

Siolim Zagor: Historical and Cultural Perspectives

A dissertation for
Course Code and Course Title: HIS 651: Dissertation

Credits: 16

Submitted in partial fulfilment of Master's Degree

M.A. in History

by

Shambhavi Gajanan Chodankar

Seat Number: 22P0150047

ABC ID: 894535946177

PRN: 201904277

Under the Mentorship of

Dr. Parag D. Parobo

D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies
Programme of History



Goa University

Date: April 2024

Dr. Parag Parobo
Examined by:



DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Siolim Zagor: Historical and Cultural Perspectives" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the Master of History at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University under the Supervision of Dr. Parag D. Parobo and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will be not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

I hereby authorize the University authorities to upload this dissertation on the dissertation repository or anywhere else as the UGC regulations demand and make it available to any one as needed.



Shambhavi Gajanan Chodankar

Seat no: 22P0150047

Date: 19 April 2024

Place: Goa University

COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report "Siolim Zagor: Historical and Cultural Perspectives" is a bonafide work carried out by **Ms Shambhavi Gajanan Chodankar**, under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of the Arts** in the Discipline History at the (D.D Kosambi School of Social Sciences And Behavioural Studies School/Dept), Goa University/College.

Dr. Parag D. Parab

22/04/2024

Date: 19/04/2024

Signature of Dean of the School

Date: 19 April 2024

Place: Goa University

School/Dept Stamp



Contents

Preface	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Abstract	x
1. Introduction	1- 23
1.1 Research problem	
1.2 Objectives	
1.3 Literature Review	
1.4 Methodology	
1.5 Scheme of Chapters	
1.6 Scope and relevance	
2. Zagor: Meaning, Origin and Form	24-39
2.1 Zagor: The Tradition and Theatre of Goa	
2.2 Perni Zagor	
2.3 Gauda Zagor	
2.4 Hindu Gauda Zagor	
2.5 Nav Hindu Gauda Zagor	
2.6 Catholic Zagor at Bardez	
2.7 Sovangs in Zagor	
2.8 The Myth and Beginning of Siolim Zagor	
2.9 Religious Conversions	
2.10 Misconception About Zagor	
2.11 Church and Zagor	
3. Cultural life and Religious practices	41-71
3.1 Customs and Traditions	
3.2 Local beliefs	

- 3.3 Preparation of Zagor
- 3.4 Transformation of *maand*
- 3.5 Syncretic Practices
- 3.6 Performances of Siolim Zagor
- 3.7 Main *sovang* of Zagor

4. Community and Identity **72-85**

- 4.1 Rights and Rules
- 4.2 Performances of Zagor
- 4.3 Gendering Tradition
- 4.4 Revenue and Resources
- 4.5 Conflict and Tension
- 4.6 The outcomes of conflict
- 4.7 Other issues causing problems

5. Conclusion **86-90**

Bibliography **91-95**

Preface

I was born and brought up in Siolim and the tradition of Zagor always inspired me. The oral tradition of Zagor in Siolim has various historical facts that could be researched and hence this topic was chosen.

This tradition of Zagor had so much information to provide if closely observed. The tradition has certain rules and regulations, certain right to be performed by specific people. These details gives us idea about how people lived in past..

This research aims to find the meaning of this tradition of Zagor and also compare the Siolim Zagor with other Zagors in Goa. In this study the performances of people in the tradition will be studied..

The changes that are seen at present are be examined and the tensions and the split in Siolim Zagor tradition will be analysed. The studies before have not observed the roles of different indigenous deities closely in Siolim Zagor. This study is based on archives, ethnographic observations and interviews.

Acknowledgement

This research was possible because many people supported me. The people of Siolim were open to give time for interviews.

I would like to first thank my dissertation guide Sir Parag D. Parobo who gave me necessary time and advice in doing this research.

Secondly, I would like to thank all my professors of History Program as their suggestions and guidance helped a lot in doing this research.

I would be also grateful to all my colleagues who helped me in my work by giving their time. I would also thank the interviewers who helped me in my research. Particularly I owe my thanks to Kanhaiya Shirodkar one who sings the folk songs in the tradition of Siolim Zagor. Then Santosh Shirodkar a person from Siolim on whom Khazonio deity possession appears. Vijaykant Chodankar from Guddem area the committee member of Guddem Zagor and Alex Rodrigues a performer from Guddem.

Glossary

Zagor- a ritual and theatrical performance.

Maand- a platform which is used as sacred and performing space.

Suvang- the acts or theatre in Zagor.

Firangiraja- foreign king.

Malo- gardener.

Mavlon- gardeners wife.

Shet- goldsmith.

Kumar- Potter.

Mhar- untouchable.

Mharin- wife of untouchable.

Ghumot- musical instruments.

Malle- head gear of deity.

Goarser- a Character in Gauda Zagor.

Bhar- Spiritual possession.

Bhovar- the main character in the theatre of Siolim Zagor.

Fov- puffed rice.

Ghumti- shrine.

Suvari- procession by villagers with burning palm leaves.

Noman- religious prayer.

Gaunkar- villagers.

Maandkar- people who maintain maand.

Dali- Bamboo mat.

Tiatr- folk theatre.

Saheed- character of joker in the Siolim Zagor.

Rakhandar- protector of village, a guardian spirit.

Abstract

This research topic is about the tradition of Zagor in Siolim Village. The tradition is unique folk form of Goa. The purpose of this dissertation is to study this tradition. The main focus of study is on the community and conflict that is causing tension in the tradition. The Zagor as folk theatre has different forms in Goa and is performed by different group of people. This study also analyses other forms Zagor. Apart from tradition, the rituals, performances and customs are examined.

Keywords- Zagor, performances, traditions, indigenous deities, rituals, conflicts.

Chapter 1- Introduction

Goa is a small state of India known for its wonderful natural beauty and unique tangible and intangible cultural heritage. There are diverse forms of intangible cultural traditions that are prevailing in Goa. The study of intangible cultural tradition that is passed from one generation to another can be important to understand the knowledge that is been transmitted from generations, and for better understanding of the past and society. Zagor is one kind of intangible cultural heritage of Goa that is passed on from one generation to another.

Zagor is a traditional festival of Goa which involves staying awake one whole night. It is a unique form of theatre with performances of different acts and folk songs together. There are different forms of Zagor in Goa such as Perni Zagor, Gauda Zagor and Hindu Catholic Zagor. One example of Hindu Catholic harmony is Siolim Zagor. Siolim is a village in Bardez taluka tradition of Zagor is still carried on from generations. Initially the reason behind the tradition might be a kind of entertainment but all aspects including social, religious and economic are connected to bring up the tradition. Doing research on Siolim Zagor will help to understand historical aspects about people performing Zagor.

Born and brought up in Siolim, I was always attracted towards Zagor since my childhood. This developed into passion and although there are few studies on Zagor I have understood that there are gaps and they require closer analysis. This study is based on archival and ethnographic research. It focuses on analysis of symbols and cultural aspects that are part of the performance of the Zagor. By observing the tradition that is passed on from generations to another different things can be understood. Many rituals are part of this traditional zagor and each ritual and custom that is practiced has cultural meaning. Siolim Zagor is performed annually at the end of December, or occasionally in the beginning of January. Four acts are part of the Zagor performance and the acts are known as *sovenge* in Konkani. The first act is of *firangi* followed by *mal*, *malini* and the *bhovar* which is the main performance of zagorio. Last *sovenge* is of *mhar* and *mharini*. Many aspects about Goan culture and society can be understood by studying Zagor.

The Zagor of Siolim also involves worshiping of deities such as Sateri Goddess, khazonio local deity, Saint Anthony. Two months prior to Zagor offerings are sent to Sateri as she is the family deity of villagers of Siolim than offerings are also sent to local deity khazonio whose shrine is there in Danda village. Through zagor is

one day event but it is practiced well in advance all the performers begin practice in November after sending offerings to this deities. The practices are held at 10 pm in the night, all performers assemble on the *mand* of Zagor to practice. The annual tradition of Siolim Zagor has lot of traditions and rituals involve in it which needs to be analysed to understand the true meaning of the event.

1.1 Research problem

Though many studies have been done on Siolim Zagor, they mostly provide the description about customs and performance of Zagor. The earlier works on Siolim Zagor has largely observed it as a syncretic platform of the Hindus and the Catholics in Goa. However, there is silence on the split and tensions which has occurred among the traditional performers leading to the performance of an another independent Zagor in the same area. So, this research will attempt to study this tradition closely and analyse all the practices of Zagor and the emerging tensions. The research will also try to fill the gap in addressing the tensions and how they in turn enable us to understand historical developments and socio-cultural changes.

1.2 Objectives

The present study is an attempt to deal with the following aspects of the research problem:

- To study the practice and meaning associated with festival of Zagor.
- To study the attitude of the colonial state towards Zagor.
- To examine the performance of rituals.
- To analyse Zagor as a ritual space.
- To examine tensions surrounding performance and participation of various communities.

1.3 Review of literature

Pandurang Pissurlencar's *Goa Pre Portuguese Atraves dos Escriitores' lustitanos dos seculose XVI e XVII* mentions number of primary sources such as travellers accounts and charters that are important sources to understand history of Goa. It also provides important details on Zagor and refers to Zagor as a Hindu theater form.¹ Sebastian Dalgado's *Glossario de Luso Asiatico* gives details on the nature and form of Zagor.² The word Zagor is defined as a

¹P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Goa Pre Portuguese Atrave's dos Escriitores lustitanos dos seculose XVI XVII* (Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1946), 44.

²Sebastian Dalgado, *Glossario de Luso Asiatico* (NewDelhi: Asian Educational Association, 1988).

form of Goan folk theatre. Dalgado also mentions about the ecclesiastical penalties imposed by the Portuguese on the performance of Zagor.

Vinayak Khedekar's *Gomatakiya Lokala* is a Marathi book on Goan folklore and culture.³ It deals with cultural aspects and *suvari* folklore that have been sustained even after Portuguese rule. The work discusses zagor and its different forms such as Perni zagor, Guada zagor and Hindu Catholic zagor. It also provides notable information about Siolim Zagor and a custom of Zagor. According to Khedekar both people from Guddem Siolim as well as from Danda participated in *suvarit* is also suggested that one of the reasons for ban on Siolim Zagor by the Church was religious disputes among Catholics and Hindus.⁴ Khedekar's *Folk dances of Goa* includes information about Goa's traditions, folk dances and folk theatre⁵ Different Goan folk dances such as *fugdi*, *dehkni*, *mando* are discussed. It also gives details various forms of Goan theatre such

³ Vinayak Khedekar, *Gomatakiya Lokala* (Panjim: Government of Goa, 1980), 4-5.

⁴ Khedekar, *Gomatakiya Lokala*, 4.

⁵ Vinayak Khedekar, *Folk dances of Goa* (Udaipur: West Zone Cultural Centre, 2010), 34-35.

Kaalo Ranmaalem. The book also gives information on performance and characters that are part of Zagor. There is also mention of ritual offerings made to zagorio.

St. Anthony's Church and History of the villages Marna and Siolim by Sebastian D'Cruz deals with brief history of Siolim village and its religious life. More importantly, D'Cruz has examined the concept of *maand*, a sacred space and has also highlighted Remo Fernandes's performance at Zagor.⁶ *Fish, Curry and Rice* edited by Claude Alvares gives information on history, agriculture, eco-traditions, biodiversity, industries and civil society movements.⁷ While explaining about communal harmony in Goa this work briefly mentions Siolim Zagor as a festival of the unity among Catholics and Hindus.

Pandurang Phaladesai's *Kaleidoscopic Goa* is about different folk forms and local rituals, performing arts, feasts, festivals and

⁶ Sebastian D'Cruz, *St. Anthony's Church and History of villages of Siolim and Marna* (Panjim: New Age Printers, 1994), 133.

⁷ Claude Alphonso Alvares, ed., *Fish, Curry and Rice* (Panjim: Goa Foundation Publication, 2002).

architecture.⁸ It also discusses briefly Siolim Zagor and gives details about the significance of two communities Hindus and Catholics performing together with illustration. Phaldesai states that Catholic men play music during Zagor performance and Hindu men dance on stage as zagorio. However, the musical support is provided by Hindus and stage performances is done by Catholic men. Phaldesai also incorrectly refers to Siolim Zagor as Guada Zagor.⁹

Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues's *Feasts Festivals and Observances of Goa* includes description of well-known religious observances amongst Catholics, Hindus and Muslims in Goa in alphabetical order.¹⁰ It deals with Siolim Zagor and has also explained the concept of *maand* in brief. *Sovenge* and characters that are played during *Zagor* are also explained in the book. While the author states that the main customary dance of Zagor is performed

⁸ Pandurang Phaldesai, *Kaleidoscopic Goa* (Panjim: Vasantrao Dempo Education & Research Foundation, 2004).

⁹ Phaldesai, *Kaleidoscopic Goa*, 37.

¹⁰ Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, *Feast, Festivals and Observances of Goa* (Panjim: Broadway Book Centre, 2004), 45-46.

without song this is not the case. In fact, the main customary dance is performed with music and singing of song.¹¹

Rosa Maria Perez's *Tulsi and the Cross: Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* is an ethnographic work that deals with the impact of Portuguese colonialism on local society.¹² While Perez largely examines the Devadasi community of Goa, there is a brief discussion on zagor and its forms. Perez states that *mahars* are main worshipers of Siolim Zagor, however, this claim is questionable and needs to be examined as all communities have a role in the festival.

Mahadev Naiks's *Shivoli* in Marathi language deals with etymology and history of Siolim village.¹³ It discusses folk songs and temples of Siolim. There is one mistake in this book that is because the book mentions that the *Mhar* performance is done by female performer from one house where as all female characters of Zagor are played

¹¹ Rodrigues, *Feast Festivals and Observances of Goa*, 45.

¹² Rosa Maria Perez, *Tulsi and the Cross: Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2011), 104-105.

¹³ Mahadev Shambha Naik, *Shivoli* (Panjim: Mahadev Shambha Naik, 2013), 22-27.

by male performers females do not perform for Zagor male represents female characters on stage of Siolim Zagor.¹⁴

Vinayak Phadte Akhadkar's *Lokkalanaad* is a Marathi work that discusses Goan folk festivals and folklore. It examines the role of men and women in festivals.¹⁵ It provides information about few details regarding Siolim Zagorio and the performance of Zagorio like the book mentions that the performance is without possession of spirit.¹⁶ Marcos Gonsalves's *Kristanvancho Zagor: Sodvaur* mainly deals with Catholic zagor in Goa.¹⁷ However other forms of Zagor in Goa are also mentioned. While, book has one full chapter dealing with details of Siolim there are errors. Although Gonsalves specifies that zagorio dances without music and song, in practice the performance of Zagorio is supported by folk song.¹⁸

¹⁴ Naik, *Shivoli*, 22.

