return. His children thought he was dead and performed his death rites called Kaarun (ritual is done in the name of dead people). And later Naivedya was offered to the Gonds (Thum).	Like this during Nagoba Jatara, under the Banyan trees at Gaadhe. Pradhan, Katoda and all the Gonds sat, collected items required for Naivedya, and prepared Naivedya for the Gonds. They did "Thum" and showed Naivedya to Persa Pen in the name of dead people.
23	In the story, while Padiyor was coming back from Suyveelad, she told him that when she comes to the marriage of his younger son, he should not touch her, but Padiyor forgets because of the long passed time. So, Padiyor Went and caught her hand, but after touching her, she immediately turned into fire, and the entire marriage Mandapa Caught fire, and a hole formed. From then, she has turned into Goddess Satik.	This story was believed by Gond society, even nowadays, when the Gonds perform a marriage in their society, they make marriage Mandapa with hole, this has been coming as a tradition for Gond society. At the temple of Satik during Nagoba Jatara, Gond women went to holy water with new pots and accompanied by the playing musical instruments they brought water to Satik Goddess. They cleaned the temple and in front of it, all the women, made two holes with the by mixing clay with cow dung, they did puja and offered Seesa (Naivedya) to Goddess Satik.
24	We know that snake moves in the bushes, under the trees, forest, mountains, lakes, stone places, mud places. It's rarely uses a road. It always crawls in grass fields and hides.	In the Nagoba Jatara, the Gonds walked like a moving Snake while going to Potters house and Hastana Madugu. Gonds crossed many obstacles and went to places in made up line. when one sees the Gonds moving in a line, they appear like a snake moving. They did not walk straight, they walked diagonal and cross like snake, they did not walk on the road, they always walked on grass fields. When they entered the border of Keslapur village, the Gonds circumambulated around the tree and went away.

*Table No.11*

The Gonds showed unity, and cooperated fully with each other, during the Jatara. They did not take assistance or advice from non-Gonds. They did not have Brahmins to do worship (pooja) during Nagoba Jatara, as it normally happens in Hindu temples. They respect their tradition and "the myth", the process of their rituals may not change even after a hundred years. According to their belief, they are not allowed to make mistakes during the performance of the rituals; because a mistake will lead them to be punished by the God Nagoba. If this reverence should continue, the Nagoba Jatara tradition will continue to survive all hardships, and its heritage will remain with the Gonds for long time.

Gonds have been following "the myth" to perform Nagoba Jatara. "The myth" is performed under the guidance of Pradhan. Pradhan's instructions are followed by Gonds community in the Nagoba Jatara. Pradhan's role in Nagoba Jatara resembles the director in theatre, because Pradhan guides the activities in Nagoba Jatara. "The Myth" and the Jatara performance have been researched carefully and details have been meticulously mentioned in this Thesis. The purpose of this research is to find the role of Gonds in Nagoba Jatara, and to initiate a new perspective to the future researchers based on the information placed in this study. Scholars from related departments can benefit from the plain facts presented in this thesis. It will surely provide information to the research scholars from theatre and other cultural studies, to further study based on the descriptive data in this. With thirty days of the field work, the entire process of ritual and performance has been participated and lived every day and night to the fullest possibility.

As discussed above, finally it may be concluded that the ritual and performance process plays a major role in the lifestyle and belief system of Gonds and becomes a statute for their wellbeing in maintaining their ethnic relations in controlling their social life.



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## APPENDIX

### *Field work Photographs of Nagoba Jatara*



1. Gonds ready to go holy water place in Keslapur at Gods house while leaving the place all Gonds are giving Dhakshina (Money) to Sisters and son in laws of Mesram



2. While leaving the place the Gonds are pouring tobacco leaves on the ground





3. All the Gonds sat on the Hastana Madugu (Holy Water Place)



4. At Hastana Madugu all the Gonds are keeping their food item on the cloth to make the Naivedyam





5. At Hastana Madugu Preparing Naivedyam



6. Gonds did puja to the Kalasam and Seven Nodes Bamboo Stick at Hastana Madugu





7. Guggilam in Mothuku leaves



8. Naivedyam in Mothuku leaves





9. Kalasam, Chembu, Seven Nodes Bamboo Sticks and new white cloth



10. All the Gonds sitting for going to eat Naivedyam at Hastana Madugu





11. At Hastana Madugu Gonds gave Dhakishina (Money) to Seven Nodes Bamboo Sticks



12. All Gonds with holy water leaving Hastana Madugu





13. All Gonds took Nilakada



14. Before taking Nilakada the Gonds kept Kalasam on the tree





15. Gonds are crossing the lake while going to Keslapur with holy water



16. (Kavval Forrest house) Gonds took the Mukkam in Kavval Forrest house with holy water Kalasam





