

UiT

THE ARCTIC
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The Blessing Pot: Continuity and Changes in Pottery and Pilgrimage practices.

Subash Pathak

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To my wonder I resist to keep my sentimentality aside when I writing my final words. This accomplished journey gave me bigger experience and new inspiration to work further on Anthropological issues. Firstly, I want to express my gratitude to my informant Kamleshwor who unbelievably became sharing friend in short fieldwork. I also want to thank to my old friend Khagendra who provide me an opportunity to work in his factory.

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Abstract

Kamleshwor has decade long experience of pot making. He has endowed this skills by his father through which he has manage to run his big family. He is also a great devote of God Shiva and participating pilgrimage every year. Degrading demand of his pot in the market and increasing expenses to participate in pilgrimage left Kamleshwor in dilemma. Most of his community friends has already been switch their traditional job and started new business. But it's been difficult for my informant to cope with the situation.

In order to understand the continuity and changes in my informant's profession and pilgrimage, I have borrowed ritual theory and anthropology of pilgrimage. In current context, Kamleshwor's pot has lost its rituals value that once had good demand in Hindu rituals but now it restricted as house utilities. Going to pilgrimage becoming expensive for kamleshwor but his strong faith on Shiva, he cannot avoid the journey. Holy sites turn out to be local market which once was provided free service of food and lodging for the pilgrimage. Although, the transformation in Kamleshwor's profession and religious life is not in his favor but his memory and emotion in his work and his faith further fueled him to continue the practices.

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The blessing Pot: Continuity and changes in Pottery and Pilgrimage practices.

1.Introduction:

20 miles away from my home, Biratnagar, the second biggest city was covered by yellow clothes hanged in shop stand in both side of road. It was June, and the sky was ready to send shower on ploughed field. Farmers had been waiting for country biggest agriculture season. I had to run fast through the narrow alley of city to reach my fieldwork site before rain shower on me.

A week before, I came to Biratnagar, located in the southern flat part of Nepal close to the India border. I arrived to my hometown after three years where I completed my five years of higher education, seemed exotic yet nostalgic. The city was full of hassle and bustle, more crowded than usual morning. The reason I knew only when I accidentally met old friend of mine and he informed me the people was there to buy pilgrimage dress for participating on journey to Hindu temple of Shiva¹.

I was there to buy deep frying pan and he was selling his pot to a shopkeeper. After couple of hours of “how do you do?” conversation in local Chai² shop, we moved on to see his aluminum pot manufacture company. Inside the factory, five people were busy doing different jobs in process of making pans and pots. There I got an idea of doing field study about pot making. One man around 40s was busy in molding sand on format box in process of making pot. He was doing his job with a remarkable tempo. I supposed his ‘skills and struggle’ has interesting story to tell. After reflecting for a while, I asked and got consent from Kamleshwor, to portray his life as a traditional pot maker. After I gave up my first intended fieldwork, I was looking for next interesting topic. Fortunately I found Kamleshwor as my main informant. ‘While searching for stone, I found god³’, I had thought. It appeared that Kamleshwor was also one of the pilgrimages that annually takes part in journey to the holy land.

¹Shiva is one of the three major Gods in Hinduism. He is the destroyer and the restorer, the great ascetic and the symbol of sensuality, the benevolent herdsman of souls and the wrathful avenger. The worship of Shiva is a pan-Hindu tradition, practiced widely across all of India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and parts of Pakistan.

² Chai is a flavored tea beverage made by brewing black tea with a mixture of aromatic Indian spices and herbs.

³ Is Nepali proverb means, suddenly something discovered which is far more than expected.

He had plan to travel to the temple called `Devghar´ situated in Jharkhang, India. He was planning to take his wife and daughter to the journey. In addition to portray his work at the factory I also decided to take part in the holy journey. This meant to travel 200 miles south by train and bus, and to do a 30 miles walk with bare foot as part of ritual devotion.

Here, I was keen to observe a part of Kamleshwor life with pottery, seasonal job, personal acquaintances and annual pilgrimage. The aspect I choose to study is pot making as everyday social life and then pilgrimage as special life activities. More specifically, I focused on two aspects of his life; his professional life and pilgrimage life.

Kamleshwor has been living with pot and annual pilgrimage for a decade. Gradual transformation of his above life aspects and his continuous effort to keep it on is my starting point of study. Modern vassals in market, bad manufacture environment affect his working condition. While doing pilgrimage has been transforming its practices in recent year. The holy sites got easy access of transportation that made the travel easier. Similarly, the holy place has been transformed into an economic enterprise for the local population.

1.1 Topic

The aim of this paper is to portray the life of pot maker and his religious practices that has transformed yet continue over decades. During two half months of fieldwork, I followed my key informant in his workplace, in his community and participated on his journey to holy temple from Biratnagar, Nepal to Jharkhand, India. My aim is to present how my informant has negotiated the changing context of pot making and pilgrimage practices over time. Therefore, my thesis is mostly focused on pottery and religion as a part of his life.