¹⁵ Vinayak Vithal Phadte Akhadkar, *Lokkalanaad* (Panjim: Vithal Art and Culture Association, 2013), 176-177.

¹⁶ Akhadkar, *Lokkalanaad*, 177.

¹⁷ Marcos Gonsalves, *Kristanvancho Zagor: Sodvaur* (Panjim: Dalgado Konkani Akademi, 2013), 25-26.

¹⁸ Gonsalves, *Kristanvancho Zagor: Sodvaour*, 26.

Alexander Henn's *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* deals with Portuguese colonialism, conversions, cultural life of communities and ritual practices in Goa.¹⁹ More importantly, it provides a cultural framework for emergence of multicultural life and through which Goans began to reflect their cultural and religious identities in a new way. It also provides important details regarding Siolim Zagor and discusses about customs and practices involving both Hindus and Catholics and points out the unity among the two religions groups. Henn also analyses folk songs and the names of Catholics and Hindu deities to understand the role of each both communities.²⁰

Dominic P. F. Fernandes's *Anjuna village: Vignettes from Goa* discusses the history, culture and society of Anjuna village.²¹ It also gives information about Zagor being performed in Anjuna and then deals with Siolim Zagor mentioning about customs and traditions

¹⁹ Alexander Henn, *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014), 133-134.

²⁰ Henn, *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa*, 133

²¹ Dominic P. F. Fernandes, *Anjuna village: Vignettes from Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2015).

followed. Vinayak Khedekar's *Goa: Land, Life and Legacy, A field study* discusses about Goa's land geography, traditions, community and culture.²² It includes explanation on different types of Zagor in Goa. Tanvi Banbolkar's "Folk theatre in Goa: A critical study of selected forms" is a doctoral work on folk theatre of Goa.²³ Here selected forms like Zagor, Kaalo and Ranmaalem are analysed. It also discusses Siolim zagor and its rituals.

When the Curtain Rise: Understanding Goa's vibrant Konkani Theatre by Andre Rafael Fernandes deals with *tiatr*, a popular theatre form of Goa.²⁴ It explains Goan diaspora and performance of Zagor in Mumbai, along with this it also explains evolution of *tiatr* through Zagor. The book also explains Zagor and loss of its social position. It highlights that Zagor was a platform of showcasing gossips and vulgarity.

²² Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, *Goa: Land, Life and Legacy, A field study* (Panjim: Goa Art and Culture, Government of Goa, 2016).

²³ Tanvi Kamat Bambolkar, "Folk theatre in Goa: A critical study of selected forms" (PhD Diss., Goa University, 2016).

²⁴ Andre Rafael Fernandes, *When the Curtain Rise: Understanding Goa's Vibrant Konkani Theatre* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2010).

Sunita Vernekar's dissertation "Siolim Zagor" is another work totally on festival. This work gives essential details of Siolim Zagor.²⁵ This work mentions about various rituals and performances of Zagor. It includes many minute details of this Zagor but this work is silent on the tensions of Siolim Zagor. Though this work is very informative but it has not discussed much regarding other issues of Siolim Zagor.

Remo Fernandes's "The Siolim Zagor: A Hindu Catholic Miracle" is an important informative newspaper article which provides information regarding Siolim Zagor.²⁶ In this article the author looks at Zagor from entrainment point of view. The author narrates all the event by giving information regarding folk instruments, costumes of Zagor, folksongs and also highlighted about the unity.

Shiv Kumar's "Goans festival in which Hindus and Catholics Pray Together" is a newspaper article that give information regarding the

²⁵ Sunita Vernekar, "Siolim Zagor." (M.A Diss., Goa University, 2016), 8.

²⁶ Remo Fernandes, "The Siolim Zagor: A Hindu Catholic Miracle," *Herald*, 18 January, 1987.

Siolim Zagor.²⁷ The article mentions rituals and offerings of Zagor. It gives proper description of the tradition highlighting Hindu Catholic togetherness and it points out issues that has affected the tradition. According to the author migration of Catholics and Hindus is one issue, many performers are withdrawing themselves from performance and this has affected the tradition.

Joaquim Fernande's "Siolim Zagor: When an ancient practice comes alive" is a newspaper article in this article all information about performance of Zagor is provided.²⁸ Different performers of Zagor are mentioned such as Remo Fernandes, Shirodkar family and various other Catholic families. The author has also highlighted unity between two religions.

B. D. Satoskar's *Gomantak Prakruthi Ani Sanskriti* is a Marathi book dealing with history and culture of Goa.²⁹ This book provides

²⁷ Shiv Kumar, "Goans festivals in which Hindus and Catholics Pray Together," *Navhind Times*, 15 April 2006.

²⁸ Joaquim Fernandes, "Siolim Zagor: When ancient practice comes alive," *Times of India*, 28 December, 2012.

²⁹ B. D. Satoskar, *Gomantak Prakruthi Ani Sanskriti* (Panjim: Sharadhiya Prakashan, 2009).

information on various caste groups of Goa, various rituals and festivals. The book mentions two types of Zagor in Goa Perni and Gauda. Jayanti Nayak's *Amone ek Lok Jin* is a Konkani book on village of Goa known as Amone.³⁰ In this book the village history, geography, society, tradition and culture are explained. This book provides information on Perni zagor and Guada Zagor. The book provides information about performers of this Zagors in Goa.

Goanychim Lekkala is another Konkani book by Jayanti Nayak.³¹ It deals with folk art of Goa. It discusses many folk-art forms of Goa along with folk songs. Zagor and different types of Zagor are also mentioned in this book. Robert Newman's *Goan Anthropology: mothers, miracles and mythology* is an anthropological book dealing with Goan culture communities, social differences among villages and it tries to observe the transmission in festivals after colonial

³⁰ Jayanti Naik, *Amone ek Lok Jin* (Panjim: Goa Konkani Akademi, 1993), 243.

³¹ Jayanti Naik, *Goyenchem Lekkala* (Amona: Rajae Prakashan, 2004).

era.³² The book mentions Siolim Zagor as festival of kinship and unity among Hindus and Catholics.

Tersa Albuquerque's *Anjuna: Profile of village in Goa* is a book on Anjuna village of Goa.³³ The book discusses history of village, culture, traditions, temples and shrines. The book mentions about Zagor being performed in Churches of Goa along with *tiatr*. Shyam Verekar's *Goenchea Lokvedacho Rupkar* is a Konkani book which deals with Goan folklore.³⁴ The book explains various forms of Goan folklore and folk festivals. All types of Zagor are mentioned in this book and image of *firangi raj*, *sovang* from Siolim Zagor is also given in this book. According to Verekar Konkani drama paved its way through Zagor and explains the concept of *mand* while mentioning information about Zagor.

³² Robert Newman, *Goan Anthropology: mothers, miracles and mythology* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2019), 62.

³³ Tersa Albuquerque, *Anjuna: Profile of village in Goa* (New Delhi: Promila and Co, 1987), 87.

³⁴ Shyam Verekar, *Goenchea Lokvedacho Rupkar* (Panjim: Goa Konkani Akademi, 1991).

Teotonio R. de Souza's *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History* is a book which raises questions on colonial historiography.³⁵ It is an important book that discusses social life, religion, economy and village community. The book mentions Zagor as dramatic performance performed by temple communities.

Antonis de Ataido Lobe's *Freguesia de Siolim* is a Portuguese book of Siolim Parish.³⁶ The book has all necessary information regarding creation of Siolim Parish Church and feasts and festivals of Church. The book mentions first conversion done in village and is helpful in knowing details about Siolim village. Moren D' Souza's *Bardesho Igorzo* is Konkani book in Roman script and it provides information regarding Siolim Church.³⁷ The book also deals with information about society and economy of the area. It also deals with Siolim Zagor and highlights Catholic deities and mentions that both Hindus and Catholics worship together to the Catholic deities.

³⁵ Teotonio R. de souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio – Economic History* (Saligao: Goa1556, 1979),6.

³⁶ Antonis de Ataido Lobe, *Freguesia de Siolim* (Mapusa: Typographia Popular, 1931), 21.

³⁷Moren D'souza, *Bardesho Igorzo* (Old Goa: Basilica of Bom Jesus,1999), 91-92.

Celina de Vieira Velho e Almeida's *Feast and Fest of Goa: The flavour of a unique culture* is a book on Goan culture.³⁸ It provides information on Kakra Zagor and explains its rituals and performance. This book is an addition to Alexander Henn's work on Kakra Zagor. All the rituals acts and instruments necessary for performance of Zagor are discussed in this book. Pandurang Phaldesai's another book *Typological insights into Folklore of Goa* is a book focusing on culture of Goa.³⁹ The book involves information on folk music, dance and theatre. One chapter of this book is on Siolim Zagor. Tanvi Bambolkar's "Semiotics of Traditional v/s modern space in folk theatre with special reference to the Mand system of Goan folk tradition" is an article explaining semiotics, the signs and symbols and identifying space in folklore.⁴⁰

³⁸ Celina de vieira Velho e Almeida, *Feast and Fest of Goa: The flavour of unique culture* (Panjim: Fundação Oriente, 2023).

³⁹ Pandurang Phaldesai, *Typographical insights into Goan folklore* (Porvorim: Saasaai Publication, 2021), 60-70.

⁴⁰ Tanvi Kamat Bambolkar, "Semiotics in traditional v/s modern space in folk theatre with special reference to Mand System of Goan tradition," *Chitrolekha Journal*, no. 2 (2008):1-10,10.1007/s43995-023-00031-3.

It deals with theatre and space, discusses pros and cons of modernity in cultural traditions and explains the *mand* concept.

Pramod Kale's "Essentialists and epochalists elements in Goan Popular Culture" is an article about *tiatr* in Goa.⁴¹ It points out evolution of *tiatr*, discusses role of Konkani as language of Goa in the theatre. The highlights Zagor as earlier form of theatre in Goa and gives brief information on Siolim Zagor. This article also deals with *mand* and explains the role of Church. Manuel C. Rodrigues's article "Dances of Goa" discusses various forms of folk dances of Goa.⁴² This article helps to understand the meaning and significance of different folk dances and folk songs. This book can provide help while interpreting and analysing the folk songs and dances of Goa.

Paul Axelrod and Michelle A. Fuerch's article "Flight of deities: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa" deals with Hindu resistance

⁴¹ Pramod Kale. "Essentialist and Epochalist Elements in Goan Popular Culture: A Case Study of 'Tiatr'," *Economic and Political Weekly* 21, no. 47 (1986): 2054–63, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4376359>.

⁴² Manuel C. Rodrigues, "Dances of Goa." *Asian Studies Centre*, no. 2 (1983):164-165, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40872553>.

against Portuguese religious policies.⁴³ According to authors Zagor which was banned by the Portuguese was one such resistance by Siolim people. This article also suggests the revival date of the Siolim Zagor after its ban. The article states that Zagor was platform through which people showed their dislike towards colonial rule. The article mentions the main characters of Zagor and there is a gap in this which would be analysed in this research work.

Alfred F. Braganza's "Goan songs and music" is an article dealing with Konkani songs and music that is performed in Goa. Alfred Braganza discusses Goan songs sung during various occasions in Goa such as songs during marriages, shigmo and Zagor. The book also explains the meaning of Zagor in Goa. Urtte Krass's "Qualche Ornamento Stabile, Perpetuo" Die Silberstatue Des HL. Franz Xaver

⁴³ Alfred Braganza, "Goan Songs and Music," *Journal of South Asian Literature*, no. 1 (1983): 159–64, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40872552>.

⁴⁴ Urtte Krass, "Qualche Oranamento Stabile,Perpetuo"Die Silberstatue Des HL.Franz Xaver In Goa Und Ihre Performative Vereinnahmung Im 17I Jahrhundert," *Kunsthistorisches Institute in Florenz*, no.55 (2013):79-93, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44634667>.

In Goa Und Ihre Performative Vereinnahmung Im 171 Jahrhundert” is an article in German language and it is about St. Francis Xavier’s church.⁴⁴ It discusses ornaments, statue and architecture of church. However, while mentioning some details of St. Francis Xavier statue and church it discusses about conversion in Goa and mentions Zagor as asset of musical performance of church to attract people towards church and support conversion.

Cosma Fernandes’s “Depiction of Goan Society in Tiatr” is a doctoral research in Konkani that deals with *tiatr* and depiction of Goan society in it.⁴⁵ It discusses about downfall of Zagor and mentions about various issues in Zagor performances. Zagor was platform of showing political, social and economic issues and it had become obsessive with this according to the author. V. T. Gune’s edited book *Gazetteer of India, the union Territory of Goa: Goa Daman and Diu* is important to understand Goa.⁴⁶ The book provides

⁴⁵ Cosma Fernandes, “Depiction of Goan Society in Tiatr.” (PhD Diss., Goa University, 2016).

⁴⁶ V. T. Gune, ed., *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part-I (Panjim: Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa, 1979), 21-33.

information on geography, history and culture of Goa. It discusses Goan transport, education, society and economy and provides information regarding various festivals of Goa and certain cultures like Shigmo. It gives information regarding geographical area, archaeological sites of Goa and traditional cultures. It gives brief information on Siolim Zagor as a theatre form and one night festival with lot of entertainment and performances. The book also mentions certain characters in Siolim Zagor and points out unity among two communities Hindus and Catholics.

1.4 Methodology

This study is based on archival and ethnographic research. Attempt will be made to access both primary and secondary sources. The research will also include oral history—interview method with proper guidelines and corroborated with ethnographic observations.

1.5 Chapterisation

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1. Introduction deals with research problem, objectives, literature review, methodology, scheme of chapters and scope and relevance.

Chapter 2. Zagor: Origin, meaning and form. This chapter deals with introduction of the topic, the concept of Siolim Zagor. The chapter

will also explain different forms of Zagor. The chapter in short will help to understand the different forms of Zagor in Goa and will also deal with comparison of Siolim Zagor with other forms of Zagor in Goa. It will address research questions like what is Zagor, how many forms are there and how they are different from Siolim Zagor? Also, where and why it is performed? How it is a part of intangible culture of Goa? This chapter will also deal with social history about Siolim Zagor. This chapter will analyse the attitude of the colonial state and church towards Zagor of Siolim.

