

Some Annotated Indian Folksongs

By

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In 1961 the writer traveled through the district of Ballia, Uttar Pradesh, India, on a field trip resulting in a collection of five hundred Bhojpuri folksongs and other genres of folklore. All the songs were collected from one female informant at Sonavarsa, a multi-caste agricultural village, situated twenty-five miles from the district headquarters Ballia. Bhojpuri is a dialect of Hindi which is spoken in the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh and western part of Behar, India.

Devi, the informant, was in her early eighties, when I visited her in 1961. She was born in Karanae, a village near the town of Ballia, and was married into a Brahman family of Sonavarsa. She claimed to have known thousands of songs in her youth. Although due to the old age and unpleasant family life, Devi had been losing considerable interest in folksinging, still she had retained a sweet voice and bewildering memory.

The ten folksongs presented here represent various song types found in the Bhojpuri language. The Sohar Song (A-9)* is sung before, during, and after the birth of a male baby. The Siva's Song (141) is performed at the marriage, sacred thread ceremony, and at the time of the farewell of a bride. Kajali is a seasonal song (242) generally sung by women folk during the monsoon period of July and August. The Jhumar (258, 262) is sung in a chorus by a party of female singers who move to and fro in a dance and regale their hearers by the sweetness of the melody. Usually this type of song is sung at various Hindu ceremonies. The Jatasar (301) is also sung by women while grinding mill aiming to lighten their fatigue. The inevitable

* These numbers indicate the original number from the field note.

theme of such songs is the proverbial oppression and anguish the women suffer at the hands of their relentless mother-in-law. The Sitala Songs (356, 369), the songs related to the goddess of small pox, are sung by women at the bed side of their ailing children and relatives to appease the goddess and insure the safety and speedy recovery of the person from the disease.

A-9 Sohar: Birth Song

Cuckoo¹ you look frightful² but (your) speech is sweet.³
 O cuckoo, your speech is so sweet⁴ that even the Trinity of Gods⁵
 get pleasure (from it).
 Gajadhar⁶ enjoys (it) at Gaya⁷ and Benimadhaw⁸ at Prayag.⁹

¹ "The standard word for Koelari is Kokala or Kokila which means 'the black or Indian cuckoo.'" S. W. Fallon, *A New Hindustani-English Dictionary* (Banaras, 1879), p. 958.

This bird has dominated folk imagination, it is a love symbol. Perhaps, this is the most popular bird mentioned in the Bhojpuri folksongs.

² The Cuckoo is known for its dark black coloration which gives it connotations of mystery. The association of black with fear and ugliness is a common motif. Many sayings and idioms are based on the black color of the cuckoo.

³ The cuckoo is famous for its sweet voice. The words *Kokal Baini* (the sweet voice of a cuckoo), are commonly used to describe sweetness in speech of a person.

⁴ Charming: pleasing to the eyes or ears.

⁵ The Trinity of Gods comprises Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Mahesh or Siva, the destroyer. It is a Bhagawat monotheistic concept, portraying the complete unity of the gods.

⁶ "The Sanskrit name is Gadadhar or Gadhamrit which means 'a bearer of a mace.' It is an epithet used for Lord Krishna." Carl Cappeller, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Boston, 1891), p. 147. See also, Arthur Anthony Macdonell, *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (London, 1924), p. 81.

Lord Krishna is commonly known by this name, and there are several temples of Lord Krishna dedicated to the god Gadadhar. Gadadhar is one of the common names of Krishna

O cuckoo, Kanaiya¹⁰ enjoys (it) at Mathura;¹¹ he plays with the flute.¹²

O cuckoo, (there is) a Kadam¹³ tree in the courtyard¹⁴ of

often mentioned in folksongs, but in the world of folk religion he is treated as a separate (no relation with Krishna) god.

⁷ Gaya is a famous town situated in the south of Bihar. Anciently, it was a great city celebrated all over India as a prominent Hindu and Buddhist place of pilgrimage. Lord Buddha attained salvation here.

⁸ It is the name of a god. There is a temple of Benimadhaw at Allahabad.

⁹ It is an ancient holy city situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Jamuna. The modern name for this city is Allahabad.

¹⁰ Krishna is the Sanskrit word for Kanaiya. The majority of the religious songs mention this name.

¹¹ This city is one of the great centers of Hindu religious life, being famous as the birth-place of Krishna. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1908), XVIII, p. 72.

¹² It was the favorite musical instrument of Krishna. Krishna is called Murlidhar because he plays flute. Much has been written on this subject in medieval poetry.

¹³ The Sanskrit form is Kadamb. It is a tree which is said to be very dear to Lord Krishna. Penzer mentioned the famous story wherein Krishna steals the clothes of the bathing Gopis and sits on the branch of a Kadamb tree. Somadeva, *The Ocean of Streams of Story*: trans. C. H. Tawney, ed. N. M. Penzer (London, MCMXXIV), VIII, p. 214.

In Bhojpuri folksongs Krishna is invariably mentioned as playing his flute under the Kadam tree. See for detail: Krishna Deva Upadhyaya, *Bhojpuri Folksong*, Vol. I (Prayag, S. 2000).

The Kadamb is still found in the Ballia district of U.P. It is a big leafy tree with semi-sweet fruits called Kadamphal. These are a little larger than a tennis ball. But the tree is now becoming rare.

¹⁴ The Angana is a central courtyard surrounded by the four walls of a house. The size of this area depends, to a large extent, on the economic condition of the owner of the house. Many villagers in U.P. still prefer to plant a sacred tree or trees in their courtyard, generally for religious purposes. The Neem is liked most. It is likely that in former days people might

Radhika,¹⁵ (where) the Trinity of Gods enjoy (it).
 O cuckoo, Vishwnath¹⁶ enjoys (it) at Kashi,¹⁷ and the Trinity
 of the Gods enjoy (it) too.
 O cuckoo, your speech is very sweet, the Trinity of the Gods
 enjoy it (too).
 O cuckoo, what wrong¹⁸ did I do that I became a barren woman.¹⁹
 "You drove away hungry Brahmans²⁰ and scolded your sister-
 in-law."²¹

have planted the Kadam tree too in their courtyard. But I have never seen any such case.

¹⁵ Radha is a Sanskrit form for Radhika. This is the name of a herd-girl beloved of Krishna and later worshipped as a goddess. Almost the whole of the medieval devotional literature of Hindi describes nothing but Radha and Krishna's relationship. A sect arose in the middle ages which regarded Radha as the supreme deity.

¹⁶ The lord of the world. This is one of the names of Lord Siva. At Benares, there is a temple dedicated to Vishwnath, famous throughout India.

¹⁷ Kashi is the ancient name for the present Varanasi, which is situated on the Ganges in U.P. Even today this name is widely used. Kashi occupied a predominant position in Buddhist literature.

¹⁸ Kutap means bad Tap. Tap means sacrifice, physical torment for the attainment of religious virtue. Here, there is a reference to the woman who has failed to fulfill religious duties.

¹⁹ According to Hindu religious beliefs, barrenness in a woman is the greatest curse of her life. A barren woman is regarded as a bad omen; people hate to see her, for, even her sight might bring evils. Hundreds of tales could be collected depicting the fruitless and miserable life of the barren women. A tremendous volume of folklore is concerned with this subject.

²⁰ A Brahman is a member of the highest caste in the Hindu social order. According to the ancient scriptures a Brahman was ordained to earn his livelihood through begging. So, obviously, it became a great duty of a householder to give alms to a Brahman—refusing alms to a begging Brahman was regarded as a sinful act.

²¹ This is a reference to the husband's sister. The relation between a woman and her husband's sister has always been

O queen,²² you drove crows away with your left hand²³ and so became a barren woman."

depicted as unfriendly in the songs. Upadhyaya has classified this relationship among those of "unwanted relatives". Krishna Deva Upadhyaya, *Study of Bhojpuri Folkliterature* (Varanasi, c. 1960), pp. 272-275.

²² This does not mean a queen in reality. This is used more or less as a generic term. In songs a woman of inferior or equal status addresses another young woman as a queen.

²³ Crows are called Kag or Kaga of Kak. Fallon, p. 899.

