

House Shrines from Kokna Tribe in Maharashtra

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Primitive man would have a mysterious fascination with creation, re-creation, or events. After hunting and animal husbandry, women's agricultural and cultural development would have been the best situation. He would have experienced the power of creativity between land and woman. Daily life is necessary to fulfil the needs of the women and the land. Women cultivate the land and produce food by researching the tubers, roots and fruits. It was they who discovered agriculture. They conducted various experiments to make the land fertile. Motherhood was seen as the reason for the production of substances useful in life in the world. Motherhood is the centre of the matriarchal life system. Primitive humans had immense respect for motherhood. As soon as the regulation of society started, the woman who created it became the main component of the society. This led to the creation of a matriarchal living system; the goddesses were symbols of prosperity. The rituals related to his worship are mainly for the abundance of grains, animals and people. Due to this, deities are created among the tribals.

In Kokna, not every household has a household deity. According to the clan, the deities are in some specific homes, and the composition of the household deity varies from region to region. Like upper caste Hindus, there is usually a family/clan, a nuclear family. The temples of bronze images and the bronze images of local deities of tribal groups are different from the Hindu deities in many ways.

The deities of the Kokna family prefer to reside near the grain Kanagi or barn. Their presence protects the grain, the family's livelihood, from negative external influences. If the Nagli grain goddess is pleased by the Kanagi and her associates, she will ensure that the harvest is bountiful the following year. To ensure this, many precautions are taken.

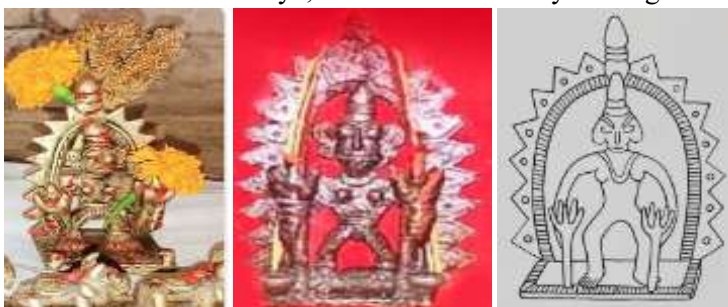
Three groups of family deities are recognised in the Kokna tribe: I. The Yehu/Himai group or Tafa, II. The Pandhari or ancestral group or Tafa, and III. The Hirwa group or Tafa. The Yehu-Kansarya group (Tafa) revolves around mundane matters such as household chores, agriculture, and rural life, and the Pandhari group (Tafa) connects the world of gods with the ancestors who reside there, while the Hirwa group (Tafa) emphasises the element of war.

I. Yehu and her husband, Kansarya Group-Yehu and her husband Kansarya, are true devotees of the goddess of the nagli, Kansari (mother). Kansarya holds a Ghangali, a stringed instrument, in her hand. In the middle of the Karandi (Bamboo basket) is a bronze statue of Kansarya playing his Ghangali and his wife Yehu/Himai holds their son Kansaryabal on her left waist. In her hand, she holds a small lamp in honour of Kansari (Goddess).



(Yehu Goddess) (Yehu and her husband Kansarya) (Waghola that came out of the cow's mouth)

i. Kansari; She holds a grain of an ear of Finger millet in her hand. There is a bronze statue of the grain god Kansari. Kansari's son is Kansarya, and Yehu is Kansarya's daughter-in-law Yehu. She grows about 18 types of food grains.



(Kansari goddess)

ii. Musalkhambi: These are all servants of Yehu or Himai. Musalkhambi holds a pestle in both hands. Her area of expertise is grain. She is responsible for grinding the dough with a pestle. She is worshipped so that as little waste as possible is made while separating the chaff from the grain.

iii. Ghusalkhambi-Ghusalkhambi holds a Ravi stick (Ghusal) in her hand, which she places in a vessel (Ghusalkham) for churning. With these tools, she makes dairy products.



(Musalkhambi and Ghusalkhambi)

iv. Kali Lakhmi, the "Black-skinned Lakhmi", holds a wooden spoon (large stick) in her hand. She also serves Yehu and cooks dinner. Yehu has two servants.

v. Gori Lakhmi, "fair-skinned Lakhmi", holds a small oil lamp in both hands in addition to the baby in her hand. She provides all the food for the day. In addition, she takes care of the cattle during the day and maintains cleanliness in the house. In the evening, she lights the night lamps of Yehu.