Chapter 3. Cultural life and religious practices. Many rituals with lot of deep meanings are part of this tradition. The chapter analyses these rituals and would shed light on cultural life of people. All the rituals and performance are discussed analysed in this chapter. Each ritual has a deeper meaning which needs to be analysed and understood. This chapter will deal with rituals and performance part of the tradition. Everything that is part of the ritual would be observed. The chapter will basically look how Zagor is conducted and which practices are part of it and why?

Chapter 4. Community and Identity. There is a local community which is following this tradition and the community has its identity. This chapter examines communities who participate in this tradition.

It addresses the issues and problems among the communities and deal with divisions and coming of new zagor in Siolim. This chapter also examines the difference between traditional and recent zagor. However, there are other issues as well which are analysed in this chapter. Chapter 5 is the conclusion.

1.6 Scope and Relevance

The scope of this study is limited to Siolim village. This is a study of intangible culture performed once in a year in Siolim village. So, this research will help to understand the area of Siolim and intangible cultural tradition. Any folklore and traditions have deep meanings and they can help in understanding history.

Chapter 2- Zagor: Origin, meaning and Form

This chapter examines meaning of Zagor and its different forms prevalent in Goa. It also makes an attempt to understand the origin of Siolim Zagor and does a comparative analysis with other forms of Zagor celebrated in Goa.

2.1 Zagor: The tradition and theatre of Goa

Zagor literally means staying awake for a night. There are many rituals and customs which are part of this tradition along with theatrical performance. Sebastian Dalgado states that Zagor is a comical performance in Konkani by illiterate people.¹ However, Zagor cannot be reduced to comical performance. It is a combination of performance and rituals by ordinary people in Goa. Zagor is also a dance – drama based on religious and historical themes.² Zagor also has involvement of Gods, saints and different forms of religious worships.³ There are many rituals

¹ Sebastian Dalgado, *Glossario de luso Asiatico* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Association, 1988), 436.

² P. D. Xavier, *Goa A social History 1510-1640* (Panjim: Rajhauns Vitran, 2010), 265.

³ Urtte Krass, “Qualche Ornamento Stabile, Perpetuo Die Silberstatue Description HL. Franz Xavier in Goa und Ihre Performative vereinnahmung Im 17. Jahrhundert,”

part of this tradition such as veneration of indigenous deities as well as Vedic deities. The names of deities such as Shiva, Ganesha and Krishna are recited in Zagor. Zagor is celebrated in different ways and there are differences of the form, worship of gods and offerings made.

According to Pandurang S. S. Pissurlencar Zagor is a Hindu theatre performed during certain religious festivities.⁴ This tradition has many rituals in it and tells us about the people. Teotonio R. de Souza describes Zagor as dramatic performance that was organised in temple premises by adults of village.⁵

All Zagor performances last for whole night and ends in early morning the next day. The rituals in Zagor are associated with village deities. During Zagor traditional musical instruments are used to support the drama on the stage. These traditional instruments which are used during Zagor are *kaslem*, *madalem*

kunsthistorisches institut in Florenze, no. 55 (2013): 73-93,
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44634667>

⁴ Pandurang Pissurlencar, *Goa pre- Portuguesa atraves dos Escriitores Lusitanos dos Seculos XVI e XVII* (Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1962), 44.

⁵ Teotonio R De Souza, *Medieval Goa: A socio- economic history* (Saligao: Goa 1526, 2009), 62.

and ghumat. Most of the characters in the Zagor do not speak, only few have the dialogues while others perform through the song. The female characters are played by men.

The Siolim Zagor is known for harmony of Hindus and Catholics. It was performed on maand Zagor and involves stage performances called *suvangs*. In local terms *suvangs* are acts in which different characters appear. The stage performance of Zagor involves various characters and these are representations from Goa's social life. The performance of *suvangs* are also different in different forms of Zagor.

There are different forms of Zagor in Goa. The Perni Zagor form is not performed at some places. The forms of Zagor are such as Perni Zagor, Gauda Zagor and Hindu Catholic Zagor.

2.2 Perni Zagor

This Zagor is different from of folk drama performed by Perni community of Goa. Perni community is a sub caste of devadasi community and the women of this group on a specific occasion used to marry God.⁶ This is a general idea about

⁶ Alexander Henn, *Hindu Catholic Engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014), 128.

devadasi but actually devadasi and their situation in Goa was problematic. According to caste hierarchy they belonged to lower caste. Perni Zagor is performed during temple festival. In Goa this Zagor was performed at Vagurbem village in Ponda, Molcornem in Quepem, Poinguinim village in Canacona, Mayem village of Bicholim, Colamb village in Sanguem and Morjim village in Pernem.⁷

The Perni Zagor has performances with masks made of wood. The masks involving masks of deities such as Ganesha, Krishna and Mahadev. These masks were also worshiped by the families involved in this tradition.⁸ Some masks represented demons while some mask represented animals such as horse and tiger. The characters in Perni Zagor made fun of priest and local authorities like policeman and tax collectors. As a subcaste of devadasi the caste was looked down. One reason for discontinuation of this Zagor is that some villagers of Goa looked down upon this community of Devadasi who performed this Zagor.⁹ Perni Zagor begins by worship the Petaro where in the masks are kept. Performers wore the masks and enacted role of

⁷Pandurang Phaldessai, *Goyenechea Lokvedachem Saundaryashasta* (Porvorim: Sasai publication, 2017), 202.

⁸ Henn, *Hindu Catholic*, 126-127.

⁹ Henn, *Hindu Catholic*, 128.

the deities such as Krishna, Mahdev and Ganesha. After this the folk drama included different characters such as characters of animals, demons and also the local authorities that suppressed this group. The negative depiction of the local authorities was a kind of resistance against them by the common people. This kind of resistance could be seen as a form of ‘everyday resistance’ whereby the people mocked the authorities.¹⁰ In 2016, during the Republic Day a tableau of Goa that participated in the parade was designed around theme of Perni Zagor with costumes and masks and traditional songs of Zagor.

2.3 Gauda Zagor

The Gaude of Goa are believed to be the descendants of the early settlers dating from the pre- historic times.¹¹ More importantly, Gaudas are the tribal population previously gaining livelihood from *kumeri*, a form of shifting cultivation.¹² The Gaudas are also in occupations such as fishing and toddy tapping.¹³ Gauda celebrate the festival of Zagor in Goa. Zagor

¹⁰ James C. Scott, *weapons of the Weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance* (New Haven: Yale University press, 1985).

¹¹ P.D. Xavier, *Goa: A social History 1510-1640* (Panjim: Rajhauns Vitaran, 2010), 51.

¹² Henn, *Hindu Catholic Engagements*, 129.

¹³ Xavier, *Goa: A social*, 52.

was performed by Gaudas at the end of the agricultural season for their entertainment.¹⁴ The Gauda Zagor was mostly performed in villages of Ponda and Tiswadi taluka. Gauda Zagor is also performed by Nava Hindu Gaudas. In 1928, the Catholic Gaudas were reconverted to Hinduism and were called as Nava Hindu.¹⁵ However, the Nav-Hindu Gaudas are looked down by Hindu Gaudas and there are restrictions on marriage alliance between them. The Gauda Zagor is performed during month of May. Here there is cult of Zagorio but deities are venerated while reciting *noman*. The Nava Hindu Gauda Zagor performed in Kankra involves names of Catholic deities. The Gauda Zagor is performed on *maand*, the scared space. Before beginning of performance, a lamp is lit on the *maand*. Then the *noman* is recited and the Zagor begins. The characters played in Nava Hindu Gaudas Zagor are different from Hindu Gaudas.

2.4 Hindu Gauda Zagor

¹⁴ A. B.de.Bragaza Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu* trans. Maria Aurora Cuoto (New Delhi: Penguin books, 2008), 69.

¹⁵ Archana Kakodkar, “Shuddhi: Reconversion to Hinduism in Goa,” in *Goa: Cultural Trends*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panjim: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, 1988), 242–263.

In the Hindu Gauda Zagor, the first *suvang* is of Ganesha or Mahadev. This is followed by a *suvang* of *prapati* or worshipping girl which is played by a man. There is a *suvang* of peacock. Then *suvangs* showing communities of Goa such as *mhar*, *mavlon*, *bhatkar* and *shet* occurs. After this different family relations are displayed such as *savang* of *mama*, *bhav*. The main performance of Hindu Gauda Zagor at some places is *goraser*.¹⁶ The *goarser* also has a headgear on head like the main performance of *ghad ghadiya* of Zagor in Siolim but the steps and songs are different and the character of *goarser*. The *goarser* performance represents a character whose headgear is of flowers and the character is offering his beloved with flowers.

The Gauda zagor of Ponda that is celebrated in the villages of Veling, Pirol and Khed the performance is common on *maand* and it is performed in the month of May. In the *noman* the deity names that are recited are common: Mahalsa, Keshava, Mahadeva, Ganesha, Maand Guru, Purush and Jaltaya Divya, a lamp which is there on the *maand* of their Zagor.

2.5 Nav– Hindu Gauda Zagor

In this Zagor along with the names of Hindu deities the names of Catholic deities are included. One example of this

¹⁶ Henn, *Hindu Catholic*, 129.

Zagor is Kakra Zagor. Here there are characters such as Firangi girl, Havaladar along with other character of *mali*, *mhar* and *mor*. The Zagor of Nav Gaudas still have Catholics influence on it and it can be seen in the performance of this Zagor. The character of *goarser* is also there in this Zagor and it is the main character.¹⁷

2.6 Catholic Zagor at Bardez

This Zagor was performed next to the Churches during certain occasions or feasts as a part of entertainment. It was performed in Anjuna, Calangute and Baga.¹⁸ The performance of such Zagor was stopped.¹⁹ It looks like there were two reasons why Catholic Zagor stopped. One reason might be because of ecclesiastical restrictions on it. However Catholic Zagors are performed by some Catholics in Anjuna and Calangute. Salvador Denzilia has revived the Calangute Zagor and included female performs as well. There are some different *suvangs* and only Konkani songs on Zagor are sung. The female performers sing the song on performance of Zagor. In fact, the way in which Zagor was performed is sung in this *kantar* of Zagor in

¹⁷ Henn, *Hindu Catholics*, 130.

¹⁸ Teresa Albuquerque, *Anjuna: Profile of village in Goa* (New Delhi: Promila & Co., 1987), 80.

¹⁹ Sunita Vernekar, “Siolim Zagor” (M.A diss., Goa University, 2016), 8-10.

Calangute. The musical instruments are traditional and the tune is similar to Siolim Zagor. In Anjuna the Zagor is celebrated near the St. Anthony church near the Peddem Boom sports club ground by the youth from village. In this Zagor the *suvari* is same like Siolim Zagor but there are certain different *suvangs*. Further, there are few *suvangs* in this Zagor and also *tiatr* is performed by the villagers to stay awake at night.

2.7 Sovangs in Zagor

There are sovangs representing deities such as Ganesha and Shiva in the Gauda Zagor. In Perni Zagor also these deities are depicted. Various Goan communities are represented in *sovangs*. There are *sovangs* on *shet* representing the goldsmith. In Gauda Zagor in the *suvang* of *shet* the goldsmith is promising to give anklet to a girl (वयलो देशी चो शेठ आमी देवलो कोकण देवळी कोकण आमी चालतो मार्गी चालतो मार्गी येताना, आणू ग तुझी पायांची पैजणा).²⁰ Kumar the Potter is also represented in a *sovang*. The Potter and his daughter are there and daughter asks her father to make a lamp of mud (भाबी कुमार माझे तो नाव माती कालयता भेज हालमता कुमरा लाटार पणती रे भाबी कुमाराले चेडू गे गड्य गड्य).²¹

²⁰ Shanta S. Gaude, et. al., “A study of Zagor among the Gauda community of Ponda Taluka.” (TY project., PES College, 2000), 21-50.

²¹ Gaude, “A Study,” 21-50.

Then apart from this *mali*, the gardener and *mavloni* his wife and *mhar* characters are represented in the Zagor.

Suvang of a *firangi* girl, a foreigner who is fair is performed by a boy wearing a skirt and a top holding umbrella hand. The verses of *firangi* girl saying that they will do rosary are: *आम्ही रोजार करताली देवा आम्ही रोजार करताली आंगुल्येची कोला गे माय बिंगुल्येची मुदीमाय बिंगुलेची मुदी आमच्या पाया मेरेन फुसार मारला.*²² Another *suvang* showing family relations in Goa is of uncle *mama* and *bhav*, brother

2.8 The myth and beginning of Siolim Zagor

Initially Zagor was celebrated in vadde Siolim as people believed that the deity Zagorio came with boat during a storm in the sea. These details are there in the *ghad ghadiya* song: *दक्षिण वारा वाहला / दरीया खळवळला.*

It is believed that after the arrival of deity in village people started celebration of Zagor in honour of the coming of the deity. After this it was imitated by Catholic people who came to the church of St. Anthony. At first, they attended Zagor as audience and after this the Catholics people from Siolim started celebrating Zagor near the chapels such as Valankani Chapel at Bamon vaddo. The

²² Gaude, “A study,” 22-25.

Catholics and villagers collected money from villagers to do arrangements of Zagor.

Earlier Zagor was performed at 5 places in Siolim. It was performed in Marna near the Sebastian chapel than at Bamon waddo Siolim. The Zagor in Bamon waddo Siolim was performed near a chapel of Valankani. Here most of the performers were Catholics and *mhar* from the area *mhar* waddo in Bamon waddo. As there was *mhar* waddo people also who joined to play musical instruments at Zagor. This Zagor was celebrated on maand. The Hindus also participated in this celebration but it was stopped performing because of some issues among the Catholic performers. After this it was stopped performing near chapel of Valankani. Then people from Danda and Guddem who used to participate in this Zagor near the chapels of Valankani brought the *sati* that was a coconut which was worshiped near the *adhistaan* of Zagorio near the chapels of Valankani at Bamon waddo Siolim. Some Shirodkar family members and Catholic families were involved in bringing *sati* at Danda. Here the *sati* was kept at different places. At first it was kept in a coconut farm at Danda than near Mahtaro deity and the Zagor was performed. And at last, the *sati* was taken to the *maand* where in the people practices Zagor. Here land was provided by Catholic family and later it was placed on present *maand* which is constructed into a temple.