...The crow is a famous totem or sacred bird. It personifies in Indian tradition the soul of the dead man; hence, to give food to the crows...is equivalent to offering food to the Manes...When this food is given to the crows, they are enabled to pass into a better world. Hence the bird is known as Balibhuj or "devourer of oblations."

William Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), II, 243.

The crow is known, as the maternal uncle of the children, and is given rice and milk to eat. He is considered as the bringer of good tidings; thus newly wedded brides whose husbands have gone to "foreign lands" love him. Like the cuckoo, the crow has also played a great role in Bhojpuri folklore.

From the above statement it is obvious that not giving food to a crow or driving it away must have been considered a bad omen and might have been thought of as somewhat sinful. Although I am not able to explain the significance of "driving away a crow with the left hand," it should probably not be treated as an incidental reference. The left hand of a person is considered impure, so this action might have been further regarded as a bringer of bad luck.

141 Siva's Song

The father Janak, the great saint,¹ starts a promised Homa.² Siva is [not] invited;³ Gaura is greatly offended.⁴

¹ The king of Mithila and father of Sita, the wife of Ramachandra.

Janak is a great saint known for his philosophical pursuits. He was a king as well as a philosopher and is known as the Philosopher King.

This folksong refers to the mythological story of Rishi Daksha Prajapati; the great sacrifice performed by him; and the suicide of Gauri, his daughter, in the sacred Kund.

The informant has mistakenly used the name of Janak in the place of Daksha Prajapati. This mistake shows that while she is ignorant of the difficult name, Daksha Prajapati, she is quite familiar with the mythological story. Excepting the change of the name, the rest of the story is, more or less, correct. But this mistake does have some psychological reason; in the world of the folksongs and folksingers Daksha is not as well known as Janak is. The Ramayana story, which mentions the great characters such as Janak, Rama, and Sita, is far more popular among the common masses than the mythological story mentioned in the song. So it seems quite plausible that the singer picked up a more popular name, Janak, and attached it to the frame-work of the mythological story which does have a little similarity with the Ramayan story.

Daksha (the creator god) is at once father and son of Aditi: Daksha is born of Aditi, although he is also her father. His existence is probably due to the fact that the Aditias are called "having intelligence" of their father, thus giving rise to the conception that Daksha is a person. Aditi is the mother and daughter of Daksha. Daksha is identified with Prajapati. Daksha Prajapati is known as a son of Pracetas. Louis Herbert Gray, ed., *The Mythology of All Races* (Boston, MDCCCXVI), VI, 18, 28, 54, 75, 114.

The popular version of the mythological tale is as follow:

Daksha Prajapati begins a sacrifice but he invites neither Siva, his son-in-law, nor Gauri, his daughter, because once Siva disobeyed him. Gauri sees many people going to her father's estate so she asks the reason. Siva tells her what is happening.

Siva reads the letter and smiles within his heart.

“What wrong did you do to your father that he did not invite you.”

Gauri, along with one of the Ganas of Siva, goes to her father's sacrifice and finds no place reserved for Siva. She consequently scolds everyone, including her father, and seeing herself being insulted, jumps into the burning fire of the Kund and becomes a Sati.

This story may be corroborated by other evidences:

According to a version mentioned by Crooke, Rishi Daksha is the hero of the curious tale of the sacrifice at Kankhal, a suburb of Hardwar. Uma or Parvati, the spouse of Siva was also a daughter of Daksha. Once Daksha was offended with his son-in-law, Siva. That is why he did not invite him to the great sacrifice. Uma became a Sati, but Siva, in a rage, created Virbhadra who killed the sage.

Crooke, 1, 12.

A late Puranic passage of the *Mahabharata* (XII 10208 ff) tells us that when Daksha was sacrificing, but ignoring Siva, Uma urged Siva to secure a part of the offering. Siva created a terrible being called Virabhadrā, while Uma assumed her form as Bhadrakali and together the pair upset the sacrifice. Finally Daksha recognized the power of Siva.

Gray, VI, 179.

Another version of the same story:

At the end of the Krita yuga the gods sought to perform a sacrifice and prepared it in accordance with the prescriptions of the Vedas while Prajapati Daksha, a son of Pracetas, undertook the offering and performed it on Himavanta at the very place where the Ganges bursts forth from the mountains. The gods themselves decided how the sacrifice was to be apportioned, but they did not know Rudra well so they left him without a share. In anger Rudra went to the place of offering, bearing his bow, and straightway the mountain began to shake. The wind ceased to blow and the fire to burn, the stars quenched their light in fear, the glory of the sun and the beauty of the moon departed, and thick darkness filled the air. The gods hastily fled with the remains of the preparation for the sacrifice, pursued by Siva's mocking laughter. Finally all the gods propitiated Siva.

Gray, VI, 114.

But Gaura did not listen to the speech of Siva,

² Homa seems to be part of the compound Humadhi, Homa + Adi. The word Huma seems to have derived from the Sanskrit word Homa.

³ Siva in Hindu mythology is a god who forms the supreme trinity with Brahma and Vishnu. As Brahma is the creator and Vishnu the preserver; so Siva is the destroyer. Death being a transition to a new form of life, the destroyer is really a re-creator, and thus Siva is styled the Bright or Happy one. He is exclusively a post-Vedic god. Numerous features of Siva's character and history are developed from those of the Vedic Rudra.

Like Rama and Krishna, Siva is mentioned in the songs very often. Siva occupies a shape and position in the folksongs which has little to do with the Vedic Rudra or the post-Vedic Siva.

The informant meant that Siva did not receive any Newata or he was not invited, but seemingly she forgot to make the sentence negative.

⁴ The Sanskrit form of this name is Gauri. She is the wife of Siva. Siva's consort, Rudrani or Mridani is known by many names as Devi, Uma, Gauri, Parvati, Durga 'the inaccessible', Bhawani, Kali, etc.

James Hastings, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1961), II, 813a. See also Gray, VI, 118.

Devi, the wife of Siva, when she is kind; is called Uma 'light', Gauri 'the yellow or brilliant one', Parvati or Haimavati 'she has her birth in the Himalaya'.

Hastings, II, 492a.

Gauri has been known to have born to Himavant, the mountain king.

Gray, VI, 182-183.

In the folktales the name Parvati is often mentioned, and in the songs, generally, Gauri, or Gaura.

It is Siva who is generally known for his hot-temper; he performs Tandavnrita "the dance of destruction" only when he is very angry. Gauri is usually considered sober, kind, and polite. There are many folktales associated with the kindness and generosity of Gauri or Parvati.

And Gaura rode on the Bansaha Bull.⁵
 "I ask you repeatedly, Gaura, not to go to your parents' house.
 Gaura, you will be insulted, for you have been not invited.
 But Gaura did not listen to the counsel of Siva,
 And Gaura rode on the Bansaha Bull.
 Her father, who is sitting at the court,⁶ is surprised,
 "O Gaura, why did you come without an invitation;
 You have insulted me."
 Her brother, who is playing dice,⁷ is surprised,
 "O Gaura, why did you come;
 You have insulted me."

⁵ Ordinarily it is Siva who rides a bull, and the Bansaha Bull belongs to Siva.

The bull which Siva is supposed to ride is generally known as Nandi or Nandin. "An ox with a fleshy excrescence on his eye is regarded as sacred and is known as Nandiya or Nandi, 'the happy one', the title of the bull of Siva."

Crooke, II, 234.

Nandin or Sailadi is known as the guard of Siva's temple.

Gray, VI, 181.

Generally Nandi is found as a stone idol of a big sitting bull facing the main entrance of Siva's temple.

Nandin is supposed to be one of Siva's favorite attendants and the leader of Siva's Ganas, or disciples.

Penzer, I, 6a, 202. See also, Penzer, V, 168, "Story of the Fools and the Bull of Siva."

⁶ This is a general song formula; the father or father-in-law is shown sitting at a court or meeting place, but it does not necessarily carry the usual connotation of the word; it may mean a small gathering of men.

In the context Daksha, most probably, might be sitting at his court as he was a king and more so he was in the process of performing the Homa. Already many gods would have assembled when Gauri went there.

