PERFORMANCE AND IDENTITY
IN JAUNSARI PUJA DRUMMING

A Thesis

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By

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ABSTRACT

This study is based upon field research conducted in Hanol, a Jaunsari village in the Western Himalayan region of India. The daily puja ceremonies in Hanol are central to the social and spiritual life of the community; ritual drumming is a central component of this ceremony. During the ceremony, the Bajgis, hereditary musicians, perform a series of talas (rhythmic cycles) that bring the spirit of the deity into oracles known as bakis or malis. The temporally and spatially bounded region of performance is a field for the negotiation of identity: the Bajgis are defined reflexively and socially through their drumming, as are the Brahmins by their priestly duties. A variety of ethnographic methods are employed to analyze the religious belief systems, the performer and audience relationship, and reflexive methodologies of participation/observation. The intersubjective nature of this event results from the multiplex of interpretive frames that intersect in its bounded space. Performative activity brings together the fields of self-awareness, identity, both personal and collective, the physical process of the body in performance, knowledge and belief systems, all of which culminate in the musical sound.
Dedicated to my parents and Vivek
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Field Background

This study is based upon field research conducted in Jaunsar-Bawar, located in the Western Himalayan region of India, during the summer of 2004. A single performance of the daily puja ceremony that took place in the Jaunsari village of Hanol will be examined through the modalities of personal, cultural and regional identity expressed during this ritual musical performance. Puja is a rite of worship performed in temple, shrine or home whose purpose is to purify the atmosphere around the object worshipped, purify the mind through devotion, and invoke the presence of the deity. The daily puja ceremonies in Hanol are central to the social and spiritual life of the community; ritual drumming is a central component of this ceremony. During the ceremony, the Bajgis, hereditary musicians, perform a series of talas (rhythmic cycles) that bring the spirit of the deity into oracles known as bakis or malis. The drumming during the ceremony requires a high level synchronization between drummers, as the particular talas employ many variants, and there is no specific pulse throughout the performance.
Isolated geographically, linguistically, and culturally from their neighbors, their social customs have long been the object of derision from other Garhwalis and the denizens of the plains. Although several ethnographic studies have been written, their primary focus is the practice of polyandry. Because of the long-standing isolation of the region, antinomian practices such as the worship of Karna, the antihero from the *Mahabharata* occur (Sax 2002: 157-185)-their belief systems and practices are unthinkable for most Hindus. In fact it could be postulated that the Jaunsaries practice a different religion, linked by ceremonial modalities to mainstream Hinduism, but in many aspects fundamentally different. For orthodox Hindus, it is considered inauspicious to keep a copy of the *Mahabharata* in the home, as it is believed that the conflicts described in the book will manifest in the family itself. In this region, the *Mahabharata* is a central facet of religious and cultural life (Sax: 7).

The high altitude and rugged terrain complicated the ethnographic work, but the encounter with the isolated culture of the Jaunsaries was both personally and intellectually rewarding. My research originally focused on music and possession rituals, but after careful observation of village life, the act of musical performance itself as a process of identity construction and negotiation became the primary focus of my attention. For example, when I performed publicly on the *dhol*, a percussion instrument reserved for the Bajgis, one of the lower castes, the resulting immediate social

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1 See Berreman, Gerald Duane. *Hindus of the Himalayas: Ethnography and Change*
Sen, Chandra. *Census of India 1971: Ritual Complex and Social Structure in Jaunsar-Bawar*
ostracization by the upper castes was both surprising and fascinating. The difficulties of negotiating the complexities of the caste system brought with them the comprehension that the constructs of social identity are intimately linked with particular styles and contexts of musical performance, and that sound and self are intimately related. My reflexive analysis of my experiences became an important tool to express the levels of meaning in the ethnographic process.

The roles that the castes of professional musicians, the Bajgis, play in society as well as the social functions of music in Jaunsari culture will also be examined. The field of performance is a site negotiation and maintenance of multiple fields of identity, ranging from individual and caste, to the historical and religious, and this is reflected in the musical traditions of the Jaunsaries. These performances facilitate cultural continuity by embodying the self in larger ontological structures, and will be analyzed on three levels-cosmological, social (caste), and textual. 2

1.2 Folkloric Background

This is a translation from a folktale collected by Dr. D.R. Purohit from the Bajgi Dati Goran (Purohit 2001: 9-11).3

The Brahmin and the Bajgi

This tale was taken from the late slave to the drum, Dati Goran from the village of Balganti. In centuries past, two or more dhols 4 would

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2 My thesis is a pilot study on the music of the Jaunsaries, and I am aware of no significant scholarly work on this region. Because of this fact, I will reserve placing this pilot study in the larger context of Indian ethnomusicological scholarship.

3 See appendix I for the original Hindi text.
fight, anytime, anywhere. Upper caste players used to challenge the professional Bajgis. In the oral tradition, this story can be found everywhere, that during a wedding in the village of Datmere, the Bajgi Brang Singh Purda and Natiyal Shastra, were both playing the dhol. The people came to welcome the family of the bride. The fight started while walking, and the drummers of the bride’s side were defeated during the ongoing fight. In the indicative language of the dhol the drummers from the bride’s side told Naiytal Shastra (the Brahmin), “I accept my defeat. But I will ask you one question. Which Bajgis are you the son of?” He asked with the dhol. Naiytal Shastra could not respond, since the performance of the dhol was reserved for lower caste. It’s clear from that day Naiytal Shastra quit the dhol. The rest of history is in front of us. In many places the upper caste people have left the dhol vidya 5, slowly, and the dhol experts began to escape from this dhol fighting. Previously, the dhol used to be worshiped as the all-mighty Goddess Sarasvati, because the dhol is a word 6, and the word is Bhrama, and the word is Sarasvati. That’s why there was a belief that in which home the dhol is played the Goddess Sarasvati will reside there. Most people used to keep dhols in their homes. Unhappiness, evil spirits, and ghosts cannot enter in these houses.

This short tale clearly shows the relationship between musical performance and caste identity, and raises some of the questions that will be examined in this thesis. What are the connections between status, identity, and performance practices? How are issues of status and personal/social identity negotiated through the medium of performance? What are the shared cultural spaces in which a performance occurs, and to what extent does this cultural space give the aural manifestation (musical sound) its meaning, and its affective power? The performance practices of the Jaunsaries are a dialogue of the present with historical precedents. Music functions both diachronically and

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4 Here, the word *dhols* means that two drummers were engaged in drum competition.

5 The term ‘*dhol vidya*’ means here the science of the dhol, essentially an esoteric science associated with tantric practices, relating to the esoteric system based on the power of sound. See Chapter 4 for a detailed explanation.

6 Lit. *shada bhrama*, the sound of Bhrama. See Chapter 4 for explanation.
synchronously in a culture, linking the temporally predicated identities of individuals into larger diachronic historical systems. Music performances, rituals, dramas, and oral-epic poetry are of central importance in the process of cultural transmission in communities without a written language (oral-primary cultures), such as the Jaunsaries. Anthony Seeger’s work with the Suya Indians delineated the centrality of music in the reproduction of patterns of history, “the incorporation of music into the life of the collectivity of the otherness of the others, and the reproduction of human beings and society through the incorporation of new melodies and texts” (Seeger: 33). 7 Just as there are numerous factors that contribute to identity formation in any given culture, so there are multiple constructions of history found in many societies that comprise “world history”. According to Stephan Blum, music is often a key component in the historical identities of non-Western cultures (Blum: 2-8). The inversion of Merriam’s paradigm of the anthropology of music into a musical anthropology (Seeger: xiii) creates the opportunity to shift the analysis of the performance and construction of identity from social, economic and cultural practices to the centrality of music in the creation of these values.

The process of cultural continuity in oral traditions has been the subject of much scholarly debate. It is generally accepted that few, if any, exclusively oral cultures still exist, but are ranged on a gradient from orality to literacy. The oral-epic tradition has been studied by scholars such as Singer, Nagy, Lord and Parry, who were concerned

7 The relationship between music and the sense of history, in the context of India, has been discussed by Daniel Neumann in The Life of Music in North India, Gerry Farrell’s Indian Music and the West, and in a somewhat apocryphal form in Alain Danielou’s North Indian Music.
especially with the referential structure in traditional cultures, modes of transmission memory, and the employment of variants. Lord argues that written forms of epic poetry arose from long-developed oral traditions, over a "formative period of generations" (20), and that most of the elements common in written poetry were first developed in the oral-traditional forms. The need for an immediate apprehension and appreciation of traditional oral epics is evident in the use of stock metaphors, rhyme schemes, and so on, which relates to the distinction between visually and aurally perceived language (Lord: 1991).

This has led to the hypothesis that literate and oral cultures have fundamental differences in their cognitive processes, and that individuals raised in oral cultures do not possess the capability for planning, critical thought, or logical constructions (see Goody 1977, Ong 1982, Olson 1991). Semantic constructions in oral societies are based on the close link between sign and signified, and according to Goody, "In the non-literate society... the cultural tradition functions as a series of interlocking face-to-face conversations in which the very conditions of transmission operate to favor consistency between the past and present" (1977: 48). However, Parry, citing evidence of the exact transmission of sacred texts in India, refutes Goody’s contentions, and posits that both oral and literate cultures have the potential for exact reproduction, critical discourse, and logic (Parry 1972: 4-25).

However, the absence of a written language and history requires modes of cultural transmission distinct from literate societies. In oral cultures, the act of repetition, of performing and re-performing religious and historical events, creates a type of memory that is inscribed both into the bodies and places, and this can create an experience of
history that is far more immediate than is generally found in literate cultures. Foley's concept of *traditional referentiality* designates the broad field of meanings, memories, and beliefs that comprise the "extra-textual" dimensions that are referenced in oral-traditional epics (Foley: 6-7). This meta-dimension of meaning links a particular recounting of a tale (and I believe also musical performances) with the "fecund totality of the total tradition," and links the immense expressive reservoir of cultural knowledge in a synchronic and diachronic process during performance (ibid: 7). The musical tradition of the Jaunsaries functions as a type of historical/cultural repository of memory, and this links the past with the present through the *act* of performance. As means of studying the phenomena of performance, the work of a number of performance theorists provides a means of analysis.

1.3 Performance Studies

Performance studies, like ethnomusicology, is a hybrid discipline, drawing on the disciplines of anthropology, linguistics, sociology, theater studies, psychology, and history. It is also "an essentially contested concept" due to its conceptual richness and variety of divergent interpretations (Clayton: 2). It is especially applicable to ethnomusicologists in the area of performance practice. Traditional historical musicology has defined perform practice as a means to facilitate "authentic" performances by the use of textual, iconographic, and historical research (Behague: 1). In ethnomusicology, the linkage of musical sound and performance was initially neglected, due in part to the use of the analytical methods of traditional historical musicology. For the ethnomusicologist,
the analysis of performance practices can encompass the multidimensionality of the performance event, linking the sound with setting, beliefs, and so on.

Performance studies pose the question: how is any performance effective, that is, how does it achieve its end? A political speech attempts to convince, a shamanic ritual attempts to heal, a salesman attempts to sell a product. Rituals index cultural and social content, including cosmological systems; the medium of performance links cognitive content with social efficacy, a merging of meaning and function (Sax: 5). Thus, the analysis of a performance is removed from interpretive constraints regarding the veracity of the action and is framed in the mode of ‘efficacy’. A performance requires both a performer and an audience, although the audience can sometimes be the self.

The English philosopher J. L. Austin is one of the progenitors of ‘performance theory’ through his work with the performative aspects of speech. A performative is a speech utterance that creates its own effect; the act of speaking is the performance of a specific action. The performative is a “being that represents a doing.” For Austin, a performative depends not only on its semiotic content, but the social structure in which it takes place. A performative act of speech must create a result for it to be “efficacious”, thus a performative is evaluated by the result it engenders, not for its veracity, for example (Austin: 1962).

Richard Schechner and Victor Turner were also important in the development of performance studies. Turner’s conception of “social drama” employed an analytic model developed from dramatic structures, and considered performance as a central feature of a wide array of human rituals and ceremonies. A ritual is an ‘efficacious’ performance, that
is, it is a performative act with a specific effect (Turner: 1969; Schechner: 1993). Ritual is the construction of meaning through specific actions, undertaken by the performers and the audience (Sax: 3). Schechner defines performance as a “Ritualized behavior conditioned/permeated by play”, and emphasizes the serious and dangerous aspects of play. Performance, especially ritualized performance, has the ability to re-define and restructure the social order; it can support or destabilize the dominant system, or both (as in the case of anti-structure). Drawing on Van Gennep’s stages of initiation ceremonies, Turner emphasized the liminal nature of performance as something set apart from normal rules and prohibitions, operating as ‘anti-structure’ in “its function as transition between two states of settled or more conventional activity” (Carlson: 16). Performance is fundamentally a type of experience, and sets symbolic categories in a living, fluid relationship, mediated between the performance, the audience, and the cultural system (Turner 1982: 15-17). Thus, performance can be the site of the negotiation and transformation of the self and society.

For Schechner, performance is “twice-behaved behavior” - behavior heightened and publicly displayed (Schechner 1993: 1). It is also “restored-behavior”, a recovery of the past in the present. Schechner lists six structural dimensions of a performance, or “play acts” (Schechner 1993:25).

1. Structure-the synchronic relations between events.
2. Process-diachronic, how the acts are generated.
3. Experience-the differing subjective apprehensions of the event.
4. Function-what is the performance meant to accomplish?
Ideology-beliefs systems involved.

Frame or net-beginnings and endings of the performance

For Schechner, all of these elements are necessary for meaningful discourse on performance. Performances encompass multiple realities; for example, one possessed by a deity is both the deity and a human simultaneously. Performance can facilitate transformation from one reality to another, thus operating in the field of paradox (reality/unreality; god/not-god) (ibid: 28).

The anthropologist Milton Singer described performance as comprising both artistic and cultural categories. In his extensive work on modern India, he found that a broad range of cultural practices, which he designated as “cultural performances”, could be viewed as a single phenomenon (Singer: 78). A cultural performance includes religious rituals, ceremonies and festivals, and he conceives them as “separable portions of activity thought by the members of a social group to be encapsulations of their culture.” (Singer: 64). The folklorist Bauman describes performance as the “display of communicative competence” that occurs in moments of heightened communication. For the ethnomusicologist Norman McLeod, the performance of music in a cultural context manifests the larger social relations within the context of performance (Behague: 6).

Regulada Qureshi, in her work Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound Context and Meaning in Qawwali, developed a comprehensive model to account for musical variations in Qawwali. In asking the question “how does musical sound become meaningful outside of itself” (Qureshi 1986: 57), she utilized native cognitive categories (indigenous concepts of music theory) combined with observation of musical events. The
balance of etic and emic categories is of crucial importance in the generation of accurate
descriptions of performance events. In her analytic model of performance, she also
employs categories such as ideological systems, symbolic systems, socio-economic
settings, performer’s identity, and performer’s vantage point, along with video and audio
analysis of the performance event (Qureshi 1987: 56-65). This thesis will utilize a
combination of Qureshi’s and Schechner’s analytic categories in the analysis of the
Jaunsaries’ puja ceremony.

1.3 Identity

The Indian sub-continent is a complex patchwork of linguistic, cultural, and
geographic differences. Although Brahminical Hinduism is the most prevalent religious
and cultural system, many significant heterodox systems exist, belying the notion of a
coherent and uniform religious system. The recently formed state of Uttaranchal,
formerly part of the state of Uttar Pradesh, exemplifies the political volatility of regional
identities and beliefs. Although the Indian government has made numerous attempts to
create a national identity, especially with the recent government of the Hindu
fundamentalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the predominance of local cultures is
evidenced in the many separatist movements occurring in Punjab, Tamil Nadu,
Uttaranchal, and other regions (Jodhka 2001). Language, social mores, religious beliefs
and practices, and performative systems (including music, dance and ritual) all find
unique regional expressions. The Garhwal regional of Uttaranchal itself contains several
distinct languages and religious systems. The importance of musical practices in the creation and reinforcement of these regional identities cannot be underestimated. Even within a regional cultural system, diverse layers of social practices and religious systems co-exist.

Psychology and philosophy have long focused on the “self”, the personal subjective entity that is the “experiencer” of the external world. Recently, anthropology has begun to examine the subjective agent, the “self”, which is the locus of all experience (Rao: 19). Sax laments the recent post-modern deconstruction of the self, but admits it is similar to the Hindu philosophy division between the small, individual self (ultimately unreal), and the universal self (atman) which is the true experiencer of the phenomenal world (8). The ethnomusicologist Judith Becker has argued that sense of “self”, or personal identity, differs between cultures, thus allowing for possession and trance in some instances, and its contrary (2004).

An assertion that individuality in South Asia is non-existent has been common in anthropological and sociological circles for several centuries. The classification of natives into discrete categories was common during the colonial era. “This denial has no doubt conformed largely to the locally dominant model, which serves to reproduce existing socio-political structures” (Rao: 18). But this categorization does not take into account the possibilities of resistance, autonomy, and agency that occur within individuals and castes. In my fieldwork all of the low-caste informants took umbrage at

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8 These include Kumaun, Gharwali, Jaunsaries, Bewari, and Phari.
the stereotypical descriptions propagated by the upper castes, but still maintained a strong identification with their social group.

According to the philosopher Parfiat, identity is composed of a multiple, sometimes mutually antagonistic, “family of selves,” including the present ‘I’, past and future ‘I’s’, the ancestral self, and many others (Cuypers: 52). This pluralistic concept of the self functions through the “mental continuity relationship,” in which streams of mental events over time link this “family of selves” into a relatively stable whole. This synchronic conception allows for the relative strength and weakness of certain aspects of personal continuity, depending upon the importance of particular streams of experience (ibid: 57).

Identity is then a complex of mental, physical, and spatio-temporal identifications. Implicit in this is the need for the re-creation or reaffirmation of identity, and the enactment of ritual performances can be essential to this process. I would argue that identity is not merely a mental process, but something that also occurs in the body, as a psycho-physiological process that ‘entrains’ the individual to a larger cultural process. Culture is manifested through the actions of living beings. Identity is fundamentally a relational process, wherein the individual defines and negotiates in themselves relations either toward or against family, society, religion, and so on. In the caste system, the proscription and prohibition of specific behaviors are central components of caste identity, and are also manifested in spatial and linguistic hierarchical systems. This parallels Bourdieu’s concept of the bodily hexis which are fixed motor patterns, bodily postures and speech patterns that are acculturated during childhood, often unconsciously,
and are, in effect, the social transcribed on an organic individual (Bourdieu: 94).

Bourdieu’s concept of the *habitus*, “the durably installed principle of regulated improvisation” has immense value in the study of implicit social rules and takes into account the phenomenological experiences of participants’ fields, but the rather deterministic nature of the *habitus* does not allow for direct resistance, or true agency outside of the conditioned field of personal and social identity framed by the *habitus*.

The importance of musical performance is that it can entrain the physiologies of the participants and performers though a shared response to an aural (and visual) stimulus; the *act* of performance can negotiate and even reconstruct personal and social identity, but paradoxically can simultaneously act to reinforce social conditioning. Stokes emphasizes the fact that “music and dance … do not simply reflect. Rather, they provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed.” For Stokes, “music does not then simply provide a marker in a pre-structured social space, but the means by which this space can be transformed” (Stokes: 4). Music, for the Jaunsaries, has the paradoxical effect of both temporally destabilizing and affirming the social order.

The fluid, negotiated, and performative nature of identity is evident in ritual transitions between quotidian and liminal social and psychic spaces. Music facilitates and marks the transition into liminal realms and the return to ‘everyday reality’. In Jaunsar-Bawar, as well as in much of India, the veil separating the divine from the mundane is

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9 The study of the performative identity of gender has been undertaken by a number of feminists including Jill Dolan (1988), Alison Jaggar (1983), Judith Butler (1988).
made transparent on a daily and/or calendrical basis, and this process is considered of central importance to the well being of the community. Thus, the music-culture complex is a multivocal system of symbolic interchange between cultural, social, and ecological signifiers, and musical performance contains within itself foundational aspects of the performance of the culture in its entirety. A successful musical performance can be viewed as a society re-presenting itself to itself and outside observers, an embodiment of the matrix of self/self, self/other and self/divine interrelationships. Music, with its ability to communicate directly to the emotions without the fixed verbal signifiers of language, can create semantic content that can communicate ontological experience phenomenologically.

1.5 Analytical Framework: Music, Performance, and Identity

In order to generate a ‘thick’ description of the performance event, and the processes of identity enacted within it, I employed a variety of ethnographic methods, some traditional, and some not. A close observation of the ritual space, the religious belief systems, the relation between the ‘audience’ and the performance, and both etic and emic descriptions of the music are important components of this process. Interviews, both conversational and formal, were employed to bring out emic cultural categories. I also utilize audio and video recordings of the event to analyze the aural and behavioral components of the performance. Finally, in my interactions with the musicians I have employed reflexive methodologies of participation, attempting to learn the music and gain a reflexive understanding of the performance practices utilized.
Although I will not draw a one to one correspondence between musical sound and the social/cognitive/symbolic structures as Qureshi and Lomax do, I hope to show that the affective power and structural dimensions of the music result from the spatial/temporal/cognitive nexus in which it occurs. To draw direct connection between sound and the social/cognitive/symbolic structures is to disregard fluid way in which these categories interact, and the varied experiences that different participants can have of the same event. In my analysis of the puja ceremony, I will look at the following variables: a recounting and deconstruction of the myth of Mahasu Deota; an analysis of the temple structure and the spatial topography of the participants related to worldly/spiritual power and caste (pure/impure dichotomy); an analysis of the temporal elements of the puja ceremony combined with an analysis of the musical performance; the cognitive framework, symbolism and synchronic operation of cultural/historical variables; issues of caste, economics, identity and power evidenced through the multiple narratives (multivocality) at work in the ceremony; liminality and power relations to account for the Bajgis’ social status; and finally a brief discussion of music and trance. I will show that the affective properties of music in this ceremony are in a symbiotic relationship with cultural and social identity as displayed in this “cultural performance”.

The daily puja performance contains many layers that combine to create a culturally intelligible performance. The “meaning” which is experienced through musical sound varies between the members of different castes, and mediates issues of power, historical and cultural variables into a semantically salient whole.
Chapter Two of this thesis discusses my use of reflexive (performative) fieldwork methods during in my field research, which I feel are especially salient in study of identity. Chapter Three presents background information on the region, along with a literature review. Chapter Four examines some of the philosophical systems and religious systems that have been historically influential on the region, including Tantric philosophy and the legendary musical text, the *Dhol Sagar*. Chapter Five examines the issues of caste, identity, and the social marginalization of the Bajgis. Chapter Six is an analysis of the performance event, looking at the mythologies and historical influences on the region, caste identity in the performance, and an analysis of the puja drumming. Chapter Seven presents my conclusions regarding cultural performances and identity.
CHAPTER 2

DECONSTRUCTING INSIDER AND OUTSIDER: REFLEXIVITY IN ISSUES OF PERSONAL IDENTITY AND FIELDWORK IN JAUNSAR-BAWAR

2.1 Ethnography and Reflexivity

During my field research, I utilized many of the traditional methods of ethnographic practice, as well as those unique to ethnomusicology, such as transcription and bi-musicality (Hood 1960). In this chapter, I will focus on the use of reflexivity in my ethnographic work, as it is pertinent to my subject matter, and also raises other concerns related to ethnographic practice in the postmodern era.

The liberation of ethnographic practice and qualitative research from the restrictive paradigms of positivism and scientific objectivity holds both benefits and pitfalls for both the practitioner and scholars. The epistemological framework of science that validated them has been challenged in the social sciences (Taylor 1995). Some scholars see reflexivity as mere storytelling; however, when used judiciously, it becomes an important way to express meaning in the ethnographic process.

What Titon calls the “fluid, strategic manipulation of identity” (Titon 2004: 9) allows the researcher to inhabit multiple modalities of identity simultaneously, and thus
participate in the culture to a greater degree than a positivist paradigm would permit. The
domain of the researcher thus includes subjective biases and experiences, as well as the
narrative of the researched. The ‘situated knower’ reflects the known in such a way that
includes, and must include, the phenomenological stance of ‘being-in-the-world’.
Reflexivity allows the intersection of multiple subjectivities in a dialogue of observer and
observed, meaning and interpretation, which ultimately transforms both.

In negotiating between the villager’s perceptions of myself, and my own
subjectivity, I adopted a variety of reflexive strategies. In order to utilize reflexivity
properly, a clear understanding of the benefits and limitations of differing modes of
analysis is required. I will utilize the model presented by Linda Finlay (2003), which
subdivides reflexivity into five different categories: reflexivity as introspection, as
intersubjective reflection, as mutual collaboration, as social critique, and as ironic
deconstruction. These reflexive strategies will be applied to my field work in the Jaunsar-
Bawar region, and ideally reveal the benefits as well as possible complications and
distortions that can arise with these approaches.

2.2 Reflexivity as Introspection

As a student of Ustad Sujaat Khan of the Imdad Khan gharana of the Hindustani
tradition for ten years, I have a relatively informed background on the classical traditions
of northern India, but I found this to be of little help in my fieldwork. When I first arrived
in Hanol, a small village located on the banks of the Tons River, an initial feeling of
apprehension assailed me. Hanol, the most important spiritual center for the Jaunsaries,
was rarely visited by tourists or other foreigners. How would I be received, how
dangerous was the area, and were there any musical performances that I could observe?

My initial attempts to establish rapport with the Jaunsaries proved to be difficult,
as the common and persistent questions to my motivations arose: if I am not a trekker,
colonizer or a tourist, who am I? The problem became one of fashioning my identity out
of the preconceptions of others and our social interactions. Self-reflection became a
means of utilizing an uncomfortable situation to improve my ethnographic technique. The
reflexive awareness of my “otherness” prompted the application of methods to transcend
it.

After returning from Mussorie, a former British hill station 120 km from Hanol,
where I studied Jaunsari language, music, and dance with Dr. U. S. Satish, I decided to
become a participant/observer in informal performances of song and dance. I
demonstrated some of the talas I had learned, and even attempted some Jaunsari lok-geet
(folk song). This was greeted by genuine enthusiasm by the Jaunsaries, and for the first
time I was able to interview some of the older village women, who had literally run away
during my earlier attempts at communication. Making music together was a bridge that
allowed me as a researcher, and the performers, a subject of my research, to meet in a
shared experience. The close feelings of kinship, group identity, and the simple
enjoyment of song as an amelioration of the daily trials of subsistence farming in the
harsh environment provided an embodied and existential experience of another culture
that is difficult to express in objective, scientific language.
2.3 Reflexivity as Inter-subjective Reflection

The Jaunsaries exist on the fringes of Garhwali culture and Hindu society in general. Their close association with tribal and primitive practices such as polyandry, magic, possession, and their purported lax moral standards give rise to a defensive stance towards those who wish to explore their culture. There have been many attempts by missionaries and the Indian government to reform these antinomian cultural features.