Pot making skills for my informant is his ancestral endowment. His father taught him to make clay pot in order to use it in rituals ceremony and household work in his village. Traditional was clay-pots widely used for fetching water from distance resources. Clay pot helps to store water with durable coldness in hot part of southern Asia. Pot maker not only master´s their crafting skills but also gain certain status and

role in community that provides them their identity and occupation among community people. I have seen pot as essential items in Hindu rituals. It holds sacred water from river and to carry water to the temples. Hindu religion use vassals to accomplish major ritual process called 'purification'. Water is taken as essential purifying agent. It is use for cleaning vassals for rituals and for bathing deities. Many rituals in Hinduism starts by keeping Kalash¹ filled with water. Water filled in vassals is use for rituals process called Tarpan. It is an act of pouring water through the vassals. Poured water on deities is recollected again considered as vary sacred (Bhatti and Pinney, 2011).

However, gradual decline of pot maker and replacement of other type of vassals limits its use and production both in household work and in rituals. More durable cheap plastic bucket has become popular and taken as water carry items for pilgrim. Similarly modern industrial made pan from India and China has replaced other form of local vassals production. So, I was in fieldwork to see and try to find out how things; rituals and pottery have been descended and how my informant was adopting and reacting the current situation.

1.2 My reflection

It was my privilege to do research on a subject that has great impression on my own life. The topic; traditional aluminum deep frying pan and Hindu religion practice is all a part of my life. As I am born in Hindu upper caste family that migrated from the hilly area in Nepal, my life has been surrounded with religious activities performed in my home and in temples. Likewise, traditional pot has also been an important part of my family kitchen accessories. Normally, we take our cultural traits for granted, so do I. But doing study on the topic granted by culture itself provided me an opportunity to look deeper into the different dimension of activities that has been familiar to me. Going to temple with flower on top with vassals filled with water is usual ritual process in Hindu family. Although, my

¹ Kalash is a metal pot with a large base and small mouth. The Kalash is believed to contain amrita, the elixir of life, and thus is viewed as a symbol of abundance, wisdom, and immortality. The Kalash is often seen in Hindu iconography as an attribute, in the hands of Hindu deities like the creator god Brahma, the destroyer god Shiva as a teacher, and the goddess of prosperity Lakshmi.

informant and me has shared similar religion identity but my informant's religious practices and his pilgrimage journey is strikingly new for me.

During my fieldwork, my informant has shared his previous experience of going to pilgrimage with his father. During the holy journey, participants topic of conversation was to tell their experience of being able to find a way to pray god, their struggle of touching God by winning the mob of people and fear of getting lost in crowd and so on. Memory and meaning transmitted from their ancestor seemed to be deeply rooted in my informant practices. For Clifford Geertz (1993), religious could be perceived with the concept of culture among native people. He viewed culture as something that 'historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, system of inherent conception of expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, develop their knowledge' (89). In the same way, religious meaning can be transmitted to my informants. But the symbolic meaning over my informant's religious believes and his expressed symbolic form has challenging as well as deeply rooted phenomena to be decipher. He further give hints of analyzing one's religion practice has always having risk of getting wrong conclusion because religion practice has lot to do with inner feeling, sensation, psychological as well as cultural dimension. Therefore, ethnographer has to be aware of analyzing symbols, meaning and concept, which often end up as 'mere intellectual stock in trade' (Mansfelda and Damaria 2014).

In order to understand the meaning of doing pilgrimage (Mansfelda and Damaria 2014) are defining pilgrimage as voyage with three different purposes. First, taking a journey from home to a given holy place often termed as hierophantic, that is, a place where some kind of divine or holy event take place and, as such, is attributed with an 'aura' and sacredness that acts as a magnet for believers. They further define pilgrimage as material voyage that move towards the socio-cultural center that for them serve as 'heart of the faith'. Along with they point out other features as 'the path and destination of the pilgrimage which lies on the horizon of the overall pilgrimage environment. On one hand, the path is a reflection of the pilgrim's faith and, on the other; it is the sought-after sense of sacrifice and modest wish to express one's deep faith by suffering the hard conditions imposed by the physical dimension of the path itself. These two reflections together are strengthening the pilgrim's identity' (4). And third features is 'that distinguishes pilgrimage from other forms of travel is the evolving 'pilgrimage community'. This community, composed of a group of pilgrims

travelling to the same destination, provides shelter, solidarity and a feeling of brotherhood among the participants' (4).