⁷ A favorite game among youngsters. This is also a favorite song formula in which the brother is generally mentioned as playing dice. Dice is a popular folk game but is treated with contempt by the elders.

Her mother, who is sitting on a Machia,⁸ is surprised,
 "O Gaura, why did you come;
 You have insulted me."
 If I had known, o Gaura, that you would insult me,
 I would have sent Dola ho Bansa,⁹ with your Sahodar elder
 brother.¹⁰

⁸ Mother or mother-in-law, generally, is mentioned as sitting on a Machia, a large cushion or hassock, which is practically her throne from where she commands or looks after the household management. It shows her superior position in a joint family system.

Machia is a small cot, according to Grierson, made with a woven twine seat, a wooden framework and four legs. Another name for it is Machola.

George A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* (Patna, 1926) 2nd ed., no. 632, p. 121.

⁹ This should be read as Dola Va Bansa, meaning a litter and (or with) bamboo pole. The word Dola or Doli is the same. The word Khatoli, Doli, Khotli means litter. Doli is also used for the ornamented litter, used at marriage, which is also called, in south Bhagalpur, Chandol or Tartarwan.

Grierson, no. 241, p. 45.

Bansa is Bans; it means a bamboo pole, from it the litter is suspended.

Grierson, no. 242, p. 45.

Bansa is called pole, and the curved end of the front pole Thop. The four iron struts at each end are called Tan and they meet in a ring, which goes round the pole. The inner end of the pole rests in a socket in the end of the litter which is called Chukiya.

Grierson, no. 249, p. 46.

Doli is still a common means of transportation among the well-to-do families. To send a Doli to call one's own daughter or daughter-in-law or the other female relatives means an honour being given to the person concerned.

¹⁰ In the place of Sahodra, the word Sahodar should be read, which means a blood brother or a sister. In a joint family structure, usually it is the responsibility of the elder brother to go and bring his sister to his parents' home. But he might be a

Her sister-in-law calls her names, while she is cooking,
 And asked her, "O Gaura why did you come;
 You have insulted me."
 Her sister comes with a wooden seat and water to drink¹¹ and
 the sister-in-law brings a broom-stick.¹²
 But Gaura did not listen to all this.
 Gaura jumped swiftly into the Kund.¹³
 O Gura, you did not obey Siva;¹⁴
 O Gaura, you left the bed of Siva.
 You insulted all.

cousin elder brother too. Thus the expression "(I would have) sent Dola ho Bansa/with your Sahodar elder brother" is mentioned to demonstrate the prestige and love, the mother of Gauri wants to give her.

¹¹ The sister-sister relationship in Hindu society has been always affectionate. Thus it is natural, even when Gauri is questioned by everyone in her parental family, the sister offers her a "wooden seat and water". Giving a seat to a guest is perhaps everywhere a sign of honour. According to Indian custom, a guest should be offered water upon his arrival to wash his feet and face to lessen his fatigue and then he is given things to eat and drink.

¹² Traditionally, a woman and her husband's sister relation is found uncordial. A broom-stick is one of the auspicious articles of household, but to beat or sweep someone with a broom is to incur a great insult upon her or him. In the present case the association of the brother's wife with a broom is certainly meant to demonstrate her utter negligent and insulting behavior toward her husband's sister.

¹³ A ditch bigger or smaller in size, in which sacrificial fire is lighted.

Crooke maintains that the present Kankhal, a suburb of Hardwar, is the place where Daksha performed his sacrifice and Gauri, the wife of Siva, surrendered herself to the burning fire of the sacrificial Kund.

Crooke, I, p. 12.

¹⁴ This seems to be an inference to the Hindu code of social life; wherein a wife is expected to obey her husband in all matters. Disobedience to the husband by his wife is against the social norms of the society.

242 Kajali: Seasonal Song

The mother-in-law is putting Batisia¹ on her teeth,

¹ The text, "Sasu ke Dante re Batisia", is translated as: The Mother-in-law is putting on Batisia on her teeth. But I think the correct text would be: Sasu ke Danta re Batisi, the mother-in-law has a set of teeth, thirty-two in number. It is possible that the singer might have confused between Batisia (a kind of powder) and Batisi (thirty two), and used Dante (in or on the teeth) instead of Danta (teeth) thinking the Batisia might be a kind of powder used by women for beautifying their teeth or a slight change in the wording might have helped her in singing. It is customary to have 'ia' letters at the end of the most of the Bhojpuri words. But it is not proper to blame the informant for having used an inappropriate word, Batisia, in the place of an appropriate word, Batisi, because K. D. Upadhyaya has collected a version of this song wherein the word Batisi is clearly mentioned. But he does not explain Batisi as a set of teeth, thirty-two in number. Batisi, explain Upadhyaya, is Missi, a kind of black powder. Which women use on their teeth to beautify them. Thus he translates "Sasu ke Danta re Batisi", as the mother-in-law has used Missi on her teeth. Upadhyaya's translation does not seem to follow the rules of the Bhojpuri grammar.

Upadhyaya, *Bhojpuri Folksong*, I,
p. 335.

The song certainly does not lose its meaning even if Batisi is explained in a little different manner. Fallon explains Batisi as an aggregate of thirty-two or the set of teeth, thirty-two in number. He quotes a line of a song showing the beauty of Batisi Danta:

"Teri dantan ki batisi/janiya hire ke Kanyan."
Your thirty-two teeth, my dear, are diamonds bright.

Fallon, p. 223.

Batisi Danta or Ka Batisi Jhalakavat Bada, etc., are widely known idioms in Bhojpuri language. Thus it can be said that even if the word Batisi or Batisia is interpreted as the set of teeth, thirty-two in number; the song does not lose its charm.

And the daughter-in-law has tattooed² her cheeks.
 The father-in-law³ does not take his meals but stares at the tattoo.
 If, o my father-in-law, I could have known that you would behave
 like a treacherous man,⁴
 O Father-in-law, I would have not tattooed my cheeks.
 The mother-in-law is putting Batisia on her teeth,
 And the daughter-in-law has tattooed her cheeks.
 The father-in-law does not drink water, but stares at the tattoo.
 If, o my father-in-law, I could have known that you would behave
 like a treacherous man,
 O Father-in-law, I would have not tattooed my cheeks.
 The mother-in-law is putting Batisia on her teeth,
 And the daughter-in-law has tattooed her cheeks.

² Tattooing is widely practiced among Indians. Probably, it is a device to repel evil spirits. Women of all classes and castes tattoo the different parts of their body. Crooke gives a list of the tribes and the parts of the body on which they used to carry these tattoo marks:

The Juang women tattoo themselves with three strokes on the forehead just over the nose, and three on each of the temples. . . . The Khariya women make three parallel marks on the forehead, the outer lines terminating at the ends of a crook, and two on the each temple. The Ho women tattoo themselves in the form of an arrow. . . . The Bihar women tattoo their chest, arms, and ankles, but not their faces. The Oraon women have three marks on the brow and two on each temple.

Crooke, II, p. 31.

Tattooing on the cheeks appears to be difficult because it does not offer a solid background for tattooing. It is likely that women used artificial tattooing marks, to look more beautiful. Movie stars have adopted this method. Upadhyaya's version of this song mentions tattooing on the arms of the daughter-in-law not on her face or cheeks.

³⁻⁴ In the folksongs the relationship between a father-in-law and his son's wife is pictured in somewhat bad and demoralized manner. However the position of a father-in-law is highest and most responsible in his family and the daughter-in-law, being the wife of his son, is sacred to him. The daughter-in-law addresses her father-in-law as a treacherous man because he is withdrawing from his moral responsibility of guarding her chastity.

The father-in-law does not chew betel but stares at the tattoo.
 If, o my father-in-law, I could have known that you would behave
 like a treacherous man,
 O Father-in-law, I would have not tattooed my cheeks.
 The father-in-law does not sleep on his bed but stares at the
 tattoo.
 The mother-in-law is putting Batisia on her teeth,
 And the daughter-in-law has tattooed her cheeks.
 If, o my father-in-law, I could have known that you would be-
 have like a treacherous man;
 O Father-in-law, I would have not tattooed my cheeks.