Initially even after bringing *sati* Zagor was not performed at Danda. As a result, they had to suffer and their lands were flooded. Later during the annual ritual of *Parab*, the khazonio deity informed the people that they had to perform Zagor every year otherwise would face the threat of floods. So, people started Zagor after harvest. They performed the *parab* ritual because their harvest was destroyed and by doing *Parab* the people asked for solution to the deity Khazonio. It was suggested by the deity to prevent the village and fields from floods, they should make Zagorio happy by performing Zagor.

The ritual of *Parab* was conducted by villagers of Siolim because their harvest was not turning well. The deity of khazan land Khazonio was worshiped during *parab* by worshiping the axe as equipment of farmers and by bringing the harvested rice by preparing puffed rice for the deity kazonio. The deity was invoked who would tell the people various suggestions. The deity Khazonio gave the people suggestion to celebrate Zagor by giving coconut to Hindu men and they should celebrate Zagor. All the performers were given their roles by asking the deity Khazonion. So first the Zagor was performed near the shrine of Mahtaro.

2.8 Colonial State and Social History of Zagor

The Colonial state had put penalties on the tradition of Zagor. Number of sources highlight that there was a penalty by the church and the colonial state on Zagor. The *Foral de Salcete 1567* is the first source which mentioned that the tradition of Zagor was taxed by colonial state.⁶⁹ *Foral de Salcete* mentions tax on Zagor from 1567-1585.⁷⁰ In Benaullim village tax charged on the night performance of Zagor was up to 12 tangas.⁷¹ One of the tax imposed was called as *Aoi Jagor* tax that was tax on songs of Zagor sung in the temples.⁷²

Several reasons must have led to the ban on Zagor in Goa. Conversion may be one cause as there were tensions between

⁶⁹ Pandurang Pisurlenkar, *Goa Pre- Portuguese atraves dos Escritores Lusitanos dos Seculos XVI e XVII* (Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1962), 44.

⁷⁰ Delio Mendonca, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal 1510-1610* (New Delhi: Concept publishing and Co, 2002), 93.

⁷¹ Sunita Vernekar, “Siolim Zagor” (M.A dissGoa University, 2016),8-5.

⁷² Alexander Henn, *Hindu Catholic Engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* (New Delhi: Oriente Blackswan, 2014), 134.

church and performers of Zagor. The Zagor performance was abolished by the government council.⁷³

2.9 Religious conversions

The Portuguese began Christianisation to gain support of the local people and secondly, they identified themselves based on the religious terms.⁷⁴ The conversion in Goa was largely the product of religious orders such as the Franciscans who came in the Bardez, Jesuits in Salcette and Dominicans. Though they were different but their missionary activity functioned similarly.⁷⁵ Conversions and Christianisation took place in Goa for certain reasons and different ways were used for conversion of people in Goa. The missionaries studied the local literature so that they could promote Catholic religious text among people. The Jesuit missionaries translated the Catholic religious texts into local languages. Jesuit priest Diago Rebeiro's compiled work that is *Vocabulario das Lingues canarim* that has mention of Zagor and

⁷³ *Boletim Do Governo do Estado Da India*, no. 5, 16 January 1852.

⁷⁴ Rowena Robinson, "Some neglected aspects of the conversion of Goa: A Socio- Historical Perspective," *Sage Publications Ltd*, no. 1 (1993): 65-83, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23620248>.

⁷⁵ Robinson, "Some neglected aspects," 66.

they tried to replace invocation of Hindu deities names with Christian gods.⁷⁶

2.10 Misconception about Zagor

The performance of Zagor was looked down by colonial state. Some sources show that the colonial state and church regarded Zagor as vulgar and impure. Zagor was referred as impure because men were dressed as women, it was performed at night with local instruments. However, it was a Eurocentric way of looking towards the theatre. The colonial state judged the comic *suvangs* in the Zagor as vulgar. The journal *Annaes Maritimos e Colonies* mentions that natives of Goa were not prone to music and Zagor is widely performed theatre with the instrument *Gumate*. It also mentions that performers in Zagor utter any nonsense in local language.⁷⁷

2.11 Church and Zagor

Zagor was the platform of gossiping and the themes in Zagor were made fun in public.⁷⁸ Hence the church also did not

⁷⁶ Henn, *Hindu Catholic Engagements*, 134.

⁷⁷ *Annaes Martimoes e colonias* law 9 (Lisboa: Impensça Nacional, 1846), 436.

⁷⁸ Andre Rafeal Fernandes, *when the Curtain Rise* (Saligao: Goa 1526, 2010), 77.

support Zagor. In Siolim also Catholics were not allowed by Church authorities to participate. But still people continued practicing in night.

Chapter 3- Cultural life and Religious Practices

This chapter examines traditions which are embedded in village life. It will analyse the indigenous deities of Siolim and their significance in the tradition.

3.1 Customs and Traditions

It appears that veneration of village deities during Zagor was the prominent tradition. Before beginning with the celebration of Zagor the villagers show their respect to the village deities such as Khazonio, Mataro, Bondorio, Kashikalyan Brahman, Zarimari, Dhadoba, Kaloba, Sakalio and Azoba. These are male deities and they invoked at the beginning. It is important to note Sateri is the only female deity invoked as she is considered the family deity of Siolim people. Siolim Zagor is celebrated on Monday, however, once it was shifted to Tuesday to avoid a clash with the zatra of Sateri. Communities in Siolim were not segregated based on religion but they constituted parts of the larger social fabric. Once Hindu village deities are invoked, Catholic gods such as Jesus Christ, Saint Anthony who is the patron saint of Siolim are also invoked. The deity Kaloba temple is in Guddem area of Siolim. Earlier the deity had no iconic image recently the villagers have installed huge basalt idol holding a stick in one hand and *kambal* on Shoulder like a *rakno*

or protector deity of village. *Rakno* is indigenous deity of village and the name is given based on their qualities.¹ The people believe that Kaloba takes a walk in the village at night making the sound of the stick which is there in the hands of the deity. people now are also celebrating foundation day of idol establishment in the month of May. The deity Kaloba is offered coconuts and other fruits. Like Khazonio and Kaloba the deity Dadoba in Siolim also has a shrine near a tree. The temple of Bhingeshwar is also in Guddem area and is now associated with God Hanuman the icon established is also like Hunuman the Hindu deity. Sakholio is worshiped in the form of Tulsi plant this deity is not offered with alcohol like Khazonio and is located in Sodiem side of Siolim village so also Ajoba is worshiped in the form of tree in Sodiem side of the village Siolim. The popular notion about these deities among people is that six deities Dadoba, Kaloba, Khazonio, SakhilioSakolio, Bingo Bhingo /Bingedhwar and Ajoba are sons of Sateri goddess of Siolim. All these deities are associated with nature worship wherein they are worshipped along with tree except for Kaloba and bingedhwar

¹ Alexander Henn, "Gods and saints in Goa: Cultural diversity and local religion," in *the Company of Gods. Essays in the memory of Gunther Dietz Sontheimer*. ed. Adiya Malik, et al. (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2005), 3-4.

who are in iconic form and rest don't have icon. The shrine of Braman in Guddem is near the peepal tree and the deity Bandario in Guddem is worshiped as stone and is not offered anything.

Apart from this Catholic patron saint is also venerated during Zagor. The Catholic saints are similar like Hindu *gramdevta*, they also protect the villagers. In Siolim such village protecting saints are St. Anthony and the mother guardian saint is like female family deity of Catholics.² These are the Catholic saints those are venerated in Siolim and their names are recited with Hindu deities so Henn says these are Catholic *gramdevtas* who protect village deities.

There is a special tradition attached with the deity Khazonio who is known as the deity of khazan. Khazan lands are managed ecosystem that have been reclaimed from the tidal low-lying lands with the dykes, sluice gates and Canals. The traditional khazan technology helps to prevent agricultural fields from salinity and floods.³ In Siolim people believe that there is a deity

² Henn, "Gods and saints in Goa: Cultural diversity and local religion," 4.

³ Sangeeta Sonak, "Determinants of successful environmental regimes in the context of the coastal wetland of Goa," *Land use and Policy*, no.29 (2012): 95-101, doi:10.1016/j.

Khazonio who protects them from salinity and floods. The Khazonio deity is in non-iconic form and the Shrine of the deity is near a Mango tree in Danda Siolim. The shrine of Khazonio deity is simple without any icon and it is below mango tree surrounded by agricultural fields. The tradition attached with this deity Khazonio is known as *parab* which is performed during the month of November after Diwali, exactly on first Wednesday after Diwali. The tradition of *parab* is performed in such way that people gather near the shrine of Khazonio and all male *gaonkars* or villagers prepare puffed rice which is then offered to the deity Khazonio. They also worship axe and pray for good harvest on the day of *parab*. The villagers also appeal to the deity Khazonio to protect their agricultural lands.

On the day of *parab* the Khazonio deity spiritually possesses a member of Hindu family and gives two coconuts to the villagers that has to be offered to Zagorio deity. This coconut is given by the deity Khazonio to start with practices of Zagor, after bringing coconuts on Wednesday the day of *parab* the coconut is offered to Zagorio on the *maand* and by the first Friday of same week the villagers start practices of Zagor. However, Alexander Henn has written in his book that the *bhar* or *spiritual possession of the deity* Khazonio on the day of *parab* appears on male member of catholic family. Which is not true as the *bhar* of Khazonio on the

day of *parab* appears on the family member Deepu Naik Shirodkar a person belonging to Hindu family.⁴

The villagers believe that the Zagorio deity was established in Danda area with the help of Khazonio deity the people asked the deity Khazonio's permission to place the Shrine of Zagorio deity in Danda village. Khazonio deity had given approval to establish shrine of Zagorio and the foundation of Zagorio shrine was possible because of Khazonio deity in Siolim. The faith of villagers on Khazonio is so much that even today if they want to make changes in Zagor regarding performance they seek the approval of the deity Khazonio. Khazonio is a Khazan deity protecting the agricultural lands of People as well as family deity of Deepu Naik Shirodkar family. If the villagers of Siolim want to make any changes they will take Khazonio's approval and divine will of Sateri is sought in form of *prasad* and if she approves changes are made. The people of Siolim also worship Mataro deity. Mataro for villagers of Siolim is like an ancestral deity. They believe that Mahatro was an old man who came and set on the stone and they are worshipping the same stone as Mhatro deity. Mhataro deity is not in icon form. The idea of Mahatro

⁴ Alexander Henn, *Hindu Catholic Engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism, and Modernity* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private limited, 2014), 118.

deity for villagers of Siolim is different from the Kosambi's explanation of Mahatro dev.⁵ However, some ideas are similar like the way Kosambi explains. There is no sacrificial ritual like Mhataro dev in Maharashtra. Mhatro deity in Siolim is also offered oil and candles during Zagor and once in a year a small *zatra* of Mhataro deity is held near his shrine. The villagers also believe that this Mhataro protects their village and fulfils wishes of people after doing sangnee to him.

On the day of Zagor some offerings are made near the shrine of Mataro deity and *sangnee* is done. During Zagor also the Mataro deity is worshipped and after his worship the visitors proceed to main shrine of Zagor. More importantly, Zagor is performed near the shrine of Mahtro deity as it was performed there in the beginning. However, the deity Mhataro in Siolim is not associated with any female deity as mentioned by Kosambi where Mhatro dev at time scene in couple form with Jogubai.⁶ The idea of Mhataro deity is associated with their past ancestor an old men who helped the villagers in their past as per the myth.

⁵ D. D. Kosambi, "Living prehistory in India," *Scientific American*, no. 2 (1967): 104-115 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307>.

⁶ Kosambi, "Living prehistory," 106.

Zagorio is worshipped as Zagorio in two shrines one shrine is old shrine that is known as the *Adlo maand* of Zagor which is near a Catholic house and another shrine is the maand where the performance of Zagor takes place. Zagorio is worshipped not only during Zagor but otherwise also the people of Siolim have strong faith in Zagorio, they also believe that Zagorio is *rakhno* or protector. Both shrines of Zagorio have one lamp burning, and the deity Zagorio do not have iconic shape or image. However, Zagorio deity is assumed to be very powerful.

3.2 Local beliefs

There are few beliefs associated with celebration of Siolim Zagor. One of the strong beliefs is that if they stop performing Zagor there will be floods and their harvest would be destroyed by the deity.⁷ Another belief is that no one should leave the Maand after *Suvari* until the main performance of *bhovar* otherwise people would be lost.⁸ The people who stay around the Zagor shrine has to keep doors open of their house on the day of Zagor and serve everyone who visit. It is important for Siolim people not leave their house on the occasion of Zagor and they

⁷ Maria Rodrigues, *Feasts Festivals and Observances of Goa* (Verginia: L&L Publications, 2004), 45. Check name of author.

⁸ Edwin J. F. Dsouza, *Amar Konkani- 57* (Mangalore: Institute of Konkani Aloysius College, 2012), 185.

must attend Zagor. Even if there is any other *zatra* the villagers have to give preference to Zagor. The people obey all these beliefs by fearing the deity and that may be one reason for survival of the tradition in spite of problems. The fear of the deity is so much that they have many stories to share regarding the fear and why they are following this tradition and what happens if they disobey.

3.3 Preparations of the Zagor

The preparations of Siolim Zagor begins one month before the performers bring coconut given by Khazonio deity and place it before the old maand of Zagor. They light a lamp and recite *naman* involving all village deities with the first call given to Sateri.⁹ The practices begin on Friday after the *parab* on Wednesday which is in the month of November so the practices of Zagor begin in November, the practices are conducted 3 days a week that is Friday, Wednesday and Sunday at 10 pm in the night. It is conducted after giving one- or two-days gap as break in between and begins late in night so that people can join after work. All performers practice their steps and coordinate with one and other. The singers do the rehearsal along with musical instruments. The last practice also ends on last Friday of the

⁹ Vinayak V Phate Akhadkar, *Lokkalanand* (Panjim: Vithal Art and Cultural Association, 2009), 177.

December month after that on Sunday there is feast of Patron saint of gurdian lady in Siolim.¹⁰ And on Monday the Zagor is celebrated during December or January. If January than it is mostly in the first week of January. Then the committee members collect money from villagers of Danda as the contribution apart from this now they also print pamphlets wherein they give advertisements of any one who contributes separately for Zagor. The performers and committee members also check the Costume and instruments before Zagor. This is how the preparations of Zagor happens each year and there is contribution from every house in Danda. Earlier Guddem people were also contributing.