As a privileged, white American, I was viewed by Jaunsaries as both a proto-colonialist and as a resource. Even my experience in Hindustani classical music presents obstacles, as it is associated with the elite high culture of the plains. The particular modes of dress and styles of interaction that I adopted in New Delhi, to conform to the local habitus of the high culture of the plains, had the opposite effect on the Jaunsaries. Only when I adopted modes of interaction such as participating in village activities and dressing as a Jaunsari, was I able to establish contact and rapport in the village.

In addition, there was the complex and fluid nature of the caste structure. As the Jaunsaries identified me more as an insider, I found that the members of different castes had differing expectations of me, ranging from a business resource, a repository of modern knowledge, a possible husband for the sister of a Brahmin, and as a friend and confidant of a marginalized Bajgis. These conflicting identifications, associations with musical styles and performance venues were crystallized in the performance of the daily puja drumming.
As I learned some of the *talas* utilized during the morning and evening *puja*, my informants were reluctant to reveal the bols, or mnemonic syllables used by the *dhol* and *damau* during these ceremonies, but were more than happy to show me the performance techniques, eventually allowing me to participate as a performer during the ceremonies. The reason for this reluctance to share the bols is that they contain mystical syllables or mantras and are the specialized knowledge of the caste. I was familiar with the bols from reading texts such as *The Dhol Sagar*, and the books of the Indian musicologist Natuiyal. Interestingly enough, some of these texts state that even the mis-performance of a single beat can have drastic adverse consequences for the entire village.

The reaction of my high-caste informants to my performance during the ceremonies presented another lens to view the situation. For the upper class Brahmins and Rajputs, this resulted in derogatory jokes ("Look, he has become the first American Bajgi"), avoidance and embarrassment in my presence. While the performance of folk songs aided in crossing cultural barriers, puja drumming linked me with a lower caste, the Bajgis, and in this sense lowered my cultural status.

2.4 Reflexivity as Mutual Collaboration

During my recording sessions, the artists expressed a keen desire to hear the music and evaluate their own performances. Since none of them had encountered recording equipment, this provided a unique opportunity to experience their own musical expressions as observers. This provoked some self-critiques, but generally they were quite pleased, and sometimes astonished with the results. Observing my informants’
aesthetic judgments helped produce insight into what constituted good music, or a correct performance.

At one point, I became both a subject and a performer myself. The participants instated that I should perform my own “desi’ music, and I performed “My Funny Valentine” and “Louie Louie” accompanying myself on harmonium. They expressed great amusement in both the lyric and melodic content of American music and joined in eagerly.

Mutual collaboration was beneficial to determine if some of my earlier recordings were in fact authentic Geet, or were sung by Garhwalies who were misrepresenting their cultural identities for my benefit. My informants were quite amused with my first series of recordings, as a Garhwali living in a Jaunsari village had created a pseudo-performance for my benefit, including histrionic “Jaunsari’ hand movements.

Obviously, there are drawbacks to mutual collaboration, but there are great benefits for understanding true local music.

2.5 Reflexivity as Cultural Critique

When assuming a critical paradigm, it is important to acknowledge the underlying assumptions that inform the criticism, and to be cognizant of the existence of other viewpoints. As in the inter-subjective approach, the use of reflexivity as a cultural critique prompts an analysis of the power relations inherent in the research process and of hegemonic cultural systems. However, this poses a dilemma for the ethnomusicologist, especially when dealing with the colonial legacy in India. Since the nineteenth century,
indigenous cultural critics have disparaged musical and cultural traditions from the standpoint of the dominant Western paradigm. Through this process, a great deal of damage has been done to traditional knowledge systems, and this criticism has been used as a means to further certain caste, racial, or class interests.

As an ethnographer, I have reservations about judging the cultural practices of the Jaunsaries through the framework of Western social mores, as was done in the ethnographies “Himalayan Polyandry” and “Hindus of the Himalayas”. However, an analysis of the power relationships inherent in my fieldwork is essential to understand my own position and possible ethical conflicts arising from it. The post-colonial acknowledgement of white guilt and a critique of the current practices of globalization is part of the larger context in which the ethnographic work takes place. While the inequities inherent within the caste system are readily apparent, the caste system is not a monolithic entity, and possesses a greater degree of fluidity than a Manichean definition would allow. The Bajgis are essential to the functioning of the village, and much of the unease that other castes feel towards them results from their possession of specialized knowledge and with it the power, known as Shakti, conferred by their proximity to the divine. However, the generally precarious economic position that they inhabit, being dependent on the temple and the payment for ritual services, is a legitimate source of concern for them.

On my part, it is easy to take a position against the process of cultural change. As earlier expressive forms are marginalized, trivialized, or forgotten, I find myself longing for means to stem the juggernaut of cultural loss, due to both western and indigenous
influences. In its effort to preserve traditions, the State of Uttarakhand risks creating a simulacra of cultural forms, taken out of context, and placed in an uneasy mélange during government-sponsored cultural programs.

2.6 Reflexivity as Ironic Deconstruction

In the process of post-modern reflexivity, or ironic deconstruction, the sacrosanct tenents of self, other, meaning, difference, and the entire ethnographic process are destabilized. The concept of polyvocality posits the existence of multiple voices and subjectivities in a sea of multiple meanings and realities. For the musical ethnographer, polyvocality allows a matrix of multiple meanings to permeate the explication of the elusive culture. The social system of the Jaunsaries can be deconstructed as means of 'divinizing' repressive social systems through superstitions with the collusion of the suppressed or repressed castes. The Bajgis participate in their own suppression by enabling the possession of the bakis (oracles) who pronounce the word of the deity Mahasu Deota, who is considered to be the progenitor and final arbitrator of caste roles and prohibitions. As seen in the video example, they are not permitted entrance into the anterior chamber of the temple, and the inner sanctum. The deity who prevents them from farming (Majumdar: 1962) is also the provider of their livelihood as facilitators of possessions, and their centrality to all religious observances. During the puja ceremony, the multiple narratives of caste, madness and sanity, religion, history, and my personal narrative as participant-observer, occur simultaneously.

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Another facet of this postmodern approach is a destabilizing of the text itself, interspersing personal narratives, self-doubt, and so on, to subvert the authoritarian and scholarly voice of the text. My role as ethnographer can be deconstructed as being part of a larger text, or narrative, and as in this sense being ultimately inessential to the ethnography, but at the same time be constructed as the embodied voice through which the narrative is manifested as text.
CHAPTER 3

GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOGRAPHY, AND MUSICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Geography, Climate, and Flora/Fauna

Based on both geographic and cultural distinctions, the government of India has divided the Himalayan region into three longitudinally correlated sections, Purvanchal, Uttarakhand and Himachal. The Jaunsaris inhabit the Jaunsar-Bawar region (paragana) in the Dehradun district in the state of Uttarakhand, India. The Jaunsar-Bawar paragana is located in western Purvanchal, and is naturally bounded by the Jaumana River in the north and Tons River in the south and west (Jain: 40). The boundaries of the region are contiguous with the former princely states of Sirmur, Jubbal, and Taroch. It lies between the northern latitude of 30°31' and 31°3'31" and the eastern longitude of 77°45' and 78°7'20" (Majumdar: 3). For administrative purposes, the region is further subdivided into Teshils (loosely equivalent to counties). The major administrative center of the region is the town of Chakrata, which is also home to a large military base. Chakrata Teshil is divided into 39 Khats, which are collections of villages grouped together primarily for tax collection. The population of the area, according to the 1991 survey of India was 88,989, although now is it considered to be over 100,000 (Singh: 120).
The total area of the region is 1153 sq km, consisting of forests, hills, cultivated land, small towns and villages. Currently, 358 villages are officially recognized (Singh: 50). The major rivers in the region are the Tons, the Yamuna, and the Purva. The rugged terrain has little level ground. The elevation of the region is between 1000 and 7000 meters. Villages located in the central and northern regions are between 5000 to 7000 meters above sea level (Majumdar: 20). The region is divided into three climate altitudinal zones: tropical and sub-tropical from 300 to 1525 m, temperate from 1525 to 3650 m, and alpine from 3650 to 7000 m (Singh: 41).

The three seasons in the region are classified as summer, monsoon, and winter (jara, chari, and barsat). The rainfall is the heaviest during the monsoon months of July and August.

The Indian government classifies the Jaunsaries as a ‘scheduled tribe’, which allows governmental funding for development and education. The Jaunsaries practice a traditional agrarian lifestyle. The soil is generally rocky, and of an inferior quality for cultivation, but some crops are still produced on a seasonal basis, including rice, maize, potato, ginger, tobacco, wheat, barley, and pulses. The crops are divided into two planting seasons, Kharif and Rabi, which are sown in June and October, respectively (Majumdar: 21). The forest is rich with a variety of trees, plants and shrubs, providing the most important means of sustenance for the community, including fruits and medicinal herbs, and building material for dwellings and religious structures. Domesticated animals, such as sheep, cows, pigs, and fowl, are also an important part of the household economy.
Only a single major highway exists, starting in Dehradun, traveling past Chakrata and Hanol, and terminating in the city of Shimla in Himachal Pradesh.

3.2 History

The history of the region is considered by locals to date back to the time of the *Mahabharata* (ca. 2000 BCE). The earliest evidence of human habitation is a boulder inscribed with the edicts of Emperor Ashoka, proving that the valley was inhabited by the third century BCE (Majumdar: 4), also indicates the early predominance of Buddhism in the region. Evidence from both numismatic and textual sources point to a strong Buddhist presence from the first century BCE until the second century CE (Jain: 44-51). According to oral tradition and Sanskrit texts such as the *Puranas*, deities, saints, and yogis have practiced *tapasya* (spiritual discipline) here for millennia. For this reason and because of the preponderance of *Shakti Piths* (literally ‘power-places’) the region is known as *Dev Bhumi* (land of the gods). A numbers of local Brahmins claim to be descendants of the Pandav family, protagonists in the *Mahabharata* (field notes). The word Shakti and the concept of auspicious localities will be explained in subsequent chapters.

The existence of autochthonous tribes has been documented in the classical Sanskrit literature including the texts of *Panini* and the *Mahabharata*. Some scholars have hypothesized that the tribes are originally descendants of the Persian Medes.

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10 Coins from the era of Kulinda dynasty (2nd century BCE–third century CE) utilize Buddhist iconography, and the Chinese historian Hieun-Tsang indicates that the historical Buddha visited the area. (see Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*)
émigrés from the Harappan civilization, and/or the nomadic tribes that traversed the northwestern Himalayan passes and settled in the regions of Nepal and Kashmir. Many of these tribal groups have pre Indo-Aryan origins; ethnic groups associated with the upper castes appear to be later arrivals to the region. Specific castes and ethnic groups such as the Khashas continue to engage in cultural and religious practices that pre-date Indo-Aryan culture. My fieldwork seems to support the hypothesis of Majumdar and Jain that the folk version of the Mahabharata in this region has often been overlaid with existing stories of tribal and ethnic conflicts, possibly predating the text by several centuries.

The Buddhist Kulinda dynasty dominated the region from the second century BCE until the end of the second century CE, after which it was supplanted by the influence of the Hindu theologian and saint, Shankracharya. The village of Lakhamandal was the political capitol of the Katyuris, who ruled there from approximately the eighth to the twelfth century CE. Current archeological excavations have unearthed a wide array of artifacts originating in this area (Jain: 54). After this period, the Rajas of Simur ruled the region. During the Mughal era (1168-1803), the region was subject to attacks by Muslim invaders. The Rajas of Simur are described in Muslim chronicles as frequent victims of invasion by Sultan Muazzam Nasir-ud-dunya-wa-ud-din in 1254, and Prince Muhammad Khan in 1388 (Majumdar: 4). The Rajas of Sirmur, complacent vassals of the Mughals, controlled the area until the end of the eighteenth century. In 1790, the

11 See Berreman, Jain, Singh, and Majumdar for some of the theories regarding the origins of the tribes.
Gurkhas invaded the region from Nepal and held it until the British Raj supplanted them in 1815 (Singh: 12).

The area was administered under British officers, who acted as agents of the central British Raj in Delhi. Regional tax collectors, known as *Patwaris*, collected a lump sum from the areas under their jurisdiction each year, and the amount was in turn combined with the other funds from other villages, and given to the British officer in charge of the region. This system is still in place today, with the main distinctions being the reorganization of some of the villages, and the introduction of the “Community Development Program” in 1953, which was intended to modernize and improve the conditions of the villages (Majumdar: 311-342). However, the impact of the program appeared to be negligible in the villages where I conducted field research.

3.3 Language

The primary language in the region is Jaunsari, a member of Parhi group of Indo-Aryan languages. Hindi and Garhwali are understood and spoken among Jaunsaris who have worked outside of the villages, or are engaged in commerce with other regions. The English language was not evident in any of the regions where I conducted field work. There are only two major works on the Jaunsari language, the first being in volume IX of the *Linguistic Survey of India* (1916) and the second *A Linguistic Study of Jaunsari* by Dr. U. S. Satish (1990). According to Dr. U. S. Satish, the Persian and Arabic sounds and words that occur in Hindi and Urdu are absent in Jaunsari. According to Dr. U. S. Satish, the major dialects of the Jaunsari language group are Jaunsari, Baundari, Bawari, and
Sirmauri (Satish 1990:1-3). I studied Jaunsari with Dr. U. S. Satish and discussed my field work with him at regular sessions.

*A Linguistic Study of Jaunsari* describes the phonology and morphology of the language, and presents a brief overview of the grammatical structure and vocabulary. Its functionality as a pedagogic aid is limited, as it is intended for linguists. *Jaunsari Dictionary and Texts* offers a vocabulary of approximately one thousand words and translations of four short texts. This is useful for elementary conversation and has some use for translation of song texts. As an adjunct to study with a native speaker, it can provide the initial base for gaining fluency in Jaunsari. Jaunsari has a similar grammatical structure to Hindi: subject/object/verb. However the tenses and personal pronouns are constructed differently (Satish 1990: 20-35).

While conducting field research, I spoke in the lingua franca of the Jaunsaris, a mixture of Hindi and Garhwali, except when communicating with informants who spoke only Jaunsari. However, since I do not have fluency in Jaunsari, this was not useful, except for basic transactions. In cases where the subject wasn’t versed in Hindi there was always someone on hand to translate between Hindi and Jaunsari. As it is extremely rare for outsiders to learn Jaunsari, my limited attempts at communication were a source of delight and amusement for the villagers.

### 3.4 Social Structure and Family

As is the case in almost all societies in the Indian subcontinent, the social structure is based on the caste system. The caste system, a complex system of social
organization, is far more polysemic than the assertions of conventional wisdom would allow. It simultaneously permits and denies modalities of behavior, dress, diet, and artistic license to all levels of the social structure. In my field research I found that all levels of the social hierarchy were proud of their caste and similarly critical of the other castes. However, in the areas of landownership, wealth, and political power, the lower castes are definitely disadvantaged. A number of the hereditary musicians are beginning to utilize the Western conception of "professional artist" for both financial and social empowerment. As is the case in other parts of India, the caste system is often linked with an implicit racial dichotomy between the pre-Aryan indigenous peoples and the upper castes associated with the Aryan invaders and the Vedic religion.

The caste system in Jaunsar-Bawar is a tripartite system. Most of the villages are multi-caste in structure; however, the caste boundaries are more fluid and less defined than in the Gangetic plains (Majumdar: 3). Majumdar differentiates the caste system as follows:

(a) The high caste group, consisting of the Brahmins and the Rajputs, the traditional landowners and cultivators.

(b) The intermediate caste groups, which includes the artisan class, such as the Badi (carpenters), Sunar (goldsmith), Lohar (blacksmith), Bajgi (drummer), and the Jagra and Nath (religious serviceman and musicians). This tier is by no means homogenous in social rank.

(c) The lowest class, the Koltas, who are the traditional serfs and leather workers (Majumdar: 23).
The Brahmins and the Rajputs dominate the villages both socially and economically. These castes are not differentiated in terms of status; intermarriages are common between these castes. The Rajputs possess numerical superiority over the other castes (ibid: 25).

The Brahmins are traditionally assigned work as priests, but I encountered a number of Brahmins who were agriculturalists. The Bajgi are the traditional caste of musicians. Their primary functions are to perform during daily puja ceremonies, special trance ceremonies, and during most important events such as weddings, funerals, and births. The Bajgis are also important repositories of cultural knowledge. Bajgis also take on other work such as cultivation and gathering of forest produce. For example, Illam-das the Bajgi in the village of Datmere, worked on land owned by a Rajput during the times that the village deity was in another village and no festivals were occurring. The Bajgis are generally quite poor. The Barhai are the traditional woodworkers. They perform such duties as carving the facades of temples and houses. The Koltas are the lowest caste and are essentially serfs. All marriages, with rare exceptions, occur with the same caste (Majumdar: 57-64).

The joint family system is very prevalent. Traditionally, a single woman would be betrothed to multiple brothers. This tradition ostensibly originated from the time of the Mahabharata, wherein the five Pandav brothers were married to Drupadi. Other scholars have argued that the practice arose out of economic necessity and the numerical imbalance between the sexes (Majumdar: 77). Berreman argues that the reasons for polyandry are the developmental cycle of the domestic group (Berreman: 1975). Now,
however, the practice of polyandry appears to be less common, due in part to the modernization programs of the Indian government and to changing economic conditions (Singh: 61-66). All of the households in the villages that I conducted research were joint families and many contained extended kin in the same household. However, during my fieldwork I did not encounter any polyandrous households.

3.5 Religion

The Jaunsaries are classified as Hindu for administrative purposes, but their religious practices differ substantially from mainstream Hinduism. The primary deities of the Jaunsaries are the four Mahasu Deotas and the five Pandav brothers. Although the worship of other deities such as Shiva and Kali is also common, some scholars consider this to be a result of outside influence. As is common in many syncretic religious systems, older practices can merge into ‘modern’ and reform traditions. According to Jain, the icons of Mahasu Deota in Hanol, the Bijat Devata at Sarahan, and the Vajreshwari temple at Hatokti actually represent Buddhist deities, originating in the Vajrayana Buddhism of Padmasambhava (Jain: 53). Jain postulates that there are three strata to the religious systems in the valley, “(i) pre-Buddhist tribal traits, (ii) Buddhist religio-cultural influences, and (iii) Shaivism under the Brahminic resurgence” (Jain: 55). Further research is required in order to assess the validity of this hypothesis. Regardless of the origins of particular icons, the religious and social practices diverge greatly from orthodox Hinduism (Jain: 44-92; Singh: 66-71).

All of the villages in Jaunsar-Bawar contain Mahasu Deota and Pandav temples (Singh: 56; Majumdar: 250-257). Mahasu Deota is not recognized in Hindu holy texts and is not worshiped elsewhere in India. The cult of Mahasu Deota dates approximately to the ninth century CE (Jain: 44). Mahasu Deota is believed by most Jaunsaries to be the founder of Jaunsari culture, creating the castes and laws which all must follow. Other important deities unique to Jaunsari are Shilgur (the god of sheep) and Kukursi. The Jaunsar region is also known for the extensive practice of witchcraft or sorcery. Many illnesses are believed to originate from malevolent spirits or by spells cast by witches (Majumdar 250-251).

The two most important religious sites in Jaunsar are Hanol and Lakhamandal. In both Hanol and Lakhamandal, puja ceremonies are enacted three times a day. These ceremonies always involve one or several pujaris (priests) and at least one Bajgi. During the puja, priests offer ritual oblations to the deities enshrined in the temple’s inner sanctum. At no other time are the doors opened. During the puja, individuals can have darshan of the deity, offer prayers, and consume prasad (food which has been blessed by the deity). Unlike the puja ceremonies conducted on the plains, the performance of specific drumming patterns by the Bajgis is a crucial component in the ceremony.

Hinduism is an imaginative, an “image-making”, religious tradition in which the sacred is seen as present in the visible world – the world we see in multiple images and deities, in sacred places, and in people. The notion of darshan calls attention as students of Hinduism, to the fact that India is a visual and visionary culture, one in which the eyes

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13 Given the importance of the deity to local culture, it is interesting to note that numerous and often contradictory accounts exist regarding his origin. Substantially differing recounting of the legend can be seen in Majumdur, Singh, and Jain.
have a prominent role in the apprehension of the sacred. For most ordinary Hindus, the
notion of the divine as "invisible" would be foreign indeed. God is eminently visible,
although human beings have not always had the refinement of sight to see. Furthermore,
the divine is visible not only in temple and shrine, but also in the whole continuum of life
– in nature, in people, in birth and growth and death. Although some Hindus, both
philosophers and radical reformers, have always used the terms "nirguna" (qualityless)
and "nirakara" (formless) to speak of the One Brahman, yet the same tradition has
simultaneously affirmed that Brahman is also saguna (with qualities) and that the
multitude of "names and forms" of this world are the exuberant transformations of the
One Brahman (Eck: 221).

3.6 Summary of Musical Practices and Organology

Seasonal festivals are an important component of the Jaunsari musical culture.
The seasonal associations with particular musical practices encompass ‘lok-geet’ or folk
music (literally people-songs) as well; many songs are performed exclusively during
particular seasons. Pundits set dates for specific festivals after they consult astrological
calendars. I had great difficulty in finding exact, or even approximate dates for festivals,
and on numerous occasions I would arrive in a village, only to hear that the festival had
just finished, or would occur in the near future. The festival of Diwali, which takes place
in December, is the occasion for the performance of the Pandav Geet. Most festivals are
linked with the agricultural calendar (Majumdar: 249-281). The Bajgis’ musical
knowledge is essential to the proper observance of these festivals—the Bajgis perform in a
variety of contexts—to announce the transitional points of the festivals, perform
specialized talas to induce trance, songs linked with the festivals, and other non-musical duties such as sacrificing animals or transporting the images of Mahasu Deota, for example.

Music is classified according to season, gender, caste, festivals, and religious purpose. Eight broad categories can be used to distinguish genres: length, ritual function, practical function, seasonal association, textual content, musical content, and gender and caste associations. The Indian musicologist Chatak divides the repertoire into two main categories: ‘gatha’ and ‘lok-geet’. Natuuyal, another prominent Indian musicologist classifies music as either Dharmic (religious in nature) or secular. The term ‘gatha’ denotes a longer text connected with an epic story, and ‘lok-geet’ is a short song. The ‘gatha’ can be divided into three categories-jagar, parwara, and chati. Jagar is specifically associated with possession rituals, and is derived from the Sanskrit verb jagarana, to awaken; the Parwara is a longer epic text, and the Chaiti contains romantic themes. Pandav Geet is classified as Jagar.

It is important to note that possession can occur in the performance of any of these genres, but it is an essential feature of the Jagar. Another type of gatha is the Vir-gatha, associated with heroic stories. Lok-geet can be classified according to its connections with festivals, for example Diwali or Magh Geet, marriage songs (Mangal Geet), dance and festival songs (Tyohar Geet, Baradi Naati, Tanda Geet, Baradi, Chhodai Geet, Mugal Ki Harul). Other types of songs are associated with agricultural operations (Sen: 38-43; Singh: 66-75).
Although many instruments are associated with the region, I will mention only those which I encountered. The _dhol_ and the _damaun_ are the most important instruments in the region, and are linked with cosmology and spirituality. The instruments are listed in order of ceremonial and religious significance—descriptions are as follows:

**DHOL:** the dhol is a large, two-headed barrel-shaped drum. It is played on the right side by a stick and on the left side by the hand. It is almost always played standing up. The shoulder strap is hung from the left side of the instrument, over the left shoulder. It is sometimes referred to as Shiva’s instrument. It is present in all religious ceremonies, and most festival occasions.

**DAMAUN:** The damuan is a small copper kettledrum played with two sticks. It is always played in conjunction with the dhol except in certain tantric rituals. It can be played standing or seated.

**THALI:** the thali is a metal plate, turned upside down. It is played with two twigs.

**RANSINGA:** this is a large aerophone, which produces a limited range of pitches, less than one octave. It is always played in conjunction with the dhol and damau.

**HURKI:** The hurki is an hourglass-shaped drum with cords used to alter pitch. It is played with the right hand, while the left hand changes the pitch.

**HARMONIUM:** while not a local instrument, local musicians used the harmonium on various occasions. The instrument is an aerophone, similar to an accordion, and is played seated. Other instruments which are sometimes used in the region are wooden or bamboo flutes, bagpipes, tabla, and the algoja (two flutes joined together.)
3.7 Literature Review

The literature on this region is written in English, Hindi, and Garhwali. Jaunsari is not a written language; scholars generally utilize the Devanagari script to transcribe it.

3.7.1 English Texts

There are no works which focus specifically on the music of the Jaunsaries, but a number of authors have collected and analyzed the music of Garhwal. Most of these works have been published by indigenous scholars. The available literature is divided evenly between collections of song texts and broader analysis and description. The scholar Anopp Chandola published the first major work in English on the subject, *Folk Drumming in the Himalayas: A Linguistic Approach to Music* (1977). Chandola is primarily a linguist, and analyzes the drumming styles of Garhwal utilizing the methodology of structural linguistics. This text serves as a general introduction to the drumming styles of Garhwal, but the analytical framework is somewhat limited in its usefulness. However, as the first work in English, its influence on the field should not be underestimated.

The Australian ethnomusicologist Andrew Alter has completed a dissertation on the drumming styles of Garhwal, *Dancing the Gods: Power and Meaning in the Music of Garhwal* (2000). In his dissertation the complex relationship between the historical literature and current musical practice in Garhwal are described through the use of
current literature and his own extensive fieldwork. Alter considers the sound of the dhol as both a sign and signifier of power. The myriad problems with the Hindu caste system are described, especially as they relate to the low-caste professional musicians, the Bajgis. The Bajgis’ response to discrimination by moving to other occupations, or becoming professional recording artists is recounted through case studies, along with the loss of cultural heritage that comes about through these changes. The importance of musical practice in providing social and cultural meaning to the people of Garhwal is described through the accounts of many musical events over a period of two years.

Chandra Sen’s work, *Census of India 1971: Ritual Complex and Social Structure in Jaunsar* (1971) describes the major festivals in the Jaunsar-Bawar region. This work describes the musical and religious practices that occur during the festival, although not in great detail. The information on the role of the Bajgis is useful. One more work that needs to be mentioned here, D.M. Sena’s, *Folk Songs and Folk Music of Uttar Pradesh: Census of India: Series 21* (1984), collects the texts of thirty nine Jaunsari songs, with brief notes describing the background of the performance and the theme. A brief description of the melodic structure of the songs is contained in the introduction. This book is useful in that it contains the largest collection of Jaunsari song texts available, transliterated into Hindi and translated into English.
3.7.2 Hindi and Garhwali Texts

The Garhwali scholars Sivananda Nautiyala and Govind Chatak have produced the most comprehensive work on the musical styles of Garhwal. None of these works has yet been translated. Nautiyala’s text Garwhal ka lognitra geet [Folk and Dance Songs of Garhwal]\(^{14}\) is the most complete survey of the region’s musical culture, and contains some material specifically related to Jaunsari musical practice. This text contains song transcription, organology, and some melodic and rhythmic analysis. Nautiyala’s classification system is extremely useful, and this text remains the most important work on the region’s musical culture. Govind Chatak has produced several important works, including Garhwali Lok Gitan (1996) [Folk Songs of Garhwal]. This work focuses specifically on the music used during the possession rituals of the jagar ceremony. However, it is primarily a transcription of song texts.

