

The Festival of *Jhoñjhī-Ṭesū*

By

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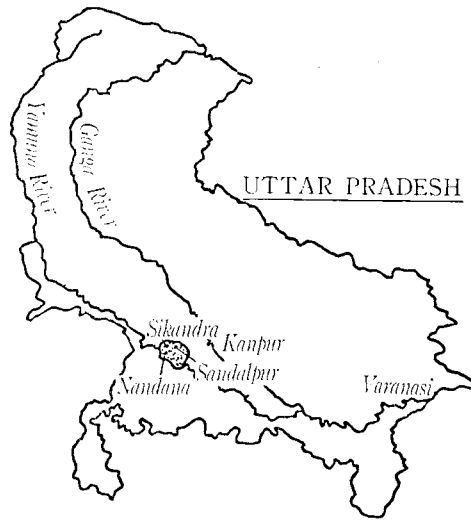
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On the Indian subcontinent, many different religious and cultural groups have been assimilated over the centuries into the mainstream of Indian society. Under the flexible protection of Hinduism, “little communities” observe many rituals, some of which have been linked to Sanskritic literature. We find numerous shrines dedicated to various gods and godlings: some are worshiped in nationwide festivals, others only in isolated communities. Many shrines sit in ruins, their origins long forgotten, although passing pilgrims routinely pay their respects. Besides the gods worshiped in this intricate network of folk traditions, regional and national heroes are also eulogized in folk songs, folk theater, and festivals.

The festival of Jhoñjhī-Ṭesū is a regional festival of this type. It honors the folk hero Tesu and celebrates his marriage to a girl named Jhonjhi.¹ My introduction to the festival was coincidental,² but once introduced I was intrigued, because (1) the elaborate observance of this festival seemed to be limited to a small geographical area (see map), (2) an extensive repertoire of folk songs was associated with it, and (3) all members of society participated in it.

This article discusses the mythological origins of the Jhonjhi-Tesu festival, describes the festival as it is celebrated today, gives representative song-texts for different segments of the festival, analyzes song types, and evaluates the social importance of the festival.

I visited Nandana village (in the Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh) three times (1973, 1976, and 1977), in order to collect field data on this festival; I also made observations in Sandalpur village (1976)³ for comparative purposes. A similar festival is reported in other parts of Uttar Pradesh and Malwa (Madhya Pradesh),⁴ but it is celebrated by children (or girls) only, within the confines of their households.⁵



Approximate area of the celebration of the Jhonjhi-Tesu festival.

BACKGROUND OF THE FESTIVAL

The story of the festival's origin, popularly known among villagers, can be summarized as follows:

In the Mahabharata war there was a warrior on Duryodhana's side named Baladhara Kunvara whose head was cut off in the war. He was so eager to see the rest of the war, however, that his head was placed on three spears on a hill. He saw the whole battle and shouted aloud whenever a warrior died in the battle.⁶

Why was his head cut off? How did his name become Tesu? Who was Jhonjhi? Why is this festival celebrated and why are Jhonjhi and Tesu married symbolically? Most villagers in Nandana could not answer these questions, but further interviews, library research, and correspondence yielded several more complete versions of the story. Dr. Brij Mohan (retired Professor, Banaras Hindu University) wrote: Babhruvahana was a famous archer. One day Lord Krishna wanted to test his skill and asked him to shoot all the leaves off one tree, using only one arrow. Krishna craftily plucked one leaf and put it under his foot. Babhruvahana's arrow pierced all the leaves on the tree and then came towards Krishna's foot. Seeing this, Krishna lifted his foot and the arrow pierced the last leaf also. Krishna realized that Babhruvahana was a great archer and feared that he would challenge Arjuna, so he decided that Babhruvahana must be killed somehow. Krishna therefore

asked Babhruvahana for a boon; when Babhruvahana gave his consent, Krishna asked for his head. Babhruvahana willingly agreed, but requested that he be allowed to see the Mahabharata war. Krishna said, "Your head will live until the end of the war." And thus Krishna put Babhruvahana's head up on three sticks of *sirakaṇḍā* (a kind of reed), so that he could watch the war.⁷