During pilgrimage walk, my informant shared a number of godly deeds and story attached to their holy temple. Mythical stories provided meaning in his practice of pilgrimage (Geertz 1993) in his articles "religious as cultural system" emphasized on embedded meaning of religion over worshiper as driving force for performing hard rituals. He has viewed religion as deeply rooted cultural system which lies in 'conceptual capital of its ancestor' and out of the full grasp of rational and intellectual tradition of cognition.

Above concept of pilgrimage has provided general motive and characteristic of religious journey but it has also left the distinct cultural aspect and socio-economy factor and community background that might not fully applicable to my research context. In case of my informant, he was guided by his personal wish, memory and the fact that he was escaping his daily routine of life. Badone and Roseman have emphasized this concept of getting separated from rule-governed structure of mundane social life. Journey towards sacred divine realm from ordinary struggle of life has given new way for searching authenticity in ideal destination. Moreover, in case of my study, pilgrimage has gain meaning over their devotion that is related to his/her poverty and criminal activities. Badone & Roseman(2014), Viewed pilgrimage as step of defying social structure which give different meaning to poor, out caste who remove themselves from some of the constrains of society. My informant has similar context of being poor and somehow outcast society. His community is regarded like Gatos, or danger zone where, illegal trafficking, criminal activities and narcotic drugs have attached with it. Geography and social perception of their identity has interwoven with their religious practices in some ways. His poverty and illegal job can create a sense of shame among other community where pilgrimage can add new meaning of sharing those shame, confession, obligation, wish and dream of normal life to transcendental ditties.

Large part of religious practices has its roots in ritual process. Like other religion all over the world, Hindu religion has demonstrated its practices through rituals. Social scientist often takes rituals as getaway to interpret rituals practices in order to understand the motives and meanings behind their religious performance. Scott and Lyman (1968) has described rituals as most expressive moment of religious practice where actors are willing to display themselves effectively; appear to be

plausible performer. Hence, it provides social scientist to observe their action and gesture to understand their motives and explanation as reasonable account (32). I feel resonance with these descriptions from my own experience doing pilgrimage journey. My informants and his group were often wandering on what to do next. Even though, they started their journey as one group but they often get apart from their group on the way. I observed my informants often checking if his wife and daughter were following him or not. But he does not seem to bother for his fellow participants. Apparently crowd and chaotic nature of pilgrimage journey had its systematic events to follow as well. My informants had his plan to follow different rituals in process of heading towards the temple. It is the ritual act that brings them together in one place and leads them to act certain activities by following their accepted priest. Precisely, it seems like the pilgrimage journey is chaotic in its nature while rituals make them to follow systematic activities. I discover how rituals provide them a rejuvenate sense of social unity when they met their lost friend in rituals sites again.

1.3 Anthropology of pilgrimage

Most of the religion has tradition of going to pilgrimage. Pilgrimage is searching for the origin, closeness to eternity are some of the underlying reason for originating pilgrimage practices. Morinis, (1984) views pilgrimage activities occurs relatively short period of time after long interval. He defines, “pilgrims tend to be people whom the sacred journey is a limited break from the routines and familiar context of an ordinary, settled, social life”(19).

In Christian religion, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the ancient journey in west (Wikipedia.com). Since the day of Jesus, Christian followers have gone to pilgrimage to holy destination. Likewise, in Hinduism, practicing pilgrimage is old tradition. Following the Vedic period¹ the pilgrim practice has existed in East Asia. However, this long tradition has transformed over time. This transformation is notable in pilgrimage sites, individual meaning, its practices and involvement. Morinis views discussion on pilgrimage as social movement have almost exclusively focused on traditional religious pilgrimage in the worlds major religion, from time to time articles

¹ The Vedic period (or Vedic age) (c. 1500 – c. 500 BCE) was the period in Indian history during which the Vedas, the oldest scriptures of Hinduism, were composed.

of a more secular nature appear on pilgrimage to the theme park (1980). The significance of human practice of traveling to holy land has interest in anthropology as it cares about culture and society and meaning making. Act of ritual performance in rituals is another interesting part of religion to anthropologist Victor Turner (1987), has viewed ritual performance as `social drama´ where participants not only do things, they try to show others what they are doing or have done, action take on `performance-for-an-audience´(120). Quires of anthropology to human practice of religion focuses on how one cultural group order and systematize relationship with these unseen power (Turner 1987) Anthropological interests in religion not only restricted to its process and practices but also keen to understand transformation and its effect on culture.