Dabarala Sivaprasada Carana’s text Dholasagara-Sangraha (1995) [The Dhol Sagar], contains an overview of the semi-mythical text, the Dhol Sagar (The Ocean of Drumming) and extant fragments of the text. It is difficult to authenticate these texts, but this work is one of the critical compilations of these fragments. The article Dhol, Dholi, or Dholvadn, by Dogada Garhavala is an excellent summary of the traditions of dhol performance. The text discusses issues of caste, festival performances, and societal change as it relates to the dhol, as well as cosmological narratives drawn from the Dhol Sagar.

\(^{14}\) See appendix F for titles and text in Hindi.

### 3.7.3 General Sources and Ethnographic Texts

The earliest European description of the Garhwal region is found in a number of colonial texts dating from early nineteenth century. The most complete and accurate of these was E.T. Atkinson’s *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India* (1882-1886), which was cited in many subsequent surveys (Berreman: 6). Before this, G. W. Traill wrote about Kumoan in *Asiatic Researches* (1828). The next important work appeared in the twentieth century, George Grierson’s *A Linguistic Survey of India* (v. IX, 1916), which contains the first linguistic analysis of Jaunsari, and also contains useful historical information. Recently, two histories of the region have been published, *The History of a Himalayan Princely State* (1987) by Atul Saklani, and *History of Garhwal, 1358-1947* (1989) by Ajay Rawat. Major J. P. Singh’s *Jaunsar-Bawar Darshan*...
(2004) is the most complete and current work on the Jaunsar region, containing the most recent statistical information, historical, religious and cultural material, as well as data pertaining to economic development. Madhu Jain’s *The Abode of Mahashiva* (1995) is a survey of the religious and cultural life of Jaunsar through archeological material. Through iconographic research, she presents a compelling case for the certain cultural influences in the region.

The classic ethnography on the Garhwal region is Gerald Berreman’s work *Hindus of the Himalayas: Ethnography and Change* (1993). This work is an in-depth survey of a village located near Dehradun. It contains ethnographic data on family structures, caste, religious practices, and the economics of the region. Published in 1962, Majumdar’s *Himalayan Polyandry* is the most extensive ethnography to date on the region. While focusing on marriage practices, the text also contains a great deal of data about festivals, cultural practices, and religious beliefs. It also assesses the impact of the government of India’s Community Development Project (C.D.P.) on health, education, and the economy of the region.

### 3.8 Conclusion of Literature Review

The majority of print literature available on the region consists of song texts, with little or no musical or organological description. Most of the indigenous literature on music is also associated, at least tangentially, with the independence movement in Uttarakhand, with the intention of increasing awareness of the cultural complexity of the region, and fostering appreciation of folk-culture among both local residents and
outsiders. In fact, my primary source for many of the texts, which are out of print, or extremely rare, was through a journalist, Rakahesh Natuiyal, who was extremely active in the *andolan* (uprising) that led Uttranchal’s independence, and he continued to be active as a “cultural” consultant to the state government. Dr. U.S. Satish was a celebrated independence activist (by some accounts a revolutionary), and the political importance of music for the development of the regional identity was a common theme in his writings. Because of the importance of music to the identity of marginalized tribes, the music and culture of the Jaunsaries is often only briefly described in the literature, and it is common to list festivals and music genres unique to Jaunsar-Bawar as offshoots or simply components of Garhwal cultural life. The general perception that the Jaunsaries are a “tribal”, or primitive people, has resulted in a generally superficial recounting of their musical systems. In the next chapter, I will describe in detail the elements of Hindu and Buddhist tantra that continue to be a component in the Jaunsaries’ belief systems.
CHAPTER 4

TANTRIC COSMOLOGY OF SOUND AND THE DHOL SAGAR

4.1 Tantric Cosmology

In order to understand the cognitive framework in which the puja drumming takes place, it is necessary to examine the belief systems prevalent among the Bajgis relating both to sound and drumming. The religion of the Jaunsaries contains a number of elements culled from the tantric practices of the Shivite sects, Vajrayana Buddhism, and the Gorakhnath\(^\text{15}\) sect. Followers of Gorakhnath, known as Nath babas, wear distinctive prominent bone earrings, and are important members of many Jaunsari communities. Because of prominence of orality in the region, and lack of any canonical texts, many diachronically separate cultural influences exist side-by-side, and certain practices and practices are more common among some castes than others. I found the strongest expression of tantric beliefs and practices among those on the social margin (the limen) especially the Bajgis, itinerant holy-men, and the Nath babas and sadhus that had

\(^{15}\) Gorakhnath was a saint of the Shivite tradition revered throughout India, but especially in the Garhwal region and Nepal. He was a yogi, and his followers also practice modified forms of the asanas (bodily postures) of Hatha Yoga. He is considered by his followers to be an incarnation of Lord Shiva. Briggs (229), asserts that Gorakhnath was previously a Vajrayana Buddhist. (See Gorakhnath and the Kanphta Yogi, by George Weston Briggs for further information on the Nath sect).
established permanent residence in various Jaunsari communities. These belief systems, originally found in the Agraman scriptures that are appended to the Vedas, are typically considered to be a separate system of belief and religious practice that is often at odds with the ritualistic practices of the Vedas. The tantra shastras emphasize the practical aspect of religious practice known as sadhana, and aim for a visceral realization of the supreme godhead, Shiva. Tantric practices merged easily with the tribal belief systems. This was facilitated by a number of factors: the lack of caste restrictions for spiritual practice, as opposed to Vedic beliefs, which are highly segmented on caste lines; the importance of the Goddess, as the worship of female divinities was widespread among tribes in Uttaranchal; and the inclusion of magic, another common feature among tribal belief systems (Jain: 56-79). Based upon interviews and observation, I believe that the efficacy of music in the puja ceremony is based upon these beliefs, whether or not the Bajgis can express them verbally, and clarifies the various historical substrata of belief within the cultural systems of the Jaunsaries. These traditions are experienced as a ‘lived’ reality-in the performance of drumming, in iconography, and in tantric rites and practices performed for healing, abundance, or to cause harm to enemies. Evidence for the existence of these beliefs was found in interviews with Bajgis, Nath yogis, and a sadhu residing in the village of Lakhamandal.

The worship of the various female nature spirits is still prevalent among the Jaunsaries. These spirits, known as Matas, are minor goddesses who cause afflictions, disease, or psychological distress, and also provide good luck, a bountiful harvest, and other positive effects. The practice of ritual magic, both for healing and maleficent effect,
is exclusively the domain of women, although it appears that these practices are far less prevalent in modern times $^{16}$ (field notes; Jain: 56; Majumdar: 60). The notion of the Goddess as a source of primal power (*Shakti*) was merged in the tantric system with the concept of *Paramashiva* in the tantric cosmology. In the ninth century AD, the explosion of the practices of Gorakhnath's system of shivite tantra had profound influence on the cultures of the western Himalayas, and Nath babas are still important members of the Jaunsari community. Gorakhnath is deemed by some to be the author of the *Dhol Sagar*, which will be discussed below. Thus, in the deity of Mahasu Deota, the syncretic merging of tribal beliefs, tantric practices, and Vedic Hinduism is visible. $^{17}$ This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five. The evidence for this can be found in iconography, numismatic sources, and the symbolic system of the Jaunsaries; but it is within the drumming that these beliefs are manifested most concretely. Thus, each cultural incursion, from the Buddhist proselytizing of the emperor Ashoka in the third century BCE, through the reform movements of Shankarachya in the first century CE to the folk tantra of Gorakhnath, merged with tribal practices.

4.2 Shivite and Shaktipat Cosmogony

The tantric cosmological conception is essentially non-dual; however it is composed of two principles, Shiva and Shakti, which have opposing functions, but are

$^{16}$ This assertion was echoed by the majority of my informants. However, it is possible that these practices, which are disparaged by other Uttaranchals, are a source of some embarrassment, and thus are shielded from outsiders.

$^{17}$ According to Jain, the remnants of earlier Vajrayana Buddhist practices are found in Mahasu, and his iconography is actually that of a Buddha. (see 20-96).
essentially one process or movement. Shiva represents the pure, primordial ground of being, from which emanates the initial movement or stress (spanda) which eventually brings into being the physical universe and the beings which apprehend it. The primordial ground of being (Parashiva) holds within it the potential manifestation of material reality, and through a descending series eventually creates the five aspects of material reality (Bhutas) earth, air, fire, water, and ether, the senses, the organs of actions, and the cognitive and emotional components of the individual. All of these elements exist on three levels: para (supreme or transcendent), suksama (subtle), and sthula (gross) (Woodruff 1998:1).

From the eternal quiescence of Parashiva arises the desire (iccha) for the one to become many. This results in the creation of bindu, the initial point of stress. The bindu represents a concentrated point of energy, or motion, which is described as the nadabhrama, or the primordial sound (vibration) from which all creation manifests. The primordial sound, OM, moves from the bindu to the bija (seed) which then results in the manifestation of the subtle form of the Sanskrit alphabet (varna-mala) which is symbolized as a garland adorning the goddess. The complexities of the entire cosmogony are beyond the scope of this discussion. The evolution of the primal sound passes through subtle forms of action (kriya), intellect (buddi), consciousness (citta) and ego (ahamkara), until the subtle becomes gross and manifests the entirety of the material cosmos. All of the sense organs exist as emanations from subtle forms of the elements, and this same process manifests the material elements. Thus, the entire universe is composed of vibration in a varying scale from subtle to gross.
The world apprehended by the senses **nama/rupa** (name and form) exists in the form of mental representation (**prayala**); thus, the mind takes on the form of external objects during the act of perception. The mind takes the form of an object going forth as light, **tejas**, after which the objects are classified according to the various mental categories (**jatis**). The perceiver and the perceived are thus different aspects of a single continuum, and therefore nodes linked on a larger vibratory continuum. The experience of the separation of subject and object is known as **maya**, which can be translated as illusion, or existence and dissolution (Basu: 108-133).

These concepts are central to the **Dhol Sagar**, and to the practice of **mantra** in general. Mantra literally means to protect the mind. Certain types of mantra are known as **bija**, or seed mantras. These seed mantras are sounds (**nada**) that exists on the subtle plane, and correlate with the vibratory pattern of the elements. Thus, sound that is apprehended by the ear (**dyvani**) can be a reflection of the **para** form of sound. This linkage with the para form of the element, or deity, as the case may be, thus transforms the practitioner into the form of the deity. The connection of mantras and the bols of the dhol are closely linked, and explain the ability of certain **talas** to induce trance, grant **siddis** (special powers), and heal ailments (Darbal; Purohit; field notes).

### 4.3 The Dhol Sagar Gorakhnath, and the Cosmogony of the Dhol

According to legend, Shiva created the dhol along with most of the other musical instruments in order to entertain his consort Paravati. Along with these instruments the
science of music and the musical notes (swaras) were manifested (Singh: 73-75; Darbal: 20-21).

The semi-legendary text, the *Dhol Sagar*\(^\text{18}\) [The Ocean of Drumming], was cited by all Bajgi informants, during my field research, as the primary indicator of their lineage and knowledge of the instrument. This medieval text, of which no known complete version exists, was written in a hermetic mixture of Hindi, Garhwali, and Sanskrit, and has been ascribed to Gorakhnath, and/or divine origin. One of my informants claimed to have seen the text, but he was evasive when pressed further. Most of the Bajgis are illiterate, thus it is unlikely that even if the text was seen, it could be comprehended. The text is reputed to contain a large collection of talas, performance techniques, special mantras associated with talas, associations of specific drum sounds with various deities, and so on. Regardless of the authenticity of the surviving fragments of the text (Alter: 170-171; Darbal: 3), the importance of the text as a marker of specialized knowledge, and its implicit link with tantric tradition are evident in current musical practices in the region. I was unsuccessful in eliciting any of the bols from my informants, because of their belief of the connection of these drum sounds with tantric practice and mantras.\(^\text{19}\) Darbal’s *Dholsagar Samgrah*, is a collection of all the existing textual fragments, combined with their explication. Unlike the *tabla, mirdugum, dolek*, and other Indian percussion instruments, knowledge of the dhol is relatively rare.

\(^{18}\) Alter (2001) translates a number of portions of the text. This chapter, however, is based upon my own translations of the text, with help from Dr. Satish, and Richa Sharma Utter.

\(^{19}\) In all of the other drum traditions I have encountered in the subcontinent, performers are quite willing to demonstrate their command of the mnemonic drum language.
The Dholsagar reputedly contains 300 talas and an explication of ten swaras (field notes, Purohit: 3; Darbal: 11). The use of the dhol in specific Nath practices is described\(^{20}\), as is the connection of the drum sounds with the varna-mala described above. The origin of the dhol is purported to be from lord Shiva; thus the drum sounds are collated with paravak (subtle speech), and have the same spiritual potency as mantras. A description of the various bols is found in the Dolsagar Samgrah, and is correlated with the varna-mala. The dhol was used as a type of yogic practice, something which appears to be rare now (interview with Rakeesh Natiyala; Purohit:2).

The Dholsagar Samgrah contains the fragments of the three versions of the Dholsagar. The first collection was published in Meetrut, circa 1926, recorded from an auji (another hereditary caste of musicians), by Pandit Bhanwanidatt Parwaitya (Darbal: 5). Darbal contends that this text had been “Sanskritized” by the Auji from whom it was transcribed by adding the common Sanskrit suffix “m” to some of the words, which were actually of Hindi or Garhwali origin (Darbal: 4). This text was named Bhrida Dholsagar, and also published under the title Bhrada Dholsagar Shastra. The second fragment of the Dhol Sagar was published under the title of Dholsagar (designated by Darbal as Dholsagar 2), in either 1913 or 1926, by Brahmanad Thapliyal (Darbal: 5-6). Thapiyal is described as a freedom fighter, meaning that he was active in India’s independence struggle against the British. During the chaos ensuing during India’s struggle for independence, Darbal believes that some of the type was set incorrectly, resulting in errors and inconsistencies in the text (ibid.: 5). The third version, (Damau Sagar 3) was

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\(^{20}\) Vir Gaya states that he saw the dhol utilized in such a manner in the village of Visavak. (Purohit:66)

Following the explanation of the publication history of the text, Darbal presents a historical overview of Indian music, going back to *Natya Shastra* and other references to music in Vedic texts (Darbal: 6-10). The fragments of the texts are explicated, followed by a reproduction of them (95-120). The text itself is in the form of a dialogue between Shiva and his consort Paravati.

According to the text, four distinct styles of drumming existed in ancient times—*amrit, sendu, prire,* and *mdyin,* but now only the *mdyin* style is still utilized. The use of the dhol in puja ceremonies is to create a specific psychological and physiological environment conducive to the apprehension of the presence of the deity. The dhol produces words (*shabda*), which originate in the primal sound (*nadabhrama*) and also emanate from the goddess of learning, Sarasati (Darbal: 32-35). The text also describes the connection of the drum sounds with the *para* form of speech, which the eternal sound of the vara-mala (34).

Piyari Lal, a Bajgi informant in Lakhamandal, described the employment of mantras from the *Dhol Sagar* to allow him to perform for extended periods up to 10 or 15 hours, to prevent the drumhead from breaking, and to induce a trance state in listeners. Specific talas were associated with various siddhihs, including healing, clairvoyance, and the fulfillment of desires (Purohit: 3).

The dhol is usually played in conjunction with the damau, or occasionally by itself. The damau is linked with the goddess (*Shakti*) and is usually adorned with a *yantra*
The use of the dhol as a form of yoga cuts across caste lines, but since the apocryphal legend described in the introductions, higher castes do not play it in public. In traditional village life, the dhol is performed for wedding ceremonies, funerals, births, wrestling matches, festivals, and most other important events in community life. The drum itself is considered to be auspicious, and the presence of a dhol in a household will prevent evil spirits from entering (field notes; Purohit: 12).

The dhol is then a manifestation of the immanence of divinity presence and the talas performed link the individual to the deities and larger cosmological cycles. In the practice of the dhol the organs of action (*karmindryas*), the senses (*indriyas*), the mind (*manas*), and the ego or will (*ahamkara*) are united, which produces the state of *shadana.*
The *Dhol Sagar* exists as an oral text, a combination of written and oral tradition, which is manifest during the act of performance. On this point, it is worth quoting Alter at length (179-180):

Different drummers play their tradition, and thus make sound out of their knowledge. At the same time, memorized texts, as well as written texts co-exist with this musical tradition of performance. Thereby, the spiritual dimension of the tradition is metaphorized through sound, text, and ‘sounded text’. Though written sources are fragmentary, incomplete, and scarce, faith in their existence amongst illiterate musicians contributes to a mythical source of authenticity.

I agree with Alter’s position that the *Dhol Sagar* is a combination of extant written fragments, the performed knowledge of drummers, and “memorized mythical texts which link the power of sound to the power of the gods” (Alter:180). The *Dhol Sagar* is then a shared body of cultural knowledge, which exists in various forms and permutations throughout the region, but fundamentally linked with the identity of Bajgis as authentic carriers of a sacred tradition of *nada yoga* (sound yoga). These beliefs are transmitted as lived experience on a daily basis; whenever the sound of the dhol brings a deity into human (embodied) form, these particular cosmologies and beliefs become an immanent, experiential, and phenomenological reality through *performance*, not through verbal exposition on these themes.
CHAPTER 5

CASTE, SOCIAL MARGINALIZATION, AND LIMINALITY

5.1 Caste

The caste system is a complex of beliefs, customs, privileges, power, and marriage restrictions, "Indian caste groups are specifically defined by (1) a common traditional occupation and / or a claim to a common origin, and (2) a ritual status which must be maintained and which can be defiled by contact with other groups" (Berreman: 198). Implicit in this definition is the concept of ritual pollution and purity. Thus, the high caste groups are considered "twice-born", which is a reference to good deeds performed in past lifetimes that result in being born into a high caste. Berreman describes it as "the ultimate extension of the kin group" (ibid: 199), as endogamous caste marriage is a basic feature of all castes in India; I found no exceptions to this in the course of my field research in Jaunsar-Bawar. The higher two castes, the Brahmins and the Rajputs are, by far, the greatest numerically and are dominant in the economic sphere as well, a fact which is greatly resented by the lower castes. The caste system is maintained by philosophical justifications and caste stereotypes, which will be discussed below. The belief that the caste system originates from Isvara (god) is generally espoused by the
higher castes. The degree to which lower castes subscribe to this belief is questionable; a number of Berreman’s low caste informants state that their low caste status is due to the numerical and economic superiority of the Rajputs and Brahmins, and is in fact a repressive social system clothed in religious garb. The political mobilization of the lower castes, by means of awakening “caste-consciousness” was central to Gandhi’s vision for India after British independence, and caste issues have been a prominent theme in politics in post-independence India. In fact, caste identification can supercede regional identity, an issue discussed in Hansan (1994) and Jodka (2001).

Berryman divides the caste system into two strata: pure and impure, or high caste and doms. The tripartite model of Majumdar shows a better correlation with my field data. Majumdar divides the caste system in Jaunsar-Bawar into three main groups, high (Brahmins and Rajput); intermediate (artisans); and low (Koltas, Chamars, and Doms). The intermediate caste group contains four subdivisions: Badi (carpenters), Sunnar (goldsmiths), Jorga and Nath (mendicants who perform certain religious ceremonies, act as guides for pilgrims, and perform magic and traditional healing practices), and the Bajgis (Majumdar: 67-68). The Bajgis are the lowest of these four castes and are the smallest minority in the village. The Bajgis are often resentful of their low status, and assertions of superiority to other low castes are common (Berreman: 200). My informants often expressed the view that their musical performance skills and cultural knowledge were crucial to the functioning of the community, and thus should be accorded a higher social status. It is permissible for the intermediate range of castes to intermarry, but it is
not extremely common. However, marriage between levels of the caste group is socially unacceptable.

As with the other castes of the region, the Bajgi kinship groups are based on patrilineal authority of the senior male member of the family. The wife of the patriarch also holds a position of authority in the family. The patriarch handles the division of labor in the family, the financial matters, and arranges marriage, inheritance, and property disputes. The children are taken care of by all members of the family. The patriarch also supervises the musical training of the male children. This structure was observed in the villages of Lakhamandal and Hanol (field notes; Majumdar: 75).

The performance of music does not link one with a lower caste; only certain types of professional instrumental performance are the exclusive domains of the Bajgis. It is the specialized endogamous knowledge of the Bajgis and their reliance on music as means of sustenance that positions the Bajgis in the social hierarchy. The Bajgis specialize in outdoor instruments, such as the dhol, damau, and the ransinga, which are used for religious ceremonies, weddings, festivals, and so on. Certain types of drumming, such as the dholak or tali, and instruments such as the harmonium do not hold negative caste associations, and amateur musicianship and dance are permitted to all levels of the caste hierarchy. The Bajgis' knowledge of these specialized genres ensures a steady income stream, and, as is the case in other parts of India, the preservation and holding of this specialized knowledge within the family is necessary for the economic survival of the family unit (Majumdar: 79).
In my field research, I found that the dhol is learned primarily through the process of enculturation (see Figure 2). Knowledge of the talas utilized for lok-geet performance are public knowledge, but the esoteric talas used in the puja, jagar, and the pandav nityra ceremonies are the province of the Bajgis. My informants described long lineages stretching back thousands of years, which must be taken as hyperbole, but the patrilineal transmission of this knowledge is clear, reflecting a consciousness of historical lineage, and with it a concomitant belief in the "embodied" (e.g. genetically transmitted) nature of musical ability. The playing techniques and knowledge of the esoterica of the dhol are passed from father to son, and the grandfather will also assist in the teaching process. During the ceremonies, one of several older members of the caste will perform, along with some of the family's children. There seems to be a certain point at which a youth is able to perform alone, but it is not clear when that point is reached. The gap between the knowledge of the older and younger generations is great however, as Comb das said that he knows only 15 or so talas, and his father knows 65 or more talas. The more specialized talas are reserved for the advanced students, but as Comb das, was in his mid-twenties and a father of two, it is quite possible that he will never learn his father's entire repertoire.
5.2 Social Marginalization of the Bajgis

The socially inferior status of the Bajgis is due to several factors. One is the caste stereotype that the Bajgi women are prostitutes and are therefore polluted due to the link between professional dancing and prostitution throughout India (Berreman: 216). Bajgis are also reputed to be licentious and heavy drinkers. Another factor is the nature of their profession, music, which also has low-caste connotations. Given the direct linkage between music and the divine, it would seem logical, from a Western point of view, that professional musicians would be accorded a higher status. The stigma attached to professional music is more difficult to understand than the social stigma attached to other
occupations such as leatherwork or cleaning. Turner’s concept of liminality helps to explain some of the factors that contribute to this, and will be described below.

Some scholars (Jain, Singh, Atkinson and Saklani) surmise that caste distinctions are due to racial differences between the pre-Aryan inhabitants, Austroid inhabitants of the region and the Aryan immigrants after 960 CE from the Indus river valley. Both Alter (75-76) and Berreman (220) criticize this theory on a number of grounds. Berreman states that at this point, the castes have no distinguishing physical characteristics, and that differences, if they existed, have dissolved due to genetic mixing. Alter (76) cites Brown and Joshi (1990), who “question the relevance of migratory chronology on caste interaction and power….They suggest instead that a portrayal of the caste structure of the region should be approached ‘in terms of a transformation of both immigrants and indigenous groups by the translation of power’ (ibid: Brown and Joshi).”

Caste relations are based on economic and social power differentials, endogamous marriage restrictions, and occupations. The adoption of Sanskritic caste rules imported from the plains would seem a logical means for the dominant groups (whether indigenous or immigrant) to ensure their position.

The caste distinctions result in a number of discriminatory practices, including restrictions on seating (a Bajgi must always sit below a Bhramin or a Rajput), food ways (higher castes will not eat with, or accept food, from a Bajgi), landownership, and entrance into sacred spaces. This last feature was markedly demonstrated in Hanol, where the Bajgis must sit outside the temple to perform, but once I demonstrated my respect for Mahasu Deota by bowing before the image, I was allowed to sit next to the priests in the
inner sanctum. As a foreigner, a Christian, and a beef eater, my social status is essentially that of a Shudra (untouchable) in the caste system. This provoked a certain amount of resentment among some of the Bajgis, which was expressed by requesting money to observe the public performance and a refusal to answer questions. In the village of Lakhmandal, my participation in an informal music gathering was a cause for admiration from the villages, but my drumming during the puja ceremony provoked a variety of unpleasant reactions from upper caste villagers.

As stated above, members of the lower caste are resentful of their status, and many actively attempt to change this. Some groups attempt to assert superiority over castes that they believe are below them, replicating the discriminatory practices of the high castes. Berreman cites many examples of this, including Bajgis and blacksmiths refusing to sit at the same table, or share a water pipe. The Shudra caste is looked down upon by all of the intermediate castes.

The caste system is not a class system, but economic status can serve to socially elevate the lower castes. A Bajgi, Pretum das from the village of Tambukidar, had become a professional recording artist, and as such he gained both financial security and a higher social status. He identified himself as an artist and was proud of the higher social status accorded to him on this basis. However, he still maintained his caste identity, stating that as a Bajgi he truly knew the music, and higher caste professional musicians were unable to perform with the same level of authenticity or emotional impact. There is a great difference between performing on All India Radio, as Pretum das does, and performing for the ceremonial functions in village. Pretum das focuses on certain aspects
of his heritage, and ‘edits’ them for consumption by the wider, urbanized public of Uttranachal, who may have little or no knowledge of the cultures within which they originated. Another means by which Bajgis attempt to change social status is by changing occupation. This is not generally successful, as the individual is still viewed as being part of the birth caste. Lamentably, this process has had an impact on the arts in the region. Berreman describes the caste of Dedas, traditionally itinerant musicians and dancers. They would go door to door, often between different villages, singing and dancing for money. This group is reputed to have supernatural powers, and participated in the dramatic rope sliding ceremony, now illegal due to its danger. In this ceremony, the musician would slide on a greased rope strung between two mountain peaks. The musician would receive great financial rewards and acclaim upon its successful completion. Due to the social stigma attached with dancing, Berreman’s informants had almost entirely ceased performing, and currently the Bedas’s musical performances have ceased almost entirely (Berreman 1963: 67-68). I found another example of the response of non-participation in the village of Datmere, a small hamlet in the Hari Ki Dhun Valley, where the local Bajgi had taken up farming and no longer performed. It seems unlikely that this raised his social status, as the other villagers referred to him as “the village Bajgi”.