I recorded a similar story in 1976 in Sandalpur village, with the following variation:

After Babhruvahana pierced all the leaves of the tree, Krishna told him he could ask for a boon. Babhruvahana proudly protested that he was a warrior and therefore would not ask for a boon; however, if Krishna wanted anything from him, he would readily give it. Krishna then asked for his head. Babhruvahana said that he was on his way to the Mahabharata war and asked Krishna to arrange for him to see the war and be married before he died. Krishna arranged his marriage with a girl named Jhonjhi and his head was placed on a tree. During the war whenever one party was losing, the head would turn towards that side and laugh; immediately the losing side would begin to win again. After this had happened many times, Krishna broke the head into pieces.⁸

Tripathi (1953) and Bhatiya (1957) mention similar stories and suggest that Babhruvahana became known as Tesu. He had met the daughter of Narakasur, Jhenjhi, and both had promised to get married. When Babhruvahana donated his head to Krishna, Jhenjhi killed herself. After the war, Krishna made puppets of them and married them. The festival of Jhonjhi-Tesu has been celebrated ever since then.

Some authors have suggested yet another name, Barbarika, as a possible reference to this festival:

Just before the beginning of the Mahabharata war, Bhismapitamaha wanted to see how powerful the Kauravas were. Barbarika, grandson of Bhima and son of Ghatotkaca, proclaimed, "There is no warrior among the Pandavas and Kauravas who is as brave as I am." To prove this, he took out a powder which a yogi had given him. As soon as he sprinkled that powder on the congregation, all the warriors present fainted. Fearing that Tesu might destroy both the Pandavas and Kauravas, Krishna cut off his head. Later, at the request of Bhima and Ghatotkaca, Krishna restored life to Tesu's head and granted him a boon. Tesu asked to live until the war ended. Thus Krishna put the head on a hillock which was surrounded on three sides. From there Tesu

saw the whole Mahabharata war and after the war his head died.⁹

All of the above stories refer to the Mahabharata war and a warrior whose head was cut off. The different names of the warrior (Baladhara Kunvara, Babhrvahana, and Barbarika) and the common folk name (Tesu) arouse speculation.

In an effort to trace the connection between the oral tradition and the written epic, I searched for references in two detailed indices of epic and Puranic literature (Vettam 1979; and Shastri Chitrao 1964) and consulted noted Sanskrit scholars in India and the United States. The name Baladhara Kunvara mentioned by the villagers does not appear in the epic at all.

Babhrvahana is mentioned in the epic Mahabharata as the son of Arjuna, born of his wife Citrangada. Babhrvahana fought with Arjuna when he captured the horse of the Asvamedha Yajna and defeated his father. Afterwards, father and son embraced each other and Arjuna invited Babhrvahana for the Asvamedha Yajna (Shastri Chitrao 1964: 490-91). However, there is no mention of Babhrvahana's head being cut off by Krishna, his folk name Tesu, or his marriage to Jhonjhi.

The above story about Barbarika is similar to one mentioned in the *Skanda Purana*:

The great war started and Barbarika fighting on the side of the Pandavas started using his weapon Vibhuti. He sent it against all excepting the Pandavas, Krpacarya and Asvatthama. He did not leave even Krsna alone and the weapon fell on the feet of Krsna also. Enraged at this Krsna used his Sudarsana Cakra and cut off his head; at once Devi appeared and brought him to life. After the great battle, on the advice of Krsna, Barbarika went and lived in Guptaksetra (Vettam 1979: 107-108).

This story mentions the cutting of the head, but does not give us any information about the change of name from Barbarika to Tesu or the marriage between Tesu and Jhonjhi.

A cursory search of the written literature thus offered very little information regarding the name Tesu or stories of similar folk heroes. Extensive research would be needed to trace the relationship, if any, between the folk character Tesu and the epic Mahabharata.