258 Jhumar

O Sonarin,¹ if you could have lived at the goldsmith's house, you
 would have cooked *khichari*;²
 O Sonarin, now you cook *Seua*³ and *Polawa*⁴ at Mangal's⁵ house.
 O Sonarin, you would have been called *Babue*,⁶ if you could have
 stayed at the goldsmith's house.

¹ The wife of a goldsmith. In several songs goldsmith is mentioned with his wife.

² A mixture of rice and pulse cooked together.

³ The standard word is *Sevai*. Predominantly a Muslim food. It is a preparation of wheat flour which is made like spaghetti and dried under the sun, and cooked with milk, sugar, and dried fruits.

⁴ A rich Mohammdan dish of rice boiled in soup with meat and spices etc.

Fallon, p. 365.

⁵ Mangal is a Hindu name but it appears to be adopted by a Muslim. I asked my informant, "who is this Mangal?" Devi replied, "Mangal was a Pathan. Who was notoriously known in Bhojpuri area because he looted Hindu families and kidnapped girls. His name was a terror in Hindu homes." Mangal might have been a Muslim chief in Bhojpuri area.

⁶ An affectionate term of address used for a girl.

O Sonarin, but now Mangal speaks piercing words⁷ to you.
 O Sonarin, if you would have lived at the goldsmith's house, you
 could have put on sari;⁸
 O Sonarin, now you put on an Odni⁹ at Mangal's house.
 O Sonarin, if you would have lived at the goldsmith's house,
 you could have put on sandal.¹⁰
 O Sonarin, now you put on only Jutia¹¹ at Mangal's house.

262 Jhumar

From which town comes the Bami¹ fish,
 From which town comes oil,
 From which town comes the beautiful girl,²
 Who is pregnant.³
 O, the beautiful girl is dining.
 She is pregnant.
 O, you live on the bank of the Jamuna.⁴
 You break the hope of many people.
 O, you live on the bank of the Jamuna.
 You break the hope of many people.

⁷ It is not certain what Hanela Nishan means. It may mean: words which pierce one's body like an arrow.

⁸ A lower garment used by the Hindu women.

⁹ A woman's mantle covering the head and upper half of the body.

Fallon, p. 176.

¹⁰ A foot wear.

¹¹ A slipper usually used by Muslim women.

¹ Eel fish.

Fallon, p. 211.

² The word Gora means white-skin. A Gori Bitieua means a girl with white skin—fair complexion—which is regarded as a sign of beauty.

³ "Cchava Mahinawa ke Pet" may be translated as: An unmarried girl carrying an illegitimate pregnancy for six months.

⁴ One of the important rivers of India, which has its source in the Himalaya and joins the Ganges at Allahabad.

O, the Bami fish comes from the town of Patna,⁵
 O, oil comes from the town of Maua.⁶
 You break the hope of many people.
 O, you live on the bank of the Jamuna.
 O, the beautiful girl comes from the town of Gorkhapur,⁷
 Who is pregnant.

301 Jatasar: Grinding Mill Song

O Hari¹ ji you will go to Haridwarika;²
 O Hari ji, whom will you ask to take care of a beautiful³ lady
 like me?

⁵ The capital city of Behar which is situated on the bank of the Ganges. Patna is adjacent to Bhojpuri area, thus there are frequent references to this city in the Bhojpuri songs.

⁶ It is a district headquarters, situated on the bank of the river Tons, in eastern Utter Pradesh. It is a principal center of handloom goods. In olden days, it may have been an oil producing center.

⁷ A large town in Utter Pradesh named after Gorakshnath, the founder of the Nath cult. People of the adjacent districts say that the girls of Basti and Gorakhpur have loose morals. A proverb states: "Basti me Bur Sasti" (Vagina is cheaper in Basti district). This song also seems to allude to this conviction.

¹ Hari is one of the names of Lord Krishna. In the songs, the husband is usually addressed by his wife as Hariji. Here it means a husband.

² Haridwarika is known as Dwarika, the city of many gates. The famous city and place of pilgrimage, associated with life of Krishna, in Kathiawar in western India. Krishna is said to have been assailed by the hosts of Raja Jarasandha. They destroyed the city of Mathura but on the same night Dwarika arose out of Cutch water. Krishna transferred his faithful population from Mathura to Dwarika.

Hastings, V, p. 126b.

Lord Krishna is known as Dwarikanath, 'the Lord of Dwarika

O Rukumini,^{3a} I will give you wealth⁴ and corn.⁵
 And O Rukumini, I will leave under your care my old mother.⁶
 O Rukumini, I will leave under your care Bhagirathi,⁷ my
 nephew.⁸
 O Rukumini, I will build for you a four-storied Haweli.⁹
 O Hari ji, the four-storied Haweli would fall to ruin;
 And O Hari ji, your nephew Bhagirathi would die.

city.' The name of this city is frequently mentioned in the songs with devotion and respect.

³ Sunari, a girl or a woman, who is beautiful.

^{3a} The wife of Lord Krishna who shows no devine features.
 Gray, VI, p. 127.

But here, just a married woman. This name is used in the songs, usually as a generic term for a married woman.

⁴⁻⁵ To make someone economically sound. The word Dhanawa Lacchimi means the goddess of wealth.

⁶ In the joint family system an old mother generally stays with her son and daughter-in-law. If a son is gone, then it naturally becomes the responsibility of his wife to look after his mother.

⁷ The name of an ancient king, son of Dilip and grandson of Sagar, who with the help of Siva brought the celesial Ganges down to the earth to purify the ashes of the sons of Sagar, and conducted the river to the sea. The present reference has nothing to do with above mentioned Bhagirthi. This name is mentioned, possibly, to equate someone with the ideals and devotion of Bhagirthi.

⁸ The present text reading, "Bhagirthi Rama Bhayane," should be "Bhagirthi Rama Bhai (brother)." Bhayane means, a sister's son. In a joint Hindu family system there are very rare chances for a sister's son to stay longer in his maternal uncle's family. But a brother does stay with his brother; therefore, in this case to have left a brother in the care of his sister-in-law seems to be more sensible and logical than a sister's son. Bhagirthi is frequently mentioned, in the songs, as an ideal brother but never as a Bhayane or a Bhatija, the sister's or brother's son.

⁹ A house built of bricks or stone, or a dwelling house.
 Fallon, p. 587.

O Hari ji, the days of Savaro¹⁰ would become hard to spend.¹¹
 O Hari ji, the days of Savaro would become hard to spend.
 O Hari ji oil is in the Malawan,¹²
 And O Hari ji Phulelawa¹³ is in Kachora.¹⁴
 O Rukumini goes¹⁵ to sleep.
 O Rukumini, (you) massages her husband's feet and face.¹⁶

¹⁰ Savaro is Sanskrit Syamali and Hindi Savali. Syamali or Savali means a married woman of Syamal complexion. According to Fallon, Syamal is nut brown.

Fallon, p. 742.

Generally, Syamali means a woman of dark complexion, which is considered a sign of beauty. It is a kind of address, usually used by a man for his wife or beloved.

¹¹ It has been seen that if a woman is left alone—her husband has gone to a distant land for a long period of time, however, not dead—then no family member bothers with her; thus, evidently, her condition becomes sad and miserable.

¹² A Mala, Malwa or Maliya is a box for holding oil. It is called Malasi in North-East Tirhut, Telahandi in Patna and Gaya, and Telbhanra in Shahabad.

Grierson, no. 663, p. 128.

¹³ I am not sure of the meaning of the word, but presumably, basing my inference on the context of the song, it seems to be a cosmetic which is rubbed on the body.

¹⁴ Kachora, Katora, Dubha, Bati, and Menhibati are the different names of the vessel used for eating. It has a projection at the bottom on which it stands.

Grierson, no. 677, p. 130.

But in Ballia district the word Kachora is also used for the small, generally wooden-made, hollow pot which resembles with a big Katori or Dubha, in which Ubatan, a cosmetic, is kept. Seeing the context of the song this seems logical to conclude that Phulelawa might be a cosmetic used to be kept in Kachora.

¹⁵ I am not able to explain this line. This does not appear to convey any significant meaning.