All Bajgis have the surname of das, which means servant, or slave. This title has a number of connotations, including being of a servant or slave to music, and of being a servant to god. The pundit in the village of Lakhamandal said that the title refers to their devotion and sacrifice to the deity and in his opinion places them outside of the regular
rules of society. He stated that “In fact, the Bajgis are the most beloved of god in the village. This can be seen in the jagar ceremony, where a person possessed of the deity will first embrace and bow down to Bajgi.” The title of das serves as to designate the Bajgis as members of a particular subculture, but is often used in other parts of India as a term of respect. The Bajgis are essential to the all major lifecycle events, religious rituals, and calendrical festivals; their paradoxical status as being both ritually impure and conduits for deities is an expression of the liminal nature of their social roles.

5.3 Bajgis and Liminality

The ritual structure can also be described as pre-liminal, liminal, and post-liminal (Turner 1969:140). “Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and the ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transactions” (Turner 1969:95).

Victor Turner employs the term ‘liminal’ to define the space that is marked out during the performance event, the space between the threshold of quotidian reality and the return (in a changed form) to the normalized social structure. Van Gennep (1960) describes this three-fold process as segregation, margin (the limen, or liminal space) and aggregation. This ritual process is mirrored on a daily basis at the puja ceremony in Hanol, and is manifest on a number of levels including the Bajgis’ liminal social status.
My research indicates that music serves to create different realms of temporality that are necessary to ritual processes. Music cannot be separated from the cultural framework which makes this possible by linking mythologically and experientially disparate aspects of culture. It is important to understand the underlying experiential and referential frame of the culture, in a manner as close as possible to the ‘native’ experience. Experience is described by the philosopher Dilthey as consisting of three components: cognitive, connotative, and affective. Only by acknowledging the fluid interplay between these components in the ‘now’ of the performative present, can the multivocal symbology of the sound be understood. The musical performance exists on a plane both synchronic and diachronic; socially, ritually, and spatially constructed. The interplay between past, present and future dissolves in the interchange of quotidian, linear time, for the manifestation of the sacred, or the realms of the liminal which manifest in the passage from the sacred to the profane.

For Turner, it is important to understand the definitions of work, play and leisure. Leisure depends on the nature of work within modern industrial societies, and is influenced by and mirrors the nature of industrial work that it opposes. In ‘traditional societies’, work has a different meaning, and the undertaking of rituals, and so forth, are considered a form of work; that is, they are necessary for the functioning of the society as a whole, and are not voluntary pursuits. This distinction serves as an entrée into the distinctions between liminal and liminoid. As mentioned above, during rites of passage and during most rituals, there is a suspension of quotidian consciousness and entry into different ‘a-temporal’ realm. The acts of ‘social transgression’ that occur during rituals
are not optional, that is, a normally law-abiding citizen must transgress social rules, if that is required (Turner: 43).

Turner describes *communitas* as “not a structural reversal, a mirror imagining of the profane, work-a-day socioeconomic structure, but the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, volition, creativity, etc., from the normative constraints of incumbent upon occupying a sequence of social statues, enacting a multiplicity of social roles” (Turner: 44). Communitas takes place in a state of ‘flow’, that is, it is an activity that encompasses the physical, mental, and emotional aspects of human being, and provides a deep sense of well being, through a feeling of universal connectedness facilitated by a dissolution of the individual ego.

The Bajgis’ essential function is to facilitate in the process of communitas during religious rituals, life cycle events, and festivals. In so doing, they inhabit the limen between the boundaries of caste and economic hierarchies. The social hierarchies are made fluid during the possession ritual, but at the same time these structures are reinforced through the dictates of Mahasu Deota directly communicated through the possessed bakis. The supposed sexual permissiveness of the Bajgi women represents a transgression of social boundaries through their sexual congress with generally high-caste males. “Perhaps the low ritual status of musicians might be accounted for by interpreting the sexual availability and assumed prostitution of their women in these terms – their women are continually and irreparably polluted by sexual contacts with members of many castes. More simply, they are occupationally associated with human emissions which are polluting, and therefore they are polluted” (Berreman 1963: 109-110). This
stigma can also be analyzed in terms of liminality—the Bajgis continually transgress, or perhaps transcend the strictures of the caste system through their closeness to the deity, and their position as essentially musical shamans. Their knowledge of the esoteric talas and mantras associated with the Dhol Sagar complicates their status, as these reputed “other-worldly powers” clash with the worldly power and social and economic dominance of the upper castes. This liminal status, however, grants them certain immunity from caste prohibitions. Behaviors that would not be tolerated in other castes, for example, hosting all night music parties, or attending temples ceremonies while drunk, are looked upon as acceptable because “they are Bajgis after all.” According to Priyari das, the gods do not recognize caste distinctions, a sentiment echoed by one of Berreman’s low caste informants (1963: 110).

As a visual symbol of liminality, their seating arrangement, distance from the inner sanctuary (described in detail in the next chapter), mirrors their social standing, and the ambiguities inherent within it. The drums themselves are considered auspicious and are stored inside temples compounds in the village. The goddess Saraswati is believed to inhabit certain musical instruments, (a common belief throughout India), yet the masters of these instruments, the Bajgis are considered to be impure, polluted. The factors delineated above of ritual transgression of social norms, helps to constitute their social marginalization. Their power as performers beloved of the gods is a danger to the temporal power structure, yet at the same time it is an indispensable component of the Jaunsaries’ cultural and religious life. The drums are played and echo the varna mala.
which adorns the neck of Parashakti, and god plays throughout his divine *lila* (play), of which we are merely the manifestations.

### 5.4 ‘Caste Consciousness’ in the Field

The reality of caste boundaries (spatial, social, and behavioral) was readily apparent early in my field research. I was aware of caste prejudices from experiences in New Delhi and other urban environments in India, but I generally encountered these prejudices in upper caste individuals fallen on economic hard times; their disparagement of the social, economic and political success of many lower caste individuals (the current prime minister of India is a Shudra) seemed an attempt to reconcile their current economic status with a deeply-held belief of cultural and spiritual superiority. However, in the Himalayan states of Uttaranchal and Himachal Pradesh, caste status was more widely linked to economic, social, and spatial discrimination.

A rather poignant example of this is my friend Rupert, an Englishman of royal descent (his many years in South Asia were bankrolled by a substantial trust fund), a student of the renowned flautist Hari-Prasad Chaursi. Rupert, after building a rather ostentatious home in the Parvati valley of Himachal Pradesh, took a young *Mochi* bride (a very low caste of leatherworkers). After spending nearly a decade as a part time resident in the region, he considered himself part of the village community, but the reactions to his marriage were so forceful that he had no alternative but to return to England. Overnight, one of his old friends, a Rajput, would no longer allow him to come inside his house, or even touch it, and certain restaurants refused to serve him. Overnight,
his changed status in the community overrode friendship, financial status, and fifteen years of cultural experience. His status became fixed, through marriage, as a Mochi, and his innocence regarding the realities of the caste system was made harshly transparent.

My initial encounters in the field provided a reflexive encounter with the nuances of the caste system. As mentioned in chapter two, during my initial foray into the field, I encountered a group of purported Jaunsari musicians. All three of them were Rajputs, and one was originally from a village in Garhwal. For their musical exhibition they employed the harmonium and dolak, instruments exclusive to secular music (lok-geet), avoiding the dhol, thali, and damau, instruments associated with the Bajgi and ritual (sacred) functions. The music they performed was a simulation of Jaunsari music, at least a version found in the many cassettes in the markets of Dehradhun. After the performance, the vocalist/harmonium player spoke of his aspirations to commercial success through music, and admitted that he had learned his repertoire from cassettes.

During my field research in Jaunsar Bawar, all of my initial contacts were with members of the upper castes. As a result of this, I had great difficulty conversing with the Bajgis, who were often evasive or even confrontational (“Why do you want to know about our music?”). When I returned to the field, this time dressing in the traditional kutra pajama, I found it easier to communicate with the Bajgis. This was facilitated partially by the intercession of a sadhu from Delhi who had taken up permanent residence in the village, and also the four Jaunsari songs I had learned from Dr. U.S. Satish. After a week of daily attendance at the puja ceremony, Comb das finally allowed me to play the dhol, his father standing behind me and directing the movement of my hands. When I
performed during an evening puja ceremony, the expressions of shock were clearly evident on the faces of my upper caste acquaintances. This shifted my status, at least in eyes of a number of villagers, and it was as if the abstract caste rules were made concrete: previously invisible vectors of spatial segregation and behavioral codes became visible. In the local café, the Rajputs who had previously sat next to me and engaged in incessant questioning, now sat opposite ends of the table, leaving me in peace. The Bajgis were finally open to my queries, but still evaded my questions concerning the bols (mnemonic syllables) that formed the talas they performed on the dhol. A number of villagers, including some of the older women who worked in the fields, began to engage me in causal conversion, joking with me, and even satirize some of the Rajputs and Brahmins.

The *rupture* of the social and spatial boundaries mandated by the caste system resulted in intense reactions from both upper and lower castes. This rupture destabilized the unspoken social conventions, and this perhaps necessitated the forcefulness of the reaction as a means to restore the boundaries—also seen in reaction to illicit love affairs between lower caste men and upper caste women, which can result in death or banishment to the offending parties (Berreman: 74). The maintenance of upper caste hegemony depends upon assertions of both spiritual and worldly superiority, and the violation of boundaries reveals the constructed (artificial) nature of these claims.

It would appear that there are three responses to caste discrimination by the Bajgis—participation, non-participation, and last, becoming a professional artist. The latter two responses share in common the conscious shifting of the *locus* of performance—the first response is that of negating the field of performance by remaining silent (e.g. the
Bajgi in the village of Datmere; the caste of Bedas). The second was to shift the field of performance to the concert stage, the cultural program, and the cassette tape. Pretum das, the professional artist, was immaculately groomed, wore expensive and stylish kutra pajama, and spoke in *shudh* Hindi, a highly Sanskritized version of Hindi heard primarily in the discourse of politicians and academics. By a conscious effort, Pretam das transformed his identity from a local hereditary musician into the broader category of ‘artist’-an identity construct that allow him to move among social, cultural, and spatial boundaries. His assertion that he made “lakhs$^{21}$ and lakhs of rupees” was belied by his traditional village home, and the extent of manual labor required of his wife. Still, he had become a public figure. This self-transformation was essentially a political act. The following anecdote opens the possibility of a fourth way, participation with detachment.

On my final day in the village, I sat with Piyari das and a number of other villagers in a house inside the temple compound. The men sat playing cards and drinking tea while the torrential monsoon downpour continued unabated. I asked Piyari das if he minded the rain, as the village paths were transformed into dangerous muddy quagmires. He paused, looked outside for a moment, and then replied “I am here in this shakti-pith (sacred place). All of this is the lila of Shiva (‘Bolenath ki–lila’). Where else in the world would I rather be than here?”

The use of the word lila here, meaning “play,” has a number of connotations. First, the term lila is generally associated with Krishna, and his divine love-sport with the gopis. It means to play, to perform, and to act, in this sense defining the world as the

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$^{21}$ Lakh translates as 100,000. It is approximately $4000.$
“play” of the god Shiva. Bolenath is name of Shiva, meaning father of compassion, sometimes invoked in reference to the consumption of cannabis as a means of relieving the suffering of conditioned, temporal existence. The metaphor of play here contains multiple layers of interpretation- it implies that Shiva has taken incarnation as all members of the community, and the trials and tribulations of the world (probably including caste discrimination) are simply an illusion of conditioned existence. This ‘dangerous’ play, as Schechner puts, becomes transformed into an experience of bliss when its unreal, transitory nature is realized. It also has a strong connection with Tantric cosmology, in that the passions of the world are not evil, but simply forms of energy, and once perceived as such become another path to liberation (moksha). “Maya-lila is fundamentally a performative-creative act of continuous playing where ultimate positivist distinctions between “true” and “false,” “real” and “unreal” cannot be made” (Schechner 1993: 29). Schechner also quotes the psychoanalyst D.W. Winnicott, describing the play of infants, “that the essential feature in the concept of transitional objects and phenomena... is the paradox and the acceptance of the paradox” (ibid: 29). The term Bajgi derives entomologically from the verb stem bajana-to play.
CHAPTER 6

COSMOGONY, ENVIRONMENT, AND PERFORMANCE

6.1 Introduction

Any musical performance exists in a necessary temporal, spatial, and cognitive framework. The performance of the daily puja ceremony by the Bajgis has been chosen for analysis because it encompasses many of the socio-cultural features discussed previously. The performance occurs at the intersection of the multiple narratives of high/low status, religious beliefs, economic necessity and personal and collective identity. In this chapter I will describe the background of the sacred site of Hanol and the varied, sometime contradictory legends of Mahasu Deota. Following this, a specific puja ceremony will be analyzed employing the methodology of performance analysis outlined in the introduction. The relationships between the performers, audience, and their traditions reflect the complex process of identity maintenance and negotiation in relation to cultural performance.

The Bajgis’ status as musicians, in traditional contexts, is an ontological condition. They are born into this caste and therefore the choice of music as a means of livelihood has been made, according to the religious justifications of the caste system, as
an *a priori* result of the actions of previous lives. The Bajgis are, in a sense, indentured servants to their religious duties, though some have chosen alternative paths, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Mahasu Deota is the center of the Jaunsaries’ religious life. Through the words of the baki, disputes are settled, diseases are cured, exorcisms are performed, and the duties and prohibitions of the caste system are expressed. In Hanol, the deity provides the livelihood of the performers through the monetary donations of pilgrims and food provided through animal sacrifices. Yet, the deity prohibits the Bajgis from owning or cultivating land\(^1\) and the religiously sanctioned caste system locks them into a permanently marginal social position.

### 6.2 Mahasu Deota and Hanol

After many fruitless (and sometimes grueling) treks to remote villages in Uttarakhand, the task of finding musicians seemed as difficult as scouring a tropical rainforest for a rare butterfly. A patron of a roadside *dhaba* (restaurant) recommended Hanol, a small village located on the banks of the Tons River, confiding that especially skilled musicians might be found performing in the temple. I set foot in Hanol, groggy after an all-night bus ride from Mussoorie. Terraced rice patties faded into pine trees along the winding valley; above the elevation of the pine tress, solitary homes perched on the edge of small outcrops.

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\(^1\) The Bajgi in Datmire who had begun to cultivate land had also ceased drumming.
of stone. The temple compound dominated the village; the only other structures were a single strip of shops, and a few dwellings clustered around the walls of the temple. The unique, pagoda-like structure of the temple was striking, especially in comparison to other temples I had encountered after extensive travel throughout India. The constant drone of the Tons River and the fragility of the village juxtaposed against the sharp peaks reminded one of man’s helplessness against the forces of nature. Hanol is the spiritual center of Jaunsari life. The livelihood of the residents is derived primarily from the steady flow of pilgrims, most from Jaunsar Bawar, but also from villages in Himachal Pradesh, drawn by the stories of the puissance of Mahasu Deota (field notes; Majumdar: 258).

The temple at Hanol houses Mahasu Deota, the most important deity of the Jaunsaries. In Jaunsar-Bawar, every household and village worship deities unique to them, but Mahasu extends hegemony over all other deities, nature spirits, and other supernatural beings. The worship of Mahasu Deota extends throughout the western Himalayas from Jaunsar Bawar, Jubbal, Utroch, Bishar, Simur, Garhwal, and into district of Shimla in Himachal Pradesh\(^2\). Mahasu Deota has four aspects, described as four brothers. The most important form of Mahasu Deota is located in Hanol (Botha Mahasu); the other three incarnations of Pabasi, Basik, and Chalda Mahasu are moved throughout the region in cycles of six months, six years, and twelve years (Majumdar: 259). The Bajgis are entrusted with the sometimes treacherous transportation of the deities on ritually

\(^2\) The nature of the cult of Mahasu Deota in these other regions is beyond the scope of this present study.
constructed palanquins. The four Mahasu Deotas reunite in Hanol for a single
day, during the festival of Jagra. Mahasu Deota is the holder of the social order;
he prescribes the functions of the castes, cures for diseases, and punishment for
those who have transgressed the social order (interview w/pujari; Majumandar:
255). During the evening puja the voice of Mahasu Deota is heard through bakis,
individuals in whom the deity enters. The religious practices, which I had a
chance to observe at Hanol, seem to be a mixture of tribal beliefs with a veneer of
Hinduism. The connection between the religion of the Jaunsaries and orthodox
Hinduism is indeed tenuous, and will be discussed later in this chapter.

There is little oral or textual records of the region’s history before the
sixteen century; however, there is a great deal of archaeological findings, that
when correlated with current religious and cultural practices and written sources
from ancient Sanskrit texts (see Chapter Three for these various sources), gives
some credence to the following speculations. The cult of Mahasu Deota is a
regional phenomenon that appears to contain elements of earlier religious and
cultural practices. Looking at evidence compiled from historical (textual) and
iconographic sources (see Jain 1995) and from my fieldwork, the four religio-
cultural-historical layers intermingled in the cult of Mahasu Deota are (1) the pre-
Aryan (Austric/ Aboriginal) animistic cults of Nagas (serpents), nature spirits and
Rudra (Pushpupatinath); (2) elements from Vajrayana/Mahayana Buddhism; (3)
the Hindu tantric cults of Kashmiri Shavism and Gorakhnath; and (4), the
“reformation” of Brahminical Hinduism through the Adveta Vedanta (literally
‘End of the Vedas’), brought to the region by Shankarachraya during his proselytizing campaign to uproot Mahayana Buddhism in the ninth century CE (Jain: 23).

There is some evidence for the presence of Brahminical traditions since at least the eighth century CE from the village of Lakhamandal, which was the political capitol of the Katyuris from approximately the eighth to the twelfth century CE. Current archeological excavations in the area have unearthed a wide array of artifacts that appear to have Brahminical origins (Jain: 54). Conversations with archaeologists working in Lakhamandal and with the director of the Archeological Survey of India in Dehradhun indicated a strong possibility for this conjecture. Figures 3, 4, and 5 below are all contemporaneous with the reign of the Katyuri dynasty. Figure 3 depicts a goddess image, similar to that of Durga, a goddess commonly worshiped throughout India, but with important differences. The Goddess stands astride a bull, often linked with Shiva, which is similar to iconographic representations of Kali, who is usually worshiped in tantric practices. Figures 4 and 5 are two recently excavated lingams. The Shivite priest in Figure 4 was originally a businessman from Delhi, but he renounced the world to follow a spiritual calling, and was helpful as an intermediary between the Bajgis and myself. Through a deconstruction of the cosmogony of Mahasu Deota,
I hope that the religio-cultural syncretism of the Jaunsaries will be evident, as well as the intersections of myth, place and identity.\textsuperscript{4}

I encountered a number of variants of the cosmogony of Mahasu Deota. Three different versions were recounted to me: one by the temple pujari, one by a local Nath baba, and the third by Dr. U. S. Satish. A shorter written version can be found in Majumandar (1962) and Jain (1995); the most extensive version, transcribed from the Bajgis Lal das and Madan das is found in Singh (2004). The account below is translated from Singh (36-47)\textsuperscript{5}. Following this I will note substantial variants found either in my own interviews or other written sources.

Some Indian scholars believe the events in the Mahabharata took place ca. 1950 BC (see Rajagopalachari 1951 and Raghavan 2004), but the traditional date is

\textsuperscript{4} A comprehensive discussion of the sacred geography of the region is outside the scope of this thesis. Feld and Basso’s *Senses of Place* (1996) is an excellent overview of the phenomenology of place and self.

\textsuperscript{5} See Appendix A for original Hindi text.
1302 BCE. Most historians prefer a later date of ca. 900 BCE, with the poem reaching its present form ca. 400 CE. At the conclusion of the Mahabharata, the world-weary Pandav brothers visited the important sacred sites located in modern Uttaranchal, known collectively as the Char Bhumi. The following passage is my literal translation from Singh.

6.3 The Cosmogony of Mahasu Deota

As they traversed the mountainous terrain, they built a number of shrines, including a Vishnu temple, the current site of the Mahasu Deota temple. After this, one by one, they died of exhaustion ascending one of the peaks in Jaunsar-Bawar. Their death heralded the end of the Kaliyuga, the present epoch that we are believed to be living in. Shiva, because of the dawning of this degenerate era, went into samhadi, a meditative state of complete annihilation in the godhead. The Jaunsar-Bawar region was overtaken by demons (rahksa) who plagued the local populace.

The demon Karmasur attempted to disturb Shiva’s mediation by attacking him. Out of frustration, Shiva cut his limbs off and retreated to Kashmir. Each of

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6 Hindu cosmology is based on a cycle of four Yugas, or eras. 2400 deva years make up the Dwapara yuga that preceded kali yuga; 3600 years made up the Treta yuga and 4800 the Krita yuga respectively. A Deva year (year of a god) is equivalent to 360 human years. Each yuga represents a continued degradation of material and spiritual conditions, culminating in the destruction of the universe and its recreation-this process occurs eternally. For a more detailed explanation, see A Source Book in Indian Philosophy (1957), ed. by Radhakrishnan and Moore.

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the limbs became a vir (hero or demigod). The four vir appeared before him, and he ordered them to attack the demon. As the demon fled from them, they cut pieces from his body. Each piece of his body created different geographic features of the Jaunsar region, including the Tons River. When his entire body had been dismembered, the demon ascended to heaven (swarga). The vir presented themselves before Shiva, and he ordered them submerge themselves in a pond. Shiva transformed himself into a linga\(^7\) and returned to his meditation.

Shiva’s wife Paravati (literally daughter of the mountain) retired to a cave to meditate. She created a son to guard the entrance of the cave and prevent disturbances. Shiva returned to his human form, and went to seek his wife. He found the cave, and when refused entrance, he decapitated his son. Paravati emerged from the cave. She ordered Shiva to replace her son’s head. An elephant was nearby, so Shiva placed its head on his son, creating the deity Ganesha. Shiva returned to the form of the linga. Three deities Agani Deva (god of fire), Surya Deva (sun god), and Kartik Rishi (another of Shiva’s sons) then appeared and commenced to worship him. Shiva informed them that whosoever could complete the pilgrimage to the char dhams would be the most prominent deity.

Ganesha complained to his mother that he was not allowed to go on the pilgrimage, as a result of his youth and his vehicle, a mouse. She told him to

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\(^7\) The Shivalingam is a phallic symbol of possible pre-Aryan origins. It consists of a cylindrical stone column resting on a circular base with a small trough. It represents fertility, the divine nature of sexual energy, and the union of transcendence and immanence. The base of the lingam is a symbol of Shakti (female creative energy (Jain 152-153). Innumerable lingas are found throughout Jaunsar-Bawar.
worship his father in his linga form. The three deities discovered that Ganesha had beaten them to the sacred sites. Enraged, they demanded an explanation of Shiva. Shiva informed them that it must the result of the machinations of Parvati. To spite his parents, Kartik Rishi tore his flesh from his body. Shiva cast the flesh into the pond in which the four virs were residing. The flesh was eaten by four serpents or nagas, who gave birth to the four Mahasu Deotas. His blood created a plethora of other deities, all of whom resided in the pond. Shrines of all of these deities are found in the temple complex at Hanol.

During this time, the region was controlled by demons that tormented the residents. The demons were able to remain in power through their worship of the Mahasu brothers. Huna Rishi, a Brahmin residing at Hanol, had been forced to give six of his sons to appease a demon living in a nearby lake. Huna Rishi and his wife were distraught at the prospect of losing their seventh son. The voice of Saddkudeya vir spoke to his wife from the mouth of her copper water vessel, stating that her husband must go to Kashmir and bring the four Mahasus to Hanol. She forced her reluctant husband to undertake the treacherous journey to Kashmir. After innumerable trials and tribulations (omitted for brevity’s sake) he arrived at the pond in which all of the deities were residing. Sensing the presence of a human, the gods angrily left their watery abode to search for Huna Rishi and destroy him. He was protected through the magic of Saddkudeya vir, and told that he must seize Chalda Mahasu when he passed on his palanquin. Huna Rishi did as instructed. The Mahasu Deotas were about to annihilate him, but he explained his
predicament. They agreed to help him in exchange for sovereignty over the region.

Huna Rishi returned to Hanol. Mahasu Deota instructed him to furrow his field with a gold plow and oxen shod in gold. He should sow it with the magical flowers they gave him. He did as instructed. On the first day the goddess Deolarhi appeared, considered to be the mother of all the gods. On subsequent days the other gods and goddess, created from the blood of Shiva’s son Kartik Rishi in the Kashmiri pond, sprung from the furrows. Huna Rishi was instructed to cease plowing on the seventh day, but on the sixth day the Mahasu Deotas appeared, and as a result of this all of the deities sustained injuries. Botha Mahasu’s foot was severed, and therefore remains at Hanol, while the other deities travel throughout the region in monthly and yearly cycles.

The demons were defeated and expelled from the region. The unjust human rulers in the region were deposed. Saddkudeya vir commanded a dhol to play the tala of Mahasu Deota. The dhol initially refused, but Saddkudeya Vir explained that he (the dhol) would always be used to awaken (jagrana) the deity. Vishnu emerged from the temple, but was forced to acquiesce to the power of the tala and the superiority of Mahasu Deota. Vishnu gave the Mahasu Deotas sovereignty over region, and Vishnu was exiled into the jungle with his queen. over the region (Singh: 36-47).

The following variant is found in Majumdar: Vishnu was defeated after a protracted debate and displays of wealth, but Boatha Mahasu felt pity towards
him, and provided him a small space outside the temple complex (Majumdar: 257). Majumdar and the temple priest at Hanol asserted that Mahasu Deota was originally from Kulu. The Nath baba at Hanol claimed that Mahasu Deota was actually an avatar (incarnation) of Mahasadashiva, the tantric (wrathful) aspect of Shiva. Jain has another variant that Huna Rishi prays to Shiva to destroy the demons. Shiva instructs him to perform certain rituals and worship the Goddess (Devī). When this is completed, the goddess surges from the ground, enwreathed in flames. Numerous gods and goddess spring forth from her flaming hair and limbs. He is told that on the fourth day Mahasu Deota (also known as Naga Chautha) will appear in four aspects, defeat the demons and claim sovereignty over the region (Jain: 66).

Figure 6: Genealogy of Mahasu Deota
6.3.1 Deconstruction of Mahasu Deota Cosmogony

The importance of the legend of Mahasu Deota, notwithstanding the substantial variants, is its syncretism of diverse religious systems with the beliefs of local folk practices. Figure 7 delineates the different components of Jaunsari religious practices. Mahasu Deota’s cosmogony contains a number of important features. First of all, the five Pandavs are linked with tribal or non-Aryan cults through the connection of physical geography with a spiritual geography. A clear example of this is a large round stone boulder in the temple compound at Hanol, which is purported to have been used by Bhima (one of the five Pandav brothers) as a toy. In other variants of the Mahasu myth, Bhima initially vanquished the demons, which returned following the death of the Pandavs (Majumdar: 256). The myth also recounts the formation of the most prominent geologic features of the region, ranging from mountains to rivers to valleys. This sacrilized geography is a fundamental component of local belief systems, accounting for the importance of possession rituals and belief in the immanence of divinity, and explains to a certain extent the importance of Mahasu Deota in economic, personal, and cultural matters. The region is popularly known as the Dev Bhumi (abode of the gods). All of my informants emphasized this concept, constantly pointing out localities, physical structures, and customs that had been used or created by one or another deity. This conception is of course analogous to the animism of the pre-Aryan Austric inhabitants of the region; numerous trees, bodies of water, or
stones are still believed to be the abode of various spirits, many of whom are malignant.