17. Gonds are climbing mountain of Kavval Forrest with holy water Kalasam



18. Gonds are taking Nilkada on the Kavval Forrest Mountain with holy water





19. While taking Nilakada outside the village food arranging for all the Gonds



20. Traditional wishing each other while taking Nilakada





21. Left side Katoda Hanumanth, middle one Pen Kothval Thirupathi, right side Pradhan Thukudogi



22. Aabothu (Ox) figure on the Kalasam





23. Nagoba and Crescent Moon on the Kalasam



24. Crescent Moon on the Kalasam





25. All the Gonds walking on fields with Kalasam



26. Katoda and his elder wife at home In Gouri Village





27. Katoda and his younger wife at home In Gouri Village



28. Mesram Kitta's Saade family in Gouri Village





29. Katoda's Gouri Village people (Gonds)



30. In Gori village preparing the rice for Nagoba Jatara





31. Gond women shining their ornaments for going to Nagoba Jatara



32. Gonds arranging the Bullock Carts





33. Arranging the Bullock Carts wheel



34. Arranging bullock carts top cover made by Bamboo sticks





35. Gouri village Women Sarpanch and her Husband



36. The Gond setting the Musical Instrument





37. Gond women preparing the corn flour for Nagoba Jatara



38. Gonds made Chapattis for Nagoba Jatara





39. Gonds marking with colour on their things



40. Bajatri people are setting their musical instruments (Pippiri)





41. Heating the Thudum Dhap for well performance



42. Pippiri





43. Playing Musical Instruments



44. Making sound with musical instrument of Kalikom





45. Making sound with musical instrument of Pippi's



46. Making ready the Bullock Carts for Nagoba Jatra





47. Bulls decorated by the Gonds for Nagoba Jatara



48. Baskets of Puja things and things of Naivedya





49. All the Gonds doing Namaskara to Baskets of Puja things



50. Bajatri playing the musical instruments in front of the Bullock carts





51. Bullock carts from Gouri village going to Keslapur



52. After Nilakada Katoda Going to hold the Kalasm from the trees





53. All the Gond women and men are walking with bare foot to Keslapur



54. While taking Mukham, Indian traditional light kept in front of the Baskets in the night





55. When all the Gonds reached Indravelli they are going to Indradevi temple with Kalasam



56. Indradevi temple in Indravelli Mandal





57. Gonds are keeping the Kalasam on the Peepal tree in front of the Indradevi temple



58. Seven nodes Bamboo sticks and water carrier kept at the Peepal tree (Ravi chettu)





59. All the Gonds are eating Naivedya in front of the Indradevi temple



60. Before leaving the temple of Idradevi Gonds doing Namaskara to the Ground





61. Potter family and Gonds with the packed pots of Bullock cart in Sirikonda village at Potters house



62. Under the Banyan trees Gonds, fire and Musical instruments at Gaadhe





63. Traditional Mashals and oil containers of Gonds



64. Gond women with their Naivedya Baskets, Preparing food and with Kaslas under Banyan trees





65. Gonds are saying Ram Ram while touching their hands with Namaskara posture at Gaadhe



66. All the Gonds are going to Persa Pen after collecting Goats, Naivedya making items in the Thum under Banyan trees





67. Left Nagoba God and right Sathik Goddess rooms



68. Nagoba temple in the night





69. Gond women are making Indian traditional lamps



70. Castor oil pouring on the Mashals





71. Bridegrooms are going to Well of holy water with new pots



72. Sathik Goddess





73. Bridegrooms with white saree covered by their faces



74. All the Gond are giving their food items for God to make Naivedya





75. Sathik Goddess with hole



76. Dharbar in Nagoba Jatara





77. Patel wife and Katoda wife are taking the Big pots to Gods house



78. Keslapur Sarpach Mesram Nagnadh family





79. Mesarm Venkat rao Patel family



80. While leaving the Keslapur village border with holy water of Kalasam the Gonds walking around the small tree





81. Gonds are taking Nilakada while going to Shampur Jatara



82. Giving Beedi to all the Gonds at Shampur Jatara





83. Bodem Pen Temple



84. At Bodem Pen temple all the Gonds are sitting in the evening behind the fire





85. Gonds are pouring the holy water on the Bodem Pen parts



86. At Bodem Pen Jatara all the Gonds are eating Naivedya





87. Sisters of Mesram spread the towels on the ground for Dhakshina (money) at end of Shampur Jatara



88. Gond women are washing the legs of Patel, Katoda and all the Gonds





89. All the Gonds are eating together at Gods house end of the Jatara



90. Patel family member is giving Dhakshina to Pen kthval and Pradhan people





91. Banyan trees of Keslapur



92. Money from the Hundi of Nagoba temple





93. Persa Pen



94. Chakda (Small bullock cart)





95. Mesram Thukdogi Pradhan family



96. Katoda and Pradhan



# GONDS, THEIR MYTH, AND THE KESLAPUR NAGOBA JATARA: A STUDY OF THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS

*by* Jampaiah Chunchu

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# **GONDS, THEIR MYTH, AND THE KESLAPUR NAGOBA JATARA: A STUDY OF THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS**

**A SYNOPSIS SUBMITTED DURING THE YEAR 2018 TO THE UNIVERSITY OF  
HYDERABAD FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE  
DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE ARTS**

**BY**

**CHUNCHU JAMPAIAH**

**12SNPT02**



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TELANGANA STATE, INDIA  
JUNE, 2018**

## INTRODUCTION

India is a country culturally enriched with several tribes divided into several clans, occupying different geographical regions. All these communities own their languages, festivals and ceremonies filled with Mythical stories of the Goddesses, Gods, Nature, Animals, supernatural elements and legends of Humans.

Gonds the hill people are living in Deccan Peninsula of India are the largest tribal Groups. “In the Gond history they had Gondwana State based on Gondwani language see the languages based map of India, published in 1859 in the Baptist Magazine”<sup>1</sup>.

“The Gonds are mainly divided into four tribes: Raj Gonds, Madia (Maria) Gonds, Dhurve Gonds and Khatulwar (Khutwad) Gonds. They are mostly found in the following Regions from different states.

1. The Bastar region in Madhya Pradesh on the Godavari Basin
2. The Kalahandi region of Orissa
3. The Chandrapur region of Maharashtra
4. The Adilabad region of Telangana
5. The Satpuda and Narmada regions of Madhya Pradesh
6. The Raipur region in Madhya Pradesh, including Sambalpur in Chattisgarh, and the Sagar region in Madhya Pradesh
7. The Ellichpur region in the Amravati District of Maharashtra. (Vahia 29-30)”<sup>2</sup>

The Gond tribes are one of the social groups of the country who are socially and economically backward. Gond Tribes are ancient Indian people. “They live in forests of central India. These are the large group of tribes. The Main point is the Gond do not call themselves as Gonds but through Gonds sub-tribal name Koia, Koitor or Kotar. The word Koia, Koitor, or Kotor meaning is ‘man of hills or mountains’ in the local dialect of their language. (Hasnain 141)”<sup>3</sup>

The present study focuses on the process of ritual performance held in connection with Keshapur Nagoba Jatara. Nagoba is the deity of Gonds and the Jatara is a popular ritual

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<sup>1</sup> *Stop Hindi Imposition*. 7 July 2017. Facebook. 15 May 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Vahia, M. N. "Aspects of Gond Astronomy." *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage* (2013): Print.