¹⁶ Abatali means to rub or knead the body with Abatan or oil. Abatan, a cosmetic, a composition of gram or barley meal, mixed with turmeric, oil and other ingredient to soften and clean the skin, and invigorate and beautify the person.

Fallon, p. 5.

When she is massaging his breast the cloud starts to rain.
 O Rukumini, I see neither storms nor rains,
 O Rukumini, why drops are falling down.
 O Hari ji, I do not see storms,
 O Hari ji, I do not see any rain.
 But drops are falling down from my eyes.

308 Bhajan: Devotional Song

Rama¹ and Lacchuman² were most beautiful;
 They were also troubled as being sent to the forest.³

Abatan is the cosmetic prepared with turmeric, meal, and oil, and rubbed on the bride and bridegroom for ten days before marriage.

Gricerson, no. 1342, p. 373.

Explaining the meaning of Abatali or Ubatan Malana, Fallon write:

This is a customary rite before marriage, and the intention is, not only to soften and cleanse the skin, but also, according to some, to close the pores so as to increase the natural heat of the body and stimulate it for the consummation of the marriage. This object is further promoted by the jokes, etc. of the female relatives who rub the bride and bridegroom all over with Abtan.

Fallon, p. 5.

Abatan kneading is also done on the occasions other than ceremonial. It is a widely known custom to knead or rub Abatan on the body of the mother-in-law by her daughter-in-law, son's wife; but rubbing Abatan on the body (feet or face) of the husband by his wife does not seem to be a common custom among the village women.

¹The son of the king Dasarath of Awodhya and popular Hindu god.

²The Sanskrit word is Laxuman, who was the obedient and favourite brother of Rama.

³This is an illusion to the *Ramayana* story: Once, at the battle field, Kaikae, the third queen of the king Dasarath and the step-mother of Rama and Laxuman, helped her royal consort. Pleased with her help the king granted her two boons. When

O Prabhu^{3a} ji, there is no pleasure in taking birth.⁴
 Suruj Narayan⁵ is most beautiful;
 But he, too, is troubled due to eclipse.⁶

the king wanted to enthrone Rama, his eldest son, Kaikae asked the king to grant her two boons: (1) an exilement for Rama for twelve years, and (2) Bharat, her own son, should be given the kingdom of Awodhya. The king had to accede to her demand and Rama, Laxuman, and Sita were exiled to the forest.

^{3a} The lord, an address made to the god. In the folksongs women address their husband as Prabhu ji: "My lord". According to the popular Hindu conception a husband is regarded as a god by his wife.

⁴ It seems to be an allusion to the Buddhist philosophy, wherein it is a deep rooted belief that the birth is the root cause of all sorrows and miseries of life. Buddha enunciated the four truth about sorrow, the cause of sorrow, the removal of sorrow, and the way leading to it. Buddha explains the cause of sorrow:

Decay is sorrow. Sickness is sorrow. Death is sorrow. . . . To be conjoined to things which we like, to be separated from thing which we like—that is also sorrow. Not to get what one wants—that too is sorrow.

Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* (London, 1929), I, p. 362. See also, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, "Gautam the Buddha," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXIV (1938), p. 154.

⁵ The sun god. The sun is one of the gods worshipped by the Hindus.

⁶ This is an allusion to the Indian Mythology. In Hindu mythology and belief, Rahu is considered the cause of eclipses, who is the king of meteors and guardians of the south-west quarter. Rahu was the mischievous four-armed Daitya who stole and drank some of the *amrita* produced at the churning of the Ocean. Discovered by the sun and the moon, who informed Vishnu, his head and two arms were cut off by the angry gods, but since he had secured immortality as a result of tasting the *amrita*, the upper part of his body was placed in the heavens in the form of a dragon's head to represent the ascending node, and the lower part (Ketu) in the form of a dragon's tail to represent the descending node. Eclipses are caused by him i.e.,

O Prabhu ji, there is no pleasure in taking birth.
 Queen Sita⁷ is most beautiful;
 But she, too, was troubled because she was forcibly taken away
 by Ravana.⁸

O Prabhu ji, there is no pleasure in taking birth.
 The forest-cuckoo is most beautiful;
 But it, too, is troubled by being entrapped in Kampa.⁹
 O Prabhu ji, there is no pleasure in taking birth.

he swallows the sun and moon as revenge for the loss of his head.

Maria Leach, ed. *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend* (New York, 1950), II, p. 920.

During the eclipses people bathe in the rivers and give paddy in alms to the members of the lowest class i.e., Dom. The common belief is: if the people take bath in the sacred rivers and mutter the word Rama, Rama, the name of the god, the pain of the sun and moon may be lessened and Rahu might leave them soon.

⁷ The wife of Rama.

⁸ Again this is an allusion to the *Ramayana* story. During her exile in the forest with her husband Sita was stolen by Ravan:

Ravan, the demon king of the Rakshasas and of Lanka (Ceylon); grandson of Pulastya; incarnation of wickedness, breaker of laws, and ravisher of woman. Ravan became invulnerable to gods and demons by doing devotion to Brahma. Ravan was not invulnerable, however, to men and beasts so Vishnu become incarnate as Ramachandra in order to destroy him. Ravan stole Rama's wife and carried her off to Lanka. Rama, with the aid of Sugriva and Hanuman and their hosts of monkeys and bears, built a bridge to Lanka. There, after many battles, Rama slew Ravan with an arrow made by Brahma and regained his faithful wife.

Leach, II, p. 927.

⁹ A long stick with bird-lime attached, used by fowlers.

Fallon, p. 944.

"Kampa lagana" or "Kampa marana" means to catch birds with Kampa. "Kampa fasana" means trying to get a thing, which is desired, in an unfair manner.

The fish¹⁰ in the water is most beautiful;
 It, too, is troubled by being entrapped in the net.
 O Prabhu ji, there is no pleasure in taking birth.

328 Ropani ka Gita: Plantation Song

One Jogiya¹ comes to my parlor,² due to great heat,³ to cool himself.

Where has your mother-in-law gone?

(And) Where has your sister-in-law gone?

My mother-in-law has gone to Ghatia⁴ (and) my sister-in-law to Purpedia.⁵

O Jogiya, Lacchan Devar⁶ has gone to Kurkheta;⁷

¹⁰ A tremendous body of folklore material is attached to the fish.

¹ Generally a young traveller in the guise of a Jogi, searching for his beloved.

Jogi is a member of a religious sect.

² Osara, is a porch.

³ Tired due to great heat; sun stricken. It is customary that a passer-by stops, for a while in someone's Osara, to take a rest after a long walk. He might get, from the house owner something to eat and drink. This is considered a kind act on the part of the house owner.

⁴ Ghatia is a Ghat. In this context, Ghat means a bathing place on the bank of a river or a place for washing clothes on the river side.

Fallon, p. 1017.

⁵ Pedia means a small market. Pura is a Sanskrit word meaning village or a small township. Thus Purpedia means a village market.

⁶ The word Devar means the younger brother of the husband. Dvivar is the Sanskrit word for it. Dvi + Var means a second husband. In ancient times, in some cases, a husband's younger brother could marry his elder brother's wife.

In folksongs Laxuman is always mentioned as a Devar.

⁷ Kurkheta seems to be Kurukshetra near Delhi, where the great Mahabharata war was fought between the Pandavs and

(And) My husband has gone to a foreign land.
 Where are the lanes,⁸ where are the Cchedia;⁹
 O Savaro,¹⁰ where are the thirty-two door.¹¹
 Your people have gone far off.
 This is (my) lane, this is my Cchedia.
 O Jogiya, these are the thirty-two doors;
 My people have gone far off.
 Jogiya is taking out Dakhinawa¹² Rangcchiti,¹³
 Savari becomes happy (after) putting it on.

the Kaurvas.

It is curious to note how a singer could know this name; this is a place situated about four hundred miles distant from Bhojpuri centre and this subject never became very common among the masses.

⁸Gali means a lane, alley. Gali-kucha are two words meaning lanes and alleys.

Fallon, p. 1005.

⁹Cchedi seems to be a narrow, dirty lane. Gali-cchedi is a compound word quite often used together. Cchedi seems to be narrower than Gali.