Along with time, meaning of culture and religious practices has changed. Often has pilgrimage been associated with purification, penance and worship. Nowadays, it has also driven by more secular desire such as: wanderlust, pastime, curiosity and exploration (Haab 1998) as motivation of involving in pilgrim add it often view in relation with `tourism´. Motivation range is often major criteria for anthropologist to understand the evolving potential of being pilgrim. More traditional pilgrimage practice is categorized as `pious pilgrim´ while other evolved pursuits on participants called `religious tourist (Mansfelda and Damaria 2014)

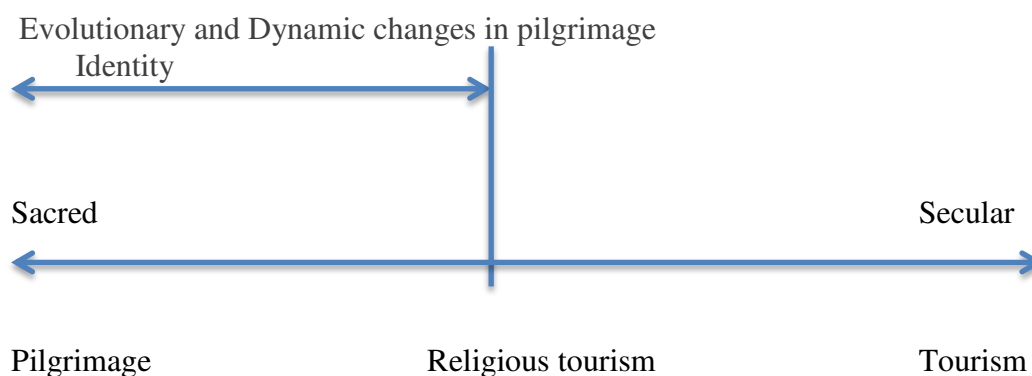


Figure 1. Changes in Pilgrimage practices. (Mansfelda and Damaria 2014)

1.5 Ritual theory

A religion study has placed rituals as key concept to understand social practice. Anthropologist has been fascinated by ritual process in order to decode social function, social cohesion and reproduction of social order. Durkheim (1995), in his ethnographic writing on rituals behavior among Australian aboriginals, viewed rituals as fundamental mechanism that binds their society together.

Rituals got wide attention to number of social scientist since it brings emotion, symbols, belief, moral and culture of one society in surface in the form of focused interaction among the ritual performer allows ethnographer to enter into their social dynamics. Rituals as generator of “collective effervescence” (Durkheim, 1912), a state of highly enjoyable, and the development of the collective conscience, which is intersubjective thinking in which the group is perceived as a single entity (Summer-Effler, 2004). Shared interactive activities during rituals among accepted community member, produced, “emotional energy” in various form of “interactive rituals chain”(Goffman, 1967).

For Durkheim (1995), rituals performance as source of understanding interactive order dynamics among ritual performer. He viewed rituals as act of gathering powerful stimulate, generates “short of electricity” produced after getting close to each other. He describes ritual action as intense, focused and rhythmic behavior. This behavior is further describe as mixed of emotional and cognitive state of ritual through which performer gets sensation and thought of the divine, who feel like and is perceived as force outside the group (Summer-Effler, 2004; 137).

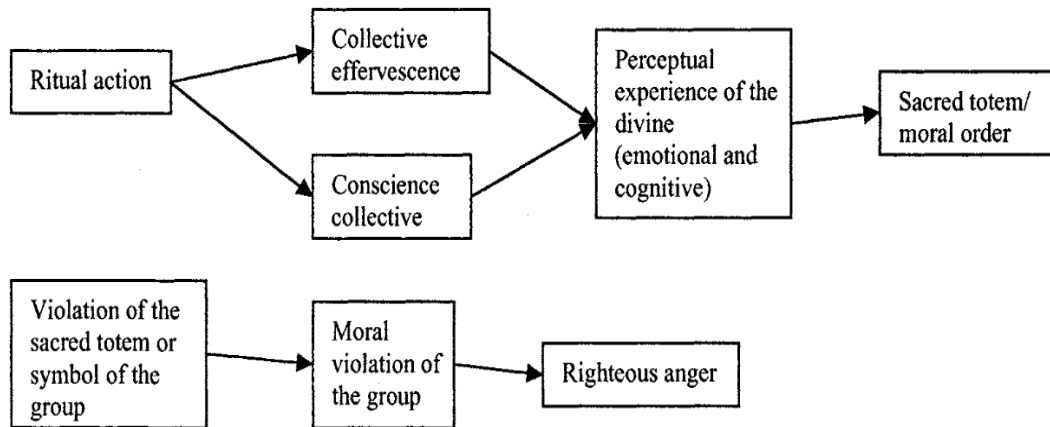


FIGURE 6.1. Durkheim's Theory Ritual Action and the Moral Order

Durkheim proposed collective conscience of rituals performers based of mutual closeness. But Goffman has described rituals action and everyday human interaction has been regulated by “moral compulsion”. Not only formal ritual but also everyday human interaction has agreements which is similar to rituals, when it comes to how obligations of certain roles come into play in certain social situation. He placed “moral obligation” rather than mutual closeness on ritual/everyday interactions between individuals. For him, success of interaction depends on participant’s performers where each individual works to preserve not only their own line an face but also those of the other involved. Until and unless participants’ line and face remain intact to bring off an interaction, ritual performance will be successful. In other words, any interaction will be preserved as long as participant’s follows moral obligation and order.