<sup>3</sup> Hasnain, Nadeem. *Tribal India*. Delhi: Palaka Prakashan Publishers, 2007. Print.



observed by this tribe. An attempt is made here to study the process of Nagoba Jatara to find out the theatricality in the performance. The process of conducting rituals involves a travel to the Keslapur village from the surrounding villages where in it involves offerings to their god with devotion, narration of their myth, supported by the spectatorship and their participation.

## **AREA OF STUDY**

The Keslapur Nagoba Jatara is very popular among the Gond tribes in Adilabad district of Telangana State. It belongs to only the Mesram clan in the Gond Tribes, it's performed by them as a part of the ritual observation. It is an important event in their life. The Serpent God is known to everyone as 'Sesha Naga' or Nagoba who is the divine serpent of Lord Shiva. Nagoba is deeply admired by the Gond tribes. Every year the Gond tribes celebrate their devotion to the Nagoba God through the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara.

It is a significant annual tribal festival celebrated for 5 days. The related rituals of Nagoba Jatara involve prayers, offerings and narration of their myth related to the deity. It involves the participation of the Gonds tribal community including non-tribal from the neighbouring villages. The ritual begins at the day of appearance of the moon. Special Pujas during the months of December and January, which is the month of Pushya or Pushya Masam (pus nalelenj or Sri Nagoba Pendha kal kerval) are performed and several offerings are made to the serpent God Nagoba. This entire month Gonds are engaged in prayers and celebrations. This is the event which provides religious, cultural and social platform among the Gond tribes.

These rituals are performed in the Keslapur village, Indravelli Mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state. This Gond tribe dwell in the deep forests, which is locally called as "*kavval adavi*"<sup>4</sup>. They gather the food by hunting, agriculture and pastoral properties. Hence they developed the belief system on offering to their god Nagoba and the related rituals which are observed to maintain a harmonious community living with eco-friendly nature.

From the literature survey, it is found that the authors discussed various factors of the lifestyle of the Gonds and their belief system on their gods and the related rituals. It is also observed that none has dealt with the process of performance in conducting the rituals. An attempt is made here to study the process of ritual performance in general and Keslapur Jatara in particular. Since rituals involve a process of performance which in turn upholds their

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<sup>4</sup> It is a forest, locally called that Kavval Adavi, it is located Jannaram mandal of Mancheriyal district (old Adilabad) in Telangana state.

identity. Hence the following issues are discussed which require attention in the study of “Gonds, their Myth, and Nagoba Jatara Performance process”.

### **ISSUES ADDRESSED**

1. What is the Gond’s mythological story in the Nagoba Jatara?
2. What is Nagoba Jatara Performance?
3. What is the process of Nagoba Jatara performance?
4. The ethnic features and connections to the myth and their life.

### **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

**Aims:** This study attempts to investigate the Myth and Nagoba Jatara Performance Process, to attain information on the above issues. Hypothetically to even evaluate the features of theatricality in the process of performance in the tribe. The following are the objectives of this study.

#### **Research objectives:**

1. To find out the Gond’s myth in the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara process.
2. Whether the performance possesses theatricality?
3. To critically look at whether the Gonds tribe participate as “inside or outside”., in the process of performance
4. To evaluate the ethnic connections to their myth and their lifestyle.
5. To understand the perspective of Gonds in owning the Nagoba Jatara and Myth.

### **METHODOLOGY**

This study is based on the primary and secondary source of data. And it is a participatory and observation research method, Fieldwork documentation and Interview used for the data collection in research. Analysing Nagoba Jatara and Myth, starting from the month of December to the end of January. Every year this is celebrated at Keslapur Nagoba temple. It is a study with a focus on Myth and Nagoba Jatara performance Process.

**Participation and observation:** This method is used in order to study the ethnic connections of the Gonds tribal people, the Nagoba Jatara, and their Myth. Every part of the Jatara and every episode of myth is keenly observed.

**Video documentation:**

This method is followed for extracting the information of Nagoba Jatara, their myth and the process of performance. A complete audio and video documentation is done to acquire authentic data of the process of ritual and other related performance aspects. The entire process of the ritual and the performance is documented from the very beginning to the end running through various elements involved in it.

**Interview:**

Interviews were carried out with the tribe based on unstructured questionnaire to get the data and information. Particularly these interview sessions were conducted at the post rituals and performance. These interviews were carried out interacting with elderly people of Gonds especially Patlals or Patels, Katodas, and Pradhans.

- **The Major sources of study:** 1) Nagoba Jatara and its various events of performances, customs and traditions, conduct of devotion and their attires during the process of the rituals. 2) The oral mythical story, Gond legends, and their belief system. 3) The literature on the Gond performance traditions contributed by theoreticians and researchers.

## **CHAPTERISATION**

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Each chapter focuses on issues mentioned above, and in-depth analysis is attempted here.

### **Chapter I -Introduction**

This chapter covers the area of study, literature survey, issues addressed, aims and objectives, the methodology of research and chapterisation. This chapter aims to focus on the process of performance of Nagoba Jatara as practiced by the Gond tribes. It also introduces their ethnic connections to their belief system as a frame of reference to the study.

### **Chapter II – The Gonds and their social milieu.**

This chapter introduces the Gond tribe's lifestyle and specifically the Keslapur Nagoba Jatara of the Gonds. It covers their material culture, their familial construct, and their social life.