OBSERVANCE OF THE FESTIVAL

In Nandana and Sandalpur villages, the Jhonjhi-Tesu festival begins on *Kvāra śukla navamī* (the ninth day of the bright half of the month

Kvāra). On the first day (*navamī*), the boys (generally aged twelve to sixteen years) play *bagulī* (the name suggests a kind of heron called *bagulā*). One boy holds a beak made of paper, tree bark, or cloth sheet and covers himself with a sheet. A few friends hold up the end of the sheet and the group goes around the village, singing songs and collecting grain (usually unhusked rice) from each household. One baguli song¹⁰ goes like this:

Song No. One

The eggs of the heron are multi-colored.
 They are found in seven continents.
 Seven continents? The cow gave birth to a calf.
 What will you do with that cow?
 We will enjoy milk and milk products and be happy.
 We are all united.
 Tesu is worthy of praise.
 He teaches us good manners and how
 To be self-sufficient in villages.
 Rain grain on us.¹¹

While boys are playing baguli, adolescent girls whose marriage arrangements are not yet under negotiation perform *paṭulī*. A patuli is a wooden board used for sitting in Hindu households. The wooden board is smeared with a thick layer of cow-dung and decorated with seasonal flowers. In the middle an earthen lamp is lit. One girl carries this wooden board on her head and the rest follow her around the neighborhood, singing patuli songs like this one:

Song No. Two

My wooden board is smoothly made.
 It has four legs.
 It has long hair.
 What is the board made of?
 What are the four legs made of?
 The board is made of sandalwood,
 the four legs are of silver.
 There are flowers on half of the board,
 and gems are inlaid in the second half.
 Where will you dispose of your board,
 and where will you dispose of the four legs?
 The board I will submerge in the Ganges,
 and the legs in the Yamuna.

These activities last for two or three hours. After that, the boys

go to the fields to play *kabaḍḍī* and *baijala* (outdoor games). The women and girls assemble at *caupālas* (sitting places in front of village homes) and sing songs such as this:

Song No. Three

Refrain: BRING UNFINISHED (?), OH KRISHNA OF GOKULA. YOU DON'T RECOGNIZE ME. OH BROTHER'S WIFE, GIVE ME AN ORNAMENT.

Where will I do the farming? Where will I have my threshing place?

Where will I get my bullock team? Who will do the farming? (R)
I will do farming on the sun and will make my threshing place on the moon.

I will make a bullock team from the cow's calf and my husband will do the farming.¹² (R)

The parrots picked all the corn and the corn-cobs were taken by the camara's wife.

The farmer came out with empty hands, but the camara's wife was dancing. (R)

At the time of accounting, my husband hid himself in the straw-house. (R)

She ground and pounded and brought back a basketful.

When she sat winnowing next to the stove, the *bhaḍuās*¹³ lit the stove. (R)

The she-buffalo was sold for one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees; all the wife's ornaments were sold.

The baking plate was also sold and the bodice was taken by the parrot. (R)

My mother-in-law is worshipping and my father-in-law is performing *agiyārī*.¹⁴

My husband's younger brother is very mischievous; he urinates on the agiyari. (R)

Where have these funny-looking ones come from and where have these big-bellied ones come from?

Where have these fashionable ones with curly hair come from? (R)

The funny ones are from Ninhaura village and the big-bellied ones are from Sikandra village.

The fashionable ones with curly hair are from Nandana village. (R)

The next day (the day of Dasahara), each group of boys sells the grain collected the night before and buys an image of Tesu¹⁵ at the market. Each group of girls buys a Jhonjhi (a fired pot with flower designs cut into the clay). They color the pot with rice paste and

paint designs on it. Then they spread a layer of rice husks inside the Jhonjhi to make a cushion for an oil lamp. In the evening, led by one girl carrying the lighted Jhonjhi on her head, groups of girls tour the village, singing and dancing at each house. All the groups finally assemble at one place. There they set their Jhonjhis down and sit in a circle, singing and tapping their hands on the ground to raise clouds of dust. In the midst of the dust, the lighted Jhonjhis look very beautiful. Two songs for this occasion are given below:

Song No. Four

A water pot without a head-rest is hard to balance, oh dear parrot.
 Without a calf, a cow brays day and night, oh dear parrot.
 Without a son, a mother suffers day and night, oh dear parrot.
 A sister with seven brothers travels in a brightly decorated palanquin, oh dear parrot.