3.4 Transformation of *maand*

The *maand* is often an open space which has ritual importance. *Maand* was occasionally decorated and different celebrations were performed. The people maintaining *maand* are known as *maandkars*. *Maand* as a part of religious space has a shrine or any religious resemblance over it which is worshiped there on *maand*, some *maands* in Goa also have Tulsi plant being worshipped. *Maand* is also a space for performance of Dhaalo and Shigmo. *Maand* was also a space for *ganvponn* village

¹⁰ Alexander Henn, *Hindu Catholic Engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Publication, 2014), 134.

meetings and issues were discussed. The Zagor of Siolim also have *maand* on which the villagers perform, worship and discuss. There are in fact two *maands* of Zagor itself in Siolim one is known as the old *maand* where the shrine is there and practices are conducted, the old *maand* is near a Catholic house of Fernandes. The performing maand of Siolim Zagor is different which was initially a simple *maand* where in wooden stage was constructed to perform and for shade on roof was put with poles. The picture of old maand of Zagor is shown in the book of Sebastian D'cruz.¹¹

The *maand* of Siolim Zagor today is transformed into a temple and lot of change is there it is reconstructed. *Maand* has now been cemented. The *maand* of Siolim is given a temple look and has been transformed into a temple. To maintain it every Monday it is cleaned by committee of village and people were also offered food as many temples have adopted this change wherein, we see food is being offered to devotees. However, after COVID the offering of food on the *maand* was stopped but the maintenance is still done on rotational basis for each house belonging to Danda. Every house on rotation has to clean on Monday. There

¹¹ Sebastian D' Cruz, *St Anthony's Church and History of Villages of Marna and Siolim* (Panjim: New Age Printers, 1999), 133.

are attempts made to transform Zagorio deity as Lord Shiva and this was one of the reasons for the construction of temple. Some committee members are responsible for these changes of the *maand* and has favoured the construction of temple. The reason they are giving for the change is that they want their deity to reside in a better place. But this is happening in most of the places in Goa where in the committee or temple authority is claiming that their indigenous deity is Purani deity.¹² This process of claiming higher positions in society are done to improve status and become popular.

The Gods such as Shiva, Krishna, Vishnu and Bramha are popular all over, many devotees visit their temple and those temples are also prosperous as in gain more contributions and support through devotees and the committee's position also improve. So mostly many of Goan committees are transforming the local protector deity to Puranic gods. They are giving image to non-iconic deities. Sankritisation is the process in which the form of local deities is changed in to Brahmanical. In Goa female deities symbolised as anthill were changed into Puranic deities.¹³

¹²Robert s. Newmen, *Of umbrellas Goddess and dreams: essays on Goan culture society* (Mapusa: Other Indian press, 2001), 129.

¹³ Cibele Aldrovandi, "Godess santeri and female deities in Goa: reassessing the pre- Portuguese landscape through the earliest

This process of Sankritisation is to claim higher status and fame in society. In the process of Sankritisation people are also imitating the Brahmanical rituals and customs.

The temple was built by people but with politicians' support such as Vinod Paliekar, former member of legislative assembly and Delilah Lobo, present member of legislative assembly. While the Catholics also worship Zagor deity and have faith they believe that Zagor is Hindu deity.¹⁴ And this may one reason why the Catholics did not oppose the construction of temple. Scholars like Alexander Henn has shown that Zagorio was a local tutelary God and this was the main reason for the Church in distancing itself in participating in Zagor during the colonial period.¹⁵ On 17th February the temple foundation day is been celebrated over here where in major participation is of Hindus. The preparations and arrangements on this day is done by Hindu men and women however Catholics also come to help Hindus in arrangements and be a part of celebration. During this celebration of foundation day

Forais," *Indian journal of Archaeology*, no.2 (2020): 1334-1336
ISSN 2455-2798 www.ijarch.org.

¹⁴ Moren D'Souza, *Bardesacho igarzo* (Old Goa: Borea Jezuchi Bazalika, 1999), 92.

¹⁵ Henn, *Hindu Catholic*, 117.

of temple, the food is also offered. This practice of offering food may also be adopted by looking at temples in Goa.

Many Brahmanical temples in Goa have started the practice of offering food to deities and imitation of this is now done in such temples of local deities as well. Some natives who are not part of the committee has different view and they support the traditional belief about the deity and maand. Non committee members and the natives state that deity Zagorio is a local strong village deity who is offered *Soro* and fish. Some consider Zagor to be strong protector deity. On Monday, the day of Zagor sea food is cooked in every Hindu house in Siolim Danda and Guddem area. The opinion of those who called Zagorio as Shiva can be has problems. If Zagor was God Shiva than why non vegetarian food is cooked on the day of Hindu deity on Monday.

3.5 Syncretic practices

There are some rituals in Zagor of Siolim in which we find involvements of Hindus and Catholics. During Zagor Hindus take part in *suvari* and go to the chapels witness the rosary and the *noman* of Zagor also includes names of Catholic deities. Zagorio is worshiped by Hindus and Catholics offerings are made with flowers, oil and candles. During Zagor Hindus also offer the deity with candles and worship Saint Anthony, the saint of Siolim. The candles for Zagorio were brought from St.

Anthony church and it was used to light the *suvari* torch of palm leaves and same candles were used to light the *malle*. Along with Zagorio deity, Mataro is also offered candles by the people on the same day of Zagor. This is because earlier Zagor was performed near the Shrine of Mahataro deity and people still honour Mahataro on the day of Zagor and do a present of Zagor in the end near the shrine Mahataro.

The performance of *suvari* shows syncretism. In the beginning of Zagor Hindus and Catholics wear a garland and walk together from old *maand* to new *maand* with torches and music. As the procession moves it stops near Catholic chapels and perform rosary with five *noman* and religious songs sung. In this *noman* both Hindu and Catholic deities' names are recited. After this they light the torch and move singing and dancing towards the temple of Zagor. Two *suvari* are part of this Zagor one is from St. Anne chapel on the right and others from another chapel from left. Earlier one was from Guddem chapel that is of the guardian lady the Catholic Patron Saint and one from Danda. When the *Suvari* reaches the *maand* Kanhaiya Shirodkar a Hindu man is given hand by Catholic men from Fernandes family and welcomed on the *maand*. The *suvari* includes Hindus as well as Catholics, the Hindus take part in rosary and worship the Catholic gods as well. Lighting of torch with coconut leaves is a resemblance of Rhakhandar and Zagorio is seen a Rhakhabdar or

protector and the villagers believe that Zagorio is the Rhakhandar is coming from the old Maand to be part of Zagor along with villagers. Alexander Henn mentions the names of Catholic patrons and deities stated during *noman*.¹⁶ One *noman* sung on stage involves following verses which are sung by Hindu men and it involves Catholic deities.

॥ ओव्या ॥

पहिले नमन देव बाप्पा । माझे पहिले नमन देव बाप्पा ॥

दुसरे नमन देव सुता । माझे दुसरे नमन देव सुता ॥

तिसरे नमन इस्पीरी संता । माझे तिसरे नमन इस्पीरी संता ॥

सर्वही देव एकच रे आऽऽऽ । सर्वही देव एकच रे आऽऽऽ ।

जय नमन साल्वादोरा । जय नमन साल्वादोरा ।

नमन मेरियेच्या कुंवरा । नमन मेरियेच्या कुंवरा ॥

कृपानिधे करुणाकरा । कृपानिधे करुणाकरा ॥

जेझु ख्रिस्ता राया रे आऽऽऽ । जिझु ख्रिस्ता राया रे आऽऽ ।

आर्गा देता तुका सायबिणी । आर्गा तुका साबविणी ॥

देवाचे माये सोरगीणी । देवाचे माये सोरगीणी ॥

आज बड्यांची तूं गे राणी । आज बड्यांची तूं गे राणी ॥

आज बड्या राणी रे आऽऽऽ । आज बड्या राणी रे आऽऽऽ ।

आंकवार माये ईश्वर झाला । आंकवार माये ईश्वर झाला ॥

देवा स्वर्गीचो बडयो झाला गे माये । देवा स्वर्गीचो बडयो झाला ॥

¹⁶ Henn, *Hindu Catholics*, 119.

तुझ्या मुखार माये उभा राहिल गे माये । तुझ्या मुखार उभा राहिला ॥
 सुख आणि संतोष माये सांगू लागला गे। सुख आणि संतोष माये सांगू
 लागला।

First part of *noman* is dedicated to father God of Catholics and then to the Hindu deity Ganesh as God Ganesh is always remembered first among Hindus. Then other names of Catholic gods and goddesses such as Marry's son, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mother goddess are seen. There are also lines which means God is all one.¹⁷ This *noman* shows the syncretic involvement of both religions and their faith. In Siolim Zagor there is no classification as the main worshipers of Zagor. However, in *Tulsi and the Cross* Rosa Maria Perez it is mentions that the main worshipers of Zagor are *mhars*.¹⁸ Paul Axelrod and Michelle Furech has mentioned performances of *Mavloni* and *Mharas* important.¹⁹

3.6 Performances at Siolim Zagor

¹⁷ Henn, *Hindu Catholics*, 119.

¹⁸ Rosa Maria Perez, *Tulsi and the Cross: Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private limited, 2011), 104-105; Alexander Henn, *Hindu Catholic Engagements in Goa* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014), 134.

¹⁹ Pual Axelrod and Michelle A. Feurch, "Flight of deities: Hindu resistance in Portuguese Goa," *Modern Asian Studies*, no.2 (2015): 394-396.

The performances of *suvangs* are important part of Zagor. There are 5 *suvangs*, each with different characters. Lot of things about past can be understood after analysing them. They cover geographical, social and cultural details. Certain *suvangs* of Siolim Zagor are unique and not found in other forms of Zagor. The first *suvang* is called *Bharbhariya* that comes just after the *suvari* and *noman*. As *suvari* includes any villager this *suvang* also include any body from village as this performance of *bharbhariya* is welcoming performance and any one belongs to village can join this performance. However, there are traditional dancers also present in this *suvang*.

The performance is on folk song explaining features of deity Zagorio and the steps include forming of chain by the village performers on stage. The performers have only one criteria they must have handkerchief to move in their hand. This performance is in beginning and it is for entertainment. In this *bharbhariya suvang* there are few characters which were traditionally kept to create humour, the objective behind this prefix to create humour among people. These characters display any reckless behaviour in society like for example *tika* in local terms. The performance includes two or three characters such as a men dancing in female attire with men with a mask. Then a women plucking lice from someone's hair is shown in this performance. This performance included these characters to show unaccepted behaviour in

society the characters to create entertainment in the beginning. However, songs are sung by Kanhaiya Shirodkar accompanied by musicians. The verses of *bharbhariya* dance are description of the deity Zagorio. The song of *bharbhariya* include verses describing the deity's attire. Following are the verses of *bharbhariya* in which the deity Zagorio is called as Sarvesha and meaning of this taken as Shiva by some members of committee. *आदी नमन देवा बाबा सर्वेशा हो । आदी नमन देवा बाबा सर्वेशा*. Then the song refers to fragrance of flowers are referred in the verses of *bharbhariya* in third line the terms such as *mathyak* *mathodiya* is sung which means the headgear of Zagorio deity. The song of *bharbhariya* describes the deity Zagorio in this song. The crown which is Sung during this song is seen in the performance of Zagorio that is the in the performance of *Bhovar* that is another *suvang*. Than in same verses of *bharbhariya* along with the description of Zagor, it tells that Shigmo will happened in Marcel so here there is mention of place and culture of Shigmo of performed in Marcel village.

The verses of *bharbhariya*

भरभरया

आदी नमन देवा बाबा सर्वेशा हो । आदी नमन देवा बाबा सर्वेशा॥

फुलां पुष्पांच्यारे परिमळा । फुला पुष्पांच्यारे परिमळा।

माथ्याक नायोठ्यो ऐकेय भरभरया तुझ्या माथ्याक नायोठ्यो ऐकेय

भरभरया।

पेंगटी निवळ्या आयक्य भरभरया तुझ्या पेंगटी निवळ्या आयक्य
भरभरया तुझ्या

पायांत पैजण्यो ऐकेय भरभरया तुझ्या पायांत पैजण्यो ऐकेय भरभरया
तुझ्या ॥

माथ्याक माथोड्यारे ऐकेय भरभरया | तुझ्या माथ्याक माथोड्योर ऐकेय
भरभरया ॥

पेंगटीक निवळ्यारे ऐकेय भरभरया तुझ्या पेंगटीक निवळ्यारे ऐकेय
भरभरया ॥ पायांत पैजण्यारे ऐकेय भरभरया | तुझ्या पायात पैजण्यारे
ऐकेय मरमरया ॥

होत कोतरदास वाढला रे पुष्पा । जागेराच्या नव्या दिसा ।

मार्सालान शिमगो झाला । वेरेंच्या वडातळा मार्सालान शिमगो झाला ।

कलावंतीगेर बाबरे झाला । राजाचे पलाश्री खाला ।

हो तेका नांव आंद्रो रे । हो तेकां नांव पेद्रो ॥

खेलोन गेलो .

After this the second *sovang* is of *firangi raja* and *saheed*. The performance of *saheed* is first after the entry of the character *saheed* on stage | the *saheed* has conversation with the audience after this the character has dialogues and conversation with the *firangiraja* another character. However, looking at the attire of *saheed* he seems to portray a joker. The costume of *saheed* is colourful and wears a long cap with funny painted face. Then comes the *firangi raja* this raja and the word *firangi* attached only to in this Zagor. However, the Zagor in Tiswadi taluka also had

representation of *the* firangi girl in this Zagor. According to Henn this character in Zagor is there to criticise the colonial authorities.²⁰ To Analyse this the meaning of word *firangi* should be known, the meaning of the word *firangi* is European person.²¹ So if this meaning is considered the *firangi raja* would mean a European king or Portuguese king. This character must have evolved in Zagor to convey a meaning about European rule. The idea of resistance can be seen in Zagor the way the character of *firangi raja* is criticised by *saheed*. In the act between *saheed* and *Firangi raja* in the Zagor negative ideas about the king are emphasised and the foreign king is questioned. From the dialogues between *saheed* and *Firangi raja* it is noticed that the European king here talks about shooting the people by using the word *far*. However, the *firangi raja* character looks like that of Indian king and also carries a sword.

The verses of *saheed* and *Firangi raja*

(सईद आणि फिरंगी राजा प्रवेश करतात. पडदा वर जातो)

हो येता गा इंत्रु मेस्त येता गा। हो येता गा इंत्रु मेस्त येता ॥

सईद: (भाषण) घालुनी उरी आणि डोंगरी साकार लोक आयला माणयेर
माणी

घालून बसला.