Role of Nagoba Jatara in connection to their rites of passages. It also discusses their political and economical strategies for upholding their community living and belief system.

### **Chapter III - The Myth of Gonds in Nagoba Jatara**

This chapter presents the Myth of the Gond tribes from the beginning to the end. This has been recorded from the Pradhan of the Gonds. The myth is divided into seven episodes. This entire myth was narrated in the Gondi language but later translated into English with the help of the Pradhans who could also speak in Telugu and Hindi.

### **Chapter IV -The Nagoba Jatara Performance Process**

This chapter discusses the entire process which is conducted in twenty divisive events from beginning to end. As all activities or performances are happening, in between the Pradhan intervenes and tells a mythological story by the way of singing, the oral narrative with Kikkiri (the traditional musical instrument) and other musical instruments in episodic style and after every episode they perform puja. So there is a need to discuss and explain about ‘the Nagoba Jatara Performance Process’ in this chapter. The twenty parts are...

“01) Looking the Moon

02) Ordering the new Pots

03) Going to holy water

04) Puja at Hastanamadugu

05) In the village of Katoda

06) Pooja of Indhradevi

07) Under Banyan trees

08) Bringing the new pots

09) Thum

10) Castor Oil making for God

11) Entry in Goshala

12) Bheati Koriyal

13) Satik Puja



- 14) Persa Pen Puja
- 15) Big Puja of Nagoba
- 16) Masai God
- 17) The Darbar
- 18) Shampur Bodem Pen Jatara
- 19) The God house
- 20) The End of the Nagoba Jatara (Jampaiah)”<sup>5</sup>

## **Chapter V- Conclusion**

This chapter deals with the summary of my beginning four chapters and the importance of the study, its findings, and suggestions for future research.

## **FINDINGS**

This thesis is performance study of the “Nagoba Jatara of Gonds”. Here, the focus is also on “the Myth of Gonds” which guided these Gonds during the Jatara. For this study, Keslapur village was chosen for acquiring primary data, to collect this primary data for the research, Gonds were interviewed, documented, and observed. As part of this Nagoba Jatara, Gonds travelled from Keslapur to various villages, and came back .They went to the following places in this order: Keslapur to Sirikonda, Sirikonda to Keslapur, Keslapur to Hastanamadugu, Hastanamadugu to Gowri, Gowri to Indravelli, Indravelli to Keslapur, Keslapur to Shampur, and Shampur to Keslapur. During their journey, they were followed for documentation process. Nagoba Jatara’s performance, is very similar and related to their myth. The way rituals were followed in Nagoba Jatara, can be compared to the narration in their “Myth”.

Keslapur village, located in Adilabad district, Telangana state, is very popular for Gonds and their cultural practices. This village is believed to be the birthplace of God Nagoba, and this belief is clearly mentioned in their “Myth”, It was found that the “Myth” has more than important role in the life of these Gonds, Without the references from the

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<sup>5</sup>Jampaiah, Chunchu. "Gond's Nagoba Jatara; Performance of Bheati Koriyal." *International Research Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* (2017): 1-7. Print.  
(The Information Included in the ‘IRJMS’ Journal)

myth, Nagoba Jatara loses its significance in Gonds' life, and this is difficult to imagine. This myth, and these Gonds belief in it is the source for this performance. It is visible that elements of the myth are adopted and improvised in Nagoba Jatara. According to the myth, Nagoba god settled in Keslapur and hence, Nagoba Jatara is popular as the "Keslapur Nagoba Jatara".

To study its process, Nagoba Jatara is divided into three sections. They are follows:

1. Pre-Nagoba Jatara (before)
2. Nagoba Jatara
3. Post-Nagoba Jatara (after )

In the first section; Gonds look at the moon, order the new pots, bring the holy water in the Kalasam, perform Puja at Hastanamadugu, perform specific offerings at Katoda village and offer Puja to Indhradevi.

In the second section; Gonds came back to Keslapur to start Nagoba Jatara. As part of this Nagoba Jatara, Gonds stayed under Banyan trees for five days to organize activities. In these five days, the ritual of getting the new pots was done on the second day morning, castor oil ritual was done on the third day, and on the fifth day, "Thum" ritual was performed. The first four days, Pradhan narrated the myth to the Gonds and this narration happened at nights. Thus, they completed few rituals under banyan trees, from there, Gonds travelled to Goshala to perform a ritual, and it involved newly married women. In here, the women who were newly married stayed. From then, rituals like, "Entry in Goshala", "Bheati Koriyal", "Satik Puja", "Persa Pen Puja", "Big Puja of Nagoba", "Masai God" and "The Darbar" were done. Thus, they performed Nagoba Jatara rituals under Banyan trees, Goshala and the main temple.

In the third section: After Nagoba Jatara, there were some activities left at Shampur and Keslapur. Bodem Pen Jatara was performed at Shampur. Family members of Patel, donated rice and money to Pradhans, and they also arranged dinner to all the Gond's community. Significant people from Gonds and Patels, arrived at the main temple to conclude Nagoba Jatara.

From pre to post-Nagoba Jatara, the myth was narrated by Pradhan at Temple, Banyan trees, Goshala, and Bodem Pen Jatara. The narration of the myth was done accompanied by musical instruments such as *Kikkiri*, *Thudumdappu*, *dolu*, and *kalikom*. The myth is about the Mesram and the God Nagoba.

