

Johnson Pathrose

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Oral Vernacular Traditions
Koli Community

Visual Communication Special Project

by

Johnson Pathrose

Guide

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JOHNSON PATHROSE

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It is recognized, as fundamentally different from the communication systems of other societies. Human language is unique. It allows us to communicate about anything anytime, any place, to reflect on ourselves, to be conscious, to maintain and transmit cultural traditions. It is flexible beyond imagination. Language, perhaps above everything else, has served as the mark of the human creation.

Every society is characterised by its own system of opinions, beliefs, attitudes, values, customs and institutions. These are handed down from one generation to another and constitute a kind of accumulated experience which provides guidelines for the community and a base for its behaviour. Usually such systems are characterised as a part of the tradition of the community.

In the last few years the oral traditions all over the world has undergone a profound change. Thus poetic language appears as a part of a linguistic system, as an enduring structure having its own regular development, as an important factor in the development of human expression through language.

Introduction

We speak when we are awake and we speak in our dreams. We are always speaking, even when we do not utter a single word aloud, but merely listen or read, and even when we are not particularly listening or speaking, we are continually speaking in one way or another. We speak because speaking is natural to us.

What is speech ? Speech is the audible expression and communication of human feelings. Thus feelings are accompanied by thoughts. Hence it can not surprise us that as soon as man looks thoughtfully about himself or the surroundings, he quickly hits upon the language. So, the language when spoken is expression, an human activity.

An abiding activity by humans in all societies is to distinguish themselves from lower animals. All societies have creative myths that tell how the world and the people and animals in it came into being. These myths identify traits unique to humans distinguishing features that separate humans from animals. Understandably, language is frequently included among these traits.



Above all, it is not always ornamental expression, nor is beauty the constant subject. There are examples which seek indifference to the standards of beauty had the audacity to take words from the street, unwashed and uncombed, and to make them messengers of eternity.

The folk song can also use an indefinite subject for the purpose of making the listener feel the semantic leap, in this instance provided by the semantic span. Since the alternation of subjects in the folk song is therefore largely freed from thematic motivation, folk poetry can transfer the spectator to the perspective of one subject to the other. Within the song, there can occur a sequence of shifts which results from the semantic independence of the detail, and independence that is a property of folk poetry.

Spoken words as a means to represent the sense of a community's culture.

In any society, the prevailing culture is a sum total diverse civilizing forces acting on a collective ground. Alongwith other civilizing forces, the oral vernacular traditions also function as shaping powers that determine the eventual form of cultural heritage. In spite of their cultural contributions, that bring their common feature - it varies in quiet a lot of ways. If we contrast it with other cultural forces like religion caste, technology etc. The oral tradition seem to function as the root which exists independently.

In India, oral tradition spreads over a wide range: from music to medicine and from philosophy to judicial practices. It is not easily appreciated and has been ignored from time to time. The cultivation of oral tradition had not become necessary because India suffered from ignorance of penmanship which is an integral part of it. Oral tradition does not rule out the existence, knowledge or use of writings. It means coexistence of the written and spoken word. However, the latter is clothed with a special consideration and validity.

Oral tradition always shows a history because continuation is the essence of tradition. In India, oral tradition has significantly influenced the education, performance, creation, appreciation as well as propagation of music. Many features of music are directly and deeply related to oral tradition. Oral tradition in India is found to play noteworthy roles in arts such as literature and drama, in discipline such as philosophy, education, linguistics, as also in areas of day-to-day life.

The variety of areas in which oral tradition remains active is sufficient to persuade social thinkers to take a close look at it. In the Indian context therefore the oral tradition must be understood as a legitimate and powerful philosophy of life possessing contemporary relevance. Infact we are inclined to believe that the oral tradition is a living cultural face. We cannot overlook this phenomena like information - explosion, mass-media - impact and the growing interactions of the formerly isolated human groups. In all these factors, oral communication is important.

Towards a Definition

In this context, the five definitions taken from various sources may be considered.

- * Tradition, which is cumulative social heritage in the form of habits, customs, attitudes and ways of life is transmitted from generation to generation either through written scriptures or through word of mouth. The tradition transmitted through word of mouth is called the oral tradition

S.L.Shrivastava.