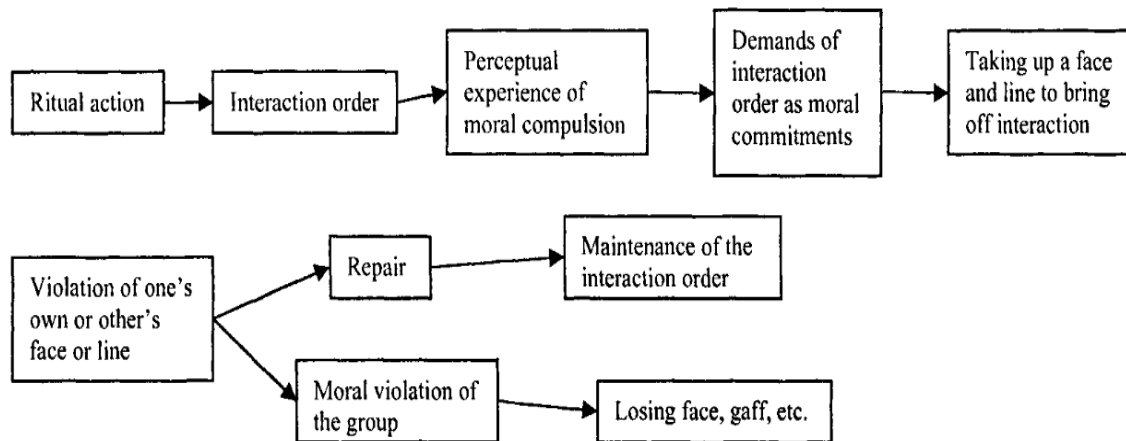
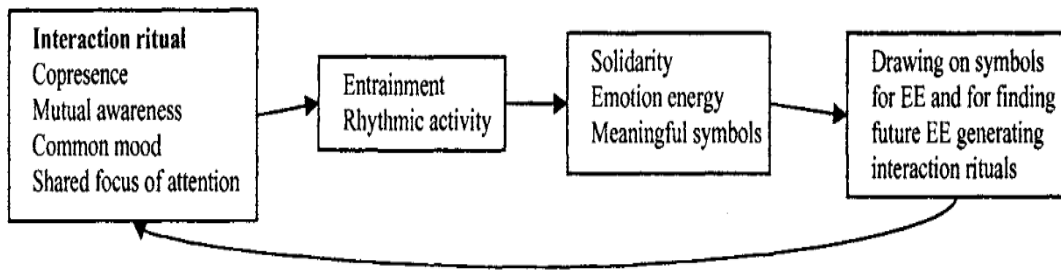


FIGURE 6.2. Goffman's Conception of the Interaction Order as a Moral Order

Goffman has highlighted the role of the participant in rituals as an act of obeying to following the given procedure in order to maintain group rituals. Likewise, role of emotion is another important regulative drive that leads the performer to accomplished their rituals. Colling (2004a) has pointed out the role of “emotional energy” as crucial mechanism that hints how ritual process maintain those moral expectation interaction order without being obliged to their role. Summer-Effleer (2004) further emphasis the physical closeness among the member of ritual as essential mechanism that helps to entertain other’s action and to create interaction ritual.

Emotional energy among ritual performer is center of interaction for Collins. His idea of emotion in ritual interaction steps further than Durkheim notion of “collective effervescence” and Goffman idea of “moral compulsion”. Collins viewed ritual participants also shared “focus of attention” and “transient emotion” to have intersubjectivity. He pointed above four ideas as requirement to “create rhythmic entertainment” that move participants into a synch with each other (Collins2004). Collins has propose two types of emotion among participants: group-focused solidarity, those emotion that carry positive, enthusiastic and moral feeling towards group that endure for some level when other member ignore their moral role; individual-focused emotion, that include positive feeling of enthusiasm, confidence and willingness to participate in interaction. And this EE is fundamental drive behind individual behavior, group activities, culture and network (Summers-Effler 2004).



1.6 Emotion, memory and ritual transmission

Collins idea of emotional energy, of course provides new perspective to study ritual interaction. But Harvery Whitehouse claim emotion as a problematic idea while interpreting rituals. For him, “emotional arousal” is not center of understanding religion rituals and cannot be obvious for the observer. He argued one couldn’t interpret rituals because “ritual meaning is not intrinsic to the ritual actions themselves” (Whitehouse 92). Instead of regarding emotion as variables for examining rituals, Whitehouse (2002) viewed emotion as mode of transmission. He viewed, “ in order for rituals to be passed on from one generation to the next, the procedures they entail must be successfully remembered, and at least some participants in the tradition must be motivated to continue carrying them out” (91). His main concern is to understand what motivates them to transmit their rituals. Hence, memory and emotion are two modes for transmitting rituals from generation to generation.