(Bronze statue: Kali (black) Lakhmi and Gori (white) Lakhmi)

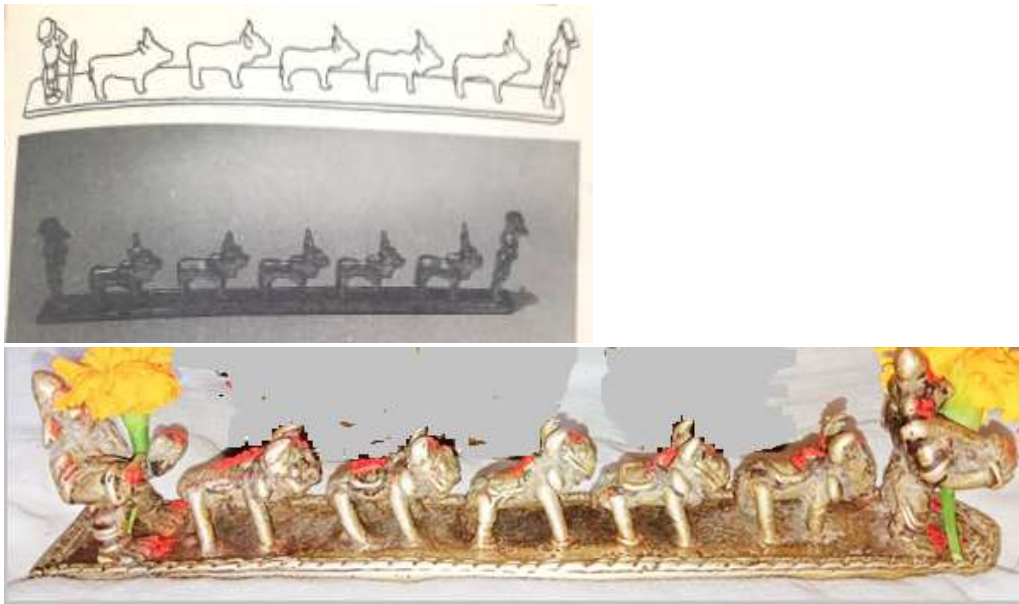
vi. Barma has two depictions, one of a protector and one of a messenger of news. In the first, he carries a stick and a water pot (lota) in his hand and a drum on his back; in the second, he plays a double-sided drum with both hands.

Barma should not be identified with the Hindu god Brahma. In the coastal areas of South India, separate deities are worshipped under the name Brahma or Brahmadev. In contrast, the Barma deities are closely related to ghosts and have their origins in a tribal environment.



(Barma God)

vii. Nandipatti: There are five Nandi bulls with two servants. There is a strip of five Nandis spread lengthwise on the surface of the Karandi, the five Nandis are Sawan, Povan, Chandiya, Nandiya and Dhupatya. Their leader is Bombya-Banjara and the drover is Hakya-Banjara.



(Nandipatti or Five Nandis)

The group of deities is seated on a red cloth, which represents the clothes of the gods (kharva). For the female deities, all kinds of small objects are kept in the urn. A small green chuda, a piece of green choli, a small container containing turmeric powder and Kumkum are wrapped in thin pieces of Kharva. On the left side of the urn, a hand-blown cymbal is seen. The Bhagat (Shaman) holds it and shakes it as the wind of one of the deities enters. Yehu or the Himai fleet is in a bronze image.



(Yehu or Himai with the group of Yehu-Kansarya group (Karandi), i.e., only a fleet of bronze statues)

II. Group of Ancestral Deities or Pantheon (Pandhri Tafa)-These ancestors are worshipped inside the house in the form of wooden or stone carvings. This group contains only metal images. Pandhari is the name of the village goddess, but also includes the patron goddess of the village. These include Mahadev, Bhavani, Khandoba with Mhalsa, Bahiroba, Munja and Satiāsara (Seven sisters including Mhasoba) (Mahadev, Bhavani, Khanderao, Bahiroba, Munja and Satiāsara or Maruti). Sometimes the guardian goddess of villages, Maruti (Hanavat) is added with other images. Maruti is present in some genealogical gods. In the centre of the basket are the ancestral images. The red and yellow thread is said to connect the spirits of the ancestors to the gods of the Pandhari Tafa (group). There are both economic and practical reasons why the Pandhari Tafa gods and ancestors are represented in metal images and not in bronze.