- * Oral tradition is now defined as verbal testimony transmitted from one generation to the next one or a later one

Jan Vansina

- * Oral poetry is poetry composed in oral performance by people who can not read or write. It is synonymous with traditional and folk poetry. All oral poetry is sung, or at the very best chanted.

Alex Preminger.

*... for it is strange phenomenon in India, from the oldest times, up till the present day. The spoken word and writing has been the basis of the whole of the literary and scientific activity.....The written text can at most be used as an aid to learning, as a support to the memory, but no authority is attributed to it. Authority is possessed only by the spoken word of the teacher....The works of the poets too, were in India never intended for readers but always for hearers. Even the modern poets do not desire to be read but wish is that their poetry may become an adornment for the throats of the experts.

M.Winternitz

* The Vedic system of oral teaching..... was the only authoritative system to be pursued through the subsequent ages inspite of all material facilities they might bring in their course....There was a traditional opinion absolutely condemning the acquisition of knowledge from written sources

R.K.Mookerji



Need for an essential Case study

Indian society which continues to function according to the norms laid down by the oral traditions. The usages which follow the oral tradition are to be defected in different walks of life in India. A careful examination of the seemingly isolated instances of the oral tradition certainly reveals a pattern. It functions as a mode of communication understood in a wider sense.

In the Indian scene today is not very encouraging in respect of spread of literacy and reformist attitudes. Our educational methods and institutional set ups, intended to bring about cultural upliftment, must find a place for oral tradition unfortunately, we seem to be witnessing today a curious spectacle in which attempts are made to impose a written culture on a social mind that is well funned to oral culture.

Compared to art-music, the folk category of music has been less affected, by the popular culture in India. The chief reason for the reduced intensity of effect is that this type of music does not have an urban base. It is also to be remembered that most of the rural

population in India continues to be semi or non-literate even today. Further more, for all practical purpose, only broadcasting, films, television have been able to register some impact on this folk art.

Film music is ideally equiped for encroaching on the privacy of the individual because it is in a position to provide cheap instantaneous and ready made entertainment. Its aggressive posture is further strengthened because the far reaching network of the radio and television channels is also available to it. Both these media are loaded with film - music which therefore becomes an existing phenomenon of incantatory influence. Nothing could have succeeded in making it so offensive culturally than its universality. As a consequence film music has been virtually started dictating programme - models and musical contents to the folk - musicians themselves.

One main reason why I found Koli community appropriate for my project is that very few efforts have been made to study this particular community through their oral vernacular tradition. Since these spoken words reflects their history as there is no written account of anything

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in this community. I found it very necessary to study it and relate it with their life and day-to-day activities. The other aspect being a need to make an extensive study to understand, how these songs act as the binding elements amongst several desperate and diverse factors of the community's culture.

Kholis - Community and Culture

The Kolis are a fishing community of Bombay. Inspite of being in and around Bombay. They still retain the core of their traditional culture. It doesn't mean that they are absolutely untouched by urban life, on the contrary one can clearly perceive the impact of urbanization on the various aspects of their life. However, they still distinguish themselves from the rest of the urban population in their customs and habits, their social and religious life.

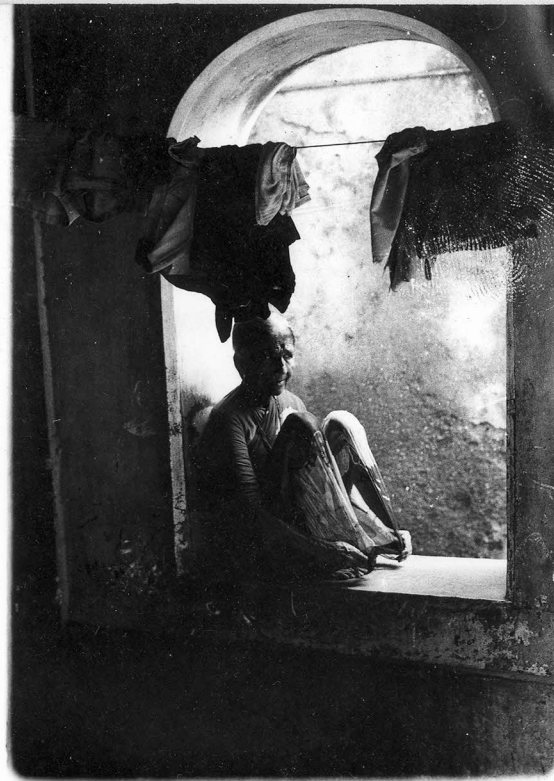
This study would be an attempt to study the Koli community in its present surroundings. In this course of study, I have tried to understand and relate the life and culture of the people, through their oral traditions. The part of this community culture can be studied only with the reference to the present. There are few number of accounts of the Kolis published so far. Whatever has been done is too sketchy and incomplete and very little has been talked about their oral traditions and culture.