Whitehouse viewed “emotional arousal” in rituals has serve to implant strong memory among participant so that importance of rituals remains to next generation. He said, “if the event has strong enough emotional charge, then it is likely to persist in episodic memory” (95). He argued repetition and arousal aspect of ritual performance play prominent role stamp strong memory trace. Interplay between repeating ritual action and intense emotional situation has long been observed with its frequency dynamism. When highly repetitive rituals process is conducted there is rare intensive emotion arousal appears and vise-versa. In process of memory formation, Whitehouse argued, “ ritual procedures were more easily remembered if they were either

frequently repeated or somewhat shocking and arousing, and that this in turn made it more likely that they would be transmitted in future” (98).

Seemingly pre-mediated process of rituals is not actor’s conscious act rather “the producer carried out by the ritual actor are not his or her invention, but originated elsewhere”(98).

McCauley and Lawson (2002) pointed out some of general structure of rituals by analyzing actors/agent relation. His economic perspective on rituals focuses on ‘culturally postulated superhuman agents’ name God. He argued, “religious rituals, like all other actions, involves agents, instrument, action and patients”(100). Here, god has acting leading role through ritual instrument so that patients can believe that the god has indirectly intervening in their life with the medium of culturally selected instruments.

1.7 Methodological aspects

To portray the life of kamleshwor as pot maker and Hindu pilgrimage, I have used concept called “anthropology of pilgrimage” and “ritual theory” to study his life and rituals. Religion practice in Hindu community has many rituals as Hinduism has thousand of god to worship. However, motivation and meaning can be remarkable issue for anthropologist to have insight on underlying meaning of human action. So, I found anthropology of pilgrimage as applicable concept for portraying life of pilgrimage. Anthropology of pilgrimage is also applicable for explaining how individual has been connected with his action and how person affected by changing environment especially in case of holy place. Changing scenario of pilgrimage and emerging motives for being in holy place can affect individual, especially for the traditional follower whose sole purpose for being in temple is to worship. But what if his motivation is in process of transformation when he encounters other participants who utilizing the same space with different motives?

To study transformation and continuation of religious practice, anthropology of pilgrimage is appropriate to explain emerging religious site where religious sites developed various interest of participants. For instance, local people utilize the sites as market to earn. But for the devotees growing money making activities cannot be acceptable as they expect the religious sties should remains tradition where they get free services and help. Two opposite motivation turn the place as “contested sites”

where there is contested over access and usage by any number of group or individual (Digance 2003).

I will further, analyze the continuation of rituals by using conceptual models of rituals interaction provided by Durkheim, Goffman and Collins. Whitehouse concept of “emotion and memory” will be use to examine transmission of rituals where as McCauley and Lawson’s structural analysis of ritual process will be use to understand transformation in practices.

In sum, my approach as an anthropologist is used to interpret my fieldwork experience in Biratnagar. I have focused my study on depicting individual life in relation to his two major roles: as a Pot maker and Pilgrimage. I will utilize above approach to see transmission and transformation and its effect on individual by describing my informant different social role such as pot maker, family member, community member and pilgrimage.

2. Setting

2.1 Nepal, Biratnagar and Dhariaya

Choosing southern flat part of Nepal as my field sites, I was not only hoping to have familiar environment for smooth field work but also fascinated by shared religious and cultural similarities between India and Nepal. Open national border between these two countries provides people to have free access for business and religious practices. Geographically Nepal has tremendous diversity. As a small country, it covers area of 147,181 km² locked between India and China has highest peak of 8848 m mountain to lowest 59 m of flat area. Southern flat part of Nepal called “Tarai region” has covered 17% of Nepal shared bordered with India. This region is best known for its agro-industry, education, trade and transport hub.

Biratnagar is second largest city of Nepal, popular for major trade and industrial hub attached with the Indian state Bihar. Growing agro-based industry, easy access of quality goods from India and long history of local’s production has made this city a unique fast transforming society. Along with diverse population from the hilly areas that has migrated to the city, locals and Indian migrated tribe has shared this belt. Majority of Indian migrated people and locals living in the community called Dhariya. My informant Kamleshwor’s family lives in this community. Attached to check point of Nepal-India border, this community people indulged in number of legal and illegal business for their livelihood. I have observed Most of the community people sell instant food, ornaments and cloths by moving from place to place. Only few people seem to carry their ancestral-caste-based crafting job for their living. My informant is one of them.



2.2 pilgrimage

Every year pilgrimage journey begins from second weeks of July and last for a month. Over a million pilgrims from across the country as well as neighboring countries like Nepal and Bhutan reach Sultanganj in Bhagalpur district to pay obeisance to Lord Shiva.