²⁰ Henn, *Hindu Catholics*, 138.

²¹ J. T. Molesworth, *A Compendium of Marathi and English dictionary* (Mumbai: Bombay Education Society, 1863), 287.

ओवी : हो रे अनार लोतनाला । हो रे अनार पृथ्वीचा ॥

हो रे अनार लोतनाला । हो रे अनार पृथ्वीचा ॥

सईद : इतीयेन माथ्यासोरी घेतल्या मुरे बोथी आणि इतीयेन आयशीली
आणि

पोयशीली गाणी पोना वोडल्या मुरे माती.

ओवी : हो रे अनार लोतनाला । हो रे अनार पृथ्वीची ॥

हो रे अनार लोतनाला । हो रे अनार पृथ्वीची ॥

सईद : कोण कोण या लोकांचो आकांत आणि बोंबाव

कोण कोण या लोकांचो आकांत आणि बोंबाव।

येका भोरतालो एका साकान आणि उडोयतोलो वोरोन काय सुच्या

कोटार आणि वोयोर काडतोलो इगोरजेच्या मोधल्या सावकाच्या मुखार.

ओवी : हो रे अनार लोतनाला । हो रे अनार पृथ्वीची ॥

सईद : जाणान रें बाबानो आणि जाणान गो बायानों साजे माजो आमीक
यतोलो.

त्याच्यालागी जोण उपकार मागा आणि ये “त्या” चेडवाक काजार

कोरां (इतक्यात फिरंगी राजा प्रवेश करतो.)

ओवी : वो फिरंगी येता वयाला वडा दबाज्यानेरे । वो फिरंगी येता वयान
वडा

दबाज्यानेरे। सतू सांगता तुका आवयबापायच्यानेरे ।

राजा : कोण कोण मुरे वो वानोर । कोण कोण मुरे वो वानोर

सईद : एतेक्या येता मुरे जोर.

राजा : तुयेन आंजेली आणि पांजेली माल्लाय मुरे पाकट्याचो फोर. तू

दिवसताय माका जगाचो चोर. चोलोयशी?

सईद: आव जगाची चोर नोय आव वाटेचो वाटसूर, पुठाची पूर्ण.

राजा तू वाटचा वाटसूर आणि पुणची पुण जांसी झाल्यार तू

सईद: तू या सोगल्या लोकांचे खायले आणि दामुन धोरेशी?

राजा: जायन जायन इरितार आणि कासार घालीन रे तुझे कुडीर दोआणि

तिबरात फार

सईद: आबा गा माझ्या भावा ऐतेका तूं दोबरांत आणि तिबरांत घालच्या

फार वोचोन बोस्तोलो फोत्रेडेच्या बानार जागोर वो मेरे

पोयतोलो आणि एकूच पद म्हणून माझ्या जीवाची खोशी करतो

ओव्या: येस्तोसाचो बस्तीयात। तुमका विनोद करता हांव ॥

हांगा ना जागोर हांगा ना कुमेर। हांगा ना जागोर हांगा ना कुमेरे ॥

हो तरी जागर ना रे। हो भुरग्याचो खेळ म्हूरे ॥

जागोर जाला गोरसुल्यागेर। पळोक वचा फोरसुल्यागेर।

तुमी तरी गाया । गायनाचे रात्री पाया।

तुमी तरी वाजा । माका इल्ली करोनी धजा।

(इतक्यात सईद आत जातो)

फिरंगी राजाचे वेर्स (Verses)

सांता आंतोन भला । फिरंगी कुरुयच्या ॥

तुझ्या लिबरार खेळता। मिनीन जेझू राजा ॥

आयज शिंजोर देव..... शिंजोर देव..... शिंजोर देव स्मिजेरी कोरदीया।

दरया उल्या माजारी । कोसलोय वोयगाय घुवरी ॥

पात्री येता कुवरी । भक्त सांता आंतोन

हाय ओनोद बापा । ओनोद पुत्रा
 देवा इस्पीरीता सांता ॥
 तुझ्या लिवरार खेळता म्हणून
 नोसा सीयोरीन घातली दिमी ।
 ओचोरयाई करी । भक्त सांता आंतोन ।
 हाय स्वामी देव स्वामी देव स्वामी देव ।
 तुझे ठाय आसा ॥

The next *sovange* is of *mavloni* and *mali* the flower gardeners. In these verses the names of different flowers can be understood. Their presence in Zagor depict the role of flower vendors who are part of Zagor they bring flowers to sell from their *malo* (orchid). The performance has two characters of *mavloni* women and their husbands and all four together dance on the stage. Before the entry of husband on stage they show the two female *mavloni* dancing and singing the steps are with handkerchief facing each other and some facing the audience. Their husbands are known as *mali* in this verses. The verses itself show that they are representing flower vendors because they are saying that deity Zagorio should be filled with flowers. So this actually depicts gardening community who grow different flowers and than bring them to worship god. In Goa no *zatra* or feast is complete with the flowers and this community of *mavloni* did the job of selling flowers this act in Zagor is representing them and

their role and names of flowers. It explains how this community functioned once upon time how they use to wake up early in morning and do gardening and later were selling them.

माळीणी

माळणीच्यारे मळ्याभोवती सुवर्णाचो वेळुरे ।

माऽऽऽ फुल फुल्लेरे साठी तीनशी ९२ कोटी पाकाळ्याचेरे ।

ते फुल बघावयास येयले ते ।

स्वर्गीचे राजकुंवर, परतोनी गेले रे

माऽऽऽ माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक शेवंतीचो रोपो ।

माऽऽऽ माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक शेवंतीचो रोपो ।

माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक जुयेचो रोपो ।

माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक जुयेचो रोपो ॥

माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक मोगरेचो रोपो

माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक मोगरेचो रोपो ॥

माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक अबोलीचो रोपो ।

माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक अबोलीचो रोपो ॥

माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक रोजीचो रोपो ।

माळणीच्या मळ्यात एक रोजीचो रोपो ।

भलागे माळीणी सुवासीणी।

भलागे माळीणी सुवासीणी ॥

आम्ही माळीणी सखीया दोघी जणी ।

आम्ही माळीणी सखीया दोघी जणी ॥

फात्यापारा सकाळी उठोनी। फात्यापारा सकाळी उठोनी ।शेवत्या-
मोगन्यांचो देवाक भार जाऊनी ॥

शेवत्या- मोगन्यांचो देवाक भार जाऊनी ॥

भलागे माळीनी सुवासिनी । भलागे माळीणी सुवासिनी ॥

(इतक्यात दोन माळी प्रवेश करतात)

: पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा।

पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा ॥

पहिला माळी: फुलागे फुला शेवंती, मोगरे कळे फुल्ल्यार जातात दुवाळे

आ ।

माळल्यार जातात चोले. अशी माझी फुलां घमघमीत आ

दमदमीत.

असा सुंदर माळी आला रे । असा सुंदर माळी आला रे ॥

पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा। पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पतीगा

दुसरा माळी: (भावण) माळी रे माळी आव वोडले गोंयचो माळी. आवेन

लायल्य

दोन काळगीणीच्यो ओळी. तेका सोवकोला एक कोलो आणि एक काले

असा सुंदर माळी आला रे । असा सुंदर माळी आला रे ॥

आनी तामसो बैल मळ्यातलो । वडलो तो माळी तळ्यातलो

पांच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा। पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पतीगा

पयलो झेलो धाड जेझूचे भेटे । पयलो झेलो धाड जेझूचे भेटे

पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा । पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पतीगा

दुसरो झेलो धाड सायबाच्या भेटे। दुसरो झेलो धाड सायबाच्या भेटे

पांच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा ॥ पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा
 तिसरो झेलो धाड भिष्माचे भेटे । तिसरो झेलो धाड भिष्माचे भेटे ।
 पांच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा ॥ पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पतीगा
 चवथो झेलो धाड, राजाचे भेट । चवथो झेलो धाड, राजाचे भेटे ।
 पांच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा ॥ पाच झेले गुंथिले माझ्या पती गा

3.7 The main suvang of Bhovar

The main suvang of *bhovar* the performance resembling the deity Zagorio. The deity Zagorio Character is known as *gadgadiya*. In this *suvang* the deity is represented with a costume that has a *malle* the headgear on top and the character dances with *malle* on which there are candles burning. The same fire of *Suvari* is used to light the candles on *malle* because the people believe that *suvari* fire represents the torch of protector Zagorio and it is believed that they should light candles with fire from the torch of deity. And villagers also believe that with *Suvari* the deity Zagorio has entered the temple and therefore his head gear is lit with same flame of torch.

The deity Zagorio's *sovang* is without any possession of spirit or *bhar* as the villagers believe that the deity is dumb but strong in nature. However, in book of Moren D'souza it is written that the *sovang* of deity is acted with spiritual possession that is

bhar.²² In many works this *suvangs* is mentioned wrongly and stated that whole performance is mute without any folk song or music. The deity Zagorio is assumed to be dumb but this *souvang* is performed with music and folk song. The book of Maria Rodrigues and Marcos Gonsalves mentions this wrongly and they have misunderstood it.²³ Marcos Gonsalves has also written that the first performance meaning the first *sovang* is of *bhonvor*.²⁴ The performance of this *sovang* of *bhovar* begins with firecrackers sound before 12:00 in the night not after that because it should be performed only on Mondays and should not be performed on the next day. However now days the performers are delaying it because of they want more crowd of people to witness Zagor.

The verses of *bhovar*

घडघडया

घडघड्या रे घडघड्या | पाताळ फोड्या ।

वाचान सल्लेलो पुरुष मारेठी येता त्येका।

मारोग लाऊन दियारे ॥ ३ ॥ माऽऽऽऽ

झिळमिळते रें झिळमिळते । हरवे ते भाजून खाते

²² D'souza, *Bardesho*, 92

²³ Rodrigues, *Feasts Festivals*, 45

²⁴ Marcos Gonsalves, *Kristavancho Zagor: Sodvavr* (Panjim: Dalgado Akademi, 2013), 26.

वाचा नसलेले पुरुष येता त्याका ।

मारोग लाऊन दियारे ॥ २ ॥ मारोगSSS

भीमादेव महादेवा । जयकडे साधला । भीमादेव महादेव ।

जयकडे साधला ॥

भीमबाळारे भीम गोपाळा । आता ॥ भीमबाळारे भीम गोपाळा ॥

दक्षिण वारा वाहला । दरीया खळवळला ॥ दक्षिण वारा वाहला ।

दरिया खवदलला ॥

घांीचानी खेळ । लावीला वेल्हाळा । घाटींचानी खेळ ।

लावीला वेल्हाळा ॥

सुवासिनी बायलों लावील्या नि गोळा ॥

सुवासीनी बायलों लाविल्या नि गोळा ॥

लावीला

सुवासिनी बायलों लावील्या नि गोळा ॥

सुवासीनी बायलों लाविल्या नि गोळा ॥

माझा थाटा माटा । खांदि वाहिला साठा ॥ माझा थाटामाटां ।

खांदि वाहिला साठा ।

ठेंग राजा खेळें । बारीकसे लाघोळे ॥ ठेंग राजा खेळें । बारीकसे लाघोळे

॥

ठेंगाकु दिवे जळतागे गुरवे । ठेंगाकु दिवे जळतागे गुरवे ॥

सभेक नमस्कार करता गे गुरवे । सभेक नमस्कार करता गे गुरवे

ठेंग राजा मातला गे । आड पांव घातला । ठेंग राजा मातला गे ।

आड पांव घातला ॥

The last *sovang* is of *Mhar and Mharin*. Before this *sovang* a break is taken and a *tiatr* is staged by villagers of Danda for a duration of three hours. After this *tiatr* at four in morning the performance of *Mhar* begins. In this performance *Mhar* informs audience they have come by announcing to the audience. This performance is acted by Cabral family's male and entire performances at Zagor are performed by men. In Mhadev Shambha Naik's work *Shivoli* it is mentioned that women from Cabral family participate in this Zagor of Siolim and *Mharin* role is played by women.²⁵ This is not true it is wrongly written in the book that performance of the *sovang of mhar and maharin* is performed by women from Cabral family. *Mhar* and *maharin* characters are there in Zagor as we know they were low caste and they were expected to cleaning the *maand*. *Mhars* attended Zagor as they had role of cleaning during this occasion of Zagor. They were poor collected food after the end Zagor. The *mhars* visited houses collect *sanas*, and this tradition is continued in Zagor. *Mhar* and *maharin* characters in Zagor were important because they were actually part of this tradition this people did the cleaning of Zagor *maand* after all performances.

The verses of *mhar* and *maharin* *sovoung*

²⁵ Mhadev Shambha Naik, *Shivoli* (Sawant wadi: Sawant art printers, 2013), 23.

म्हारीण

: (भाषण) पेरगांव गे पेरगांव

ये आतेन ते ते मेरेन

कोण भीतर सरात त्याका

सहा महिने प्रीजांव आनी

बारा असुरप्यों कोंदीनी सांव

वो येता गा पावलु भुयार येता गा।

वो येता गा पावलु भुयार येता गा ॥

पावलू भुयार: पेरगांव रे पेरगांव

ये आतेन ते ते मेरेन

कोण भीतर सरात त्याका

सहा महिने प्रीजांव आनी

म्हारीण

पावलू भुयार:

म्हारीण:

पावलूभुयार:

पावलू भुयार येता रे। तुम्ही तरी कडेक सरा रे ॥ पावलू मु

येता रे । तुम्ही कडेक सरा रे ॥

बारा अनुरप्यों कोंदीनसांव

: हांव हांगा आसताना तुरे भाड्या कोण?

हांव गांवचो पारपती गो गांवचो पारपती.

(वरील प्रमाणे पेरगांव घालते)

पावलू भुयार :

म्हारीण

ओवी

हांव हांगा आसताना तु गो रांडग्या कोण ?