The study chiefly relies on the detailed observations from the stand point of various aspects of human activites.

The annual ceremonies and festival celebrations, which is the main threshold of the oral traditions could not be personally witnessed due to lack of time, every effort has been made to study it from various other sources.

Kolis are fishermen by hereditary occupation, it is needless to say that their settlements must be generally near the sea. Of the few Koli localities in Bombay, Versova and Danda were visited.

A typical locality of Koli settlement, a large area of vacant land strikes one's eyes, an essential requisite of fishing being reserved for drying nets and fishes. The residential area is usually divided into two parts by a main road passing through the settlement, and innumerable, narrow twisting paths, find their way through plots with jammed dwellings. Besides these houses, the settlements includes temples, few wells and as number of vats for treating nets. The shops are mainly found on the main road. A few dispensaries are also seen on the main road. A small plot of ground is reserved for the daily market.



History - Bombay's five of the original seven islands were already inter connected at low tides by shallow sand banks, sitted up over the years. Land reclamation were carried out and a calls way was built to link the city to the two stragglng islands lying south. On a map, the site of the present day city appears as a claw like promontory. Some 12 miles long that hangs pointing south from the west coast of India.

Eastward from Bombay island lies a great natural harbour unrivalled anywhere else on the subcontinent that provides 75 square miles of sheltered deep water. Beyond that spreads the main land of India.

VT lies to the east of the Azad Maidan and is said to have been erected over what was once the chief shrine of Mumba (or Mumbra) Devi, the mother Goddess worshipped by the Kolis.

Development to the Present state

Reminants of Bombay's early history can still be seen in and around the city, perhaps most remarkably in the

continuing presence of Kolis : The short, dark skinned people who were the earliest known inhabitants of the seven islands. Colaba, today the name given to the part of Bombay that lies south of the Fort, is derived from 'Koli' - as in the word 'Coolie' in the sense of a labourer hired for a pittance.

There are several Koli fishing communities on the west coast of Salsette. The little village at Madh, for instance, for instance can not have changed much over the centuries, though the fisherman's big wooden boats, once propelled by oars, are now also fitted with engines and their hulls may be fitted with ice to preserve the catch so that they can travel faster and further than they were able to do before.