When Gond's life is studied, we see that, they are economically, socially, politically and educationally backward. Their belief in God Nagoba is strong. According to their belief system, Gonds organize the ritual in a specific pattern. They follow the rules of Nagoba ritual, in an uncompromising way. This happens every year, the visitors from all over India and other castes also come to observe this ritual performance. Year after year, the number of visitors have also increased, because of the popularity it gained. As part of the participation in Nagoba Jatara, Gonds from other states meet their relatives, arrange marriage proposals, and also discuss their community problems. Though they are from various regions, Gonds have unity among brethren during Nagoba Jatara. The Gonds walked entire forest, crossed various lakes, and climbed various mountains with barefoot. At every turn in their journey, Gonds faced difficulties, but they did not seem to mind these difficulties. Some of them appeared to enjoy those hardships. The younger generation of Gonds were also willing to face these difficulties during Nagoba Jatara.

During Nagoba Jatara, Gonds and Non-Gonds from other districts and other states of India visited Keslapur village to worship the God Nagoba and also to get entertained. People stood in a queue to visit Nagoba temple during Jatara. Devotees gave Dakshina to God Nagoba, The Dakshina included money, gold, silver, coconuts, flowers, dry fruits and rice puffs.

Nagoba Jatara is a very ancient festival. Pradhan and Katoda played significant role in the rituals. In Nagoba Jatara, together, men and women from Gonds community participated in many rituals. The women and the men were separated only for few rituals like; "Bheatikoriyal" and "*satik puja*" for women and "*Going to holy water*", "*Big puja*", "*Thum*", and "*Persa Pen Puja*" for men. "Nagoba Jatara" has been adapting to new changes. For instance, microphones are being used to announce the rituals these days. Previously, only Gonds were allowed to put the stalls in the Nagoba Jatara but now a days, other community people are also being allowed to put the stalls.

Few responsible young people of the Mesram, are showing interest towards the Gond's myth and the Nagoba Jatara, because they believe that the myth belongs to their ancestors, and the heritage needs to be maintained. "The myth" is narrated by Pradhan and is accompanied by the sound from musical instruments, Other than Pradhan, Gond people do not accept anyone else to narrate the myth because, "The myth" defines the role of the Pradhan as the narrator of it. "The myth", revolves around events such as Mesram Saga

Birth, Padiyor's sacrifice to god Nagoba, Aabothu's (Ox) help to Padiyor, and its transformation into Bodem pen (Ox God).

The Myth and Nagoba Jatara's performance are mainly in the hands of Katoda and Pradhan. Except Pradhan, others are not allowed to perform worship to the gods of Gonds' community. In the myth, Pradhan was referred to worship the gods and to organize the ritual. The myth also reveal that Pradhan as the mediator between Gonds and God Nagoba. It is also observed that Pradhan guides Katoda during worship of Nagoba God. From ancient times to the present, Gonds respect the role of Pradhan; they depend on Pradhan to organize the worships to the god Nagoba etc;

The events in Nagoba Jatara, look like a written script and the entire Gond community also looks like the one playing characters in that script. Pradhan narrates "the Myth", and Gond community performs the events in "the Myth". The entire process resembles a "play" in performance . The following table demonstrates the stories of "the Myth", and its similarities to the events in the Nagoba Jatara.

	<b>The Myth</b>	<b>Nagoba Jatara</b>
1	In the Myth, about Peepal and Banyan trees is written. Snake hole is below the Peepal tree, Jaardevi is the first person from the Gonds according to the story. Daily after bath, with Kalasam (Brass vessel) full of holy water, she performs puja to the snake hole, for getting a life partner. At the end of pooja, after 12 years, Jaardevi and SheshaNarayana (Nagoba) looked at each other and became life partners.	At present, Banyan tree (Vatavruksham), Peepal tree (Beruli tree), and snake hole are in the temple premises of Nagoba. Gonds built a temple around the Snake hole and it is under the Beruli tree. During Nagoba Jatara, Gonds have used Kalasam (brass vessel) to bring holy water and perform Pooja to God Nagoba. From the Gonds in the Jatara, the families of sons, and daughters of different Kittas, met with marriage proposals. The Gonds believe that, at this auspicious time, the God Nagoba's blessings reach them.
2	In the Myth, Shesha Narayan (God Nagoba) said to Hirasukkhaha (Pradhan), "My Kitta (Progeny) people will serve you, You should go and show life path to them. As long as	In the Gond society, all the members followed the Pradhan's words with utmost reverence during Nagoba Jatara, and this has been coming as a tradition. As said by SheshaNarayana in the story, at the end of Jatara, Patel people give



	there are Sun and Moon, they will not stop following your word. They will obey your command if you show them the correct path and they will also offer you 7types of Daana”.	rice and money as a donation,(Daana) to Pradhan people.
3	Bhaar Dev and Naagamoti are son and daughter-in-law of Jaardevi. While ending their life, they told their son Jaachkal Dev, ‘Kalasam was given to them by his paternal Grand Mother (Jaar Devi) and the responsibility of protecting it was with him. After this, Jaachkal gave the Kalasam to his son Vedchaaldev, and asked him to protect it, before passing away, he also asked him to think of Hirasukkhaa. And then in his Final moments, Vedchaaldev called his elder son Baale Suryal and asked him to protect Kalasam. From there, Mother RoopDevi called all her sons and announced the arrival of 12years of Destitution period. "Your Vamsha received this Kalasam, so protect this carefully", saying so, she passed away.	Gonds believe the "myth", that's why, every generation under the guidance of Pradhan is offering worship to the God Nagoba with great reverence. Gonds are passing the "Kalasam" to their next generations and protecting it.
4	In the myth, at sunset, Baalesuur halted his journey near a cowherd, in the corner of any village. And after cleaning all sides of that place, a fire was made, and then the younger brothers would sleep in front of him.	All the Gonds, when they went to get holy water during Nagoba Jatara, they chose a corner place in the village at nights, cleaned its surroundings, made fire and slept around the fire like Baalesuur and his brothers in "the myth". In the Gonds community, this was called Mukham.