Song No. Five

My Jhonjhi asks for rice.
 She asks for a bowl full of grain and a cake of raw sugar.
 She asks for red dye for her feet and red powder for the part of her hair.
 She asks for bangles for her wrists and a red dot for her forehead.
 She asks for toe-rings for her feet.
 Oh dear parrot, my Jhonjhi is preparing for marriage.
 Tesu has left for the marriage; my Jhonjhi is lagging behind.¹⁶

While the girls are touring the village, boys form their own groups and carry their Tesu images (unadorned), singing Tesu songs:

Song No. Six

Oh moon of *Kvāra*, shine brightly.
 No one in this world is as pure as you are.
 May the daughters of the whole world enjoy themselves,
 So that my mind will feel pleasure.

The next day (*ekādaśī*), the boys decorate their Tesu images with bright-colored paper and crowns, and then tour the village with them. For four days (until *caudasa*), there is singing and touring by the boys' and girls' groups; whenever groups of the opposite sex meet, the girls hide their Jhonjhis.

Adults also get together separately in the evenings, with men's groups singing and women's groups singing and dancing. Girls whose marriages are being arranged join the women at this time, since they are discouraged from touring with the Jhonjhi groups. A typical

song to accompany the women's dancing is given below:

Song No. Seven

I had forgotten, ta tatha ta thei thei.¹⁷

Keep the father-in-law in the house, ta tatha ta thei thei.

By tying him to the cot, ta tatha ta thei thei.

Keep the husband's elder brother in the house, ta tatha ta thei thei,

By tying him to a peg, ta tatha ta thei thei.

Keep the husband's younger brother in the house, ta tatha ta thei thei,

By tying him to a peg, ta tatha ta thei thei.

Keep your husband in the house, ta tatha ta thei thei,

By tying him near the drainage, ta tatha ta thei thei.

One woman puts a lighted Jhonjhi on her head and dances around, while other women circle slowly around her, clapping and singing; some of them also execute turns as they move in the line.

On the night of the full moon (*śarada pūrṇimā*), the last day of the festival, the boys enact humorous skits. For example, one boy might cover himself with black rice-stalks to look like a bear; his friends take him from house to house and make him dance. Another group may make a deer, with two boys grabbing hold of each other, the boy in front tying deer-horns on his head. The groups go from door to door, collecting rice and split chickpeas.

In the evening, accompanied by bands of local musicians and lighted torches, all the parties tour the village with their Jhonjhis on display and Tesu in palanquins, singing songs, until they reach the village tank. Under a marriage canopy, a priest performs the marriage of Jhonjhi and Tesu. When the ceremony is over, the Jhonjhis and Tesu images are thrown into the tank. The members of the procession throw their torches into the tank, too, and fireworks are set off. The soaked rice and split chickpeas collected in the afternoon are distributed among all present. After the marriage comes the high point of the festival, with girls and women singing and dancing late into the night.

ANALYSIS OF SONGS

Except for the band music during the wedding procession, all the songs are sung without accompaniment, though hand-clapping is used in some Jhonjhi songs.

The boys' songs (*bagulī*) are recited by a whole group simultaneously (Song No. One). The other song form is in couplets (Song No. Six); these couplets are sung in a free rhythm by two groups, one group

singing a whole couplet and the other repeating it. The subject matter of these songs is broad. In my collection I have Tesu songs describing the marriages of Ravana, Rama, Krishna, and Mahadeva, relating episodes from the ballad Alha-Udal, and glorifying neighboring towns. I was told that one could compose a couplet on any subject and sing it in the appropriate style, for it is the singing style which makes a couplet a Tesu song. Adult men sing mainly in this style.