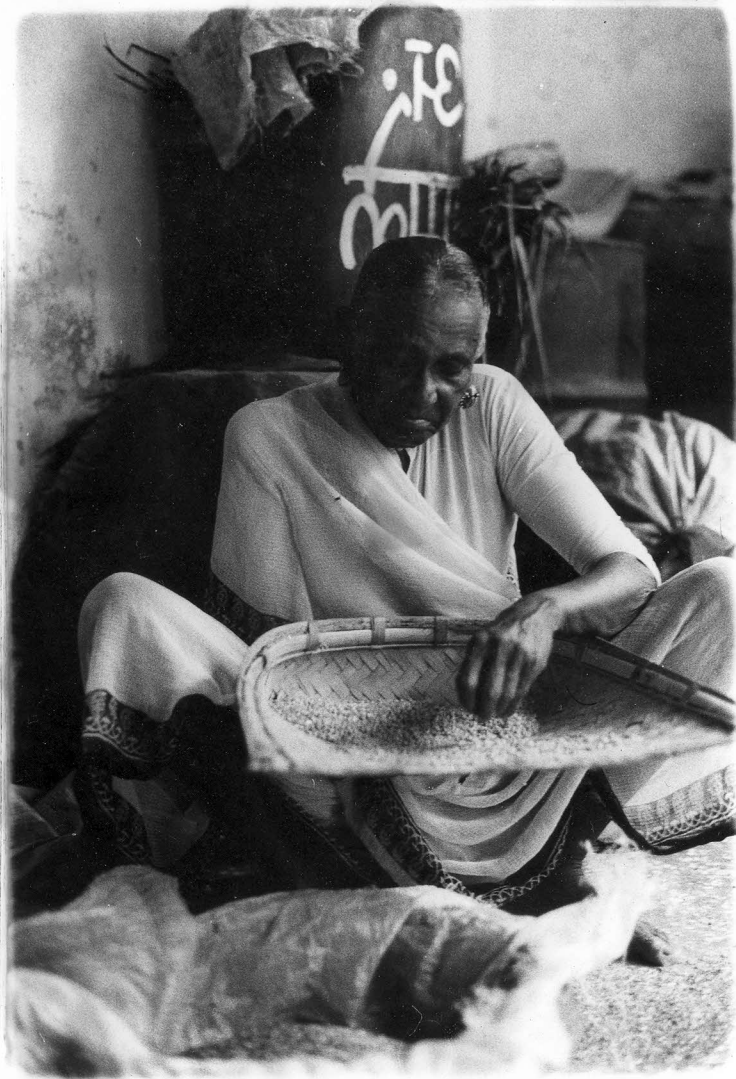
In the early morning the village huts, may still built of mud and pebbles, empty themselves. Naked children prance over a beach adorned with shells of curious shapes and colours, and with bubble like excavations of tiny crabs. The tide seeps in and with it come the boats, floating in from still indistinct horizon. The Koli women awaiting their landings wear their traditional, uniquely arranged saris; hitched upto the knees and twisted between the thighs, adorn their splendid bodies with gold ornaments. Their valuable necklaces, bracelets

and anklets seem out of place, considering the simplicity of their costumes and the strenuous manual work that they do: Lifting the fully laden baskets from the reeking boats. But, then as Bombay's population swells and with it demand for fish, the Koli communities on Salsette have been growing increasingly prosperous as a result of their traditional activities.

Since the days of the Kolis- is the mass production of the curious delicacy, Bombay Duck, which has long been responsible for one element in the city's characteristic multiple smell. Bombay Duck is the name given to the lean, silver bombil fish after it has been dried in the sun and reduced to hard, brown brittle silver widely encountered diet. The fish are still hung out to dry in the Koli villages along the coast and even in Central Bombay, where some of the fisherman land their catch at a site adjoining Colaba's Sassoon Dock.

Along the 40-mile stretch of Bombay's Arabian sea coast are a handful of villages occupied by the Kolis, a people whose ancestors first settled in the area about 2,000 years ago. Now, as in the ancient times the Kolis live by fishing the inshore waters from

their small wooden boats, then selling their catch in the city, either dried like bombil, Bombay Duck or else fresh. Inevitably, now the Koli's traditional way of life is altering government loans encourage them to modernize their methods, and city jobs are away their better educated youths. And yet the Kolis retain their special identity- speaking their own dialect and observing their own customs - from religious rites to everyday dress styles. Today, the higher concentration of Koli's a community of several thousand is at Versova 15 miles north of Central Bombay.



Kolis - their day-to-day life

The Kolis are the children of the sea and so their life is guided by the sea. Their daily life is literally controlled by the tides. A koli adjusts his habits to the sea and wind. He can not afford a fixed daily programme. But the routine of a Koli who goes out in the boat for fishing is different from that of another engaged in shore work. Similarly there is a difference between the daily routine of a retired Koli and an active fisherman. However a feature common to the life of all of them is its unsettled nature. Ask a Koli for his day's time table and he will laugh at your ignorance.

A male Koli would get up at the crack of the dawn, he could spend very little time on land. He came with a catch, at a time permitted by the tide and wind, handed over the fish baskets to the shore men and ran home for a bath and a meal. Immediately, he had to go back in time before the beginning of high tide. The other works includes scrubbing, washing and painting the boat, treating the nets with tannin solution and other odd jobs.