1. Mahadev; with his wife Parvati, rides the bull Nandi.
2. Bhavani; the goddess kills the buffalo with her weapons.
3. Khandoba; he rides a horse, accompanied by one or two of his wives.
4. Bahiroba; he rides a horse alone, holding a spear in one hand.
5. Munja; a young man with a stick and a water pot in his hand.
6. Hanavat; a mace-wielding Hanavat is also a clan god in some Pandhari Tafa.
7. Satiāsara; a group of seven sisters and their brother Mhasoba.
8. Veer; a male deceased ancestor. The form of representation varies greatly.
9. Supali; a deceased woman. There are many different representations of this.



The Tak (image) of the clan gods is made of metal. The image of the clan god is made in relief on a silver plate. The back of these pentagonal images is coated with resin/lacquer, and a copper back is attached to the back. This is an indication that the entire Tak should be seamless. Since the divine element is considered to be in the basic element of nature, the construction of these Tak is based on this indication. Life is created from the five elements and merges with the five elements, and the Tak is pentagonal as a symbol of these five elements.



(Original ancestral god and stone of the ancestral god) (In the ancestral or ancestral god-Tak)

III. Hirwa God's group (Hirwa tafa) - Hirwa and his associates are not worshipped everywhere. He is represented by a bunch of peacock feathers, while his servants are represented by bronze and silver Taks. The Warli people worship Hirwa and his associates almost everywhere. One of his associates is Zhoting God (Zhoting refers to a man without a wife or home), also represented by a bunch of peacock feathers. Hirwa and his associates are also depicted in bronze and coins.



(Group of Hirwa Gods)

Hirwa is enshrined in metal. The group around Hirwa has three sub-parts: the god Hirwa as a bunch of peacock feathers, the stems of which are entwined in a single Kucha (Toti), the many attendants tied to or hanging from his peacock feather bunch, and finally, the group of attendants kept separately in a bowl or basket.

Hirwa is not generally worshipped by all the Kokna. To some extent, he plays a different role for the Koknas than the Warlis, as they consider him the god of wealth and are closely associated with the goddess of the Nagli grain. Hirwa is the leader of the evil spirits. The evil spirits are extremely terrifying. Their appearance is terrifying. Only the devotees can take the necessary precautions to avoid the troubles of the ghosts.

The magnificent peacock feathers of this clan goddess Hirwa are often hung there, although they can be wrapped in red cloth and placed on Chandiva hanging from the ceiling.



(Hirwa god with peacock feathers in a silver Kucha/Toti)

1. Panchamukhya: a five-headed male image made of metal
2. Ekamukhya: a single-headed male image made of metal
3. Raghya: a depiction of a male image
4. Panchadevata: a silver Tak depicting five women
5. Sipai: two Tak, each depicting the image of a male guardian
6. Harnai (Vedubai): a golden Tak depicting a woman
7. Koparai (Khaduba): a golden Tak almost identical to Harnai (Vedubai)
8. Baldi: a depiction of a male image
9. Toti: a silver Tak, with a piece of peacock feather in the handle
10. Chita: depicted as a silver ring with three balls (three-linga ring). This ring is hung on a piece of peacock feather.
11. Haribhagat and Balbhagat: two small hollow spheres on a silver plate
12. Balveer: a small silver Tak, which may be gilded or completely gold, in which a male figure is depicted.



(Pachamukhya/five-headed)



(Three/Four Mukhya)

The 'five-faced' is represented by a standing metal statue of the five-headed god. The warrior god fights in a troop of Hirwa. There are many types of depictions. In most images from the Kokna tribe, he is seen holding a stick in his right hand and a water pot (lota) in his left. Sometimes the five-faced one rides a wild boar. He holds a rein in his left hand and a sword in his right hand. His head is dominated by five large noses, with horizontal lines on his face. Peacock feathers tied in different bunches decorate all his five heads in a stylised manner.