¹⁰ See: Footnote 10, Song 301.

¹¹ Perhaps it is a reference to a house with thirty-two doors. In fact I am not able to give any precise meaning of the word.

¹² Dakhinawa is Dakhini or Dakshidiya: southern. Of or belonging to the southern India or the Deccan (generally applied to persons or things from the south).

J. T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English* (Humphrey Milford, 1930), p. 521.

¹³ Ranga means colour. Cchiti means prints. Cchiti ka Kapada means printed cloth. However I am not able to exactly explain what Dakhinawa Rang Cchiti means. It might be a cloth, wore by women, printed in Dakhinawa colour, or a special type of cloth from southern India.

356 Sitala ka Gita: Song of the Smallpox-Goddess

In whose courtyard are the Danawa¹ and Maduawa?²
 O Devi ji,^{2a} in whose courtyard is the Neem³ tree?

¹⁻² The word Dana means a grain. Marua or Manrua (Eleusine coracana) is the most important of all the millets, forming the staple food of a large portion of the population. This being an important food-crop, there are many sayings about it. Grierson, no. 990, p. 226.

It is difficult to explain in this context what Danawa Maduawa means: they may be two separate cereals or may be interpreted as grains of the Madua cereal.

^{2a} In the songs Sitala—she who loves the cool—is addressed as Mata Devi or Mata Dae—the great mother or Devi ji. She is accompanied with small pox—the chief infant plague of India—which is under her control. Sitala is known by many other names among common people: Mata, ‘the mother’; Jag Rani, ‘the queen of the world’; Phappolewali, ‘she of the vesicle’; Kalejewali, ‘she who attacks the liver’; Maha Mai, ‘the great mother’.

Crooke, I, p. 126.

Sitala worship seems to have originated from primitive religious cult. In her original form as a village goddess seldom Sitala has a special priest or a regular temple. A few fetish stones tended by some low-caste menial constitute her shrine. She receives little or no respect from men, but women and children attend her service in large number. For a detailed study of Sitala, as a goddess of smallpox, see my paper “Sitala: La Diosa de la Viruela en la India en versos Bhojpuri,” to be published in *Folklore Americano* (Peru).

³ A tree sacred to Sitala:

The Nimba or Nim (Azidirachta Indica) is sacred in connection with the worship of the godlings of disease, who are supposed to reside in it. In particular it is occupied by Sitala and her six sisters. Hence during the season when epidemics prevails, from the seventh day of the waning moon of Chait to the same date in Asarh, that is during hot weather, women bathe, dress themselves in fresh clothes, and offer rice, sandal-wood, flower and sometimes a burnt offering with incense at the root of the tree.

Crooke, II, p. 104.

O Giver of offspring,⁴ where have you been delayed?
 O devotee, in the courtyard of the Mali,⁵ there are the Danawa
 and Maduawa.
 And O devotee, in the courtyard of my worshipper is the Neem
 tree.

Upadhyaya cites a folksong proving the Nim tree as the abode
 of Sitala:

*Nimiya ke dadhi Maeya laveli hilorawa,
 ki jhuli jhuli na Maeya gaveli gita.*

Krishna Deva Upadhyaya, *Study
 of Bhojpuri Folklore: Ms.*, p.
 228.

The Doms, or vagrant sweepers of Eastern Districts of the North
 Western Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh), held the Nim tree sacred
 to Kali or Sitala, and the Kurmis dedicate it to Kali Bhavani, and
 worship this tree and the Pipal under which the image of Devi is
 placed.

Panjab Notes and Queries, III,
 p. 38. Quoted by Crooke, II, p.
 106.

The Nim tree is supposed to influence the disease; hence branches
 of it are hung over the door of the sick-room and the patient is
 fanned with its leaves.

⁴ This seems to be one of the attributes of Sitala. Crooke
 mentions a temple dedicated to Sitala, locally called Ujali Mata,
 'the white mother' in Muzaffarnagar District. Here vast crowds
 assemble, and women make vow at her temple for the boon of
 sons, and when a child is born they take it there and perform
 their vow by making the necessary offering to the goddess.

Crooke, I, p. 127.

⁵ Mali means a gardener, who is regarded as a priest of
 Sitala's temple. Russell mentions a caste known as Malyar which
 worships Mata Devi or the goddess of small pox, and reveres
 the spirit of a Malyar woman who became a Sati.

R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and
 Castes of the Central Provinces
 of India* (London, 1916), I, p.
 387.

In reference to the Sitala worship in Bengal, Crooke mentions
 gardeners as the semi-priest to Sitala.

Crooke, I, p. 131.

O my Joginia⁶ mother, where have you been delayed?
 O traveller, you are my brother,
 O Brother, did you see Sitala going on this road?
 My Joginia mother is angry with me.
 O yes, I saw her in the Hazipur Hata.⁷
 O Brother, she chews betel⁸ leaves⁹
 If I would have known that Sitala chews many betel leaves;
 I would have settled¹⁰ down a betel-seller¹¹ for my mother.
 If I would have known that she wears garlands,
 For mother (Sitala), I would have had settled down a Mali.
 O, for the sake of Devi ji.

A gardener, Upadhyaya (KDU) writes, is regarded as a great devotee to Sitala. As soon as the nature of the disease is determined, the physician retires and a gardener is summoned. He tries to please the goddess with various prayers and modes of worship and cures the patient.

Upadhyaya, Ms., p. 228.

⁶ This appears to be one of the names of the small-pox goddess.

⁷ Hajipur Hat: market of Hajipur. Hajipur town is the headquarters of the Hajipur sub-division in Muzaffarpur District of Behar. The chief trading centres are in Hajipur which is situated on the right bank of the Gandak. "Its command of water traffic in three directions makes the town a place of considerable commercial importance."

Imperial Gazetteer of India, XIII,
p. 7.

⁸ It is a popular belief that Sitala chews betel leaves.

⁹ Bhojpuri words Phulawa Belseli are difficult to translate. Phulawa is Phul which means a flower. Belsana may be small of flowers.

¹⁰ This is an allusion to the medieval land tenure system in the eastern districts of U.P. "Panaheria re Basaeto" may be translated as: I would have given a piece of land in my estate to a betel seller and have settled him down.

¹¹ It is a caste. A betel seller plays a prominent role in a village community.

369 Sitala ka Gita: Song of the Small-pox Goddess

O Alha,¹ Jauria² is cooked at my parents' house.

O Alha, its fragrance reaches at my in-laws home.^{2a}

¹ The name for the god among the Muslims.

² A sweet dish prepared with the rice and sugar.

^{2a} This song indirectly refers to the marriage of Sitala with Alha. "In very old songs," Devi said, "Sitala is depicted as the wife of Alha." I asked her: "How this happened. Sitala is a Hindu goddess and Alha is a Muslim god." She replied, "I do not know, but when I was a little girl many women used to sing this song and everyone knew it. But after few years later the Arasamaji—the members of the Arya Samaj (a group of the Vedic revivalists) asked people to stop singing such songs. Now no young girl knows this song. Very old women know it but they, too, do not sing it; because your Sitala is insulted. Why should Sitala marry a Jolaha (a Muslim)?" I checked this song with my mother (who was 40 years old in 1961) to find out whether she knew this song. She told me: "No, I do not know this song but people say that Sitala was married to Alha. In former days women used to sing such songs, now no one wants to sing them." I asked: "Why Sitala should marry a Muslim." Mother replied: "Sitala is a goddess she can do anything. She might have forced Alha as well to marry her."

Establishing a relationship between Sitala and the Muslims Crooke mentions about a temple dedicated to Sitala at Kankhal near Hardwar where Sitala is called Turkin or 'the Muhammadan lady.' He records a local legend about this name. There was, once, a princess born to one of the Mughal Emperors, with his Hindu wife. She had a warm sympathy for her ancestral faith so she wanted to pay a pilgrimage to Badrinath but she dreamt, the god threatening her not to come over to the mountains, as she was born in a Muslim home. However the god pleased with her purity and devotion asked her to make her abode in Kankhal and became the guardian goddess of the children and defied as a manifestation of Sati.

Crooke, I, pp. 126-127.