The man on the shore has a less strenuous life than his

colleague who goes fishing. A Koli becomes a full fledged fisherman only after the age of twenty to twenty five. The monsoon days compensate for the hectic life of the rest of the year. The boats are anchored on the shore, all the men are at home throughout the day. The time is mostly used for weaving new nets or mending the old and repairing the other fishing apparatus.

A Koli woman is more industrious and has many more duties to perform at home and outside than her male counterpart. She is busy from morning till night. She gets up at about four in the morning, prepares breakfast and catching the first available bus or train rushes to the market. There she purchases fish, whole sale and straightway reaches her selling place; after selling fish she returns home by twelve or one in the afternoon and prepares meal, after her lunch she goes to the drying grounds for sorting the dried fish. After that she has to clean the utensils, wash the clothes, sweep the floor and start cooking for the evening meal. Usually, however, an elderly woman or young girls takes upon herself the house hold work : and the woman is free to perform the outdoor duties.

Costumes

In the matter of dresses, too, Kolis possess an individuality. A traditional Koli man or woman can easily be spotted out in a gathering of hundreds because of it.

The dress of a Koli woman consists of two or three garments, namely a lugut, a choli, and a pharki. Lugut is lower garment, Bright floral designs are popular among them. A Lugut is worn in a peculiar way so that when draped at the waist it reaches just below the knees, one corner of the more decorated end of the sari, called padur is left dayling on the back from the left shoulder to be tacked in the front waist band. The upper garment is a close fitting bodice called the choli. A pharki, a scarf thrown round the shoulders covering the back. A Koli girl starts wearing a sari at the age of six or seven.

In contrast, the Koli male has a varied apparel be worn on equally varied occasions. For work and indoors he wears a surka - thrown diagonally in front on a string tied round the waist. Traditionally, the outdoor dress of Koli male consisted of a dhotar (lower garment) a pairan .- a sort of loose shirt and a head gear! topi or a to para.

The love of ornaments of a Koli woman is proverbial. She can aptly be called a moving treasury. Most of the ornaments are gold and are very heavy. They cover the hair, nose, ears, neck, arms and fingers. Formerly there were quite a number of ornaments for men too, but now men are restricting themselves to a very few.

Oral expression as a way of depicting the essence of life.

The mother tongue of the Kolis is a local variation of Konkani, which is generally supposed to be a dialect of Marathi. The peculiarities of the Koli dialect are its forcefulness, its nasal sound and its inimitable draw. The force is both in its choice of words and the true of speaking. Through the gradual spreading of education. Marathi, in which the instruction is important, is steadily influencing the Koli dialect. Koli women, whose customers are Marathi speaking know it too.

Koli literature consists only of folk songs, sung mainly by women. The dialect having no written language and the entire population being illiterate till recently, none of the songs are recorded in writing. They have come down orally from generation to generation. Nothing is known about the time and authors of the compositions. The folk songs consist of lullabys, religious songs marriage songs and erotic songs.

They are sung by women accompanying the ponva or palkhi. They are also sung by women on the way to a jatra (fair). The Gaurya festival is another occasion for songs for women. Men sing religious songs when dancing round the Hovli fire during the Shimga festival. The theme of religious songs is naturally the praise of the deities. The life of the deities is believed to be not much different from that of human beings. Songs form an important part of the Koli marriage. Almost every ceremony has its special song, without which the ceremony cannot take place. At the beginning of every such song, a stanza is devoted to the deities: the deities are invoked and invited for the ceremony.

The evotic songs are known as ambavnis, they are extremely popular. The songs are mainly sung by men mostly on board a boat when there is no breeze and they have to row it. They sing the ambavni in chorus and are more or less vulgar.

The songs may be sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The complete set of the Koli musical instruments is called Vajata, consisting of two dhots and two piperis (wind instrument). The other instruments

are nagara (a sort of drum), samme/ or sambel (a pair of drums) and ghumat (an earthen pot, with the opening tightly covered with a leather piece).