**Tribal Beliefs**
(Animism, Naga, Cults, Possession, animal sacrifice)

**Tantric/Shivite**
(use of Dhol, Dhol Sagar, Magic, etymological, iconographic and historical evidence. Mahashashiva, Gorakhnath, Padmasambva, etc. Kashmir origin, current prominence of Shivite cult of Maha Shiva)

**Mahayana Buddhism**
(Iconographic evidence – image of Mahasu as Buddha in *Bhumiparsha Mudra*, temple compound based on Buddhist design, animal sacrifice for Mahasu prohibited; historical and numismatics evidence; expulsion of Vishnu)

**Contemporary Cult of Mahasu Deota at Hanol**

**Brahminical Hinduism**
Structure of Puja ceremony, caste system, prominence of Brahmin priest class, Presence of mainstream Hindu deities; historical evidence – reform campaign of Shankaraya (9th century), Katyuris dynasty (8th-12th century)

Figure 7: Historical Strata of Religious Practices at Hanol
The cult of Mahasu is composed of the diverse religious and cultural influences in the western Himalayan range, all of which have been modified by the original folk belief systems. In Hanol, all of these diverse influences are operating synchronically, but it is quite unlikely that many Jaunsaries have any knowledge of the elements that compose their belief systems. Evidence for the aboriginal animistic cults is found in a number of archeological sites, at Lakhamandal, Hanol, and in the Har-ki-Dhun valley (Jain: 110-147). In the myth of Mahasu Deota, these diverse elements are clearly combined. At the onset, it must be noted that the activities of the Vedic gods described in Jaunsar Bawar bear little or no resemblance to mainstream Hinduism. The constant motif of dismemberment links both the cognitive frame of the physical landscape as not only inhabited by divinity, but divinity itself, with the prevalence of animal sacrifice, and even purported human sacrifice in the not-so remote past (Berreman: 93), and the conception of an occasionally violent and capricious deity. This is understandable given the precarious living conditions of the Jaunsaries, and the often devastating effects of flood or snowstorms.

The aboriginal inhabitants worshiped nagas (serpents) and viewed bodies of water such as lakes or ponds as being the abode of spirits (Jain: 38). This motif is clear in the myth, as the four Mahasu brothers are born from serpents, and are often described as Naga Chauta. The layer of Brahminical Hinduism is also clear in the myth, not only through presence of the Pandavs and the presence of mainstream Hindu deities, but also in the constant reference to Kashmir. Many of the upper caste Brahmins in the region claim to be descended from the Brahmins of Kashmir, while the low caste Bajgis and
Koltas are considered to be descendants of the aboriginals or later waves of migrants (Majumdar: 34). The myth then indicates the ascendancy of the Brahmin and Rajput castes over the lower castes by virtue of their greater degree of racial purity. Another notable feature of the myth is the expulsion of Vishnu from the temple complex. If Jain is correct, the temple complex was used as a Buddhist monastery from the first century BCE until the second century CE. The Buddha is viewed by Hindus as the ninth avatar of Vishnu, and this could indicate a possibly Buddhist origin for the structure.

Most of the variations of the myth concern different endings. The ending of the Singh text, as well as one recounted by Comb das, concludes with a dhol, which is described as an animate being, ordered Mahasu Deota to play, and it is the shakti (power) of the dhol that expels Vishnu from the temple at Hanol. This is important on several levels (Singh: 47, field notes). It is important to note that, in both cases Bajgis recounted this particular variant. While it is difficult to claim with complete certainty that the Vishnu discussed in all variants of the legend is indeed referencing the Buddha, the central theme clearly is one of the indigenous traditions of the Jaunsaries vanquishing those from outside. In the primarily oral culture of Jaunsar-Bawar, history is strongly linked both the place and performance; local histories are performed through song texts and calendrical reenactments of religious texts during festivals. Vishnu, as well as the Buddha, are associated with organized and state-sponsored monastic orders, and this legend expresses a direct conflict between the locals and the state. The extensive use of drumming during all daily worship ceremonies is unique to Jaunsar-Bawar though also found to a certain extent in Garhwal.

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The second variant is quite different, because Vishnu is defeated by knowledge and wealth. This would seem to be symbolic of the erudition of the Brahmins, and wealth an obvious analogy of the economic and worldly power of the Rajputs. Regrettably, Majumdar does not reveal the sources of this story, but the ending would seem to indicate that the speaker was either a Brahmin or a Rajput, and the fact that Vishnu is allowed to stay in a corner of the temple, instead of being banished to the jungle, could be interpreted as a tacit acceptance, or at least acknowledgement, of the values of Brahminical Hinduism, of the state (Great Tradition) over the local (Little Tradition). I have reached these conclusions after being initially puzzled by the numerous variants of this text, but the pattern, that of a personalized or selective reinterpretation of myth, is a possible indicator of the co-existence of multiple histories, that is multiple interpretations of history as an etiology of caste identity. However, without further research, these speculations cannot be confirmed.

The cult of Mahasu Deota blends diverse historical influences with folk traditions, and reflects caste issues of power and purity. The question of which version is ‘authentic’ could be shifted to how the tale functions both politically and personally, as a field for negotiating meaning and identity.

6.4 Spatial Parameters

I attempted to sleep in the small hotel room, as swarms of flies buzzed incessantly around the lime green walls, and the fan refused to work. The sounds of the river, the cry of birds, and the tolling of distant cowbells are rolled up in
waves. The temple bells began to ring, and I made my way down a flight of narrow stone steps to the temple compound. The housing and shops seem almost to be an afterthought, as the sacred time and space of the cult of Mahasu Deota is sovereign over mundane concerns (field notes).

The Mahasu temple at Hanol is situated on a stone courtyard that dominates the village. Around the temple itself are smaller shrines and wooden dwellings that house priests, pilgrims, Bajgis, and wandering mendicants at times. On my first visit, I was surprised by the casual atmosphere-small goats ate offerings left inside shrines, men sat playing cards on the porches of the dwellings, and children played games. A disheveled old man walked around slowly, smoking a bidi. His rather regal bearing belied his ragged clothing-I later found out that he was the elder Bajgi in Hanol, Comb das.

The temple quadrangle contains statues and round stones that represent animist deities and the attendants of Mahasu Deota, as well as shrines that appear to be reconstructed out of pieces of rubble, and hand painted signs indicate the results of archeological excavation. The temple structure itself consists of four buildings with pagoda-like structures on their roofs. The temple spires are similar in design to those found on Buddhist stupas. Each building represents a movement closer to the deity; the last houses the inner sanctum, into which only the priest can enter. Musical instruments and others items belonging to the temple are kept in the second chamber. According to the Nath baba residing in the
village, portions of temple were rebuilt after a fire a few years ago, but the design of the temple was ancient. Jain contends that the temple is based on a Buddhist design, but references outside of her own research are not provided (Jain 27). According to an archeologist working in Lakhamandal, the temple originated in the ninth century CE, and was in the *Huna* style of architecture.

An ornate silver door opens into the third and fourth chambers. Light is not allowed into the fourth chamber, but during an evening puja ceremony I was able to discern a number of images in the back chamber. The third chamber is painted entirely black, and is known as the ‘Kali Garba’, or the womb of Kali.

Figure 10 shows the casts and their status levels. Figure 11 gives the abbreviations for the participants in the Puja ceremony and rakings by 3 status categories. Figure 12 delineates the participants in the performance on the axis of social status-the Bhramin pujari, the bakis (oracles of the deity), the high and low caste villagers, the woman believed to be possessed by an evil spirit, and the four Bajgis, who also have graded
status differentials within their own caste. The spatial arrangement of the participants in the puja ceremony is indicative of caste and social hierarchy. In the first chamber, the Bajgis are seated in order of seniority. The senior Bajgi, Comb das, playing the damau, sits sideways at the entrance to the second chamber. Behind him, the second oldest Bajgi playing the dhol faces into the second chamber. Two other Bajgis were seated behind him, also facing into the second chamber. A young woman believed to be possessed by an evil spirit and her family was located in the right corner of the first chamber. Low caste villagers, women, and children were located in the left corner. In the second chamber, high caste villagers and the bakis sat facing the entrance to the third and forth chambers. The priest conducted the puja ceremony inside the third and fourth chambers. Figure 12 delineates the caste/social status of the participants based upon seating arrangements. The spatial parameters are directly linked with caste and status.

| High Caste | 1. Brahmin  
| 2. Rajput |
| Lower Caste | 3. Badu  
| 4. Sunar  
| 5. Jorgra/Nath  
| 6. Bajgi |
| Lowest Caste | 7. Kolta |

Figure 10: Caste Status Rank
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Caste (Status)</th>
<th>Spiritual Status</th>
<th>Economic Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bajgis {bg/1,2,3,4}</td>
<td>Bajgis (6)</td>
<td>Low High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baki {bk}</td>
<td>Rajput (2)</td>
<td>High-Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest {pr}</td>
<td>Brahmin (1)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High/Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman possessed {wps}</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family of woman {wf}</td>
<td>Rajput (2)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High caste villagers {hcv}</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower caste villagers {lcv}</td>
<td>Sunar (4), Badi (6), Nath (5)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11: Participants in Puja Ceremony and Status Rankings

Figure 12: Spatial Arrangements of Participants at Mahasu Deota temple, Hanol.

Figure 13: Comb das, Senior Bajgi  Figure 14: Raja das, Bajgi  Figure 15: Possessed Woman
6.5 Puja Drumming and Ceremony

Only a few villagers were inside the shrine, but the woman, depicted in Figure 15, had been inside the temple before I had arrived. A young boy informed me that she had been brought here to remove the spirit that possessed her. The ceremony began suddenly—the musicians had been talking amongst themselves, then Comb das sounded the opening figure, and the ceremony began. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the three bakis sat outside and gave advice or blessings to a number of villagers waiting in line. Disputes were settled, marriages fixed, and any number of decisions were taken on the advice of Mahasu Deota, speaking through the bakis. The drumming produced a feeling of dislocation, and with it a concomitant sense of apprehension, as through the dissolution of the barriers between normative perceptual modalities and temporal consciousness were being “played with”. This is distinct from the “warm and fuzzy” feeling of the divine propagated in many New Age groups in the West. The sound echoed off the temple walls, vibrating one to the bone, yet the demeanor of the participants was relaxed, and not indicative of any particular effort or cognitive dislocations.

The priest and the Bajgis described the purpose of the drumming during the puja ceremony as two-fold: first, the drumming provides nourishment for the deity. A similar function is accorded to the use of incense, light (a burning wick submerged in oil, used during the arti sequence of the puja ceremony), to enhance the emotional and spiritual well-being of those in attendance at the puja ceremony, and secondly and most importantly to summon or bring the Mahasu Deota into the physical body of the baki.
The oracular duty practiced by the baki, as previously mentioned, plays numerous roles within the society, such as settling and defining caste related conflicts, divination, shamanistic healing and others. The three drummers perform throughout the ceremony, and appear to follow the sequence of the priest’s actions. On the video footage, throughout much of the ceremony, Comb das can be seen to turn his head quickly, which predicates shifts in the talas. However, on later segments of the video during portions of the ritual, the priest is not visible to Bajgis, as he is within the fourth chamber of the temple. The temporal sequence of the priest’s ritual performing and the drumming are linked by beginning and termination of the ceremony, as well as the final portion of the ritual which culminates with shutting the door of the temple’s inner sanctum. The statement of the senior Bajgi, Comb das, that he ‘knew’ what the priest was doing, even though he was not visible, can be accounted either to a familiarity with the ritual and a regulated time sequence between the priest and the Bajgi, or to the common mystification of their art.

During the ceremony, the priest handed out small sprigs of a plant, which those in attendance placed behind their ears. Towards the end of the ceremony, the priest waved an incense censer before the other icons in the temple compound. The priest described this later as bringing the other deities Shakti, or life energy. These actions correspond with changes in the rhythmic patterns, and in later case with a noticeable decrescendo.

The drumming will be analyzed both on a micro and macro structural level; five-line staff notation will be employed only as a means to clarify and augment the data provided by the waveforms. I will examine the apparent compositional structures of the
performance, to postulate what extent it is improvised as opposed to pre-composed (a claim made by both the Bajgis and other community members). The claim that the musical performance is composed should be taken in the context of the importance of the *Dhol Sagar* to the Bajgis’ caste identity. An ascription of a body of knowledge to a fixed, divinely inspired or authored written source is similar to the Bhraminical Hindu conception of *sruti*, or revealed, divine scripture. The *Dhol Sagar* is best conceptualized as a comprehensive oral repository of musical and spiritual knowledge, and not as a single entity descending from a legendary ur-text. The practice of legitimizing a performance practice by claiming a textual (scriptural) basis for could have parallels with the relationship between the ‘Great’ and ‘Little’ traditions as described by Singer; the linkage of local traditions with Vedic knowledge serves to validate local practices and give an added legitimacy to them.

6.6 Macro-Structural Features

The entire performance encompasses 22 minutes and 58.74 seconds. The sequence can be divided into introduction, an extended middle consisting of three sections and a conclusion wherein the final drum stroke corresponds with the ending of the ceremony and the closing of the door to the third chamber of the temple.

The introduction consists of two patterns denoted by I1 and I2. This followed by the primary section A consisting of two patterns denoted by A1 and A2. The other two sections are B and C, with 3 patterns in B and 2 patterns in C. There are 4 transition
patterns denoted T1, T2, T3 and T4, which occur intermittently within and between the sections. The conclusion has 4 patterns denoted by F1, F2, F3 and F4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>I1 I2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section A</td>
<td>A1 A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section B</td>
<td>B1 B2 B3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section C</td>
<td>C1 C2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition</td>
<td>T1 T2 T3 T4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>F1 F2 F3 F4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16: Rhythmic Patterns for the Performance

The overall structure of the performance is I A B A C F. The tempo accelerates throughout the performance; by the end of the piece the tempo has almost doubled. Within the main sections, A, B and C, patterns are repeated. The transition patterns occur only once and serve as a transition between sections or patterns. The patterns are marked by a silence at their end, much like vocalization. In Figure 17, the wave forms show patterns separated by silence. Figure 17 also shows the graphic wave form of the entire performance, but we will later at Figure 18 to see the sequence of sections in the overall performance.
Although functionality of each pattern is unclear, my informants asserted that each pattern had to be performed in the same order, with the same number of repetitions. Based on my limited information, I would hypothesize two possible interpretations. The brief introduction patterns could mark the beginning of the ceremony, indicating the shift from secular to sacred time which is a common cross-cultural feature in many rituals, and also summon the villagers to the ceremony. The video evidence shows the damau player quickly glancing into the third chamber, then immediately beginning the drumming cycles. The Bajgis commonly perform talas with exactly this function during calendrical festivals, to mark the beginning of the festival period. Also, in past centuries, Bajgis
would act as the village timekeepers marking the periods of the day by specific rhythmic patterns (field notes, Alter: 79). The primary section A could be the tala specifically associated with Mahasu Deota, used to awaken or jagrana the deity. The second section could be associated with a different deity housed in the temple, or serve a functional aspect in the ceremony, that of pacifying or pleasing the deity. This assertion can be somewhat bolstered by the similarity in the talas used with talas contained the written fragments of the Dhol Sagar. However, further research is required to either confirm or deny these conjectures. It is clear from the video evidence that Comb das is directing the other drummers, as he constantly varies his accentual patterns after glancing quickly into third chamber, presumably watching the priest.

Within and between these larger sections, different patterns are performed. Some appear to mark the transitions to a different pattern, and others are variations of the main thematic patterns. Figure 18 indicates the number of repetitions of the patterns, as well as minor variations. Significant variations are marked as different patterns.

Figure 18 shows the performance begins with the patterns I1 and I2 in the initial 46 seconds. Then section A begins and lasts until 10 minutes and 46 seconds. Transition pattern T4 is then played which leads to the beginning of section B at 10:22. Section B continues, and then there is a transition back to section A. From section A the performance goes to section C and then to the conclusion, F1 to F4.

---

8 The use of specific talas as structural elements is in contrast to the use of talas in the indoor jagar ceremony. Here, the rhythmic structures contain many elements of improvisation, and the drummer serves to accent and intensify the sung and recited text. In the indoor jagar ceremony, similar talas are utilized for different deities, and/or ghosts of deceased humans.
| Pattern Start | I1 | I2 | A1 | A2 | B1 | B2 | B3 | C1 | C2 | T1 | T2 | T3 | T4 | F1 | F2 | F3 | F4 |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 0:00          | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 0:14          | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 0:29          | *  | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 0:46          | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1:04          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1:20          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1:38          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1:56          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 2:14          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 2:32          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 2:54          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 3:14          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 3:34          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 3:44          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 4:04          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 4:22          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 4:42          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 5:02          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 5:24          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 5:46          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 6:06          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 6:36          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 6:58          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 7:20          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 7:40          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 8:18          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 8:36          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 9:12          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 9:26          |    | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 8:54          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

Legend:  * = performance of the pattern  
          d = significant variation of patterns performed by the damau  
          n = significant asynchrony of dhols.  
          x = extended pattern  
          .5 = performance of 1/2 of the pattern  

Figure 18: Occurrences of Patterns (continued)
Figure 18: Continued

| Pattern Start | I1 | I2 | A1 | A2 | B1 | B2 | B3 | C1 | C2 | T1 | T2 | T3 | T4 | F1 | F2 | F3 | F4 |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 9:48          | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 10:06         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 10:22         | *d |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 10:36         | *d |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 10:48         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 11:02         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 11:14         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 11:28         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 11:48         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 11:54         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 12:18         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 12:44         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 13:00         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 13:24         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 13:50         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 14:04         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 14:18         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 14:34         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 14:48         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 15:04         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 15:20         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 15:36         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 15:52         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 16:08         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 16:22         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 16:40         | *x |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 17:06         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 17:22         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 17:36         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 17:56         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 18:12         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 10:50         | *.5|    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 18:58         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 19:04         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 19:22         | *  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

(continued)
In the performance, the three main repeated patterns are A1, A2 and B1. It is important to note that the patterns in this context are not performed as a repeating rhythmic cycle, as is the common practice in most of classical and folk Indian, but are repeated with slight gaps of silence, in a manner analogous to speech patterns. This performance practice bolsters the assertion of the musicians of the ‘mantric’ significance of these patterns, much as a mantric phrase is often repeated rhythmically.
The patterns designated as transitional patterns are only played once, followed by an extended repetition of rhythmic patterns. These transitional patterns often contain variations of patterns from the repeated patterns; however, the transitional patterns consistently contrast with the repeated patterns. These distinctions might seem arbitrary, but based upon both my personal experience in performing the patterns, and the general structure of the performance, I have adopted this approach as the most logical and constant with my knowledge of Jaunsari performance practices.

As marked on Figure 18 by ‘d’, the damau occasionally adds rhythmic tension by playing against the dhol’s repeated patterns. The damau generally accents the basic pattern structure with sixteenth notes and sixteenth note triplet patterns. It is not clear whether these are improvisations, or are cueing patterns. The counter rhythms (‘d’) performed on the damau occur for the most part at the beginning of the extended repetitions of the primary patterns. During the performance a lack of synchronization occasionally occurs. These flams appear to be errors, and in some instances can be accounted for by younger drummers, switching off on the third dhol.

The correspondence of the drumming to the ritual is difficult to ascertain with the present data. However, the clearly audible sound of the temple bells corresponds with the abrupt shift into the B section of the performance. At the point of section C, 19:20, the priest comes outside of the third chamber and distributes prasad in the form of small sugar balls and plant sprigs. The beginning of F1 corresponds with the priest going outside of the Mahasu temple. The variants in the F patterns occur when the priest is outside the temple. Pattern F4 corresponds with the priest’s return to the temple, and the
last stroke with the closing of door to chamber three. Without a comprehensive sampling of ceremonies, the correspondences between the drumming and the ritual cannot be unequivocally stated. Given that the drummers cannot see the priest, the likelihood of a fixed number of repetitions is increased. The concluding stroke at the end of the performance corresponds with the termination of the ceremony, and the closing of the door to the third chamber.

6.7 Micro-structural Elements

Within the talas are repeated cells that occur in numerous locations, including variations on a seven and a five beat pattern. These smaller units, designated as ‘cells’, occur within the larger patterns, e.g. A1, B1, and so on.

The accentual phrase of the introduction pattern is as follows:

Figure 19: Introduction 1, I1, 0-5 seconds

This is followed by a decrease of tempo. A sparse figure is played for two seconds. The A1 pattern follows this, but is distinguished from later occurrences by the rapid accents of the *damau*. A comparison of the waveforms and the notation of the accentual phrases of the opening of A1 and B1 are shown in figures 19 and 20, respectively. This shows the temporal correspondence between the rhythmic accents of the repeated sections. The duration of these phrases are equivalent, except after the tempo
acceleration that occurs after 12:00 minutes. The patterns are also composed of smaller cells of phrases. A few of these smaller phrases repeat within different patterns.

![Figure 19: Accentual phrases of opening of A1 and B1](image)

Figure 19: Accentual phrases of opening of A1 and B1

The B1 pattern contains additional phrases and variations after the opening phrase, as well as being occasionally augmented by another short phrase marked on Figure 18 by x. The transitional patterns and the initial repetitions of the talas following them have the highest frequency of asynchrony between the dhols.

Thus, the overall structure is formulated in such a way to include many smaller units, which diverges from the written examples in the Dhol Sagar. This would correlate with a speech-based model, wherein the smaller cells represent linguistic units which are
articulated or spoken through the drumming patterns, and has parallels with the process of formulaic variation found in the work of oral-epic poets (Lord 1993). The accents by the damau do not adhere to rigid structure followed by the dhols. The damau parts definitely contain elements of improvisation.

6.8 Comparison with written material (Dhol Sagar)

The written version of the Dhol Sagar provides some basis for comparison. The text itself provides little information on playing techniques, but some of the bols exhibit correspondence to a few of the rhythmic patterns utilized in the performance. The performance practices and cosmological background described within the text also correspond to a number of features of the performance. The Dhol Sagar states that a tala must be played for at least ten minutes to manifest the deity (DS: 33).

The tala gumala, which the text states is necessary to appease the awakened deity, is quite similar to tala heard in ph 2 a:

\[ \text{\textbf{\text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{\text{i}}}}}}\text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{\text{i}}}}} \text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{\text{i}}}}} \text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{\text{i}}}}} \text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{\text{i}}}}} \text{\textasciitilde{\text{\textasciitilde{\text{i}}}}} \]

Other variations on this basic pattern occur until measure 645. The written examples can be correlated to some extent with the performed examples; however, the likelihood that slight variants have occurred over the diachronic transmission of the material is high. The Dhol Sagar lists two main categories of talas that are prominent in the Jaunsar and Himachal regions, Sundri and Gynadgade. The prominent talas in the
region are listed as “bada, duyla, thrhre, coras, chamane, chasane, dubuku, sullan, shabd, jor, prani” (32).\(^9\)

In summary, composed elements in the performance can be compared with the theme and variations found within living oral-epic tradition, and is also similar to the calendrical repetition of the performance of the Mahabharata in Garhwal and Jaunsar-Bawar (Sax 2002; Lord 1991). There are minute changes that would likely occur between performances—the rapid changes of the damau pattern indicate a possible dimension of temporal variability. The phrase structures are similar to speech patterns found the practice of japa, which is the repetition of a mantra, followed by a slight pause.

The importance of citing a written source is both a result of regional cultural identity against the hegemonic influence of the Great Tradition of mainstream Hinduism, and a means of holding a distinct body of hereditary knowledge as a single unit. Certain elements clearly diverge from the written sources, especially the statements found in the Dhol Sagar and in Dhol, Damua, or Dholvadak that even small mistakes in the execution of the talas have dramatic adverse consequences for both the performers and the village itself. The frequent mistakes in the performance and the fact that I was allowed to perform in the puja ceremony in Lakhamandal, not in Hanol, and certainly made many mistakes in my execution of the rhythmic patterns, would contradict this.

The structure of the performance appears to be composed of multiple variants of these talas, similar to the syncretic nature of the Mahasu Deota cult. The Dhol Sagar is best viewed as a living text, a system of cultural practices, musical knowledge, and

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\(^9\) Appendix One, in the Dhol Sagar section contains the bols of these talas.
mysticism that varies greatly from region to region, and possibly within the families. The correlation of the lowest level of speech (*paysanti shabda*) with the *para* and *apara* forms of shabda is clearly described in the fragments of the text, and was cited frequently by my informants; this was the rational given for not providing the actual bols, but being quite willing to demonstrate the playing techniques. During the video of the ceremony, one of the older Bajgis sits behind a young boy and moves his hands to simulate the proper execution of the talas, the exact same procedure undertaken by Piyari lal when instructing me in the talas. This learning by purely physical means, and presumably afterwards learning the bols and/or mantras, which ‘empower’ the talas, raises interesting questions that require further research, regarding the nature of the pedagogical techniques, and their connection with both exoteric and esoteric knowledge.

6. 9 *Performance as Multivocal and Intertextual*

Defining a text can be problematic. Can a living body of knowledge, traditions and beliefs be considered a text, or is a text necessarily defined by a written document? In the case of the Jaunsaries, their relationships to texts, given the high incidence of illiteracy, is problematic. Their relationship to the important texts that define much of their cultural identity is crucial to understanding the interwoven layers of meaning, experience, and interpretation that occur simultaneously in the puja ceremony. The *Mahabharata* as a living text is a source for historical and social identity, as well as religious beliefs for all strata of the caste hierarchy. The *Dhol Sagar* is important only to
the Bajgis, but provides a means of validation of their caste knowledge, and is a source of pride in their caste, especially necessary given the level of discrimination that they face.

The myths of Mahasu Deota justify the caste system and link the historical influences on the region into a synchronic experience, yet even though this is the central myth of the region, the different endings found between some of the variants indicate an interpretation and/or recreation of the local mythic narrative structures on the basis of identity negotiation. All of these narratives are operating simultaneously during the puja ceremony, thus contributing various strands to the multiplex narratives comprising the totality of the event. In this case the intertextuality, to apply Barthes’s term to music, the texts of the Jaunsaries and their different caste interpretations, and also the larger text of Brahminical Hinduism.