5	<p>Baale Suuryal's and Seven Brothers with lots of cow wealth, crossed some villages to reach Keslapur those were "Piyakhandi, Ellapaitadwaa, Chinnakoosani, Peddakoosani, EduHanumaan, and Kotthapeta. Chinna uttool, Pedda Uttool, Roohipeta, Mankapur, Tiryaani, Gudipeta, Mohidu, Budpunoor, Loddiguda, Jaamuldhara, Kannepaaili, Geetabandaa, Taatiloddi, they drunk water in Hastana pond and then at Mandaapaaili they stood for a brief Moment. From there Geetabandaa, Bugga, Lingapoor, Vankamaddi, Motaakasaa, BoodumGutta, Gumnoor, Chapri, Dhaanoora, Deevudpalli, Paalagutta, Pangadi, Pullaaraa, Jaamni, Paavuraaer, Jainoor Raagapoor, and from there Maarlawaa, Koomti-Loddi, Khandi, Bheemankhundu, Keryer, Sanjaybheemal, Kundunpaaili, Hasnapoor, Enka, Enda Pookurguda, Pulimadugu, Muktee, Anji village, Hirapur, Keslapur and then they reached Gaurapur and kept the cows in Gowad (Goshala).</p>	<p>These villages still exist in Adilabad district, and like the Seven Brothers in the Myth, all Gonds at the time of Nagoba Jatara, crossed these villages to bring the holy water from Hastana Madugu to Keslapur on barefoot. They stayed in Goshala.</p>
6	<p>In the myth, Mooke Maatari found the baby boy inside the fish in Sirikonda lake. She then went to a potter, brought a big pot, and kept the boy hidden in the pot during mornings,</p>	<p>Like Mooke Maatari, Pradhan and Katoda after seeing the moon during Pushya Maasa, went to Sirikonda village Potters house, to order Big Pots. They kept their God in that Pot during Nagoba Jatara. The Potter made Pots with reverence using the clay from Sirikonda Lake,</p>

	and got the baby out of it at nights	this was because, Mooke Maatari got the fish from Sirikonda lake. But nowadays, potters are not allowed to get clay from the Lake of Sirikonda, Potters family forefathers, fathers, children, and grandchildren were all making pots for Nagoba Jatara, It has been coming as a tradition to make pots for God Nagoba every year.
7	In the story, when Padiyor went to the fourth Saga, sixth Saga and fifth Saga Kingdoms. He was heart fully welcomed, and the Mother in laws washed his legs. Eighteen plantations green vegetables with seven flavors were consumed by him, and food and Tamboola were also arranged for him.	Like that, in Nagoba Jatara all the Gond women cleaned the legs of Katoda, Pradhan and other Gond men. When all the Gond men went to bring holy water with Kalasam, and as they took rest at the corners of the villages during their journey, these people arranged many types of vegetables, plantations leaves and curries for lunch or dinner to this batch of people.
8	In the story, when elder Golla was going to Indravelli, Roopaal Jaru saw him, she changed into a tiger and planned to kill him because he helped and raised the Padiyor and his brother. Then a Chalipaaga (scarf kind of thing) was thrown on her neck and a Yantra was drawn around her to hold her at the place of Indravelli. "From now on you should not go anywhere and should not move, Padiyors before going for Keslapur Pooja will perform their first Pooja to you and then they will go," said elder	Whatever was said by Elder Golla to Roopaal Jaru in the Myth, the Gonds have been following those words even now. At the time of Nagoba Jatara, all the Gonds before going to Keslapur Jatara halted at Indravelli, did their first puja to Roopaal Jaru and then went to Keslapur. The Gonds called her Goddess Indhradevi.

	Golla”.	
9	In the story, Padiyor did farming for living, and he had a land suitable for the crop, under him “sixty villages, eighty lakhs worth Raj Mahal, thirty lakhs worth Darbar, A Raj Bhavan with seven Simha Dwaras. Well known and intelligent people who stood up with respect for him at Darbar, Lawyer (Vakeel), Rukum, Desai, Deshpande and Village Patel, like this everyone sat in Raj Darbar. All the people were ruled with justice and lots of entertainment was also provided to the people.	Like Padiyor, all the Gonds did Farming for their living, some people are into government jobs nowadays, a Darbar happened in the Jatara and it was conducted by the Gonds, ITDA Utnoor, and Telangana Government. Many people like Patel, Pradhan, Katoda, Pen Kothval, temple committee members, Gonds and political people attended it. Like the story, In Darbar they arranged entertainment programs like Gussadi Dance and other tribal dances, then they discussed their problems in the Nagoba Jatara Darbar, and closed the activity in the evenings, similar to the story.
10	Pradhan Hirasukkhaa, in the story, before going anywhere, placing Kikkiri in a place, prayed to Raitadh and elders about the brothers who have dispersed to North, south, east and west directions, and wished their wellbeing. While coming from and going anywhere, he looked at the front and back carefully to Make sure that no problem arises and offered Salutations to all the elders in Swarga (heaven), he would ask for their blessings, so that the work will finish successfully.	Like this Pradhan did prayer during Nagoba Jatara. This was done while going to holy water, Potters house, Bodem Pen Jatara and most part of the journey. After this only, he started his work or Puja.
11	In the story, when Padiyor met his brothers who were at the corner of	In the Nagoba Jatara, doing Namaskara was a common thing, the Gonds respected each other