The traditional Koli dances are for both men and women. The occasions for the men's dances are Holi and marriage. The women dance on the occasion of Hovli, marriage and Gaurya. Men and women, however, do not dance together. The marriage dances of men are a thing of the past. They still dance round. The Hovli but the real spirit of the dance is lost. The men, heavily drunk and singing aloud, run round the Hovli fire with long twigs in their hands raised towards the sky. After two steps they give a slight jerk to the body by raising the heel.

The women's dances are much more sober, though there is not much of action in them. The commonest is to arrange themselves in a circle. They hold their hands straight in front with the fingers interlocked. When the actual dance starts they bend forward from the waist and swing the arms once to the left and once to the right each time bringing the swing up to the waist. After two swings again they stand erect and take one step to the left so that all the women move round.

Every dance is accompanied by a song. One woman sings two lines and the rest repeat after her. There is no uniformity of action in the group, though some rhythm is followed. The dances may or may not have musical instruments for accompaniment, though with the instruments the enthusiasm of the women is heightened.

How parallel/similar attempts have been made by the other researchers looking into the ' recited word' as a means to convey the essence of a community ?

There are many parallel studies conducted to examine the cultural meaning of the art forms of village India. These traditions can be meaningfully understood through the concrete study of the individual social, cultural religious context.

The Warlis along with other tribes live in the Thane district of Maharashtra. The paintings function constitutes a major part of their lives. They encapsulate their entire world concerning themselves with fundamental aspects of their lives. Made at the time of marriage, they express their most fertile moments. In fact, the architecture of the hut may also serve as a highly ordered, outer covering for the painting inside much as the starkness of their lives enscones a rich, multiple world of experiences.

The process of painting, during the wedding is as important as the completed picture itself. Warli paintings though essentially depicted the marriage ceremony with the vegetation goddess, very well motivated by the songs intermingled with the musical notes being

hummed by little girls.

The song of Kansari which is suny is a long narration of the story of the Goddess. It is very repetitive with two or three constant refrains. There is seldom a continuous thread running through the narrative, there can be many broken sentences and sometimes appear completely meaningless. This could be however a result of the fact the audience could scarcely be attentive allowing the bhagats to sing as he liked. Furthermore the fragmentation could have arisen from the handling down of an oral tradition for many generations leading to gaps of memory. The song with its abbreviations and its associations would make sense to the Warlis in a way in which the outsiders were unable to comprehend.

Another typical example can be derived from the oral traditions of the African tribes. Oral style is often distinguished from the written on the basis of repetition. Unlike literature society where the written word, which has a kind of semi-permanent existence, is a reliable source for preservation, traditional society transmits its wisdom. Knowledge and folklore by word of mouth. All informations must be stored not in written records but in human brains.

Repetition serves as a mnemonic tether in oral communication by the arrangement of words in a rhythmic sequence which is independent of the words but to which they have to respond acoustically. Repetition is necessitated by the requirements of oral composition as well as comprehension. The oral poet must compose on the spur of the moment and keep a smooth, steady flow of narration.

The nature of the composition being spontaneous, the oral artist does not have the scope for those constant revisions and modifications. The simultaneous composition-in-performance of the oral poet is possible because of the availability of a stock of ready made methods. These methods are not only compositional tool for the poet but also forms the basis of semantic perception for the listener. F. Bauml comment that 'the illiterate listener receives the message of an epic not through the perception of words, but of traditional methods. Hence, repetition, while assisting the oral artist in composition also helps the listener to grasp the message, and thereby reassures the speaker that his message has been understood.



The oral expressions - typical example

When one looks closely into the meaning of the song one happen to see a well formated rule, guide book put up in a simple and orderly fashion. The main one which catches one's mind are :

Presented here is a brief but elabrated contents of the song Laginathil Ghane (Wedding songs). The wife is always younger than the husband. Almost all marriages are settled by the elders. Marriage within the family are forbidden while marriages with in relations are not favoured.

Exchange marriages (that is marriages of a brother and sister from one family with a sister and brother from another family), called mas-palat, can take place, such marriages are favoured because neither party has to pay bride-price, and the marriage expenses become comparatively lower.

A marriage is for the household of the youngman to select a proper bride. The ideal bride is a strong, healthy and hardworking, without any physical defects.