Thus, the context in which the sound, that of the puja drumming, becomes intelligible is one in which all of these narratives are included, but as a symbolic structure it is multivocal, creating different referents in the minds of different participants. The Bajgis are performing their identities as professional musicians; the high caste priests and bakis are performing theirs through their position within the ceremony. Similarly, I, as both ethnomusicologist and foreigner performed by identity by recording the ceremony, observing, and eventually learning some of the drum patterns. The interrelationship between sound, context, and culture are necessary to comprehend the multiple meanings of the event for the various participants. The group identities have, of course, individual variants. During the ceremony, the younger boys smiled and laughed while playing,
giving the indication of enjoyment, while Comb das sat impassively, staring into space, except when turning his head quickly to gauge the progress of the priest.

Identities are both given through birth, and negotiated through actions, language, and belief systems. The caste and regional identities are also negotiated within the larger context of regional identity, marked by social practices, geography and linguistic differences. However, to view the community as a monolithic entity is to ignore the conflicts and differing interpretations which occur within the performance and the society as a whole. The puja functions as a cultural performance, to use Singer’s term, in that the participants are expressing a multitude of social, cognitive, and expressive dimensions of their culture both to themselves and to the outside world, both that of Garhwal and the larger context of India as a whole. The boundaries of the external and the internal are the grounds on which identity is negotiated, presented, and reformulated. The puja drumming ceremony reflects the complexities of this process, and the role that is played by humanly organized sound in this process.

6.10 Trance and Possession

“Axiomatically, trance will be considered as a state of consciousness composed of two components, one psychophysiological and the other cultural. The universality of trance indicates that it corresponds to a psychological disposition innate to varying degrees in different individuals, although developed to varying degrees within individuals” (Rouget 1985: 3).

The cultural component to music and trance has long been noted. Judith Becker notes that the culturally influenced cognitive structure has a great deal of influence on
one’s ability to go into trance (2004). This is the case in western Himalayas as well. The importance of belief and context in the performance give to the music some of its affective power, but even without these elements, the drumming patterns induced for me the feeling of the mild dislocation of time space, through the sense of an ‘immanent’ other in my consciousness.

Music has a unique role in translating personal experiences into collective experiences, and vice versa. One aspect of the puja drumming in Jaunsar-Bawar is the collapsing of history through the linkage of previous generations of drummers with their ancestors in a synchronic dialogue facilitated by repeated performances. In this region, jagarana (trance) is an important component of localized historical consciousness, as ancestors, characters from the Mahabharata, and a host of deities take up occasional residence in human form through the medium of music. Piyari das claimed that certain deities descend from the sky, while other spirits enter into the mediums’ feet from the earth. In the case of the puja drumming at Hanol, only the designated bakis are ever possessed with Mahasu Deota. In other jagar ceremonies, any listener can potentially go into trance. Chandola describes an occurrence of this during a performance at his place of residence in Dehra Dhun, wherein the cook overheard the music and became accidentally possessed by a female deity (Chandola: 21). In Hanol, the occurrence of trance appears to be formal and ritualistic and my informants never stated that Mahasu Deota had ever failed to possess the baki during the ceremony. The talas themselves are believed to have an auspicious healing effect on the listeners, but are not believed to induce trance except in the case of the bakis.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 The Bhramin and the Bajgi Revisited

In returning to the tale that began this thesis, a number of different conclusions can be drawn in light of the larger context of the performance. It is clear from both this text and from the data presented in this thesis that the specific social/religious roles fulfilled by the Bajgis as mediators between the human and the divine is of utmost cultural significance. The dhol is clearly a contested cultural domain, and the exclusion of the higher castes from these practices represents a loss, whether it is viewed literally or metaphorically, of both enjoyment and the spiritual benefits accrued from it. The text continues with descriptions of shiddas (paranormal abilities) that can result from correct execution of talas, and the employment of the dhol as a marga (path) to liberation and enlightenment. The author of the text contends that these arts have been lost, due, at least in part, to the upper castes neglecting these practices.

Why is only the performance of sacred drumming relegated to the lower castes? How could the instrument be a manifestation of divinity, but the performer be relegated to a permanent low status? Underlying the story is an undercurrent of lost cultural
heritage by discriminatory practices; the liminal (ambivalent) nature of the Bajgis status at least partially accounts for this. Musicians have been associated with deviant behavior and prostitution throughout India. The possibility exists that this mindset has influenced the social milieu in Jaunsar-Bawar, and the historical processes that congealed to formulate the religious practices in Jaunsar-Bawar contribute to the social marginalization of the Bajgis. The process of identity contains the polarities of inclusion and exclusion—we are what we reject (define ourselves against), as much as what we identify ourselves to be. Turner’s contention that social definitions in “traditional cultures” can actually be strengthened by their ritual destabilization in performance and ritual, while quite controversial, seems to be bolstered by the evidence in this event.

The act of performing occurs on the cusp between past and future, recreating the past in field of the present, sustaining cultural continuity. The temporally and spatially bounded region of performance is a field for the negotiation of identity: the Bajgis are Bajgis through their drumming-defined both reflexively and socially; the Brahmins are Brahmins through the performance of their priestly duties. The arena of performance of the puja ceremony is a site of the contestation and negotiation of personal and collective identity. The intersubjective nature of this event results from the multiplex of interpretive frames that intersect in its bounded space. As Turner states, a community is a “felt reality” part of the “dialogue of influences at play in an individual” (Noyes: 26). Through music, the “imagining of the community” is maintained through performance. Judith Butler believes that all gender reality is a construction, “Gender reality is performative which means, quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed” (Butler
This analysis is valid for the caste identity of the Bajgis, in that it is through their performances that they construct and reinforce their identities as musicians. Noyes states, “If individual acts of identification create the reality of social categories, the reality of the community to with which to identify comes from collective acts” (Noyes: 29).

The process of identity formation/negotiation is constantly occurring. The performance of self is a constant negotiation between self and other. The intersubjective nature of all performances (Titon: 2003) is clearly evident in the Jaunsaries’ puja ceremony, and it is the interaction between all of these variables that ultimately constitutes the performance event. This means that descriptions of performances are necessarily incomplete, but this assertion also holds within it the possibility for a more complete mode of ethnographic practice.

Reflexivity, the inclusion of multiple truths, and a realization of the ‘situated’ space of the fieldwork environment can be an important element in the ethnomusicologist’s repertoire of field techniques. For me, the use of multiple types of reflexivity informed a broader understanding than that which is possible in earlier qualitative paradigms. A clear example this is my experience of the caste associations with specific musical style; my reflexive analysis provided a ‘visceral’ and ‘embodied’ experience of caste prejudices. Most of these methodologies do not directly apply to the research situation, but provide a broader context within which to situate experience. In order for the result not to descend into confessionals, or a radical deconstruction that removes the necessity for the fieldwork in the first place, an awareness of multiple layers

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of reflexivity, combined with an accurate self-analysis and methodological awareness can balance all of these factors into a coherent whole.

7.2 Sound as Text and Music as Cultural Text

In my analysis of the puja ceremony, I employed a number of categories to designate the various modalities of the performance event. These categories, while comprising distinct components of the event, are all interconnected. Not every category has the same weight, or semantic relevance for the performers and audience, but all of these categories, along with the intersubjective aspect of the performance, are in toto the field of the performance, and the context of which sound is both generative and reflective. This thesis asks the question: what is the link between self and sound, and in this case the performative activity that bring together the fields of self-awareness, identity – both personal and collective, the physical process of the body in performance, knowledge and belief systems, all of which culminate in the musical sound. The interactions between these categories can be visualized as a three dimensional model, wherein the larger fields of history, caste, and religious belief form the base upon which the temporally and spatially bounded performance occurs. The recurrent nature of the action, which takes place three times a day, embeds the drumming patterns in the minds and bodies of the performers. Hastrup, a progenitor of “performative ethnography”, states that cultural knowledge is “stored in actions rather than words”, and seeks to find the “embodied patterns” of culture through experience means (Carlson: 27).
As noted in Chapter Five, analogues of the recurrent patterns of the drumming phrases (talas) can be found in oral traditions of poetry, wherein complex semantic constructions are memorized through rhyme and repeated structural elements, described by Lord as the oral-formulaic theory (Lord: 1991). In a similar way, the repeated structure of the talas, and the combination and recombination of the most often employed rhythmic tropes, could possibly be the product of the “Composition in performance” that Lord describes, and differentiates from “improvisation”, in that it is produced by composition through “formula and theme”, which he equates with a “conditioned reflex without conscious remembering; it may be correct to say the multiformed couplets too are unconsciously remembered whole; they are certainly not memorized” (Lord: 76). This metaphor should not be over-stretched, but it is helpful when comparing the Bajgis’ assertions about the “memorized” or textual dimension of the music, with Pritam das’s statement (something that all of my other informants echoed) that they played naturally, without “thinking of the talas”, but allowing the music to come forth naturally from the body and the heart. The model advanced by Lord works well in the comparison of the sound of the performance with the artists claims regarding it.

The drumming in the puja ceremony serves several practical functions: (1) to appease the deity by musical offerings, thus guaranteeing health and bountiful harvests to the community; (2) engendering possession of the deity in bakis; and (3) providing the income necessary for the economic survival of the Bajgis. The sound itself, being as it were a living chapter in the embodied text of the Dhol Sagar, is the manifestation or performance of the Bajgis’ knowledge and identity. The drumming creates an experience
of emotional intensity, of the immanence of the deity, and according to the Pritam das, the sound is an echo of the original sound of the nada Brahma, the primordial cosmogonic vibration describe in Chapter Three. The multivocal nature of music as a cultural signifier is revealed in the strata of significance. The manner in which the ritual is employed to reproduce social conditions of domination, and the ways in which the Bajgis collude with the “social text”, the hegemonic aspect of the puja ceremony, can be viewed in a number of ways. Sax emphasizes that performances generally operate on the emotional, or “feeling” level, and that they require participation, and not necessarily acceptance of the ideological system that is propagated through the ritual (Sax: 121).

The community is simultaneously performed and imagined at the heightened level of experience that occurs during the puja ceremonies. Musical sound, as is linguistic sound, is a carrier of both of meaning and identity/ self.

Music is dependent upon its context, and the context creates the semantic and actional quality of the music, as much or even more than the vibratory experience apprehended by the ear. Music can create heightened emotional states, change the physiology of both audience and performers, and simultaneously exist as a self-contained or self-referential signifier. It is this somatic quality of music that serves as a referent to tradition, history, and self. This quality is experienced viscerally, as the embodiment of the collective history of the Bajgis; the assertion that the performances are exact reproductions of the talas recorded in the Dhol Sagar is important, not in a literal sense, but in the cognitive and visceral experience that transcends historical reality, and links the performance synchronically with the drumming of all of the previous generations, and
ultimately to the divine word, *shabda*, that occurred outside of time and space, and is constantly recurring with the continual creation and recreation of the world, moment by moment.

To sum up, musical sound produced during the puja ceremony, and its concomitant knowledge and skill sets, through their cognitive "framing" in religious beliefs, and their "spatial" framing in locale of the temple, become essential features in the embodied or experiential subjectivity of the Bajgis, in a manner that parallels Bourdieu's concept of the *Habitus*. All of the components of the performance are part of what could be termed the "text" of the performance, which is composed of the multiple narratives of the participants, historical components, and so on. By the daily reenactment of the puja ceremony, the social, historical, and religious complexes are *entextualized* "to turn something into a text... is to give it a decontextualized structure and meaning, that is, a form and meaning that are imaginable apart from the spatiotemporal and other frames in which they can be said to occur" (Silverstein and Urban: 1). This allows these cultural meanings to be "clearly transmitted across social boundaries such as generations" (ibid: 1). Thus, the performance, defined by Schechner as "restored-behavior", links the present with the past, by a repeated ritual action that serves to link the community to its origins. Music is the somatic repository of these practices, allowing the felt sense of the community, the presence of Mahasu Deota, and unique caste identity features, to be inscribed and re-inscribed on the body/mind of the individual,
7.3 Contributions to the Field

The use of a performance studies model implies the necessity of diachronic and synchronic research and a close observation of all of the various categories that comprise the performance. The understanding of music as being both dependent on and generative of its cultural context expands the domain of ethnomusicology, and increases its importance, especially in the light of the fractious conflicts generated by the increasing prevalence of religious fundamentalism and communalism in both the West and the East. The analytical framework employed for such enquiries will to a certain extent influence the results obtained, but that is the case for any research endeavor.

In my thesis, I have brought together a number of elements to analyze the puja ceremony of the Jaunsaries. In doing so, I have brought together concepts from ethnomusicology along with performance theory, and studies of oral poetry and folklore. In this process, I hope that I have opened the way for further inquiries into the nature of performance and identity, and cultural transmission as it relates to music.

I have collected numerous recordings of Jaunsari music, as well as translating a number of rare texts into English, which is my contribution to Indic studies. My explication of the Mahasu Deota myth opens more inquiry into the complex cultural heritage of the region. Finally, I sincerely hope that I will increase appreciation and understand of the Jaunsaries culture for both the scholars and residents of Uttaranchal.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY


Glossary of Terms

**Auji**: A traditional caste of musicians.

**Bija**: Sanskrit term for seed; in this specific sense utilized for the seed mantras, or root sounds of particular material or divine properties.

**Bajgi**: The traditional caste of drummers and professional musicians in the Garhwal region.

**Bol**: Mnemonic syllables utilized for drum patterns.

**Daumau**: A membranophone consisting of a single goat skin stretched over a copper bowl. It is played with two sticks. It is never used by itself, but is always performed in conjunction with the Dhol.

**Devawalli**: The most important festival in the Hindu calendar. It takes place in the month of December for the citizens of Garhwal, but occurs in November for those dwelling in the plans.

**Dhol**: A two headed, barrel-shaped membranophone, played with one hand and one stick. It is the most commonly used drum in the region.

**Dhol Sagar**: The most important text describing the traditional methods of dhol performance. However, a great deal of controversy exists as to the authenticity of extant texts.

**Garvala**: Transliteration of Hindi spelling of ‘Garhwal’.
**Iktarra**: A single-stringed chordophone played with a plectrum or the fingers. It is common in folk music throughout India, especially among nomadic, itinerant musicians.

**Jagar**: A type of musical/religious ceremony that results in the possession by a deity of one or several members of the audience. The jagar performance is unique to the Garhwal region.

**Lok-Geet**: Folk music. Literally ‘people-song.’ This term is used to differentiate folk music from religious and epic singing.

**Mahsu-Deva**: The most important deity of the Jaunsar-Bawar region. This deity is worshipped nowhere else in India.

**Sarganri**: A bowed chordophone used occasionally in the Garhwal region. It is generally played in a sitting posture.

**Swara**: A note or tone. It means also the general radius around a pitch that is still associated with a distinctive pitch.

**Tala**: A repeating rhythmic cycle that consists of specific, recurring sounds to mark the position in the cycle. Unlike Western music, it is cyclical, and is characterized by a non-linear reoccurrence of patterns.
APPENDIX A

DUPLICATES OF HINDI TEXTS

(1) Pages 132-134 from Purohit 9-11.

(2) Pages 135-137 from Darbal: Contains list of talas.

(3) Pages 138-149 from Singh (Contains Mahasu Deota Myth)

(4) Page 150 Map of Jaunsar-Bawar
ढाड़ की जाता में लिखिता बोधिया,
नैड़ा-नैड़ा ऐसे में की बीजिया बोधिया।
 ढोल के सहारे लोक कलाकृपा इतिहास में
देखने को मिलते हैं। इनमें से कुछ को स्व. सेवादास
जी (पट्टी गोपाल बाल गंगा पारी) ने यूं भी
वर्णन किया कि ढोल बिधा पर अधिकार के लिए
के महारथी को परास्त करने वाला, तू किस
दादा का बेहतर है? जानिए है उस दिन से निप्पानन
शास्त्री ने ढोल बजाना छोड़ दिया, तू इतिहास
हमारे सामने है। कई जगहें सवारण ने धीरे—धीरे
ढोल बिधा छोड़ दी।” ढोल विशेष भी शास्त्रार्थ
से बचने लगे। पहले ढोल को सर्वशक्तिमान
सरस्वती के रूप में
पूजा जाता था।
व्यापक ढोल राध है
और राध ही बहम
है। शादी ही सरस्वती
है। इसलिए मान्यता
के कि निसर शादी में
ढोल होगा और
बजाता वही सरस्वती
रिवास करा गया।
अधिकार लोग
अपने घरों में ढोल
रखते थे। ऐसे घरों
में अति भारी और
शास्त्रार्थ हो पड़ता था—कहीं भी और कभी भी।
सवारण ढोली भी शास्त्रार्थ के लिए परेशार ढोलियों
को लकारते थे ये बताते हैं कि ......
एक दल क्षारा अकसर चुपने को मिलती है
कि निकासंद शास्त्री और शान सिंह भण्डारी
वारात में ढोल बजा रहे थे। धार में स्वागत में
आये बधू पक्ष के ढोली से अक्षरे में ही तालों पर
शास्त्रार्थ छिड़ गया। चलते—चलते बधू पक्ष का
ढोली शास्त्रार्थ हार गया। फिर ढोल की अनुकूलित
भाषा में बधू पक्ष के ढोली ने निम्नानंद शास्त्री
व शानसिंह भण्डारी से पुछा—”मैं अपनी हार
लेकार करता हूं“ किन्तु फिर इसी ढोल बिधा
भूल—प्रेत पास भी नहीं फटके, ऐसा लोक निसर
था। ढोल की पूजा पर सरस्वती का भी यत्न
भणा होता था। किसी भी कार्य में पूजा के पहले और
pूजा के बाद में ढोल को पिठाई दी जाती थी जो
प्रथा आज भी है।
ितिहास में कुछ और तथ्य भी सामने आये हैं
कि धीर—में गौं—गौं से लोग पंक्तिबद्ध
होकर ढोल—दमाजू, रणसिंघा और भंगरी के
धरों के राध मेला स्थल में प्रवेश करते थे। फिर
ढोल की तालों पर मल्ल युद्ध होता था। ऐसे मल्ल
युद्धों में विजयी भड़ों (बीरों) को राजदरबार
के लिए सैनिक चुनने की परम्परा भी लंबे समय
तक रही। शादी के अवसर पर दो पृष्ठों के ढोली 

गिलते ही चीन में पैरस्पा नीता प्रस्तुत करते थे। 

जिसमें कलास्फल तरीके से एक दूसरे का 

अभिधान, फिर वार्तालाप एक ख़ात्र अवरोध में 

लगभग एक घंटे तक होता था। ढोल के नाम 

की तांत्रिक शिक्षाओ को भी थी। ढोल के ताल अवरोध 

भक्ति के गृह के गले की बहानों को मिला देता, वरुणों 

का अहिंस करता या प्रतिवन्द्वी ढोलों के ढोल की 

पूजा फोड़ना आम बात थी। ढोल और दमात में 

एक विश्वसनीय भाषा के भी प्रचरण था 

जिसका प्रयोग प्राचीन काल में मुद्रित में सन्देश 

भेजने के लिए किया जाता था। कलातार्थ में इस 

विश्व का प्रयोग ढोलियों में अपनी घायल 

का सामान्य घटनाओं के लिए किया जाता था। गांव 

में फिरी की पुजा हो जाने पर उसकी मूर्तन 

ढोलों के गांव में भेजने के लिए दमात का प्रयोग 

किया जाता था है।

सत्कृति के अनुसार एक एक में ही ढोली और 

पंडित की भूमिका बनार थी। धर के अन्दर की 

पूजा पंडित जी द्वारा और बहार की पूजा ढोली 

द्वारा एक साथ शुरू होती थी। उपर पंडित जी 

का "आँखें केरवाया नम: गोविन्दाय नम: माहवान 

नम: नारायणाय नम:" प्रारंभ हुआ इस ढोल पर 

बजे और धुंधल की ताल बजने लगती। दोनों में 

से एक के न पहुँच पाने की विधि में पूजा नहीं 

हो सकती थी। ढोली को मंत्र द्वारा परिवर्तन में 

कुछ विशेष स्थानों तक प्रवेश की घटू थी। इस 

अवसर पर देवलों की आगाज में अवश्य यह स्वर्ण 

ढोली को ही बंदल लगती थी।

ढोल का अवहार : ढोल-दमात के नाम 

प्रणाली सामान्य अध्ययन का भी नहीं है। ढोल घों दल, 

ध्यान धारण, परालीख शिक्षाओ प्राप्त करने 

की आध्यात्मिक प्रणाली भी है। ढोल की ताल 

अध्ययन द्वारा बाह्य ता के नाम के साथ संगीतक गीतों 

को सोने के मुद्राओं के शाश्वत ते देखते अभिधार 

हो जाती है। इसी क्रम में मुद्रा टैंकीय शिक्षाओ 

का अभिधार बन जाता है। कुछ भेंगे जैसे 

विकासविन्दु यास्सेन 

ने ढोल को देखते 

मुद्रा पहुँचा है। होल 

को विशिष्ट दंग से 

पूजा के बाद बजा 

कर किशोर भी 

भूमि-भविष्य की यादों 

को निर्माण के 

उपयोग बांटवे जाते 

हैं। मुद्र और भविष्य 

के रूप में आकाश 

भविष्य की दिशाओं के 

अन्दर आंककर यह:
रखे लकड़े को पहचानना ये सारी शाक्तियां प्राप्त करने के लिए दोल के संगीत की एक सुनिश्चित भावना से पुजारी पड़ता है। दिन पर थोक हुए और धीरे हुए तीन सत्र के दूसरे पहर में बेसबी के "9 पत्र और 22 पहाड़े" अट सिद्धि-वी निष्ठा, और चाँद नृत्यों की अभ्यासित करने वाली नीति की प्रशिक्षण करते थे। नीद के आगे ध्यान मिटाने के बाद प्रातः कल फिर नीति की धुनों पर जागते थे। दिन मर के लिए संगीत की ऊर्जा अपने मन-मस्तिष्क में समाए हुये।

अद्भुत एवं अद्भुत मानसिक रोगी भी दोल की आध्यात्मिक दिक्षित पद्धति से नीरोगी हो जाते है। ऐसी दीनायाओं को दोल के गीत और संगीत में जीवन का उलझी हुई पहलियों का उत्तर मिल जाता था। एक सुलझे हुये संगीत दर्शन में दोल के संगीत और साहित्य संग्रह में यहां के लोग जीवन की तार लगा, अनन्द और शोक, सुख और दुःख, संपूर्ण और सफलता, आशा और निराशा-भरी पहलुओं की अभिव्यक्ति थी। जय वर्ष रहा होगा कि उच्चारण के निवासियों का आध्यात्मिक स्वच्छता उच्च कोट का था। वर्ष की हर एस्ट तथा तीश खेत अनुशासित घरों में नापते हुये यह दोल गायक के सर्देर का समझाता था और उससे जीवन की तीख भी लेता था।

"अफसर ने रंग खाली दी र.ड. परवर्त अफसर ने रंग खाली रजज्ज माफ़ लये कैसी चैन अफसर हो जाता माफ़ मेरी मेर राजवाली।"

इन गदान कल्ले को जीवित रखना, परम्परा और पुर्खित करने का काम था दोली समृद्ध का। ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण तो नहीं मिलते किन्तु नववासिक प्रमाणों को देखकर लगता है कि इन दोलियों में उच्चकोट के कलाकारों की भरमार थी। गीत संगीत ही नहीं इनकी भाषा भी त्रिसंगमी। रूपक और उपाख्यात गरे सर्वबोध होती थी। ऐसे शब्द-शाब्दिक अन्य वर्गों ने देखने को नहीं मिलता है। पिता से पुत्र ने दोल विद्या सोढ़ी, "पिता-पुत्र परम्परा" से समाप्त-समाप्त पर इस कला ने ऐतिहासिक कीर्तिमान स्थापित किये, राज दरबारों में दोली को प्रतिष्ठा मिली और नम दर जन्म ये कलामी समाज के इतिहास समाप्त रहे दोल और दोली!
इसके शरण, प्रभाव (अभिनय), और ध्यानपूर्वक असलांकन वंदना और दलालों
पुष्पों की गति होने वाले होते हैं। जो पत्ता गायब और नायक ठीक
रूप में को महीने भर होता है, वह पुष्पशील गति को शान्ति होता है और भ्रमणों के तुल्य होता है।
दोलसागर अपनी उपवन की लीला साक्षीकोर ग्रामवास ने भविष्य और अपने
पुष्पशील लंबे संघ में वहीं भविष्य प्रकट करता है।

नादानियास्त्र के अद्भुत संरचना से लेकर तत्त्विक अभाव तक संगीतशास्त्र
का विषय काशैंहै जिसका संध्या का नादानियास्त्र तथा ध्वनि होता है। तरह और
tालों के नादों का वर्णन, इससे पहले के अभाव में भी हो। अद्भुत संरचना में आत्मक (व्यक्ति)
की वर्णन तत्त्व, अभाव, ध्वनि और प्रकाश का वर्णन है। इसका प्राकृतिक
प्रयोग तत्त्व बनाता है। गायन की चर्चा, उपयोग एवं पदन के 
तत्त्वों का वर्णन भी इस अभाव में है। अभाव के अन्त में सच्चे, तृण स्त्री, ध्वनि शास्त्र
वेद की चर्चा करते हैं दुर्गापूजा के रूप आत्मक, अभाव, और प्रकाश: अस्तित्व है। उन्नतियां अभाव का नाम
तत्त्वावधान है। आत्म में यह बस्त गाया है कि कौन स्त्री वाली अनुरोध
कित ध्वनि के लिए ऐसा होता है। नदियास्त्र में ध्वनि के रूप के अनुसार ध्वनि-प्रयोग
में विशेषता स्त्री का निकाल किया गया है। सभी ध्वनि द्वारा उपलब्ध
का रूप किया गया है। तीनों अभाव में सुपर्रता अभावी बाहृत ध्वनि के बारे में चर्चा की गई है।
दोलसागर अभाव का नाम तत्त्वावधान है। एक तरह से, ध्वनि के कारण तत्त्व
के कारण चर्चा करते हैं। दोलसागर अभाव का नाम तत्त्वावधान है। एक तरह से, ध्वनि के कारण तत्त्व
के कारण चर्चा करते हैं।

पुष्पिका 21

दोलसागर और वालामय

दोलसागर और वालामय, दोनों नादालियास्त्र के 33वें अभाव में जिसका नाम वालामय है,
कविताक में उपयोग किया जाता है। इसमें स्वर्ण संरचना से अभाव के नादालियास्त्र
पर अभाव के नादों के प्रयोग के द्वारा प्रकट किया जाता है। इसमें स्वर्ण संरचना से अभाव के नादों के प्रयोग के द्वारा प्रकट किया जाता है।

उपरोक्त में, राजस्थान के प्रायद्वीप को समझने का प्रयास किया गया है। यह है कि कौन स्त्री वाली अनुरोध
कित ध्वनि के लिए ऐसा होता है। नदियास्त्र में ध्वनि के रूप के अनुसार ध्वनि-प्रयोग
में विशेषता स्त्री का निकाल किया गया है। सभी ध्वनि द्वारा उपलब्ध
का रूप किया गया है। तीनों अभाव में सुपर्रता अभावी बाहृत ध्वनि के बारे में चर्चा की गई है।
दोलसागर अभाव का नाम तत्त्वावधान है। एक तरह से, ध्वनि के कारण तत्त्व
के कारण चर्चा करते हैं। दोलसागर अभाव का नाम तत्त्वावधान है। एक तरह से, ध्वनि के कारण तत्त्व
के कारण चर्चा करते हैं।

क, ख, ग, घ, छ, ज, झ, छ, ज, घ, घ, ज, घ, ज, घ, ज, घ, ज, घ, (33/23-39) इसमें यह रूप के रूप में नहीं है। वालामय चर्चा का टत्त्व में है। दोलसागर (2) में भी ध्वनि का न्यूनतम लेख है। वालामय (2) से विभिन्न वालामय का न्यूनतम लेख है। दोलसागर (2) से विभिन्न वालामय का न्यूनतम लेख है।
ग्रहज्ञाता लक्ष-गत्य

उत्तर दोली दोल का गुणग, पद्म होली दोल का सहाय।
दशक में दोली दोल का पूर्व पुष्प होली दोल का आँग।

‘दोलांगाम’ के अनुसार दोल के समस्त अवसरों का संघ्र विवरण.