	<p>the capital city, he did Namaskara. Hirasukkhaa Pradhan, in the story, advised to women that, while meeting their husband's relatives, they should offer salutation looking at the foot toes and also should cover their face with the veil while walking.</p>	<p>equally. As indicated in the story, all the words were followed by the Gond women. In the Nagoba Jatara, during "Bheating Koriyal", "Goshala" etc; rituals, they looked at their foot toes while walking and covered their faces with veils, they also touched the feet of elders, did Namaskara and then walked away.</p>
12	<p>Padiyor in the story arranged things of Pooja. "Seven brothers got ready for Darshan of God, Bullock carts were decorated. With Dol, Sannai and other musical Instruments, the entire capital city was echoing. The bells in oxen neck were making sounds and cart after cart, decorating the oxen with colorful clothes. They started moving. They crossed lakes, Orre (water moving the place that's narrow and deep), big Stream (Vaagu), rivers, Sea and stopped".</p>	<p>Like Padiyor, all the Gonds made things required for Puja at their houses and decorated bullock carts, they also played musical instruments. Whoever went with Kalasam and Bullock carts, were sent to God Nagoba by all the village people together, Oxen made bell sounds and rose dust as they moved. Many people came from long distances for Nagoba Darshan, they crossed lots of lakes, different roads, mountains, and forest, similar to the things happened in the story, and the Gonds did the same during Nagoba Jatara.</p>
13	<p>In the story, near the Sea, Padiyor said to Pradhan Hira Sukkah "I will go for Raitadh's Darshan. Here you people, Without stopping and continuously for five days should play musical Instruments like Dol, Pepreng (Sannai), Kikkiri describing the God, the story of big God should be told till I come back".</p>	<p>Like this, during the Nagoba Jatara, Pradhan and other people played musical instruments and told the story of the big God Nagoba. It was told with Kikkiri in front of the Gonds for five days.</p>
14	<p>In "The Myth", Padiyor at Sea, when</p>	<p>Like that Katoda, Pradhan and all the Gonds at</p>

	going into the water, brought both his hands together and prayed the Sea like this, “Jalpaakeyjal, Jalpaanyaa, Jaanjaar, Jalmaata, Jalpeetam, clear water, you are Jal maata and Jal pita please give me way”, and then putting his right leg forward he started.	Hastana Madugu did Puja to holy water. This was similar to whatever Padiyor did before entering the Sea, in the story. After that, they filled water in Kalasam.
15	Padiyor in the story, while he sat on God’s Swinging Bed, remembered 4 <sup>th</sup> Saga Mamas Ramtek, 5 <sup>th</sup> Saga Ghattas and after that 6 <sup>th</sup> Saga Ghattas Mamas.	Like this, in Nagoba Jatara. Katoda, while he was doing Puja, remembered fourth, fifth and sixth Saga people. When doing puja, Katoda kept separate Seesa and Puja things for fourth Saga, fifth Saga and sixth Saga in front of God.
16	After doing unholy things at the place of God Adishesha, Padiyor and his Brothers continued their journey Day and Night without stopping and reached the border of Keslapur. After reaching the place, with sounds of musical Instruments the Villagers, Relatives, and neighbors went to them and welcomed them. They kept Peetas (small pedestals) for washing his legs and saying that he has gone to (God) Raitadh and had his Darshan. Some got water and Carpets were also arranged for the people to sit. After washing legs, everyone met each other. Repeating the fact that Padiyor has come back having Darshan of Raitadh (God), everyone met him out of total happiness. In the story, Padiyor after seeing Raitadh (God), did	<p>In Jatara, Katoda, Pradhan and all the Gonds, carried the holy water from Hastana Madugu to Keslapur without stopping in the middle of their journey. When they reached Keslapur, with holy water, Katoda, Pradhan and all others entered Keslapur. Villagers and relatives welcomed them by playing Musical instruments, and then cleaned their legs on Peetas (for sitting made by wood) with water, then, many people took blessings of Katoda and greeted each other happily with “ram ram”. They also asked about their journey from holy water to Nagoba Jatara.</p> <p>At the end of the Jatara, Kalasam came back to the Gods house, the Patel family members arranged food for all the village people of Keslapur, the villagers came to Gods house, ate food and went away happily.</p>

	free distribution of food (Annadaanam) to all people out of happiness.	
17	In "The Myth", Sumanth Pradhan had "Seven nodes (Ganne or Kanupula) Bamboo stick, and wore Khanduva (long cloth) on his shoulder.	Following the tradition from the story, Pradhan, Katoda, Patel, Pen Kothval and all the Gonds in the Nagoba Jatara used seven nodes Bamboo sticks and Khanduvas.
18	In the story, God Adisesha came to the border of Keslapur to destroy Padiyor and his brothers. To calm Adisesha, Seesa (Naivedya) was made for him. Sumanth Pradhan asked Padiyor to get Seven Pots of Milk, Curd, Ghee, Peas, Jaggery, Honey, Almonds, Cashew nuts and Cardamom for preparing Seesa.	In the same way, during Nagoba Jatara under the guidance of Pradhan, Katoda made Seesa with the Milk, Curd, Ghee, Peas, Jaggery, Honey, Almonds, Cashew nuts, and Cardamom. It was served in Motuku leaves to God Nagoba as Seesa (Naivedya).
19	In the story, Nagoba said to Gonds that he roamed fourteen Lokas, and finally chose Keslapur to stay. He also said, "For him in Pushya Maasa and also on the day of Amavasya, they, their family and relatives should do Pooja to him. Your house Pradhan Hira Sukkah and PenBhoopyaal Katoda. Should go to Hastana Madugu and get Godavari water. Coming from there, they should do Pooja here. And Nagoba commanded Padiyor, to not go to Hastanamadugu. As Naivedya will not be of any use to him (Engul). PenBhoopyaal Katoda, Hirasukkhah (Pradhans) Naivedya alone should be accepted," saying so he disappeared from the place where there was	The Gonds strictly follow the words of Nagoba God from the story. During Nagoba Jatara, Gond families and relatives during Pushya Maasa and that too on the day of Amavasya did Pooja to Nagoba. Katoda, Pradhan and the Gonds, while going to holy water, visited places which were visited by Raitadh and then went to Hastana Madugu with Kalasam, they took some Godavari water in Kalasam and came back to Keslapur. They did Puja to God Nagoba and offered Seesa, but while bringing the holy water, Patel people did not participate in the activity, because they think that, Padiyor did unholy things in the place of Raitadh, so they do not have any chance to do other things. Like this, they are following rules of God Nagoba every year in Jatara.