: हांव गावची मिराशीन रे हांव गांवची मिराशीन (त्याच्यावर ला
मारते) मी

: हे येता म्हारले धाकटे येता गा हे येता म्हारले धाकटे येत
गा।

आंतोन पुता धावोन ये रे ।

पायक तुझ्या मारलो मुरें।

म्हारले धाकटे : पाय रोटों, पाय रोटो। पाय पाय रोटों रोटों

आलेदिले ढांग दिलो। तुका डेंगा। म्हाका पेंडो

आलेदिले ढांग दिलो। तुका डेंगा । म्हाका पेंडो

तिरीमिरी झांवतो। तिरीमिरी झांवतो ।

फेस्त म्हणून हांव फेस्ताक येयलेलो । (२)

सान्नाचो कुडको माझो वरानाचो भुरको। (२)

वर्सा दिसाचो माझो मान करुचो । (२)

आयज ना झाल्या माझो मान करुचो । (२)

ईश्वरा घरांची भुया रायरो । (२)

सभेक जुंवार करता रे। (२)

पुनर्वसाचो पाऊस लागोनी। (२)

राया प्रभुचे रेडे मरोनी । (२)

म्हातारी ढोकरी गोरवां मरोनी । (२)
 सुरये कोयत्याक माझ्या धार येऊनी । (२)
 पाटलेक पोंवलेक माझे रगत लागोनी । (२)
 हांडा कोंगानी माझो वाडो वाढोनी । (२)
 ईश्वरा घरची भुया राया रे । (२)
 सभेक जुंवार करता रे । सभेक जुंवाए करता रे ॥
 अंगण पेटलां गे भूमंडळी । अंगण पेटलां गे भूमंडळी ॥
 मेढी पुरल्यागे चोहोकोनी । मेढी पुरल्यागे चोहोकडे ॥
 पहिली मेढी देवा बापा । पाटले मेढी देवा बापा ॥
 दसरी मेढी देव सुता । दुसरी मेढी देव सुता ।
 इस्पीरी संता । तिसरी मेढी इस्पीरी संत
 सांता कुसाचे कुरुयोनु । सांता कुसाचे कुरुयोनु
 निवार आमकां आमच्या देवाक । निवार आमकां आमच्या देवाकं
 बापाचे नि पुत्राचे । बापाचे नि पुत्राचे ।
 ईश्वरा घरची भुया । रायारे ॥ ईश्वरा घरची भुया रायारे ॥
 सभेक जुवाए करता रे । सभेक जुवारं करता रे ॥
 एक पुता । चवथी मेढी एक पुता ॥
 श्री भुया राया रे । ईश्वरा घरची भुया राया रे ॥

Chapter 4- Community and Identity

This chapter examines the relationship between Zagor, community and aspects of tradition. The chapter analyses roles of different participants and the tensions facing the tradition. It will also examine the disturbing context of split in zagor and formation of a new Zagor in Guddem area of Siolim. Based on ethnographic research and a wide range of key informant interviews the chapter will analyse similarities and differences in both the traditional Zagor and the new Zagor.

4.1 Rights and Roles

Traditionally the participants of Siolim Zagor were villagers who were fishermen and toddy tappers who were largely the *mundkars*. Alexander Henn in his book has referred to this people from Siolim as Sudras.¹ However, the role for participants in Siolim Zagor are not based on caste. The celebration includes people from both religions Hindus as well as Catholics. The main family of Hindus that is involved in Zagor is Shirodkar family. There are two groups of Shirodkar family in Danda. The family whose is involved in doing rituals of deity

¹ Alexander Henn, *Hindu Catholic Engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* (New Delhi: Oriental BlackSwan, 2014), 116-117.

Khazonio belong to Deepu Naik Shirodkar family and the Mandkar involved in doing *sangne* and rituals of Zagor belong to Damu Naik Shirodkar family. Their roles are given to them by invoking the village deities when they are possessed spiritually with *bhar*. The person who is possessed with the *bhar* of the deity khazonio belong to Deepu Naik Shirodkar family. During *parab* ritual in November the coconut is offered to start the celebration of Zagor by Santosh Shirodkar belonging to Deepu Naik Shirodkar family and he is the person on whom the *bhar* appears. The coconut is taken from him by the doing *sangnee* to the deity khazonio which is done by mandkar people belonging to Damu Naik Shirodkar family.

The maandkars are people who perform the religious functions like doing *sangnee*. In the absence of mandkar these functions are done by *gaonkars* of the village. The *bhar* appears in family of Deepu Naik Shirodkar because Khazonio is the main deity of their family so it appears only on their family member. Santosh Shirodkar from Deepu Naik Shirodkar family is of 67 years now on whom the spiritual procession of Khazonio appears. Deepu Naik Shirodkar's family functions as god's men and they have the right in the village of procession of deity Khazonio. The difference among these Shirodkar's is that one's family deity is Khazonio and that is one reason that the procession of Khazonio appears on that family this family is of Deepu Naik Shirodkar

while the other Shirodkar family are part of performing rituals for the deity Khazonio and Zagorio they work as subordinates of this deities they are also known as the Mandkars.

Roles are given to participants with permission of Khazonio deity. The *maan* or rights to perform for Zagor is given to specific family with the permission of deity Khazonio. The people from Siolim village belonging to areas such as Fernandes vaddo, Dando and Nave bhat and Guddem were called as *dhazann* of village meaning they are the gaonkars or villagers who are part of the tradition of Zagor in Siolim. The *dhaazaan* gather with *maandkar* belonging to Damu Shirodkar family and they ask the deity Khazonio on the day of *parab* which is held in November. On the day of parab the deity khazonio's sprit appears on Santosh Shirodkar. During this possession women are allowed to see these traditions but they are conducted by men. The mandkars offer puffed rice, rice and worship an axe near the deity shrine of Khazonio which is at Nave bhat then *sangnee* is done to deity khazonio who appear on Santosh Shirodkar after *sangnee*. The *gaonkars* ask the deity Khazonio who then gives Coconut to start with practice of Zagor. During parab the people of village ask their issues to deity, if they want to make any change in the tradition of Zagor they will ask the deity khazonio and without the deity's permission the villagers does not proceed ahead with Zagor. This is called as *devak razi karop* in Konkani. The roles

for Zagor traditionally were given by taking consent from Khazonio deity who appeared on the member of Deepu Naik Shirodkar family. Even the role for Catholic individuals and rights to perform were taken by asking the consent of the deity khazonio.

The families who have these rights and role belong to the village itself. The *maandkar* belong to Damu Naik Shirodkar family they are the one who maintain the *maand*, they recite *sangnee* to the deity Zagorio as well as Khazonio, only in their absence their role is given to any village person or *gaonkar* of the village. Kanhaiya Shirodkar is the *maandkar*, the one who decorates the head gear of deity is also *maandkar* and the person is Shamba Shirodkar. Shamba Shirodkar decorates the head gear of deity Zagorio before the performance of Zagor. The head gear is called as *malle* in local terms it is decorated with *aboli* flowers and candles it also has symbols of cross and om on it. However, if the candle is not lit by Shamba Naik Shirodkar it is believed that the candles tend to blow off in between the performance so the right of lighting candles and decoration of *malle* is given to him on the occasion of Zagor.

The Catholics families are involved in taking care of chapels in this area of Danda and Guddem. the St. Anne chapel at Danda, Than there is also St. Xavier's chapel and Patron saint Gurdian

lady's chapel in Guddem area these are maintained by Catholics. The main shrine of Zagor is also in the place of Catholic family of Fernandes. It was their right of lighting the lamp every day to the deity Zagorio. The roles of *suvangs* or act is performed on maand of Zagor by Catholic Families one reason is that the Catholics were performing before and has contributed their land for the maand of Zagor. The Fernandes family is given the right of first *sovang* of *bharbabariya* and it invites Kanhaiya Shirodkar on *maand* to sing. The role of *saheed* is performed by Pereira family. *Firangi Raja* role is played by a man from D'souza family, *mavolon* and *mali* role are given Hindu family of Shirodkar than *mahar* and *maharins* roles are played by Cabral family.² However, the main performance of *bhovar* was performed by Rodrigues family because of some issues changes with regard to this performance that is because of split and tension.

4.2 Performers of Zagor

Kanhaiya Shirodkar who sings folk songs of Zagor in Siolim is part of committee of Zagor. Kanhaiya Shirodkar is part of the third generation of Shirodkar family who are singing the folk songs for Zagor. Kanhaiya's father Vithal Shirodkar and

² Mahadev Shambha Naik, *Shivoli* (Sawant wadi: Sawant Art and Printers, 2013), 23-24.

grandfather Devaraj Shiroadkar were also singing the songs in Zagor before him.

Remo Fernandes famous Goan singer once performed a ritual of drinking liquor in coconut shell and dedicated that to the deity St. Anthony and this was a special tradition to honour the deity.³ He also participated in Tiatr at Zagor and was performing individually at Zagor and many people were witnessing the tradition for him to listen to his song.⁴ Remo's appearance and tradition of drinking liquor is not continued now.

Sukha Shiroadkar a freedom fighter who was involved in Betim attack is another performer of Zagor. Sukha Shiroadkar was member of Azad Gomantak Dal and was involved in an attack on Portuguese police station at Betim. While Sukha Shiroadkar was wanted by the police, he risked his life and performed Zagor.⁵ He played the *suvang* of *mavlon* in a female attire and the Portuguese police were unable to recognise him. Now this performance is

³ Remo Fernandes, "The Siolim Zagor a Hindu Catholic Miracle," *Herald*, January 18, 1987.

⁴ Joaquim Fernandes, "Siolim Zagor: An ancient practice comes to alive." *The Times of India*, December 28, 2012.

⁵ Vinay Madgaokar, "Prernadaik Vaiktimhatv- Sukha Shiroadkar," *ShabhdSharadha*, December 31, 2018.

continued by same family. Aton Rodrigues is the Catholic who used to perform the main performance of *bhovar* in Siolim Zagor. After the split he has stopped performing in Danda area and now Alex Fernandes is performing at Guddem Zagor. The actual right of Performing *bhovar* at Zagor of Siolim is of the Rodrigues family.

4.3 Gendering tradition

The tradition of Siolim Zagor has only the involvement of men. Men play the part of women in Zagor and there is no participation of women. The women do not participate in the performance but is allowed to witness the tradition. There are acts which involved female characters in Zagor but women's roles are performed by men in this tradition. This is because earlier Goan society and culture was a patriarchal and women were denied right to perform and they were considered unclean and inferior to men. However, men could not remove the women characters and this might because of the presence of female deity in the village.⁶ Women were denied entries in temple because of menstruation and were considered impure during this time. Zagor is very ritualistic tradition so to avoid that they must have denied the roles to females and this tradition is still carried on.

⁶ Jayanti Naik, *Lokbimb* (Panjim: Goa Konkani Academi, 1987), 155-157.

Another reason for denial of women's entry may be because they practice in the night for Zagor and women's in patriarchal society women were not allowed to move out from their house at night.. In the patriarch society it was considered unethical for women to be out in the late night so men had to do the roles of women. This was also seen in *Tiatr*, women performances were done by men because women were not allowed to practice at night Patriarchal men doubted women and had generalized opinions towards women. The performances of women in form of *malvon* and *maharin* are also done by men. The men performed as female characters because in Zagor the like of women in various communities are highlighted.

4.4 Revenue and Resources

The performance of Zagor generates revenue. The money is then kept for further developments of temple or *maand* of Zagor. The revenue is collected as contribution of villagers and leasing of the maand property on day of Zagor. On the day of zagor there are also gambling stalls as good amount of revenue is earned from gambling. The stalls of gambling are put by villagers as well as outsiders. Revenue is also earned from auction of offerings and this practice is called as *pavoni*.

4.5 Conflict and Tension

To maintain the *maand* of Zagor the villagers and *maandkar* started forming the committee of Zagor. The members are chosen by conducting a meeting of villagers. The formation of committee led to many changes and this was one of the reasons that led to split in tradition. The people from Guddem were participating in tradition. Some participants from Rodrigues family were belonging to Guddem. People from Guddem brought one *Suvari* from the Gurdian saint of our lady's chapel of Guddem.⁷ There is mention of a song as well that show that Guddem people were related with the festival. The song was sung during *suvari*. Guddem people also supported the tradition by contributing for the tradition. *आम्या तुझो ताळ रे कुणी मोडिलो, गुड्याकारां भुरग्यांनी खेळ मांडिलो* / This is one line which was part of the tradition folk song that is showing involvement of Guddem

⁷ Alexander Henn, *Hindu Catholic engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* (New Delhi: Oriental BlackSwan, 2014), 116-117; Vinayak Vithal Phatde Akhadkar, *Lokalanaad* (Panjim: Vithal Art and cultural Association, 2009), 166-177; Moren D'souza, *Bardescho Igarzo* (old Goa: Borea Jezuchi Basilica, 1999), 88-89; Tera Albuquerque, *Anjuna: A profile of village in Goa* (New Delhi: Promila & Co, 1998), 68-70.

people.⁸ Earlier the *suvari* in Danda waited for the for the *suvari* in Guddem and then both *suvari* and people went on stage.

The new committee which was formed denied their contribution and did not allow them to get involved in the committee and this caused a problem. Might be because they do not want to share monetary records with people of Guddem. committee also failed to show them monetary records. The Guddem people were involved in the performance of Zagor but committee and people from the area of Danda village denied their involvement by not recognising them. In 2005 revenue generated was given for development of temples in Danda area only while the Guddem people were asking money for temple of Kaloba in Guddem and for the chapel. However, the committee denied and this caused tension in the tradition. On 31 December 2006 the day of Zagor was the day on which the fight took place. The fight was to such an extent that people broke local buses passing through the area of Dando and Guddem that further led to tensions.

4.6 The outcomes of the Conflict

This conflict resulted in formation of new Zagor in Guddem area. Guddem people withdrew themselves from the performance and stopped contributing to the traditional Zagor.

⁸Naik, *Shivoli*, 23.

The people from Guddem did *sagnee* to the deity Kaloba and the entire area do not worship Zagorio deity present on the traditional *maand* and would not engage in activities that are part of traditional Zagor. They stopped Aton Rodrigues and his family from participating in traditional Zagor. Aton Rodrigues was doing the main performance of Zagor in Danda area. The *sangnee* was done that no one from Guddem area would be part of the worship of Danda Zagor. However, these people were interested in performing and so they started performing another Zagor at Guddem exactly near the Shrine of Patron St. Guardian lady in Guddem.