तुलना-सामाय दोल का केश, पुष्प दोली दोल का आँग।
‘दोलांगाम’ के अनुसार दोल के स्थल अवसरों का संघ्र विवरण.

अतुल पुष्प दोली दोल, पुष्प दोली दोल।
बीन, पुष्प दोल, पुष्प दोल।

बीन पुष्प दोल, पुष्प के कवरण।
बीन पुष्प दोल, पुष्प के कवरण।

मधुक-पुष्प कवरण, पुष्प के कवरण।

मधुक-पुष्प कवरण में रंगीन रंगीन पंज अन्य अलसिक प्रतिमा का परिचय दिया है, क्योंकि दोल के अनुसार मुखप्रेमी ही एक ऐसा अंग है, जो उसे उपहृत नाट्य को संस्कृत करता है और उस प्रकार पुष्प पीठा हो जाता है। पुष्प के इस रंग में प्रा. त. अन्तर में सूक्ष्म दोल होने के लिए 12 कुंकुल-रंग के रंग होते हैं, इसी प्रकार सुरू दोल होने के लिए ब्रह्मण- अंग होता है, जहां वटन कि उपर रंग का और इसी पुष्प पीठा होता है। यह दोल के लार्ड के चीजों-चीजों के रंग दोल की पंजे में प्रतिकृत होते हैं, जिसमें विशेषता तथा अनेक तरीकों की प्रत्येके में जो प्रतिकृत होते हैं। उन दोल के लार्ड प्राप्त होते हैं जो दोल के लार्ड प्राप्त होते हैं जो दोल के लार्ड प्राप्त होते हैं जो दोल के लार्ड प्राप्त होते हैं जो दोल के लार्ड प्राप्त होते हैं जो दोल के लार्ड प्राप्त होते हैं जो दोल के लार्ड प्राप्त होते हैं जो दोल के लार्ड प्राप्त होते हैं।
चार महासू देवताओं की देवभूमि

जौनसर बावर क्षेत्र देवभूमि के नाम से जाना जाता है। जहाँ पौंछ पाँडवों का बास रहा और चार
देवताओं का निर्वास स्थान रहा। इस पुनीत पवन-क्षेत्र की देव्य साक्षि चार महासू देवताओं के आराध्य
का प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव इस परिप्रेक्ष्य से जागृत व ख्यातिपुर्ण माना जाता है जिसका वर्णन कथाओं व देवताओं की
आराधनाओं से इस तरह किया गया:

पाँडवों के यहाँ से जाने के बाद कल्युग आया जनकार उसके कल्याण के निमित्त शिव, पारंति
पवन्या करने हिमालय पर चले गये। उनके तीन-तीन पुत्र सूर्यदेव, अरितदेव व कालिक स्वर्णी पीभ अपने
धाम में चले गये। जहाँ शिव पारंति पवन्या कर रहे थे वहाँ कर्मसूर नाम का एक राक्षस रहता था। वह
उनकी पवन्या में विभिन्न पैदा करने लगा और उन्हें अति पराशपन करने लगा। अपनी पवन्या को भंग होते
देखकर शिव को अंत्री नेत्र आया तब उन्होंने अपने पारंति आंग कारार और स्वयं पवन्य व लिंग के
रूप में हो गये। सौंपा पवन्य का लिंग का वह राक्षस का बिगड़ लॉग?

चार वीरों की उत्पत्ति

उन चारों आंग के कठ जाने के बाद उन चार बीरों से चार वीर पैदा हुए। वे चारों वीर बड़े योग्य
थे जिनके नाम, कपला वीर, क्यालूवीर, कैलाश वीर और सेड़कुड़िया वीर थे। उन चारों के हाथों में खाण्डे
यानि तलधारी थीं तब उन चारों ने पूर्णा, 'हे वेद अथर हमें बता करता है।' शिव ने आज्ञा दी कि 'कर्मसूर
राक्षस का वध करें।' आज्ञा पाते ही उन चारों ने राक्षस का पीछा किया उन्हें देखकर वह राक्षस भय से
काँपते और भागते लगा।

कर्मसूर वध

भागते-भागते वह राक्षस एक जाग हटकर गया। उन चारों ने उसकी भुजा काट दी इसलिए उस
जाग का नाम खड़कोट हुआ। भुजा कट जाने के बाद उनसे छूटकर भागने लगा, तब उन चारों ने उसका
पीछा किया। एक जाग वीर के खड़ियाँ गिर गये इसलिए उस जाग का नाम खड़कोट पड़े पीछा
करते-करते एक जाग उन चारों ने उसे पति फक्क लिया वहाँ उसका मुंडा यानि फिर काट डाला इसलिए
उस जाग का नाम मुंडकोट हुआ।

कछ कट जाने के बाद भी वह राक्षस भागते लगा। वह हिमालय में जाकर स्फूर्त सिध्दार्थ गया। उसके
खुद से एक नदी वह चली उस नदी का नाम कर्मनाश नदी हुआ जिसे आजकल दोस्त नदी कहते हैं।

तद्युत्तरं थे चारों वीर शिव के पास गये और कहते लगे 'हे जगत पिता अभ हमें क्षय करता है?'
शिव ने आज्ञा दी कि उस कमरी में जाकर एक तालाब में रहो, मैं अभी तपस्या कर रहा हूँ। मैं तुम्हें आकर
स्वयं भिक्षुएगा। तब ये चारों वीर चले गये और एक तालाब में रहने लगे।
पार्वती ने देखा कि शिव एक पाथर के लिंग के रूप में हो गये तो वह एक गुफा में जाकर तपस्या करने लगी। उसका पूर्व होने के बाद शिव-पार्वती की खोज में मिला, पार्वती जो अपनी रक्षा के लिये गुफा के सराहों पर एक दीवार पैदा किया। जब शिव ने गुफा के अन्दर जाने की कोशिश की तो उस दीवार ने उसने स्वयं दिखा दिया और स्वयं गुफा में प्रवेश किया। तब पार्वती ने शिव से पूर्व कि "हे भोले नाथ जो गुफा के दरारों पर एक दीवार था क्या उसने आपने दिखाया, या आपने पूछे तुम्हें अन्दर आने की कहाँ?

तब शिव ने कहा कि "हे पार्वती उसका तो मैंने सिर काट दिया है।" पार्वती कहती है "किन्तु हे भोलेनाथ ये अपारम कर्मों किया, इसे तो मैंने पुत्र रूप में पैदा किया था। अब आप जिन्होंने जिन्होंने सब उसे जीतते करने की कृपा करो।"

शिव का उस दीवार को जीतता करना

शिव ने कहा लगे "हे पार्वती अब तुम ही बताओ कि वह जीतता करेंगे हो सकता है?" तब पार्वती ने कहा "तुम अपनी जाकर देखा कि यदि कहाँ किसी दीवार ने उसी मध्य बचने को जमा दिया हो और उस माता को पौख बचने की तरफ हो और पवित्र भी हो उसका सिर काटने से जोड़ दो तभी तुम जीतते हो सकता है।"

तब शिव ऐसे ही दीवार की खोज में निकले, माता में एक जगह भस्मीया ने एक बचने को जमा दे रखा था उस माता को पौख उस बचने की तरफ थी। शिव उसी को पवित्र माता उसी का सिर काटकर आने और उस दीवार के भांड़ से जोड़ दिया फिर जीतता कर दिया। उससे जीतते होने के बाद वह दीवार शिव पार्वती को माता-पिता कहकर पुकारने लगा। तब पार्वती ने उसका नाम गणेश रखा और उसे कार्तिक स्वामी से भी अधिक प्यार करने लगा।

शिव पार्वती की कस्मीर यात्रा

शिव कहते हैं कि "हे पार्वती, अब हमें उन दोनों को सूचि देनी चाहिए जो कस्मीर तालाब में बेड़े है, हाँ?" तीनों यात्रा करने-करने शिव-पार्वती गणेश सहित कस्मीर उसी तालाब पर जा पहुंचे। जब सूर्य देव, अग्निदेव, कार्तिक स्वामी को मालूम हुआ कि शिव-पार्वती को तपस्या पूर्ण हुई तब तीनों देवता अङ्ग्रेम पूजा के निमित्त शिव-पार्वती को पाम उसी तालाब पर जा पहुंचे।

तीनों देवताओं का अङ्ग्रेम पूजा की प्रारंभिक करना

तीनों देवता शिव-पार्वती को प्रारंभक अङ्ग्रेम पूजा की प्रारंभिक करने लगे। शिव-पार्वती ने कहा कि यह पूजा गणेश भी अङ्ग्रेम पूजा का अधिकारी हो सकता है। क्योंकि यह भी हमारी ही पुत्र है। इस पर उन तीनों देवताओं ने हठ किया कि इसका जन्म तो चार में हुआ। वह इस अङ्ग्रेम पूजा का अधिकारी नहीं हो सकता। शिव ने कहा कि "हे देव, तुम चारों दीवारों में यात्रा करने चारों धामों में जाओ वहाँ मेरे मुळ्य को तमल करे तब में आईं हस्त बनकर समाधि लागकर बैठता है। जो सबसे पहले मेरी समाधि छूटे पर चारों धामों से लीटकर मेरी अंतिम से सामने होगा उसी को सवब्रस्थ्र पूजा होगी।"

तीनों देवताओं का तीर्थ यात्रा में जाना

आगा पाते ही ये तीनों देवता तो अपने-अपने रथ लेकर चारों धामों को रवाना हुए और शिव समाधि
लगाव कर आँखें बंद करके बैठ गए। गणेश जी अपने चुड़े की स्वादी देखकर सोचने लगे कि मैं चारों धाराय में कैसे जा सकता हूँ। कुछ सोचकर गणेश जी माता पार्वती के पास गये और पूजा-पूजन कर देने लगे।

गणेश जी माता पार्वती से यात्रा की फलाह तथा

गणेश जी कहने लगे है माता मेरे पास तो चुड़े का था है। मैं चारों यात्रा करने चाहते थे हार्ड में कैसे जा सकता हूँ। माता पार्वती कहने लगी, "हे पुत्र यह बल बतलाने योग्य नहीं है लेकिन तेरे शरीर को देखकर मुझे देख आ तो है क्योंकि तू मुझे कांतिक दे भी प्यार है।" आपने लीला उसी शिव की थी सताता पार्वती ने इस प्रकार दी।

"हे पुत्र तैयार यात्रा करने वही लोग जाते हैं जिनके माता पिता स्वाग सिधार जाते हैं, जिनके माता-पिता घर में मौजूद हो उनके लिए वही चारों धार्म हैं। तुम जाकर अपने पिता माता शिव की समाधि के बाहर सात चकर कर लगाओ वही चारों धार्म की सिद्धि है।"

गणेश का शिव समाधि के सात चकर लगाना

तब गणेश जी ने बैठा हो किया। समाधि के सात चकर लगाये। चदन लगाया पूजा चढ़ाये पूजा की और शिव के सामने बैठ गए।

जब शिव ने आँखें खोली तो गणेश को सामने बैठे देखा और उसे अभिमान पूजा में बैठाया। ये तीनों चारों धार्मों में गये जिस पूजा में पहुँचे वहीं इसे सूजे के निशान मिले और मूर्ति पर चदन लगा था पूजा के पूल आदि खोदे थे।

तीनों देवताओं का यात्रा से बापस लौटना

यह तीनों इस बात पर आश्चर्य करने लगे कि ये कैसे हो सकता है कि गणेश एक चुड़े का था लेकर हम लोगों से पहले धार्म में पहुँचे। इस अवसर को देखकर ये तीनों शिव के पास लौट आये।

गणेश को अभिमान पूजा पर बैठा देखकर सूर्यदेव, आग्नेय तो चुप-चाप अपने आस पर बैठे गए लेकिन कान्तिक स्वामी हटी किस्म के थे। वे बोले हो देव "हे कैसे हो सकता है कि चुड़े के रूप वाला कैसे हमसे पहले चारों धार्मों में पहुँचे यह धौख हमारे साथ किस्म किया। कान्तिक स्वामी को यह इस देखकर शिव ने कहा, "हे पुत्र मुझे इस बात के बारे में कुछ भी मालुम नहीं है। हो सकता है यह धौख तुम्हारी गुलाम ने किया हो।"

कान्तिक स्वामी का अपने मांस काटकर चार बैठ गए लगाना

तब कान्तिक स्वामी कहते हैं कि हे पिता इस माता ने मुझे क्या दिया है? शिव कहते हैं कि इसने तुम्हें जन्म दिया है। यह हार्डप्लेस का रोर इसी ने दिया है।

इतनी बात सुनते ही कान्तिक स्वामी कहते हैं कि मुझे इसका दिया हुआ यह हार्डप्लेस का रोर नहीं चाहिए। तब कान्तिक स्वामी हाथ में लोहे का हथियार लेकर अपने शरीर से मांस काटने लगे। कुछ दे चार मांस की चौड़ी बैरी हो गई। उसी समय शिव ने मांस की ये चारों बैरे समुद्र में फेंक दी। उस समुद्र में उलझ गया, विस्फोट, बासुदेव नाग नाग के नाग रहते थे। उन्होंने उस मांस
प्रभाव किया जिससे उनके पेट में ये चार उज्ज्वल नाग के रूप में ही उदय हुए। जिन्हें चार माघु कहते हैं। उन चारों के हाथों में तलवारें थीं। इन्हें नागआश्री कहते हैं। उनके नाम वालिक, बोला, मस्तिष्क और चालता माघु रखे गये। कार्यकलाप स्थान में शरीर से जितना खुद की चूंच गरिये उससे कई देवता पैदा हुए।

जैसे-जैसे, जीतवीर, जीतवीर, किल्लाबालु, नवाब, मना, नरसिंह, नरसिंह, बाहु, बाहु, छाड़ा, कहाना, खाना, चार देवी कल्याण हमारे कई किस्म के देवता और देवियां उदय हुई। ये सभी उसी तालाब में जाकर फिर गये और उन्होंने जिन्होंने कर्मपूर्ण राक्षस का वध किया था। तब ये देवता मंडल-दया आये।

इंद्र कथा संतास की लेखनी द्वारा मदन दास और पालदास के बताते शब्दों में आये दो जा रही हैं।

माघु देवता के उदय होने की कथा

यह उस समय की थी जबकि यहाँ देवी देवता नहीं थी। जौनसार-भाव, भक्षीकंत, देवगंगा आदि इलाकों में राक्षसों की गणना होती थी जो यहाँ के लोग राक्षसों के शरीर से परेशान रहते थे। वह लक्षण दो हजार चरण पहले भी चली गई। पांडवों के यहाँ से जाने के बारे राक्षस निरंजन हो गये थे। कुछ राक्षसों का तो पांडवों ने वचन कर दिया था। वह दुर्गाराक्षस चार माघु को पाना हैं और उनको पूजा करते थे।

एक राक्षस किन्हीर नाम का था जो मेधर नामक पथान के एक तालाब में रहता था। वह हर रोज गाँव में एक आदमी को ले जाता था। गाँव बालों ने राक्षसों से तय किया कि हम तुम्हें एक खतरनाक पक्षी हुआ चालान, एक बड़फड़ी दें और छटे महीने इसके साथ एक आदमी भी देंगे। राक्षस मान गया।

इस प्रकार गाँव के कई लोग इन राक्षस के भोजन हुए।

कौलाच्ची का जल लेने तालाब पर जाना

मेन्द्र नामक गाँव में हुकमान नाम का एक बाहुल रहता था। उसके सात लड़कों थे जिनमें से वह चौथा लड़का के स्वामी के लिए दुखा था। सिर्फ एक ही लड़का बचा था जिसका नाम सुनना था। जो कि अभी तक चालता माघु के चरण में था। वह बाल भी देवता रूप ही हो गया। इसी बालक को बताते थे लाल माघु, चार बाल यहाँ आये थे।

हुकमान की पत्नी कौलाच्ची थी। एक हिंद कौलाच्ची गाँवी (यहां) लंबकर जल लेने पर मुलाकात नामक तालाब में गयी जहाँ वह किष्म राक्षस रहता था। जैसे ही कौलाच्ची ने गाँवी जल में बुंद देकर वहीं ही जल पर्याय की आवाज आयी। राक्षस ने सोच कि मेरे पोजन के लिए आया है। इसलिए हाथ जल से बाहर बाहर दिया। उस हाथ में लगे बाल थे। कौलाच्ची उस हाथ को देखकर दुर गई उसके नुहंद से अजनबी माघु नाम का शब्द निकला।

घड़े में से शेखुड़ुलिया की कौलाच्ची से बातचीत

माघु का नाम सुनते ही घड़े में से सोटी की आवाज आई जिसे सुनते ही कौलाच्ची घड़े से भी डर गई, उस घड़े से शेखुड़ुलिया बोल रहा था कि हे ग्राहणी क्या तुम इस राक्षस से डर रही हो। कौलाच्ची हर-उघर देखने लगी कि मुझे यहाँ बाल कर रहा है। कई दिन तो आता नहीं था।

शेखुड़ुलिया बोली कि हे ग्राहणी तुम हर-उघर क्या देख रही है, मैं इस घड़े से माघु देवता
का वीर शोड़ुकुदिया वीर बोल रहा है। कौलते समझ गई कि वह कोई दंडना नहीं जो मेरी रहा करता चाहता है। इसलिए वह भय छोड़कर बोली की "हे दंडना आप हमारे रेखा करो, यह रक्षस धर्म अभि प्रेम करता है। मेरा पति यह बालक का यह रक्षासे अपना भोजन बना चुका है। अब एक ही बालक शेष है। मेरा एक भी बालक अपर बच जाये तो मैं आपको पूजा करूँगी।"

शोड़ुकुदिया का ब्रह्मणी का अभयदान देना

तब शोड़ुकुदिया वीर कहने लगा कि "हे ब्रह्मणी, जो इस बालक को बचायेगा उसे तू क्या इनाम देगो।" कौलते ने कहा कि "इसे यहाँ का स्वयं किया। यहाँ के सभी लोग उसके को पूजा करेंगे।"

इसी वात को सुनते ही शोड़ुकुदिया बोला "अच्छा तू अपने पति को कस्मीर भेजना, वहाँ एक तालाब में चार वीर मासू रहते हैं और अद्य तेंदुला भी हैं जो बहुत शक्ति रखते रहते हैं। यदि वह सभी लोग यहाँ आ गये तो यह रक्षासे आसानी से मारा जायेगा और तब वीर बच जायेगा। अब जितना बलदी हो सके अपने पति को भेज देना।" कौलते ने कहा कि "मैं आज ही उन्हें कस्मीर में जैं।" कौलते ने बहार जो छोड़कर घर पहुँचे-पहुँचे उसकी जुबन बन हो गई वह देव क्रम में धी। उसे देखकर सभी गाँव के लोग रंग रंग गए कि अज कौलते को क्या हो गया कि जो बालक नहीं रहा है।

कौलते का पति हुमायू उस समय खेत में काम कर गया था और सुबह खेत के खाने का इलाज कर रहा था कि वही पत्नी कब खाना लेकर आती है।

जब किसी ने जाकर बताया कि तुम्हें जलदी घर पर बुलाया है। तुम्हारी पत्नी को आप ना मालूम करो गया है। हुमायू जलदी घर पहुँचे देखा तो पत्नी का बुरा हाल था। अपनी विचार से उसने मालूम किया कि इसमें कोई दंडना नहीं है इसलिए उसके सिर पर सूक्ष्म और सुंग जुबान खुल गई और वह होश में आ गई।

ब्रह्मणी का हुमायू बालक को कस्मीर के लिए तैयार करना

उसे अपने पति ने कहने लगी कि "हे नाथ अव इस एक देवता ने अपना समकालीन दिखाया और कहा कि तुम अपने बच्चे का प्रारंभिक बचने के लिए और रक्षस को मारने के लिए अपने पति को कस्मीर भेजना और वहाँ एक तालाब में बहुत दंडना रहते हैं जो अधिक शक्ति रखते रहते हैं। इस रक्षस को माफ कर इस बालक के प्रारंभिक करवायें।"

हुमायू बोला कि "हे ब्रह्मणी में इस अवसर में कस्मीर जैसे जा सकता हूँ। मेरे पार्थ तो उधर हो छूट जाएं लौटकर बालस पति नहीं आ असकेंगी।"

कौलते बोली "हे नाथ अव बुदापथ भी आ ही गया है। मरना तो एक ना एक दिन है ही। अप मासू, के नाम पर मर उधर ही स्वर्ग सिध्ध हो जाएं तो खुशी ही होगा।"

जब उस ब्रह्मणी ने उसे अभि प्रेमित विचार तो वह कस्मीर जाने का तैयार हो गया। उसने अपने लिए सूती कपड़ा बनाया। उस समय लोग विन्दु भागे, कुमार पात के छिलकों के कपड़े पहनते थे सूती कपड़ा उनके लिए राख बाल था।
का चीर रोड़कुडिया बीर बाल रहा है। कैलावती समझ गई कि यह कोई देखता है जो मेरी राखा करना चाहता है। इसलिए वह भय छोड़कर बोले कि "हे देखता आप हमारी राखा करो, यह राक्षस हमें अति परेशान करता है। मेरे 4 वालकों का यह राक्षस अपना भोजन बना चुका है। अब ऐसे ही बालक रोष है। मेरा एक भी बालक आप बच आये तो मैं आपकी पूजा करूँगा।"

रोड़कुडिया का ब्राह्मण का अप्यदन देना

तब रोड़कुडिया बीर कहते लगा कि "हे ब्राह्मण, जो इस बालक का बचायेगा उसे तू क्या इनाम देगा?" कैलावती ने कहा कि "उसे यहाँ का राम किलेगा। यहाँ के सभी लोग उसी को पूजा करेगी।"

इतनी बात को सुनते ही रोड़कुडिया बोला "अच्छा तू अपने पति को कर्मचारी भेजना, वहाँ एक जालाब में चार बीर मामूल रहते हैं और अन्य देवता भी हैं। वह इस सभी लोग यहाँ आ गये तो वह राक्षस आतने से मारा जायेगा और तेसा बालक देख जायेगा। अब जितना जलती है तो अपने पति को भेज देना।" कैलावती ने कहा कि "मैं आज ही उन्हें कर्मचारी पंच दूरी से" कैलावती यहाँ वहाँ छोड़कर पर का भयान, पर पहुँचकर उसकी जुबान बन जो पढ़ वह देव कला में थी। उसे देखकर सभी गाँव के लोग रंग रह गये कि जान कैलावती की पत्नी हो गया कि जो बाल हजार रहा है।

कैलावती का पति हुराभाद उस समय खेत में काम पर गया था और सुबह के खाने का इंतजार कर रहा था कि मेरी पत्नी कब खाना लेकर आती है।

जब किसी ने जाकर बताया कि तुम्हें जलती पर पर बुलाया है। तुम्हारी पत्नी को आज ना मालूम करा हो गया है। हुराभाद जलती पर पहुँच देख तो पत्नी का चुरा हाल था। अपनी बिधा से उसने मालूम किया कि इसमें कोई देखता लगा है इसलिए उसके पिपर पर सुना और मुंग घुमाया जिससे उसकी जुबान खुल गई और वह होश में आ गई।

ब्राह्मण का हुराभाद को कर्मचारी के लिए तैयार करना

वह अपने पति से कहते लगा कि "हे नाथ अज मुझे एक जालाब ने अपना चमकाया दिखाया और वहा कि तुम अपने बच्चे के प्राण बचाने के लिए और राक्षस को मारने के लिए अपने पति को कर्मचारी भेजना और वहाँ एक जालाब में दर्द रहते हैं। जो अधिक शक्तिक रहने वाले हैं। इस राक्षस को मारकर इस बालक के प्राण बचायेंगे!"