The girls and women have a variety of songs which are sung during this festival at different occasions. Generally, the whole group sings simultaneously, repeating the second half of each line (Song No. Two). Occasionally repetitions are made a little more complex. See, for example, Song No. Four in the appendix, where the underlined text of each half is repeated. Some songs are sung by two groups of women in repetitive style, with the second group repeating what the first group sings. Song No. Three begins with the first group singing the refrain, which is then repeated by the second group. The first group then sings the verse and the refrain, and both of them are repeated by the second group. All the succeeding verses are sung in a similar manner. The subject matter of these songs is mostly humorous, with comments on relatives, friction with in-laws, and the importance of brothers to Indian girls. The word '*suwanā*' (parrot) often appears at the end of each line of the song; the symbolism implied is that a girl, like a bird, leaves her childhood home, or that the life of a parrot in a cage can be compared to the life of an Indian bride who experiences the restrictions of her in-laws' home in sharp contrast to the freedom of her childhood.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The social importance of the Jhonjhi-Tesu festival is that it prepares families for girls leaving their homes after marriage. This event causes great anxiety and grief for immediate family members and the new bride. In preparing and caring for Jhonjhi before her symbolic marriage to Tesu, girls, parents, and brothers learn to accept the girls' leave-taking with enthusiasm and happiness. (A few older men expressed these sentiments to me with tears in their eyes.) Boys do not have to undergo such a traumatic transition, because they inherit family property and wealth and can remain in their childhood homes all their lives, so they enjoy this festival mostly by playing games. This is why there are fewer Tesu songs specifically associated with the festival, in contrast to the great number of Jhonjhi songs.

This festival provides an excuse for all ages to participate in merry-making. Although the festival is mainly for boys and girls (as sug-

gested in Parmar 1969 and Satyendra 1957), in this area it is enjoyed by men and women also. Boys and girls usually engage in sporting activities and grownups in singing and dancing. Caste restrictions are relaxed, except for the lowest untouchables, and both Hindu and Muslim children celebrate this festival.

Many Hindu festivals provide an outlet for emotional feelings which may not be permitted in ordinary day-to-day life. Psychological release is encouraged, because many socio-cultural standards are relaxed. For example, during the festival of Holi, lower caste members are allowed to ridicule upper caste members and many people in the society, especially young boys, openly make sexual jokes and display models of sexual organs. The Jhonjhi-Tesu festival trains everyone in the customs of marriage and promotes harmonious interaction between young and old, rich and poor, Hindu and Muslim, with freedom from caste restrictions.

The Jhonjhi-Tesu festival has been celebrated for as long as anyone can remember, although some pomp and show has been added in recent years. There used to be only three or four Jhonjhis and Tesus in Nandana village; torches were made of wooden poles, with the tips wrapped in a heavy cloth and dipped in castor oil; and music for the procession was provided by folk ensembles of *turahī* (bugle) and *kandāla* (long trumpets). Nowadays there are as many as twenty Jhonjhis and Tesus, propane lamps are used for torches, and music is provided by bands using Western instruments. Despite modern innovations, the festival continues to be celebrated with great enthusiasm, so much so that it overshadows the festival of Dasahara, which occurs at the same time.

It is curious that this festival has attained such popularity, when its celebration is limited to a fairly small geographical area. I can only speculate on possible reasons for this disparity: (1) this festival was sponsored by a princely ruler or wealthy landlord in this area sometime in the past and has retained its popularity; or (2) this festival was originally more widespread, and was part of or simultaneous with the celebration of Dasahara, but the influence of the devotional movement (tenth century onwards) and the popularity of the epic Ramayana supplanted the celebration of the Jhonjhi-Tesu festival in other areas. Unfortunately, because of the lack of written history, it would be virtually impossible to verify either of the above hypotheses, or to trace local origins of the Jhonjhi-Tesu story. A few of the older persons interviewed stated that they remembered their great-grandparents talking about the celebration of this festival in their childhood years; additionally, a local Muslim potter claimed that his family had been

making Jhonjhis and images of Tesu for at least five generations. Beyond this, very little information is available.

NOTES

1. *Jhoñjhī*, *Jhañjhī*, or *Jhoñjhiyā*: The difference in words reflects the usage in different areas. Jhonjhi is the word used in the Nandana and Sandalpur areas, while Jhonjhiya is common in Kanpur city. Parmar (1969), Satyendra (1957), and Sharma (1958) refer to the festival as Jhanjhi; Kuldeep (1972) as Jhanjhi, Jhenjhi, and Jhaijhi; Tripathi (1977) as Jhijhiyan.