A Brahmin is consulted, he finds out whether there is any astrological hitch in the union of the two. Meanwhile the match is discussed over with relations, especially with reference to the boy, his family members, their nature and financial status. Various localities have tried from time to time to get-rid of the custom of the bride price, practice varies from one extreme, namely if not taking any bride price. When they say 'sokari dharmis devachi meaning 'To give the daughter as a charitable or virtuous act). A convenient day is fixed for Sakharpuva (betrothal ceremony). The ceremony takes place at night with a procession from the prospective bridegroom's place to the bride) They carry with them a lantern, some halva (a sweetmeat), Shevgathi (a savoury), Kolim or javta preparation, roasted vagtya and liquor. At the bride's place in the centre of the room is placed a bank (bench) with two samajs (oil lamps) at the two ends. An agreement is made, sweets, shevgathi and liquor are served to the gathering according to their mana (status) After sakharpuva, the engagement cannot be broken. Marriage usually takes place in the first murt (auspicious day) after a sakharpuva. Marriages take place in the months of Ma, Shimga, Vaishakh and Jeth. The popular belief is

is that after the marriage of God on the full moon, day of the months of Puns (Punsachya divitita Devacha lagin) men are permitted to marry.

The marriage ceremony, if celebrated in the traditional manner lasts for five days :

First day	.. Hatad or Jantya
Second day	.. Chauk
Third day	.. Lagin
Fourth day	.. Naval
Fifth day	.. Ulgavni or Ulgamalgi

First day is Devachi hatad (God's turmeric). The bride is taken to the Bhagat's place, a small knot is tied of a tress of her hair. A tali of five phal (coconuts) is offered to the family diety, another tali of twenty five phal is offered to the family diety. Turmeric paste is offered to the diety and applied to the bride. Jantya or Devchi slies (vermilion, flower petals and rice from diety's feet) is brought. In the kitchen while the dhavlarin (marriage singing woman) is singing, the murtvali (bride's or bridegroom's brother's wife) ties two mango leaves, a roja flower,

a turmeric root are tied to every utensil used for the marriage ceremony, and many similar rituals are performed. The elderly woman pray to God for all happiness to the couple. Turmeric paste is applied to the bride - to her face, arms, legs and feet and vermilion is marked on the forehead. A pair of plantain trees is brought by the men in the procession. The trees are tied at the entrance of the pandal on either sides. The bride is seated in front of the plantain trees, karat Bamanacha shiclha (half a sheer or rice, five coconuts, five almonds, five dried dates and coins) are placed in front of her.

The marriage songs starts with an invocation to the various deities, most commonly, Kandudev, Bairidev, Bhovanmate, Ramder, Ganagatrivaya, Dvarakechya Shiri krishna, inviting them to attend the particular ceremony that is to start. The rest of the song describes the ceremony, praising the bride (or the bridegroom). The parents and the family. A line or two like the following for the perpetual married state of the bride.

'Jan a bai mangte dere Deva
Majha hata bharuna chura

Bride Janabai prays , O God grant me, for my hands full nuptial bangles').

On the second day people are invited for chauk, it's an honour to be so invited. The chauk is in dedication to the deities; various deities are invited for the ceremony. The verse is repeated every time changing the name of the deity.

Pati basa pati basa gharinchya Khandudeva (sit on the stool sit on the stool, Oh! Khadudeva (Lord) of Home)

Maug patu dyava ka no varya Janabaila (And then let the seat be given to the bride Jana bai). The ceremony last till day break, that is more than five or six hours. Some enthusiastic women, some of them drunk, dance in the pandal. The murtvali applied turmeric to the bride. The bangle seller puts green bangles on her. For the groom, his face is shaved (mov Karavcha). The bride wears the marriage sari in the traditional Maharashtrian style (ubha nesavcha) She is decorated with flowers and ornaments.

Meanwhile the bridegroom, riding a well decorated horse, preceded by a musical band and followed by his marriage party, starts in procession for the bride's

home. On the way he visits his family deities and all the temples in the locality. Wearing the traditional wear, dhotar and a paivan dyed in turmeric. At the entrance, the bride's father, mother applies turmeric and vermilion marks on the groom's forehead and waves a small lamp in front of him.