According to people in Guddem the Zagorio deity told the people through the spritual possession on a person known as yogesh Chodankar. This possession on Yogesh was of deity Kashikalyan Braman shrine of this deity is in Guddem area. According to the people the deity Zagorio came to Guddem with 14 candles on malle out of 17 the deity kept two candles at Danda area. On behalf of this the people from Guddem are claiming that more presence of Zagorio deity is in their area and not in Danda area. They constructed a shrine and during the day of Zagor they are build a *maand* using wood. Now they are performing *suvari* separately following the lines of Guddekar. The Danda people are having their own people for their *suvari* and have different folk song with their own words without involvement of Guddem

people. The traditional shrine of patron saint our lady of Guardian remained in Guddem area. The Shrine of Guddem Zagor was constructed near the chapel of our lady of Guardian saint because there was also one cross over there and the deity in *bhar* told that that should be the place to honour in Guddem. The Zagor in Guddem is worshiped in a form of stone which was put by Aton Rodrigues as he was given right because the deity had talked about this. However, the Danda people only recite the name of deity and do not come to Guddem. The People of Guddem also bring Coconut for Zagor performance from the deity Khazonio it is only that they perform the practices near Kaloba temple at Guddem. The people who get the Coconut are Simepurshkars they are people who were reciting *sangnee* in Guddem area during religious rituals.

The committee members of Guddem Zagor were such as Dulba Parulekar, Vikrant Tilogi and Narayan Agarvadekar. The performers at Guddem Zagor were some who were earlier performing at Danda Zagor. The main performance was performed by Aton Rodrigues's son Alex than *sayeed* role was performed by Sachin Chodankar, the role of *Firangi* was done by Mayur pilankar *mali* was performed by Shamba Faterpekar and *movoloni* was performed by Sushant Naik and *mhars* character was played by Vikrant Tiloji.

The effects of this conflict are such that there was nobody to perform the main *suvang* of Zagorio in traditional Zagor. Within two years, two performers died in Danda village who tried perform the dance without right as traditionally the right of performing is of Rodrigues family. This scared the people in Danda area who were performing in Zagor and they tried joining hands with Guddekars but they denied. However, with lot of efforts the Danda people found a new performer from Danda itself.

This regional conflict is still affecting the tradition. The people from both sides are trying to prove their authenticity and are criticising each other and this led to more fights. The new Zagor is the imitation of traditional as the people from Guddem were involved in traditional Zagor. The Guddekars have recently also established the image of Zagor in that area. The image of deity Zagorio is like in the description of folk song and the attire is same as the deity. During main performance of *bhovar* the Zagor has head gear *malle* than stick in hand and a costume of coat and frog. Before performance of new Zagor the people take permission from the government.

4.7 Other issues causing problems

Many issues are affecting the tradition of Siolim Zagor. The change in committee is causing most problems. The new

committee of Zagor led to construction of the *maand* on the site of traditional Zagor. This created conflict among Catholics of Danda they were insisting to construct a church because they felt like even the structure of church was needed if the *maand* is conducted in the shape of temple. However, it was solved by renovating the Catholic chapels in area and the Hindus had promised they won't use any Hindu symbol as om or swastik in the temple structure of Deity Zagorio of Danda. However, still new problems can arise as the new committee has not includes any Catholic person in it as member and Catholics are allowed only for performance in Zagor. The committee has contradicting views. Some old members stated that there is clash of thoughts with the committee members claiming Zagorio to be God Shiva. Some committee members now do not want to follow the old tradition of seeking permission of deity khazonio.

Another Problem in the tradition of Zagor was created because of the recent converters in Siolim. In Siolim there is a Church called Five Pillars church and the pastor of the church is engaged in conversion practice. Due to this many Hindus and Catholic families left Hinduism. This church of Five Pillar led to stopping of some people from performing at Zagor.

Chapter 5- Conclusion

Zagor means staying awake for one whole night and includes theatrical performances. There are different forms of Zagor in Goa such as Perni Zagor, Gauda Zagor and Hindu Catholic Zagor. One example of Hindu Catholic Zagor is Siolim Zagor.

The Siolim Zagor is an intangible culture of Goa passed from one generation to another. It is representation of religious and social beliefs of people, it is also a theatrical presentation of the past where in the villagers perform. The performance of Zagor involves different acts known as *suvangs*. These acts have representation of various characters such as the character of *firangiraja* and *saheed*, *molovni* and *mali*, *bhovar* the main *suvang* or act and the last act with characters of *mahar* and *maharin*. Apart from performance there are several rituals that are part of this tradition of Siolim Zagor. Many deities are venerated during this tradition, then people have many beliefs that have been prevailing from generations that provides idea about the society and culture of villagers. Many have highlighted the aspect of syncretism in Siolim Zagor the Hindus with Catholics come together and perform certain rituals together. The *noman* in Zagor of Siolim includes both Hindus and Catholic and the *noman* also has the deity names of Hindus as well Catholics.

5.1 Different form of Zagor

There are different forms of Zagor in Goa each form of Zagor is performed differently. The Perni Zagor is performed by subcaste of devadasi community.¹ Perni Zagor is a performance with masks of deities.² These masks in the Perni Zagor are of deities such as Ganesh, Shiva and Krishna. The theatre of Perni Zagor was performed during certain occasions of temple. The Perni Zagor also involved depictions of various animals such as horses and peacocks.

The Gauda Zagor performed by the Gauda community in Goa. It is performed in talukas like Ponda and Tiswadi. Through the observation on this Zagor one can view different castes and communities of Goa. The acts in this Zagor represent characters belonging to various castes in Goa. Such as *Kumar*, *Shet*, *mhar* and *mali*. In some cases, their wives are also represented like in the case of *mali* and *mavloni*.

¹ Rosa Maria Perez, *Tulsi and the Cross: Anthropology and the Colonial encounter* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2011), 104-105.

² Alexander Henn, *Hindu Catholic engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2014), 128.

Catholic Zagors in Goa were the Zagor performed during catholic feast in the Church. Now also this Zagors are held in Calangute and Anjuna village of Bardez Taluka.³

5.2 Rituals and significance of Indigenous deities in Siolim Zagor

The Siolim Zagor is a not just theatre but symbolises rituals that has deep meanings. Many local deities play an important role in this Zagor. Such as Dadoba, Kaloba, Khazonio Kashikayan Bharman, Sakolio Bandario, Bhingo and Ajoba. Along with this Catholic Patron saints such as saint Anthony, our lady of Guardian and Saint Anne are important. These deities are venerated by sending different offerings before Zagor. Along with offerings to the deity, the *noman* is also recited. The practice of Zagor do not start without bringing the coconut from khazonio deity. *Parab* is a ritual during which khazonio deity is invoked and gives coconut to start the Zagor. The Zagor is incomplete without reciting the *noman* and offerings made to the deity Zagorio. Various offerings are made to the deity Zagorio like the oil and candles.

5.3 Process of Transformation

³ Marcos Gonsalves, *kritavancho Zagor: sodvaur* (Panjim: Dalgado konkani Akadami, 2013), 25-26.

Changes in committee led to major transformations in Siolim Zagor. The Zagor of Siolim is performed in a temple structure at present. These changes are a product of process of Sanskritisation in which the locals claim that their deity is Vedic deity Shiva. This claim might be to gain popularity and to claim higher status and increase the popularity of their deity. There is also clash of opinions between people of Danda and committee as some believe Zagorio deity is Shiva while some say it is local deity.

5.4 Suvangs at Siolim Zagor

The *sovang* of *Firangi Raja* and *saheed* are two characters that enter first on stage after the act of *bharbariya*. After this the act of *mavloni* and *mali* comes up on the stage and then afterwards the main performance of *bhovar*. This performance is representation of Zagorio but there is no spiritual pocession. Then the last performance after the *Tiatr* is of *mhar* and *mharin*.⁴

5.5 The new identity and new Zagor

The formation of committee new committee also led to split in Zagor. The new committee did not recognize the role of

⁴ Sunita Vernekar, "Siolim Zagor," (M.A diss., Goa University, 2016), 08.

Guddem people. The committee did not share accounts with the people from Guddem where a new Zagor is performed. They did not admit that the Guddem people were part of tradition despite some families from Guddem playing important role in Zagor. The split caused various problems in the tradition of Siolim Zagor, such that they were not finding any performers to perform. The Guddem people do not send their performers at Zagor anymore and a separate Zagor was formed with new claims that the deity Zagorio is with Guddem people. The roles and rights in Zagor were very important and this had survived the tradition. However, due to the change and split the roles and rights of performances are changed and this is affecting the tradition of Zagor.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes, no. 9. Lisboa: Impensça Nacional, 1846.

Boletim Do Governo do Estado Da Índia, no. 5, 16 January 1845.

Boletim Do Governo do Estado Da Índia, no. 49, 5 December 1886.

Boletim Do Governo do Estado Da Índia, no. 50, 11 December 1886.

Books

Akhadkar, Phadte, Vinayak Vithal. *Lokkalanaad*. Panjim: Vithal Art and Culture Association, 2013.

Albuquerque, Tessa. *Anjuna: Profile of village in Goa*. New Delhi: Promila & Co, 1987.

Almeida, Celina de Vieira Velho e. *Feast and fest of Goa: The Flavour of unique culture*. Panjim: Fundação Oriente, 2023.

Alphonso, Claude Alavares., ed. *Fish, Curry and Rice*. Panjim: Goa Foundation Publication, 2002.

D'Cruz, Sebastian. *St. Anthony's church and history of villages of Siolim and Marna*. Panjim: New Age Printers, 1994.

D'Souza, Moren. *Bardescho Igorzo*. Old Goa: Baslica of Bom Jesus, 1999.

- Dalgado, Sebastian. *Glossario de Luso Asiatico*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Association, 1988.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. *Mediaeval Goa: A Socio and Economic History*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1979.
- Dsouza, Edwin J.F. *Amar Konkani*. Manglore: Institute of Konkani Aloysius College, 2012.
- Fernandes, Andre Rafael. *When the Curtain Rise: Understanding Goa's Vibrant Konkani theatre*. Saligao: Goa1556, 2010.
- Fernandes, Dominic P. F. *Anjuna village: Vignettes From Goa*. Saligao: Goa 1556, 2015.
- Gonsalves, Marcos. *Kristanvancho Zagor: Sodvaur*. Panjim: Dalagado Konkani Akademi, 2013.
- Gune, V. T., ed. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu, Part-I*. Panjim: Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa, 1979.
- Henn, Alexander. *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014.
- Khedekar, Vinayak. *Folk dances of Goa*. Udaipur: West Zone Cultural Centre, 2010.
- Khedekar, Vinayak. *Gomantakiya Lokkala*. Panjim: Government of Goa, 1980.

Lobe, Antonis de Ataido. *Freguesia De Siolim*. Mapusa: Typographia Popular, 1931.

Mendonca, Delio. *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal 1510-1610*. New Delhi: Concept publishing and Co, 2002.

Molesworth, J. T. *A compendium of Marathi and English dictionary*. Mumbai: Bombay Education Society, 1863.

Naik, Jayanti. *Amone ek Lok Jin*. Panjim: Goa Konkani Akademi, 1993.

Naik, Jayanti. *Lokbimb*. Panjim: Goa konkani Academic, 1987.

Naik, Jayanti. *Goyenchem Lekkala*. Amona: Rajae Prakashan, 2004.

Naik, Mahadev Shambha. *Shivoli*. Panjim: Mahadev Shambha Naik, 2013.

Newman, Robert. *Goan Anthropology: mother's, miracles, mythology*. Saligao: Goa 1556, 2019.

Newman, Robert. *Of umbrellas Goddess and dreams: essays on Goan culture society*. Mapusa: Other Indian press, 2001.

Perez, Maria Rosa. *Tulsi and the Cross: Anthropology and Colonial Encounter*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2011.

Phaldesai, Pandurang. *Kaleidoscopic Goa*, Panjim: Vastanrao Dempo Education and Research Foundation, 2004.

Phaldesai, Pandurang. *Typographical insights into Folklore*. Porvorim: Saasaai Publication, 2021.

- Pissurlencar, Pandurang. *Goa Pre-Portuguese Atrave's Dos Escritores lustitanos dos Seculose XVII*. Bastora: Typographia Rangel, 1946.
- Paiginkar, Arjit. *Kankonache Lokala ek daiz*. Canacona: Arjit Prakashan, 2001.
- Rodrigues, Manuel C. "Dances of Goa." *Asian Studies Centre*, no. 2 (1983):164.
- Rodrigues, Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa. *Feast, Festivals and Observances of Goa*. Panjim: Broadway Book Centre, 2004.
- Satoskar, B. D. *Gomantakiya Prakriti and Sanskriti*. Panjim: Sharadiya Prakashan, 2009.
- Verekar, Shyam. *Goenchea Lokvedacho Rupkar*. Panjim: Goa Konkani Akademi, 1991.

Articles

- Aldrovandi, Cibebe. "Godess santeri and female deities in Goa: reassessing the pre- Portuguese landscape through the earliest Forais," *Indian journal of Archaeology*, no.2 (2020): 1334-1336.
- Bambolkar, Tanvi Kamat. "Semiotics in traditional v/s modern space in folk theatre with special reference to Mand system of Goan tradition." *Chitrolekha*, no.2 (2008):164-165.

Braganza, Alfred. "Goan songs and music." *South Asian Literature* 18 no. 1 (1983):159-64.

Kale, Pramod. "Essentialist and Epochalist elements in Goan popular culture: A case study of Tiatr." *Economic and Political Weekly* 21, no.47 (1986): 2054-63.

Krass, Urtte. "Qualache Oranmento Stabile, Perpetual" Die Silberstatue Des HL Franz Xaver Goa Und Ihre Performative Vereinnahmung Im 17I Jahrhundert." *Kunsthistorisches institut in Florence*, no.55 (2013): 79-94.

Kosambi, D.D. "Living prehistory in India," *Scientific American*, no.2 (1967): 104-115.

Sonak, Sangeeta. "Determinates of successful environmental regimes in the context of the coastal wetland of Goa," *Land use and policy*, no.29 (2012): 95-101, doi:10.1016/j.

Rodrigues, Manuel C. "Dances of Goa." *Asian Studies Centre*, no. 2 (1983):164

News Paper articles

Fernandes, Jaoquim. "Siolim Zagor: when an ancient practice comes alive." *Times of India*, 28 December, 2012.

Fernandes, Remo. "The Siolim Zagor: A Hindu Catholic Miracle." *Herald*, 18 January, 1987.

Kumar, Shiv. "Goans festivals in which Hindus and Catholics pray together." *Navhind Times*, 15 April 2006.

Thesis

Bambolkar, Tanvi Kamat. "Folk Theatre in Goa: A critical study of selected forms." PhD diss., Goa University, 2016.

Fernandes, Cosma, "Depiction of Goan society in the Tiatr." PhD diss., Goa University, 2016.

Vernekar, Sunita. "Siolim Zagor." M.A diss., Goa University, 2016.