2. During a year-long field trip to India in 1972-73, I met Mr. Ram Sewak Pandey, a teacher in a Government Higher Secondary School, who showed great interest in my research on folk music. It was his enthusiasm that persuaded me to make my first trip to his home village, Nandana, to record folk songs related to the Jhonjhi-Tesu festival. I am grateful for Mr. Pandey's generous help during successive trips.

3. The summer 1976 trip was made possible by a senior research fellowship award from the American Institute of Indian Studies.

4. See Kuldeep (1972: 138-143); Parmar (1969: 149); Satyendra (1957: 220); Sharma (1958); and Tripathi (1977: 223). Another festival, *Lodhia and Jhinjha*, is reported by Chandrakali Sukul in *North Indian Notes and Queries* 3(8): 132, November 1893.

5. In my family home in Kanpur city, as I recall from my childhood some 25-35 years ago, this festival was known as Jhonjhiya and was observed by girls only. On the day of the festival, our family potter brought a Jhonjhiya for each of my sisters. That evening, each sister put some rice husks into her pot to cushion an oil lamp, lit the lamp, and carried her Jhonjhiya to each family member in turn, reciting the following verse:

Mora Jhoñjhī āura māñge, cāura māñge;
Belā bhara tilcaurī māñge, ūpara guḍa kī baṭṭī māñge.
Edī kā mahāura māñge, māñga bhare kā señdura māñge;
Hātha bhare kī cuḍiyā māñge, māthe kī jo bindī māñge;
Pāyana kī jo bichiyā māñge. (For English translation and comparison of text, see Song No. Five.)

She then begged for presents and each family member dropped some coins into her Jhonjhiya. My grandmother and parents also gave presents such as a sari or hair tassels, or promised to buy one item requested. This was the full extent of the celebration of this festival in my family.

6. Field interviews in Nandana, 1973. All translations from Hindi sources are my own, except where otherwise noted.

7. Personal correspondence, November 12 and December 23, 1973.

8. Field interview with Mr. Ram Adhar, teacher from Sandalpur, 1976.

9. Gopalbabu Sharma, "Lokgiton men Tesu aur Jhanjhi," *Saptahik Hindustan*, October 19, 1958. See also Bhatiya (1957).

10. Transliterations of all song texts appear in the appendix.

11. Many Tesu songs sung by boys do not make sense from one line to another or even within one line. The rhyming is grotesque. See Satyendra (1957: 294-299).

12. Compare these four lines with the text of the following song for the festival

of Phag (Satyarthi: 1951: 252):

I shall till on the moon;
I shall make my threshing floor on the sun.
My breasts will serve as bullocks;
At midnight my love will take them to graze.
Oh it rains like Savan and Bhadon.

13. *bhaḍuā*: one who lives on the earnings of a prostitute; the agent of a prostitute.

14. *agiyāri*: an earthen bowl in which fire is kept; also offerings made to this fire during worship.

15. Tesu is a mud sculpture of a male body. After firing the sculpture, the potter paints on the facial features, turban and the waist. Tesu holds a shield in his left hand and a sword in his right hand. The figure is supported by three sticks stuck in a mud plate. The two in front appear to be his legs (with shoes painted on), while the stick in back balances the figure.

16. This song lists the important ornaments and cosmetics worn by married women.

17. "Ta tatha ta thei thei" are dance syllables used in Hindustani Kathak dance.

APPENDIX

Song No. One:

Bagulī ke bagadhaure anḍā
Soū khelai sātau khaṇḍā
Sāta khaṇḍa kī dhaura biyānī
Uī dhaurī ko kā karihau
Khaihain pihain rāja karihain
Tragadāsa kī baḍī salāya
Te pai baiṭhe Ṭesūrāya
Ṭesūrāma baḍī bāta kahain
Apanī unḍī gānva basāva
Barasana deva bhai barasana deva.