2. Ekmukhya (One-headed);



(Ekmukhya)

It is mainly depicted as a standing male figure made of metal. There are various depictions of the companion of Hirwa. For example, he holds a staff in his right hand and a water pot in his left. In other images, such as the one shown here, he is shown armed with a sword and shield. In addition to the images in a serrated round arch, there is another style group in which the goddess is surrounded by a simple arch.

In addition to the one-and five-faced companions in the Hirwa ritual, there are also companions with two, three, four, seven, twelve, sixteen and eighteen faces. The sixteen-headed companion is a particularly dangerous god. The metal caster is strictly forbidden to reveal the name of the person for whom he has made such an image, as it is used for black magic. If someone wants to harm someone, he recites a magical spell (mantra) to this god and send him to his home. The sixteen-headed god rides a boar. All carry swords and shields in their hands and wear high, pointed crowns. Their faces have only long noses. Eyes and mouths are missing.

3. **Raghya:** Raghya is depicted as a running man. A small woman stands holding a trident in his left hand. A Nandi sits at his feet. Raghya is shown running on the steps. A small woman stands on his right; he holds a trident in his left hand. Nandi rests at his feet.



(Raghya)

4. Panchdevta

"Five goddesses" are depicted in silver Tak. There are a total of seven women associated with Hirwa, which includes "Pachdevi". Their depictions often included clusters of peacock feathers. There are differing opinions on whether Hirwa is married and whether his wife is shown here or is merely his sister. The married couple and five women represent his wives and are part of his circle. The Warli considered them to be the sisters of Hirwa, or rather; they considered them to be the seven wives of Hirwa.



(Panchdevta)

5. Sipai



(Sipai)

The depiction of Hirwa protectors is shown as Tak running with bow and arrow. The Hirwa protectors running with bow and arrow are depicted in the picture.

6. **Haranaï-Vedubai** - A Tak of a woman usually made of gold or silver.

7. **Koprai-Khaduba-Haranaï** or Vedubai like style of women are represented.



(Haranaï-Koprai)

8. Baldi

Mahadev is also called Baldi. Baldi's robes are uniform in its depiction. Sometimes Mahadev Baldi is also called.



(Baldi)

Pardhi-There are also various depictions beneath the Pardhi. He is shown with a saddle and a spear or with a sword and shield. So he is the leader and master of the animals in the jungle. (Sawe 1945:55) According to him, Pardhi is the commander of Hirwa and he kills peacocks for his master. Every year in January, on the day of Makar Sankranti, Warli people worship it.



(Pardhi)

9. Toti

A bunch of peacock feathers are in a small bowl made of silver. A bunch of peacock feathers are in a small bowl made of silver.

10. Chita Dev

Chita Dev, Chita, is shown in the form of a silver ring with three small balls (Teenlingi Ring). This has a bunch of peacock feathers hanging from it. He would have tied a bunch of feathers in the same ring. Chita plays an important role in the marital ritual.



(Chita Dev)

11. Haribhagat and Balabhagat

Both the priests (Bhagats) are depicted in silver Tak with two hemispheres. Both the priests (Bhagats) are depicted using a small flat piece of silver and two hemispherical balls. They are usually tied or included in a bunch of green peacock feathers.



(Haribhagat and Balabhagat)

12. Balveer



(Balveer)

Baalveer, "small Statue", is a small silver Tak (silver or gold) painted in the form of a man. So, he is seen dancing and has a water pot in his right hand and a saddle in his left hand. Somewhere in the temple of the house, the Tak of Balveer is kept in front of the bronze statue of the five chiefs. Both are together. So the bunch of peacock feathers is also included. Baalveer is a Hirwa co-operative.

Kokna, Warli and other tribal communities, who worship deities at home, worship the idols of their deities and ancestors in Goldsmith. To make the Tak, goldsmiths use copper casts. They depict Tak made from silver and copper, but they also make them in bronze. Goldsmiths living in Maharashtra and South Gujarat generally belong to the Maratha caste. Among their household deities, they worship deities like Khandoba and Bhavani, often as their family deities. Of course, it is equally true that the art of making Tak came from the goldsmith's trade.

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