हुराभाद बोला कि "हे ब्राह्मण मे स्वर्ग में कर्मचारी कैसे जा सकता है। मेरे प्राण तो उधर ही छुट जायेंगे लौटकर वापस ची नहीं आ सकते हैं।"

कैलावती बोली "हे नाथ अज बुलाया भी आ ही गया है। मरना तो ऐसा ना आए दिन है ही। अप भास्व के नाम पर उधर ही स्वर्ग सिद्धम जायेंगे। तो ठेक ही होगा।"

जब उस ब्राह्मण ने उसे अति परेशान किया तो वह कर्मचारी जाने को तैयार हो गया। उसे अपने लिए सूनी कपड़ा बनाया। उस समय लोग बिमल भागे, कुंभ पात के हिलार्कों के कपड़े घाटे थे सूनी कपड़ा उनके लिए नई बात थी।
चार महासू देवताओं की देव भूमि

सूरत कपड़ा पहनकर अपनी पत्नी से परेशान होकर और जीने की आशा छोड़कर एक तिन सुध मुदूर देखकर कर्मी को रवाना हुआ।

हुणाभाट का मनोग पहुँचना

पैदल चलते समय हुणाभाट राजी पहुँचा, वहाँ हुरेण्डी नाम की रानी राज्य करती थी। सूरत कपड़ा पहने एक आदमी को जोते देखा तो उसने जोर से आवाज लगाई, ‘‘हे भाई तू कौन है और कहाँ जा रहा है।’’ हुणाभाट ने कहा कि ‘‘हे रानी, मैं ब्राह्मण हूँ। मैं पैदल नाम ताज रहने वाला हूँ। कर्मी जा रहा हूँ।’’ खबरदार मासू देवता को मत लाना, कहाँ मेरे राज्य को बरसात न कर दें। ब्राह्मण के कहने पर अपसुक्त जोखिल की दहली पड़ी में लगाई और आगे का प्रस्ताव किया।

हुणाभाट का मनोग पहुँचना

पैदल-पैदल चलते-चलते हुणाभाट मनोग पहुँचा। वहाँ भी नागाजुन मंजुगाल नाम का राजा राज्य करता था। उसने भी हुरेण्डी रानी की तह उससे सवाल किया और मासू देवता को यहाँ लाने से इंकार किया। वहाँ से भी वह ब्राह्मण आगे बढ़ता रहा।

हाट कोटी में बुढ़े पुडियायण से भेंट

हुणाभाट अब हाट पहुँचा वहाँ पर एक बुढ़ा पुडियायण नाम का एक आंधा आदमी रहता था।

हुणाभाट रात को उसी के घर में रहा। शाम को हुणाभाट से भोजन करने की प्रार्थना की गई, उसने कहा मैं भोजन करने से पहले पुडियायण से सिलसिला है वह किसी दूसरे कब्जे में रहता होगा।

तब उस ब्राह्मण को भी उसी के पास में भेंट दिया। हुणाभाट ने उस बुढ़े पुडियायण से भेंट की और बुढ़े ने कहा कि ब्राह्मण देवता पहले अनजाल प्रहार करो। इस पर हुणाभाट ने कहा कि मैं अनजाल पीछे करूँगा। हुणाभाट ने कहा कि मैं बिना बचन के अनजाल प्रहार नहीं करूँगा, इसलिए पुडियायण ने बचने के उपकार में आर्यम किया।

बचन के शब्द

बचन चलिए, बनारस, बचन कपट,
कपट कौन्ह दल, खोपौ, छूटो बजाल, खुंजो,
बिक्रमाणी, मत ना टले, गत तभे ना टले ना टले,
कूंए को पार हुसुमंत खान भी बीत गए।
एक बचन मेरी बुढ़े-युग रहियो।

इसने कहकर उस बुढ़े ने उस ब्राह्मण से कहा कि हे ब्राह्मण देवता भोजन करो। तब हुणाभाट ने भोजन किया। भोजन के बाद एकानाट में बैठकर बुढ़े ने पूछा मांगए हुर्ये क्या चाहिए।

बुढ़े पुडियायण द्वारा ब्राह्मण को कर्मियों का मार्ग वतना

उस अभे बुढ़े ने हुणाभाट को अपने पास लाया और उस पर हाथ फेरते हुए पुछे लगता कि ‘‘हे ब्राह्मण अब तो आप भी बुढ़े हो गये हैं, बाल सफेद हो गये हैं। मैं बचन में कर्मी गया था, वापस आने-आने बुढ़ा हो गया हूँ। अब तुम भी कर्मी मत जाओ वहाँ का मार्ग अति कठिन है।’’
चार महायुग देवताओं की देव पूजा

उस समय आज की तरह सड़कों नहीं थी, पैदल चलना पड़ता था। हुनामाद की हठ देखकर बहुत ने उसे गांव चलता आसम्भ किया।

पहले तुम्हें चट्टानें मिलेंगी उसे पार करना आति कठिन है। उसे पार करके कई खड़े मिलेंगे।

तब जाड़ेपार बन मिलेंगे जिसमें राखस, सांप, सिंह आदि कई किसम के खतरनाक जानवर मिलेंगे। तब हृद एक शालबाब मिलेगा जिसमें खुदकने पर कोई मिली नहीं। जिसे बाल निकला जरूर फंसकने से सांप भागते दिखायी देंगे जो आयु के पांडे भागते हैं। तब दिन के पड़े मिलेंगे जिन्हें पार करना आति कठिन है, तब नाचते हुए लोग मिलेंगे, स्त्री बजारी है, तो मर्द नाचते हैं और जब मर्द लोग बजाते हैं तो स्त्री नाचती हैं, ये लोग किसी को आगे नहीं बढ़ाने देते परंपरा करते हैं। आगे पास में हुआ पानी मिलेगा जिसे पार करना कठिन है। इसके बाद देवता के भंडार मिलेंगे और बैठने के लिए अच्छी जगह मिलती। तब तुम्हें कर्मीर मिलेंगा। इतना दहकर रात्रि विशाम के बाद सुबह हुनामाद को जिता किया।

हुनामाद का कर्मीर ज्ञानज्ञन

साधू कोट्टी से जिता होकर हुनामाद पुलियाण के बसते हुए गांव पर चल दिया। उसकी बाति हुई हर बात उसे मिली रही। मठ देवता को शांकि से उसे कोई कद्दू नहीं हुआ। हर मुसाबत से बड़ी आसानों से छूटता रहा और कुछ ही दिन के बाद कर्मीर के उसी तलाब के किनारे जा पहुँचा, वहाँ शैकिरिया वीर पहुँचे से ही खड़ा था।

शैकिरिया वीर ने उस ब्रह्मण को अंग्रेज़ नामक देवता के मंदिर में इस प्रकार समझाकर छिपा दिया कि जब और भी लोग आयेंगे तो हम उससे डरना नहीं, ना ही उसकी नजर में आना, रोश में तुम्हें स्वयं आकर समझा दूँगा।

शैकिरिया ने तलाब में बड़ी लंगाई और देवताओं की सब्बा में जा पहुँची। तो इस प्रकार कहने लगे कि हे देवताओं हम लोग यहाँ रहकर पसंद में जा रहे हैं। सैकड़ा नामक पास हम पर जम गई है। इससे संसार न मारक देखना चाहिए कि व्या-व्या हो रहा है, लोग हमारे नाम पर कुब्जयित करते हैं।

कों का भ्रामण को खोजना

कपला वीर, कपलु वीर और बैलाथ वीर ने उसकी ही में हाँ किसी कोई उनको पहले भी इस संसार को देखा था जबकी उन्होंने करमसूर राखस का खप दिया था, तब सभी देवता जल से बाहर निकलने को तैयार हुए। ये लोग नाग के रूप में जल में रहते थे तथा बाहर मूनुप के रूप में आते थे।

उसमें चालाल महाद धर्मगद्ध विश्वास जानता था। वह कहते लगा कि हे देवों में जल से बाहर नहीं जांगा क्योंकि जल से ऊपर एक ब्रह्मण बैठा है। वह हमारा इतना कर रहा है। मेरे लिए उसकी ब्रह्म हथ्या का पाप लगेगा। तब हुआ कि कपला वीर जाकर देखेंगे कि कोई ब्रह्मण बैठा है। कपला वीर हाथ में खण्डा या नर्वल हेकर जल से बाहर निकला।
चार महासू देवताओं की देव भूमि

सम्पूर्ण कश्मीर खोजने के बाद शौकीनीयों का शक्ति से अंगाहू देवता का मंदिर भूल गया जहाँ हुणाभाट बैठा था। इसी प्रकार कथाल धीर भी ग्राहण की खोज में निकले उनका भी वहाँ हाल रहा। तब हुआ अब तुल्य शैव हो शैव शौकीनीयों जाने यह तो आपके साथ भोजन नहीं कर सकता। चालाद महासू ने कहा कि तुम चाहे किसी को भेजो लेकिन ग्राहण तो अवय स्थान है।

शौकीनीयों बीर का हुणाभाट को समझाना

आता पाले ही शौकीनीयों भी हाथ में खानदा लेकर जल से बाहर निकला उसने ग्राहण को क्यों बुझाया था वह तो सिंधु अंगाहू देवता के मंदिर में गया और ग्राहण से इस प्रकार कहने लगा,

"हे ग्राहण अब कूल दे जात सब देवता बाहर निकलने वाले हैं। उनमें चार देवता पालकों में होंगे और तीनों को छोड़कर तुम चालाद महासू की पालकों को पकड़ लो। उसकी पहचान इस प्रकार है। तीन देवता दाहनी तरफ यात्रा कर आयेंगे और चालाद महासू बायें तरफ युगल।

तब हुम पहचान लेना कि ये ही चालाद महासू है। जब तुम चालाद महासू को पकड़ोगे तो हम काटो-काटो कहेंगे उससे तुम दर्षाएं अपना राम नहीं करते देखा, तब सभी देवताओं की सभा बैठेगी उस समय तुम अपनी बात कर लेना।"

ग्राहण की इस प्रकार समझाकर स्वयं जल में हुकूम लगाई और देवताओं की सभा में चले गये।

शौकीनीयों बीर की देवताओं से बातचीत

वहाँ पहुँचकर शौकीनीयों बीर ने देवताओं से इस प्रकार कहाना आरंभ किया कि, "हे देवा मैंने तो कस्मीर का एक-एक पत्ता छान डाला, ग्राहण का तो कहाँ कोई पत्ता नहीं चला इसलिए अब हम लोगों को पहर से चलना चाहिए।"

इस पर चालाद महासू अपनी विश्वास के अनुसार कहने लगे कि तुम चाहे कूल भी कहाँ ग्राहण तो अवय ही बैठा है।

देवताओं का जल से बाहर निकलना

सब देवताओं ने कहा यह तो तुमारा ही बीर है। यह आपके साथ भोजन करे। इसलिए अब चलना चाहिए। इसके बाद सबसे देवता जल से बाहर निकले, तीन देवता बाहर दाहनी तरफ युगल गये और चालाद महासू बायें और सूर्याः। ग्राहण चुपचाप-चुपचाप देख पड़ा था चालाद महासू को इसने शौकीनीयों बीर के बातों से पहचान दिया इसलिए उसने हुगान जाकर उसकी पालकों को पकड़ लिया।

चारों बीर इतर-उतर से कहने लगे काटो-काटो लेकिन चालाद महासू ने उसे बचा दिया, सच्चे कहा कि चालाद महासू की विश्वास ने ठीक ही कहा था। बीर कहने लगे कि हमने अंगाहू का मंदिर देखा ही नहीं इसे तो हम भूत्व गये थे, इन सभी देवताओं के साथ और भी सभी देवता बाहर निकले और भी सभी देवताओं की एक सभा बैठी, बीच में हुणाभाट बैठाया गया।

हुणाभाट की देवताओं से अपने देश चलने की प्रार्थना करना

तब बांधक देवता ने पूछा कि, "ग्राहण तुम कहाँ के रहने चाहे हो और यहाँ आने का काफ़ बयों
चार महासू देवताओं की देव भूमि

किया' इसके परवाहु हुणामभत इस प्रकार कहते लगा कि, "‘देवों में किरण देश का रहने वाला हूँ, भेरे देश में कोई देवता नहीं है न किसी राजा का डर है, डर है जो एक राक्षस का, जिसके लिए छठ महीने एक खलिमनान भाव यानी फक्काना हुआ चलता एक आदर्श और एक बकरी देवी पत्ती है। मैं उस राक्षस से हुटफुट पाने के लिए आफकी शराम में आया हूँ अब उन्होंने रक्षा करा और मेरे देश में चलने का काफ़ करते' तब अचित कला ने कहा कि, "‘हे दारान हम वदि तेरे देश में आ गए तो तुम हमें क्या दोगे”’, भारण बोला ‘‘हे देव तुभी मेरे देश का राज्य मिलेगा।’’ वाष्पी देवता बोली कि, ‘‘हे भारण तुझों पास बढ़ा रहे हैं?’’ तब भारण अपना देश इस प्रकार बताने लगा और अपने देश का संकल्प करने लगा।

हुणामभत का अपना देश दिखाना और संकल्प करना

चन- खटन पिपल खोले अटड़े ड़े, छबू, ठे इद्दाण, जोटी कोट को है ये देश मैंने मांसून संकल्प कर दे।

भारण के इतना कहते बाद चालाद मासु ने अपनी हथलंगड विधादेशक कहा कि, ‘‘हे भारण खटन, पिपल मैथ की होंगा और झुंड, इद्दाण, छबू, बेंगल होंगा जोटी, पाठ, वाणि, कोण होगा’’ भारण बोला कि, ‘‘हे देवताओं कर्क्ष आप लोगों ने पहले भी इस देश को देखा है। इस पर चलना मासु करने तो ये देश तो नहीं पर मैं ऐसे ही बता दिया। यदि तुम्हारे पास इतना ही देश है तो हम सब देवता वहाँ कैसे आगे, रेस तो कम है।’’

भारण बोला, ‘‘हे देवो! वहाँ मेरे देश से भार बहुत बढ़े-बढ़े रहा देखा है। अपने लोग अपनी शक्ति से उन्हें धाका राज्य करना।’’ तब वहाँ कहा ‘‘ठीक है, हम सब चलने को तैयार है।’’ चलना मासु भारण को एक फुलों की कड़ी देखते करने लगे कि, ‘‘तुम इसे ले जाकर इन फूलों को किसी कुंडव में डालना साथ दिन तक होगा जोग करा, सात कूतरे लड़कों, सात बच्चों से उपसागर कराओ, सात मिर उन कूच्चे लड़कों और बच्चों से हड़त चलाओ, सोने का हल होगा चलाए और चांदी का (रांग) यान इतने पकड़े बजते रस्सा लगान तब हम स्वयं आगे।’’

हुणामभत का मैथुन महुँचना

अब हुणामभत फूलों की कण्डी लेकर चलने लगा तो शैलकुड़ीबीर ने देखा कि इसे तो घर पहुँच-पहुँच कई दिन लगा जायेगा। इसलिए उसे वास बुला लिया और अपने हाथ पर बैठाकर कुंड मारा और आपनी शक्ति से मैथुन के पास जाकर नामक जगह पर फेंक दिया। उसने देखा कि नदी चर सामने होता हुणा मैथुन दिखाई दिया बह आश्चर्य करने लगा कि मैं अभी-अभी कालमें में देवताओं से बात कर रहा था और आपी-अपी अपने पर पीछा गया। वहाँ उसे दोषसंका हुई, झूठ ज़ोरता जाना था कण्डों की पंखी बिखाफार देशके ऊपर रख दिया स्वयं बाहर गया।

वास आकर देखा पानी कहाँ नहीं था। गर्व हाथों से कण्डी फकड़गा हो चाहता था कि पंखों के जोचे से पानी निकला। उसने दुःख की शक्ति को माना तब उसने पानी लिया जाने में तागलो लगाकर मैथुन पर पहुँचा।

लोग उससे मजबूर करने लगे कि ये महासू देवता की अपनी जेब में लाया है। भारण उनकी परवहन कर पूछे लगा कि चीर वायु (यानी कुंडव) कहाँ है। लोगों के दिखाने पर फूलों की कण्डी कुंडव में झाल दी। मात्र बच्चों को उपवास रखता, होम करता।
चार महामु न का मृत्यु प्रकट होना

छठे दिन होम करतायो सोने का हल चतवाया, अब ब्राह्मण होम करवाते-करवाते परेशान हो गया था। इसलिए छठे ही दिन हल चतवा दिया इसलिए अपस्कुन हुआ।

हल का फल लगते ही चार बीर निकले और अपनी अपनी जगह बैठ गये। माता धर्मकला पैदा हुईं, हल का फल उसकी कोख में चुप गया। गोबर के दर्द की वजह से अपने बीर बुद्धारू की गोद में जा बैठी। उसके बाद वारिक देवता निकला। हल का फल उसकी नेत्र में लगा जहां वह भी नेत्र के दर्द की वजह से अपने पीर कपला बीर की गोद में जा बैठा। बुद्धारू ने उसके सिर पर छाँट चढ़ाया, क्योंकि वह कालिंक स्वामी के मार्ग से शिष्य अवतार से बड़ा देवता था। उसके बाद बीठा माहू प्रकट हुआ। हल का फल उसके घुटने में लगा। चौंट लगने की वजह से वह भी दर्द के मारे कपलु बीर की गोद में जा बैठा।

उसके बाद माहू पैदा हुआ। हल का फल उसके कान में टकराया वह भी अपने बीर बौद्ध कुड़ड़ीया की गोद में जा बैठा। चालाव माहू धर्मकला विद्या जानते थे उन्हें मालूम था कि अपराधु हो गया है। हल के फल के पिछले तक से निकले इसलिए उन्हें कोई चोट नहीं आयी, वह भी अपने बीर बौद्ध कुड़ड़ीया की गोद में जा बैठा। उसके बाद चार देवता कल्याण प्रकट हुई। तब तिलमन, कोटलम, भोजकार, अंगालु, नारसिंह, कल्याण, भैरव, छाँड, काली, पशुपति गाथ, जल देवता, दुःखरथी, पीर, फाज़ा, राजवीर, जसवीर, बृहत बीर, देवभीर, दिलेवदिह, दिलेवदिह, पोख, जाम, दुर्गा, मीरान, जुबाड़ आदि हजारों किस्म के देवता प्रकट हुए।

चारबीर चार माहू का ब्राह्मण के साथ राक्षस के पास जाना

जब सब देवता प्रकट हो गये तो चार माहू ने ब्राह्मण हुमाभाट से पूछा कि, 'तुम ब्राह्मण अब हमें बताओ कि भूल्लु की बलि लेने चाहता वह राक्षस कहा रहता है।' तब हुमाभाट चार बीर चार माहू को उस जगह ले गया जहां वह राक्षस रहता था। राक्षस माहू का नाम सुनकर वारिक थे के समग्र पतला हो गया, वह मुस्कान में पैर और अस्तेन खाल में सिर था। सब वीरों से पृथ्वी गया कि तुम जल में जाकर राक्षस को खोज करो, सबने कहा कि हम नहीं जा सकते।

राक्षस का तलाब छोड़कर भागना

इस पर वारिक देवता ने कहा कि तुम कपलु बीर के लिए भेंट रखो। यहीं इस काम को कर सकता हूँ। तब सबने कहा कि चुराबुंध का बकरा इसी से कटेगा। इसी बाद के सुनने ही कपलु बीर राक्षस लेकर तलाब में उड़ पड़ा और राक्षस को खोजने लगा। छोड़जे-छोड़जे उसके सिर के पास जा पहुँचा और सिर में गदा से चार किया। चोट लगते ही राक्षस तलाब छोड़कर भागने लगा।

चार माहू वीरों द्वारा राक्षस का पीछा करना

राक्षस को भागते देखकर चार माहू ने उसका पीछा किया। भागते-भागते उसे बढ़ाई जान नामक स्थान में पकड़ लिया, जिसे आजकल कुड़ड़ु कहते हैं।
चार मांसू और विश्वुदेव का सोने की धार चलना

तब वे दोनों भक्त नदी के किनारे गये वहाँ शेखखुड़ीया बीर ने विश्वु देव की आँखों में कूच ऐसी पाया जैसा कि (बाल्य या शिक्षा) की जगह सोना दिखायी देने लगा। सोने को धार चलाने के विश्वु देव का सोने का खाना नौ दिन से पहले सम्पन्न हो गया। क्योंकि विश्वु हकक्रम में सोने की धार लगाते थे और शेखखुड़ीया बीर बालू की।

विश्वु देव ने पूछा कि अब तुम्हारे पास गिजना सोना है? शेखखुड़ीया बीर ने कहा अभी तो डाक पत्ते तक नौ और डाटोरी तक ऊपर सोना ही सोना है। विश्वुदेव झपका गया और उसने हार मार ली। हनोल मोदर से बाहर निकल दिया गया उसकी तनी चरित्रसंग्रह चाला संगल में भाग गई।

चार मांसू चार बीरों का गिला शिवगांठ बाँधों को जीतता

हनोल में शैल नामक स्थान पर गिला शिवगांठ नामक बिहार रहते थे। उन्होंने देखा कि हमये देखता विश्वु देव को किनारे बाहर निकलता है, मोरी या जुपेखे में सिर बाहर निकालकर उठाने लगे, ये परदेसी कहाँ से आये हैं? यदि तुम भलाई चाहते हो तो यहाँ से तुर्क माता जाओ। वहाँ तुल देखकर चालता मांसू ने शेखखुड़ीया बीर को तरफ झपका किया। शेखखुड़ीया बीर ने अपनी शक्ति से मोरी को रंग किया उन दोनों बीरों के सिर उसमें फस गये और उन्हें वहाँ पर मार डाला, शैला जीत लिया।

अब सब देखता वहाँ से खुदीगाई पड़ने वाले निपड़खोर पालकों ज़हाज मार राजा राज्य करते थे। चार मांसू ने उन्हें भी मार डाला और खुदी गाई जीत लिया। फिर वापस हनोल आये और वहाँ रहने लगे जो भी जगा इनकी अभिन्नता को नहीं मानता था इससे यह मार डालते थे और उसकी सब सम्मति अपने कर्म में कर देते थे।

चार मांसू का बुधगुरिया राज को जीतता

बुध नामक स्थान पर एक बुधगुरिया नाम का राजा रहता था। वह ग्राम बालों से दूध भंगता था, यदि कोई भी देखे तो वह उसे दंड के राजा था। सब लोग गाय का दूध उस राजा को देते थे और बच्चे भुग्गा गरते थे। एक दिन एक सी की दूध देने की बारी आई, उसके पास गाय का दूध नहीं था। इसलिए अपना दूध निकाल कर दे दिया और उसका बच्चा भुग्गा भुग रहता था। राजा ने उसका दूध बहुत मांझा लगा। उसके कहा कि सब लोग ऐसा ही दूध लाना नहीं तो सबको दंड मिलेगा।

लोग अपने बच्चों को भूला मारने लगे। दूध राजा को देख पड़ता था। लोग उस राजा से बहुत परेशान हो गये। उन्हें मालूम हुआ कि हनोल में चार मांसू बीर आये हैं वह लोग इसका करते हैं। इसलिए वहाँ पड़े और सारी कथा चार मांसू को बता दी।

यह काम शेखखुड़ीया बीर की सौगता थी। उसने कहा तुम उसे केरें के पेड़ के नीचे बैठना, में उस पेड़ पर रुह्गा और अपने पास छाँगा नामक हवायार रखना, जब उस दफ्तर से इस्तेमाल करने तो उसे मार डालना। तब बुधगुरिया बीर ने ऐसा ही किया और उस राजा को मार डाला। सभी लोग सुखी हो गये। फिर वहाँ शेखखुड़ीया बीर का प्रदर्शन बनवाया और पूजा होने लगी।

यह कथा देखता है। इसका कथन मूल्यकित कथर की भ्रा-विधा के द्वारा मजीरत किया गया चलता है। परन्तु शेख की आवश्यकता है।
रंगवाई क्षेत्र के ग्राम महराजपुर में प्रतिवर्ष धान की दुनां अत्यंत को भी धानकी की तौन दिन
का मेला मनाया है, जो प्राचीन परंपरा से वल्ल माह रहा है। मों भारती की दोली पर पालक की बनाई जाती है, बढ़ता धान को भीड़ लगी रहती है। कई लोग देवी वर्ष में दोलका अनोखे मुख करते हैं, जिस पर
मों का अवतार आता था वह अपने बनन पर ख़ाबा धोपती थीं। देवी वर्ष में दोल मूर्ति और दमक की धाम
एवं ताल की महत्व उपयोगी तथा इतिहास छोटे दोल मूर्ति के लिए भेल किया। (सिव पारंपरी पूजा से हुई दोल
मूर्ति का उपयोग पारंपरी संपीति ने दोल मूर्ति की महत्व का भेल किया।)

उत्तरपूर्व में दोल मूर्ति का परम पुरीत देवमण व मंगलस्वरूप माना जाता है, इसका परम पुरीत
व देवमण मानने के पीछे जो भी कारण हो इसका निश्चित है कि दोल की उपलब्धि के संबंध में जो
लिखने को मिलती है उससे यहीं बाद साफ़ होता है कि दोल की संप्रभुत देवताओं के द्वारा ही
विश्वास गया था।

दोल की उपलब्धि के संबंध में मानवा है कि प्राचीन के परमांत उम्मीद की निस्तमला भंग करने
के लिए, ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, महेश्वर तथा भागवत ने दोल का निश्चित किया था तथा इस नह निश्चित दोल का नाम
विश्वजनी दोल रखा था। सर्वप्रथम इस रिव ने धारण कर सृष्टि का माननेन किया था। वर्तमान दंत धारणा
संप्रभुत "बुध दोल सागर" में दोल का उपलब्धि के बारे में वजाया गया है कि महादेव और पारंपरी
ने दोल बनाने के लिए साथ नाम का कुल का उद्देश्य किया, जिसमें चाँद पर मिट्टी गोली खड़क मिट्टी
के खोल काले दोल की रचना की, इस खोल पर प्रचाल नहीं मुझा गया था, इसके क्षेत्र हंसिकाओं से बनाया
जाता था, बाद में कल्याण का नाम के लोहे ने धरकनी से लोहे लगाकर वृत्स काटने के उपकरण पैदा किया।
ईसयार ने इन उपकरणों से वृद्धि में खबर विषम के बृहत का कारक उकसी लकड़ी में दोल का
अभाव नैसर्गिक किया, बाद में पारंपरी, गंगा शंत इन की प्रेमा से धारी से तथा निरक्षीकरण उसे गणता
पुनः दोल, तत्काल, निर्माण और मुख्य वादों के दोल बनाने गये। दोल के खोल चामड़े में मढ़ने पर जो
दोल बनकर हैलार हुआ, उसे तीन खाल कोडें देश-भेदों ने भिन्नत्व दोल का नाम दिया। (दोल सागर
संग्रह 55, 56).

भागवत धारणा द्वारा संस्कृत होता दोल सागर में कल्याण मिलता है कि एक बार महादेव ने पारंपरी
को छोटा श्रृंखला में सजाकर स्वयं दोल मूर्ति, शंक जमा, ताला, शाखार्ध, बौद्ध, मुखली, भिक्षा, सरांगी,
शरदा, खरीदी, तस्वी, हुड़की, दुर्लभी, भागुण्डा, तत्काल पंडा, पूर्वक, दोरु, भाग और नागान व बंगा
राम और खजुराहो गांवों में बनाकर नवादा था। उस नृथ में संपूर्णता होने के लिए स्वयं श्री कुमार प्रभु
अपने संवाद से गंगाबाबूओं सहित परिवर्तन थे। बाद में श्रीकुमार इन दोलों को झुकाए पर ले आये थे।

दोल सागर में दोल की उपलब्धि द्वारा दोल का नाम बदल गई है। दोल के देवमण स्वरूप के बारे में बताया
गया है। "दोल इसरों ने दोलों, पारंपरी ने दोलों, विष्णु, नागरे जो ने गढ़ता खारे जुग दोल पुढ़ता
होरा जी ने दोल उत्तर कोडिंग चढ़ाया।"

इस प्रकार दोल के समस्त भागों का सुखावत देखकर से बोधते हुए दोल सागर में कहा गया है
कि दोल की राशि करकम, कसाग्नी व बंडोट को राशि मिथुन, यहाँ हाथ की लकड़ी को राशि भूगोली
बनाकर दोल के मला, पिया, पत्थर व गोभ बने बारे में जब पारंपरी महादेव से पुछते है तो महादेव उपर
रहते हैं, "संहरु ताराशृंखल निर्माण च ज्ञानी, भारतीय भाज्य अग्नि गोस्थ दोल" महादेव पारंपरी की संघा
का निगमन करते हुए बताते हैं कि दोल सर्वमान मुक्त मास, गुलक पश दादरी तिथि राखी महत्व आदिव
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