Dr. A. Siddiqui and Mr. Z. Haque, two Muslim students from E. Pakistan, at Indiana University, Bloomington, told me that

O Alha, how can I go to my parents' house?
 O Alha, I will pick up a cow-dung cake,³
 O Alha, I will go there to ask for the fire.
 O Alha, upon my arrival, the sister-in-law gives me fire from
 her hearth.⁴

Bengali Muslims also worship Sitala but they call her Vandevi, a forest goddess. A Muslim contributor to the *Cultural Heritage of India* has written that during Muslim rule in India, the members of the Hindu and Muslim communities participated in one another's religious festivals.

Haridas Bhattacharya, ed. *The Cultural Heritage of India* (Calcutta, 1937 First Publication), IV, pp. 586-590.

My father recalled his participation in the Muslim festivals as a village boy: "I remember quite well when I was a village boy (in 1961 his age was around forty-five) I used to attend the Tajiya Baba procession (a Muslim festival). We used to get money from our parents and purchase a small Tajiya. But later on Hindu boys stopped participating in the Tajiya festival with Muslim members of the village."

These sporadic references cannot be taken too seriously. There might have been some synthesis between the Hinduism and Islam at village level, where people are more friendly and less dogmatic; but at the higher level the religions remained separated and dogmatic. See the following references for detailed study of the anti-Hindu religious attitude of the Muslim rulers of India.

- 1) Rameshchandra Majumdar, ed. *The Struggle for Empire* (Bombay, 1957), V, pp. 499-502, p. 498.
- 2) ———. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 624-626.
- 3) C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval India* (Poona, 1924), II, p. 247.

³ The word Goeda means a cow-dung cake. Binua usually means a thing picked up at random. The present context of the song shows that she wants to pick up a cow-dung cake in her hand.

⁴ It is regarded superstitious to give fire to someone from one's own hearth. Here giving of fire from the hearth denotes cordial relationship between the daughter-in-law and her husband's sister which is usually not the case.

- O Alha, the sister-in-law teases⁵ me.
 O Alha, upon hearing this much the seven sisters⁶ go swiftly
 on the road.
 O Alha, Bhairaw⁷ brother mounts a horse.
 O Alha, I find sister Sitala angry with me.
 O Alha, the sister Sitala should return home.

⁵ See Footnote 21, Song A-9.

⁶ This seems to be an inference to the band of the seven sisters among whom Sitala is the eldest.

Crooke, 1, pp. 127-128.

According to a list the seven sisters are: Sitala, Masani, Basanti, Maha Mai, Polamde, Lamkariya, and Agwami.

Ibberton, *Panjab Ethnography*,
 114. Quoted by Crooke, I, 128.

A tradition found at Hardwar tells the name of the seven sisters as follows: Sitala, Sedata, Runuki, Jhunuki, Mihila, Merhala, and Mandila.

Crooke, I p. 128.

⁷ It is not certain whether Bhairaw should be equated with Bhairava or Bhairon. Bhairava in Hindu mythology is one with the eight (or twelve) fearful forms of Siva. This form is worshipped especially by the out caste group of India. In this manifestation Siva often rides upon a dog. There has been an attempt to establish an identity between Bhairava and Bhairon. Bhairon is a field spirit and thus an agricultural deity.

Macdonell, p. 210.

There is the temple of Kala Bhairaw or Bhairon at Banaras. Bhairaw is regarded as the city Kotawal of Vishvanathpuri, the city of Lord Siva, i.e., Banaras. He rides a dog. The association of the dog and guarding of town appears to be an ancient motif. To establish brother-sister relationship between Sitala and Bhairaw is regarded as the city Kotawal of Vishvanathpuri, the of Siva, Bhairava or Bhairon, one of the manifestations of Siva.

SONG TEXT

A-9 Sohar

Dekhathi koelari¹ bhayawani² boliya piritawani ho,³ A koelari tori boliya atale re sohawani⁴ tinua muni⁵ anadele ho. Gaya⁷ me anadele Gajadhar⁶ aru Parayag⁹ Beni Madhaw⁸ ho, A koelari Mathura¹¹ me anadele Kanaiya¹⁰ ji jinhi murali¹² re bajawe. A koelari Radhika¹⁵ ke aagana re¹⁴ Kanaiyaji, jinhi murali re bajawe. A koelari Radhika ke aangana Kadam gancch,¹³ tinu muni andele ho. A koelari Kasi¹⁷ me aande. Bisunath ji tinu muni andele ho. A Koelari tori boliya atale sohawani, tinua muni andele ho. A koelari kawani re kutapava¹⁸ ham kaelin re, banjhiniya hoe gaeli re. Bhukhal Babhanawa²⁰ luluavali, nanadiya²¹ jhaharavelu ho, A raniya²² banwa hathe kagaware udavalu re,²³ banjhiniya rahi gaelu ho.

141 Siva ji ka git

Baba ho Janaeya rikhe¹ danele humadhi², Siva ke nevata re (na)³ aele Gaura abhimani.⁴ Chidiya je banche le Siva ji mane musukaele, Kawan awagun baba kaelu tohe nevata nahin. Atana bachaniya ai Gaura sunahi na pavali, Bansaha bayalawa⁵ ai Gaura bhaeli aansawari. Beri beri barajo ai Gaura jani ja naehar khori, Binu re bolwal Gaura niradar hoe jae. Siva ke kahaliya ai Gaura sunabe na kaeli, Bansaha bayalawa Gaura bhaeli aansawari.

Sabhawa⁶ baedal ai baba udele chhae, Binu re bolawali Gaura ka kare aelu kaelu jagra hani. Pasava khelat ho bhaeya⁷ udele chihae, ka kare aelu ai bahina kaelu jagra hani. Machiya⁸ baedali ho aama boleli chihae, Jahu ham janiti ai Gaura karabu jagra hani, Bhejito men dola ho bansa,⁹ sahodra jed bhae.¹⁰ Ram rasoeya ai bhauji, bole luluae, ka kare aelu ai Gaura, kaelu jagra hani. Bahina le daure se pida se pani,¹¹ bhauji kunch badani.¹² Aatana bachaniya ai Gaura sunahi na pawali, Agini ke kundava¹³ ai Gaura pareli dhadhae. Siva ke kahaliya¹⁴ ai Gaura karabe na kaelu sej suna kaelu ai Gaura, kaelu jagra hani.

242 Kajali

Sasu ke dante re 'batsiya'¹ bahu ke gale godana.² Sasur³ jewana na jeve nihare godana, Jahu ham janito sasur hoebo dagabajawa,⁴ Sasur nahin re godaeti apana gale godana. Sasu ke dante re "batsiya" bahu ke gale godana. Sasur paniyo na piye nihare godana. Jahu ham janito sasur hoebo dagabajawa, Sasur nahin re godaeti apana gale godana. Sasu ke dante re batsiya bahu ke gale godana. Sasur birawa na chabhela nihare godana, Johu ham janito sasur hoebo dagabajaba, Sasur nahin re godaeti apana gale godana. Sasur sejiya na sovele nihare godana. Sasu ke danti re "batsiya" bahu ke gale godana. Jahu ham janito sasur hoebo dagabajawa sasur nahin re godaeti apana gale godana.

258 Jhumar

Sonara gharave rahitu sonarini¹ khichadi² re pakaetu, Sonariniya re Mangal⁵ gharava sevua³ re polawa.⁴ Sonara gharava rahitu sonarini babue⁶ re kahaetu, Sonariniya re Mangal gharava hanela re nisan.⁷ Sonara gharava rahitu sonarini sadi⁸ re pahinitu, Sonariniya re Mangal gharava oadani⁹ rahi jae. Sonara gharava rahitu sonarini sendil¹⁰ pahinitu, Sonariniya re Mangal gharava jutiya¹¹ rahi jae.