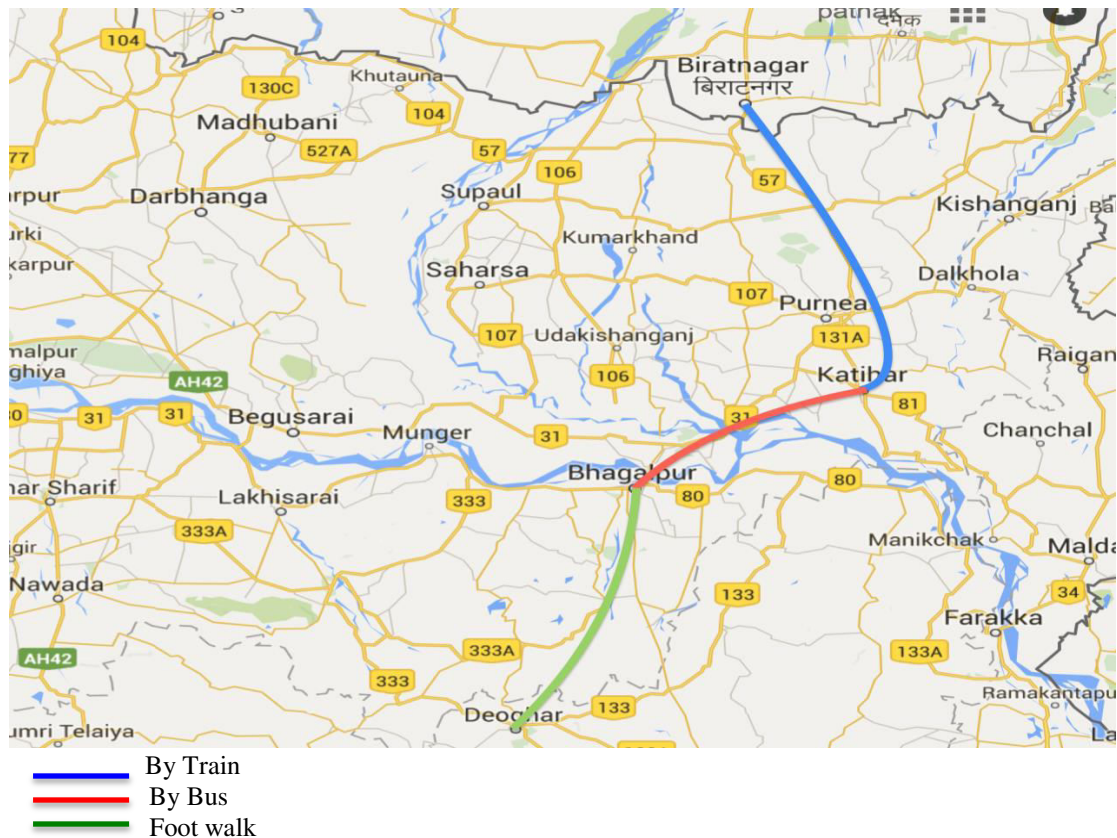
Devotees, on the first stage of journey, gather at Sultanganj to collect holy water from the river Ganga at Sultanganj ghat, where the Ganga becomes *uttarvahini* (river turns flowing towards north). Devotees trek nearly 90 km from Sultanganj via Belhar-Katoria-Chandan (Banka district) on foot carrying *kanvar*¹ on their shoulder and holy water from Ganga. They chant the 'Bol Bam'² mantra all through the trek route. Major part of the route (more than 55 km) falls under Bhagalpur and Banka districts in Bihar, while the temple is in Deoghar. On reaching Baidyanath Dham at Deoghar, the devotees pay obeisance to the God by pouring holy water on the Shivalinga.

Pilgrim site has strong legitimacy as this place is mentioned in one of the holy book devoted to Lord Shiva. Holy book named 'Shiva Puran' has mention on how this place is originated and why Lord Shiva believes to be physically present. In the form of story about king of Lanka, situated in present day Sri Lanka. He was great devotee of Lord Shiva. He wishes to take Lingam form Lord Shiva statue to his land. Lord Shiva told him that he could take his one statue out of the 12 forms that would be as effective as his presence. The only condition is that Ravana was not supposed to place the 'Lingam' (statue of Lord Shiva) in anywhere in earth while taking him in his land. Other god did not want Ravana to take the god in the country of demon. As Ravana began his journey, the water god 'Ganga' enters into stomach of Ravana and he had to descend to earth to relieve himself. Ravana, then, asked one cowboy to hold the statue for few minute. Lord Vishnu had disguise himself as cowboy and deceive Ravana to take statue from him. Vishnu place the statue in earth and vanished. Ravana returned

¹ Kanvar is walking sticks used to hang the urns of water. It is usually made of bamboo with two roughly equal loads fastened or dangling from opposite ends. The *kānvar* is carried by balancing the middle of the pole on one or both shoulders. The Hindi word *kānvar* is derived from the Sanskrit *kānvānrathi*. *Kānvar*-carrying pilgrims, called *Kānvāriās*, carry covered water-pots in *kānvars* slung across their shoulders.