During the Lagan, a janava (a bank of cotton thread) is thrown round the necks of the two, from over the cloth. At the Brahmins repeat the phrase ' Shubha lagna Savadhan' in the course of marriage hymns. The ghaugal (a circular metal vessel with handles) is full of water. The water is brought by bride's brother from the sea after the bride's bath. In a ghanzal is a ghatka (a vessel with a small hole at the bottom floating in it. They would tell the bride, Shiplat javala tela thorya dirkya des' (Give him some money to go for fishing); 'Tela tond bagava arsa cles' (Give him a mirror to see his face) and ask him, Bag bara distos nay see, you look fine, don't you ? . The sinking coincides with the end of the marriage hymns. When the guests have departed the bride for the last time, eats in a common plate with her parents and brothers and sisters.

During Naval the couple is again decked for the bridegroom's home. Similar thing are performed as done while coming to the bride home. On the fourth day the bride is brought back for Bashik. On the fifth and final day many rituals like Suryata Paya. Paravcla, Air Punjavchya, Aivi, Keli Toravchya are performed. Here ends the marriage ceremony. Satya Navayan Puja is performed on an auspicious and convenient day.

The dhavtarin plays an important part in Koli marriage. Perhaps she is only second to the bride's brother and his wife.

Āy māji klurkyā mātan base go, khivkyā mātan base

(My mother sits in the window of the palace)

Āy , tuta nijale sam under dise go nijle samundar dise

(Oh ! Mother, you can see the sea, lying in bed)

Or again :

Āy tuajā Sakārām sonāru go, Sakārām sonāru ,

(Oh! Mother, your goldsmith Sakārām)

Gharavite mungaryāche joru go, mungaryāche joru

(makes the paid of mungarya for you)

Āy māji Ādimāya Pārabati go, Ādimāya Pārabati,

(My mother is the primeval Mother, Pārbati)

Tichi nadar bālāvari go, nadar bālāvari

(Her eyes is on the children)

The songs are a description of the dieties interspersed with stanzas describing the care taken by the deity of her children.

Gauri is installation of Sankroba (Shankar). It is a water vessel filled with rice and covered with a coconut.

Bay koni tuta maera hanila ?

(Dear lady who brought you to the parental home ?

' Nam dev bhavana maera hanila'

(Brother Namdev brought me to the parental home)

The significance of this festival is that on the first day Gauri comes to her parental home by her brothers. The song also relates the conversation that took place between Gauri and Mahadeva (her husband) when her brothers went to invite her.

! Bhotya Shankara Mhadeva

(O gullible Sankara Mahadeva)

'Deva, dunyacha palanu re valya

('O God, the protect or of the world)

'Deva, bhava mana varava re ayale,

(O God, my brothers have come to invite me)

Raja de Deva maeri javaia

(Give me leave, O God, to go to the parental home)

On this request of Gauri, Mahadeva asks her :

Maeri jasi, kaya go bharaje khasi ?

('Going to the parental home, my wife, what will you eat ?)

She replies :

Deva, bhava maje gariba dubale

('O God, my brothers are poor)

'Deva Khaina me kundyachi bhakari'

('O God, I will eat husk - bread)

'As the dance, one of the assembled gets the inspiration
of the deity. The other girls invite Shankara Saying!

'Bholya Shankar Madeva

(O gullible Shankara Mahadeva)

'Deva sora athan maricha re ragu

('O God give up the anger from your heart)

'Ye Deva mevanya maeri,

('Come, O God, to the brother-in-law's home)

'Deva Sora a than manicha re ragu

('O God give up the anger from your heart)

Samaui kara, Deva, nachanarani bayachi'

('Comply, O God, with the wishes of the dancing girls')

The girls sing

'Ala go Shankaru devu

('God Shankara has come)

'Divyachya valpyata raylay

('Hiding in the shade of the lamp)

'Mana bagitey go Gaurubay bharajecha

(He is trying to understand the heart of his wife Gauri)

'Chita bagiley go Gaurubay bharajecha
('He is trying to understand the mind of his wife
Gauri')

In other words he is testing his wife's love and devotion
for himself.

'Ala go Shankaru Devu
('God Shankara has come)
'Mithishi mithi marili'
('Embrace has clasped embrace)

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