262 Jhumar

Aare kavana sahar ka bami¹ macchhariya, Aare kavana sahar ka tel, Aare kavana sahar ke gori² bitieua, Cchauaa mahinava ke pet.³ Aare jeve baedali gori bitiuua, Cchaua mahina ke pet. Ae rahelu Jamunva⁴ ji ke tir, asiya ae turno. Ae rahelu Jamunva ji ke tir, asiya ae turno. Are Patna⁵ sahar ki bami macchhariya, Mau⁶ sahar ka tel, asiya ae turano. Ae baselu re Jamunva ji ke tir. Aare Gorkhpur⁷ ki gori bitiuua, Cchaua mahina ke pet.

301 Jatasari

Tuhu ta jaeb ae hariji¹ aare ohi hari Duarika,² Aare hame aesani sunari³ ae hariji kae saupi Rama jaeb. Tohara ke saupabi ae Rukumini^{3a} aare anva⁵ dhanva⁴ Laximi, Tohara ke saupavi ae

Rukmini bud mahatariya.⁶ Tohara ke saupabi ae Rukumini Bhagirthi⁷ Ram bhayane.⁸ Tohara ke cchaebi cchupi jaebe ae Rukumini chaukhand haveliya.⁹ Dahi duhi jaehe ae hariji chaukhand havehya, Mari hari jaehe ae hariji Bhagirthi Ram bhayane. Savaro¹⁰ ke dinava ae hariji aagamava¹¹ hoe Ram jaehe. Mari hari jaehe ae hariji budi mahatariya, Savaro ke dinava ae hariji aagamava hoe Ram jaehe. Malawani¹² telawa ae hariji kachorawani hariji phulelava.¹³ Aare chalali Rukumini munhava abatali,¹⁶ Aare cchatiya abatali ta badara barasele re aeji. Nahin dekho anhiya ae Rukumini aare nahin dekho badara, Aare kavana charitra bunawa tapakela re. Aare nahin dekho anhiya ae hariji nahin hariji barakha, Aare nayana charitra bunava tapakela ae ji.

308 Bhajan

Sagh se sunar bade Ram¹ avaru Lacchuman, Unahu ke dukh bhaele ban³ ke gaye se. Na sukh hoehe prabhu ji^{3a} deh ke dhare se.⁴ Sabase sunar bade surujnarayan, Unahu ke dukh bhaele garahan⁶ lage se. Na sukh hoehe prabhuji deh ke dhare se. Sabase sunar badi Sita⁷ rani, Unahu ke dukh bhaele Ravana⁸ hare se. Nahin sukh hoehe prabhuji deh ke dhare se. Sabase sunar badi ban ki koeliya, Unahu ke dukh bhaele kampa⁹ lage se. Nahin sukh hoehe prabhuji deh ke dhare se. Sabase sunar badi jal ki macchariya,¹⁰ Unahu ke dukh bhaele jaliya lage se. Nahin sukh hoehe prabhuji deh ke dhare se.

328 Ropani ka git

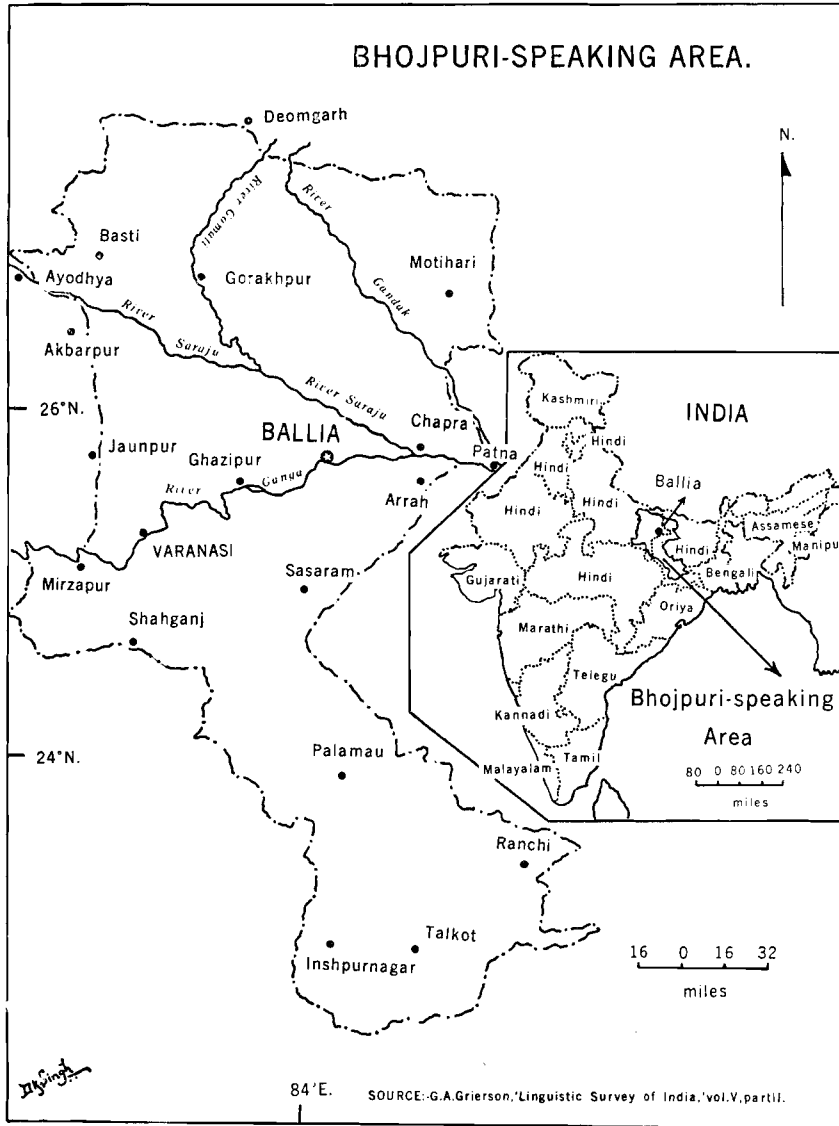
Ghama ke ghamael jogiya¹ ek aele, Jogiya hamara Osarwa² sital cchaenha, ta ghamava gavau re balamu. Kanha gaeli sasu kanha gaeli nandi, Sasu gaeli ghatiy,⁴ nandi purpediya⁵ jogiya Lacchan devarava⁶ kur khetawa,⁷ ta sami mor bidese gaele na. Kanha badi galiya⁸ kanha badi cchediya,⁹ Savaro¹⁰ kanha badi batiso duari¹¹ tohare logava duri gaele na. Unhe hae galiya unhe hae cchediya, Jogiya unhe hae batiso duwari hamare logava duri gaele na. Jogiya kadela dakhinava¹² rang cchit¹³ pahir Savari abharan na.

356 Sitala ka git

Kekara anganva maeya danava¹ maduava² ho, Ae deviji^{2a} kekare anganva nimiya³ gancchi, Godabharni⁴ maeya kahava belamalu ho. Maliya⁵ aanganva sevaka danava maduava ho, Ae sevaka sevaek aanganva nimiya gancchi. Joginiya⁶ maeya mori kahava belamali ho. Bat batohiya re tuhu more bhaeya ho, Ae bhaeya aehi bate dekhau Sitali jat. Joginiya maeya mose khijhal badi ho. Dekhuau me dekhau ae Hajipur hatiya.⁷ Ae maeya panava⁸ je khali phulava belaseli,⁹ Maeya mori gharava gharava ho. Jahu ham janiti je Sitali panava khauki ho, Aare maeya re joge panheriya¹¹ re basaeti,¹⁰ maeya re joge. Jahu ham janiti ki maeya harva penhani ho, Maeya re joge malahoriya re basaeti ho, Aare devi ho joge.

369 Sitala ka git

Naehar sinjhele jauriya² re Ala,¹ Ala sura me aavele gamakiya ae ala. Ala kavana bahanve naehar jaebe ae Ala. Hathava me lebo binuaa goenda³ ae Ala, Ala agiye bahanve naehar jaebi ae Alha. Aatana bachanava bhauji sunali ae Ala. Ala chuliha⁴ khakori agiya dihali ae Ala. Ala bhauji munhva chamakavali ae Ala. Aatana bachaniya sato bahinari⁶ sunali ae Ala. Ghodava chadal Bhayarva bhaeya ae Ala. Ala jas dekho Sitali bahina rusali ae Ala. Phirhu ae phirhu Sitali bahina ae Ala.



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