Song No. Two:

Āṭole pāṭole sāṭole nara suvanā.
Saṭulī ke cāro pānya re suvanā.
Saṭulī ke lambe lambe keṣa re suvanā.
Kāhe kī morī banī re paṭuliyā.
Kāhe ke cāro pānya re suvanā.
Caṇḍana kī morī banī re paṭuliyā.
Rūpe ke cāro pānya re suvanā.
Ādhī paṭuliyā main phūla kaṭe hain.
Ādhe men ratana jaḍāe re suvanā.
Kāhe men siraibe caṇḍana paṭuliyā.
Kāhe me cāro pānya re suvanā.
Gaṅgā siraibe caṇḍana paṭuliyā.
Jamunā siraibe cāro pānya re suvanā.

Song No. Three:

Anagaḍha laiyo Gokula ke Kañhaiyā;
 Pahacānata nahiyān bhaujī bendula deva.
 Kāhe pai hama khetī karihain, kāhe pe kharihānā ho;
 Kāhe ke hama baila banaihain, ko yaha karai kisānā ho.
 Sūraja pai hama khetī karihain, cañdra pai kharihānā ho;
 Surāgaū ke baila banaihain, saiñyān karia kisānā ho.
 Bālī bālī suvanā lai gao, gñiyā lai gai camarado ho;
 Hātha moḍa kai calo kisānā, ṭhumakina nacaī camardo ho.
 Āmadanī ko lago bulauvā, saiñyān ghuse bhusaurā ho.
 Pīsa lāin kūṭa lāin, bhara lāin ṭokaniyā ho;
 Cūlhe pai jaba cālana baithīn, bhaḍuvana āga lagāi ho.
 Savā lākha kī bhainsa bikānī, au joḍū ko gahanā ho;
 Cūlhe pai ko tavā bikāno, añgiyā lai gayo suvanā ho.
 Sāsa hamārī pūjā karati hai, sasura karata agiyārī ho;
 Devara hamāre bāre ke murahā, mūta bhārī agiyārī ho.
 Kāñhāñ ke hain lendī pendā, kāñhāñ ke bharapeṭā ho;
 Kāñhāñ ke hain chaila cikaniyāñ, ḍāre lambe turrā ho.
 Ninhourā ke hain lendī pendā, Sikandrā ke baḍapeṭā ho;
 Nandanā ke hain chaila cikaniyāñ, ḍāre lambe turrā ho.

Song No. Four:

Bina uḍarī kī gāgara suvanā, ḍagamaga ḍagamaga hoyā suvanā.
 Bina bachuvā kī gaiyā re suvanā, rāñbhata dina aura rāta suvanā.
 Bina putra kī maiyā re suvanā, bilakhata dina aura rāta suvanā.
 Sata bhaiyana kī bahinī re suvanā, ḍolā camakata jāya suvanā.

Song No. Five:

Mora Jhoñjhī āura māñge cāura māñge;
 Belā bhara tilacaurī māñge, ūpara guḍa kī baṭṭī māñge.
 Eḍiyā mahāura māñge, māñga bhārata ko señdura māñge.
 Hātha bhare kī cuḍiyā māñge, māthe kī jo bindī māñge.
 Pāyana kī jo bichiyā māñge.
 Re nara suvanā mori Jhoñjhiyā ko raco hai bihāva.
 Ṭesū to gaye hain barāte re nara suvanā, mori Jhoñjhī rahī garu kheta.

Song No. Six:

Kvārā junhaiyā ho, are nirabala uiyo.
 Nirabala uvata na koya.
 Biṭiyān khelāin re sansāra kī,
 Mero jiyarā lahariyā le.

Song No. Seven:

Hama bicārī bhulā gai thīn, tā tathā tā theī theī.
 Sasurā gharai men rakhiyo, tā tathā tā theī theī.
 Sasurā khaṭiyā men bāndhe, tā tathā tā theī theī.
 Jeṭhā gharai men rakhiyo, tā tathā tā theī theī.
 Jeṭhā khuṭiyā men bāndhe, tā tathā tā theī theī.
 Devarā gharai men rakhiyo, tā tathā tā theī theī.
 Devarā khuṭiyā men bāndhe, tā tathā tā theī theī.

Sahabā gharai men rakhiyo, tā tathā tā thei thei.
Sahabā narā men bāndhe, tā tathā tā thei thei.

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