	Nagoba temple.	
20	<p>In the story, Bodem (Ox) stayed with Padiyor and Padiyor Brothers from birth till death. It helped Padiyor a lot, the Bodem ,when the brothers were not with the cows, protected cow wealth being in the front. When the Bodem was dying, Padiyor with tears said to Bodem "From today onwards you are our Vamsha's God. In Keslapur during Amavasya in Pushya Maasa, after puja is done to Raitadh Adishesha (Nagoba), we will perform your puja here. Our Vamsha people, sisters, Brothers, Brother in laws, Katoda and Pradhans will get your things of Puja and do your Puja. As long as Sun and moon are in the Sky and Raisekhar Adishesha (Nagoba) is in Netherworld, my Vamsha people small and big after arriving here, will perform your puja. Give them your blessings, Coming to you they will perform Puja, and till our race remains, they will not forget the help you have done", said Padiyor.</p>	<p>Like this, after the Nagoba Jatara; Katoda, Pradhan, Patel, Pen Kothval, Gayki, Gond families and relatives of all the Gonds, together went to Shyampur with holy water and did Puja to Bodem Pen. As said by Padiyor in the story, all the Gond community is following his words every year in the Nagoba Jatara.</p>
21	<p>In the story, Padiyor's place Keslapur developed into a big city. One day Padiyor went to roam around his city and streets, he was also planning on meeting people. He traveled on a Chekda, roamed the city, reached a Liquor selling place and got drunk, then having become a slave to this</p>	<p>Like the strong resolution of Padiyor, during Pushya Maasa, from beginning to the end of Nagoba Jatara, all the Gonds refrained from having liquor, they were following the rule of Padiyor in maintaining purity.</p>



	<p>habit, he forgot his family and lost all his wealth on this. When Padiyor's wife took him back to the house than he remembered his real self and cried to himself like this "I forgot my own wife for Liquor, I lost my family life, capital, and Kingdom. I got mad and wore a Langoti (very small lower wear), this bad time was brought on to me by Liquor. So I should not fall after liquor anymore. Pushya Maasa is a pure month (Pavitramaasa) and so, I should remain with Niyama Nishta".</p>	
22	<p>In the story, Padiyor went with Suyveelad (Porcupine) and for many years he didn't return. His children thought he was dead and performed his death rites called Kaarun (ritual is done in the name of dead people). And later Naivedya was offered to the Gonds (Thum).</p>	<p>Like this during Nagoba Jatara, under the Banyan trees at Gaadhe. Pradhan, Katoda and all the Gonds sat, collected items required for Naivedya, and prepared Naivedya for the Gonds. They did "Thum" and showed Naivedya to Persa Pen in the name of dead people.</p>
23	<p>In the story, while Padiyor was coming back from Suyveelad, she told him that when she comes to the marriage of his younger son, he should not touch her, but Padiyor forgets because of the long passed time. So, Padiyor Went and caught her hand, but after touching her, she immediately turned into fire, and the entire marriage</p>	<p>This story was believed by Gond society, even nowadays, when the Gonds perform a marriage in their society, they make marriage Mandapa with hole, this has been coming as a tradition for Gond society. At the temple of Satik during Nagoba Jatara, Gond women went to holy water with new pots and accompanied by the playing musical instruments they brought water to Satik Goddess. They cleaned the temple and</p>

	Mandapa Caught fire, and a hole formed. From then, she has turned into Goddess Satik.	in front of it, all the women, made two holes with the by mixing clay with cow dung, they did puja and offered Seesa (Naivedya) to Goddess Satik.
24	We know that snake moves in the bushes, under the trees, forest, mountains, lakes, stone places, mud places. It's rarely uses a road. It always crawls in grass fields and hides.	In the Nagoba Jatara, the Gonds walked like a moving Snake while going to Potters house and Hastana Madugu. Gonds crossed many obstacles and went to places in made up line. when one sees the Gonds moving in a line, they appear like a snake moving. They did not walk straight, they walked diagonal and cross like snake, they did not walk on the road, they always walked on grass fields. When they entered the border of Keslapur village, the Gonds circumambulated around the tree and went away.

*Table No.11*

The Gonds showed unity, and cooperated fully with each other, during the Jatara. They did not take assistance or advice from non-Gonds. They did not have Brahmins to do worship (pooja) during Nagoba Jatara, as it normally happens in Hindu temples. They respect their tradition and "the myth", the process of their rituals may not change even after a hundred years. According to their belief, they are not allowed to make mistakes during the performance of the rituals; because a mistake will lead them to be punished by the God Nagoba. If this reverence should continue, the Nagoba Jatara tradition will continue to survive all hardships, and its heritage will remain with the Gonds for long time.

Gonds have been following "the myth" to perform Nagoba Jatara. "The myth" is performed under the guidance of Pradhan. Pradhan's instructions are followed by Gonds community in the Nagoba Jatara. Pradhan's role in Nagoba Jatara resembles the director in theatre, because Pradhan guides the activities in Nagoba Jatara. "The Myth" and the Jatara performance have been researched carefully and details have been meticulously mentioned in this Thesis. The purpose of this research is to find the role of Gonds in Nagoba Jatara, and to

initiate a new perspective to the future researchers based on the information placed in this study. Scholars from related departments can benefit from the plain facts presented in this thesis. It will surely provide information to the research scholars from theatre and other cultural studies, to further study based on the descriptive data in this. With thirty days of the field work, the entire process of ritual and performance has been participated and lived every day and night to the fullest possibility.

As discussed above, finally it may be concluded that the ritual and performance process plays a major role in the lifestyle and belief system of Gonds and becomes a statute for their wellbeing in maintaining their ethnic relations in controlling their social life.

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