² Bol-Bam refers to pilgrimages and festivals in India and Nepal glorifying Shiva (aka Bam or Bum). On the march pilgrims continuously sprinkle any and all talk with "Bol Bam" (speak the name of Bam) and sing Bhajans (hymns) to praise god Shiva.

to get back his Linagam but it was fixed in the earth. He became angry and presses the statue by his thumb to uproot it. The sign of his figure has mark on the statue and became famous temple where Shiva is believed to be physically presence.



2.3 Deoghar and temple of God “Shiva”

Deoghar is famous for Hindu pilgrimage where thousand of pilgrimages come to visit temple as spiritual motives. It situated in northern part of Bihar state of India. Hindu mythology mentioned this place as house of god. Century of pilgrim practice among Hindus and decades of growing devotion transformed these sites as dense city of Bihar. This city stands and major religious tourist destination in north India. As flow of people increased, government of India has administrating managing this place as major source of income. Uncontrolled flow of people and number of stampede accidents in recent year attracted government concern for security and management in these sites.

For locals, this place turns out to be great place to open number of business. It is said that just because of the Deoghar Temple, this place turn out to be huge metropolitan city in short time.

Around the temple, hundred of priests has built their house and run it as religious hotel of pilgrimage. In one hand, priest seems to enjoy the resources of temple as their own accent while government wanted to include it as national heritage sites. Religious priest has gain great reputation and are given respect by pilgrimage, which made them strong enough to confront and defying government rules and regulation.



Deoghar (also called Baidyanath Dham) is in Jharkhand. It is famous for the Baidyanath (Shiva) temple.

A pilgrimage motives for visiting Deoghar is to worship their God “Shiva”. Shiva in Hindu religion represents one god out of three major gods who has their own task of regulating the universe. Shiva called a “destroyer” or “transformer”. He is regarded as unconditional blessing god for his devotee and always stands to defeats evils to protect good. He is been worshiped by Hindu in the form of “lingam” and “human form”.



Lingam of God Shiva in Deoghar temple.

3. Fieldwork in Biratnagar

After one hour of riding bike I reached to my field sites. My own hometown was my field site. It was around 8 o'clock of morning but people were full in the street. Soon after, crossing the crowded street, I arrived to the pot-making factory. Rusting sound of Iron, bursting sound of some kind of cutter and sweating heat out of big flaming fire in woven in narrow place seemed like some kind of metal entrepreneur sites then a factory. Now I was inside factory surrounding by traditional tools, sand, waste iron and leaking roof and walls.

Soon after, empty factory was filled with workers. Two unknown works went to the room and started to polish the pot. One lady came with handful of woods and started to make fire on oven to boil Chai in pot. I was running my eyes around to find my informant Kamleshwor. May be she noticed me and said, "that lazy skinny guy will come before I finished making Chai".

Gravel street and small hut around the factory, giving no impression of being in second biggest city of country. I never thought those vassals and pot that we used in our home kitchen is manufacture in the traditional factory just around the corner of modern city. After half an hour, Kamleshwor entered into the factory. I greeted with smile so did he. Without having much conversation, he got busy to prepare his tools and oven and set down in his position. He gathered sand near to him and started filling it into the box. He used water, hook, and format pot to give inner shape on two different boxes. Without further delay he stood up and gave more flame in oven to melt aluminum on top. After few minutes, he carried melted aluminum with long scoop and skillfully poured it on that box through the hole he made. And he repeated same process for next box. He seemed busy in his own work, barely talked to other only exchange short instruction to his co-worker. I was stilling in one corner with my notebook and with observing eyes.

A lady came near to Kamleshwor and offer Chai and he asked her to pass one cup to me as well. Suddenly, rusting sound of factory stopped. One by one all started to have conversation and laugh. Though we (kamleshwor and me) still did not getting suitable topic to start conversation but other worker started to giggle with Kamleshwor. They teased him that he going to be a hero as Bollywood star. One man

came near to him and said, “ You have good fortune, see you going to be hero in a night”. All laugh at once. Kamleshwor stood silent with smile.

3.1 Two and half months with Kamleshwor.

I was lucky to fulfill this project after being unable to conduct my first chosen study. My friend running his entrepreneur business for making aluminum pot initiated me to work on this project. He took me in his work place and showed me his small factory attached to his home. In fact, I became lucky to find this interesting project when I was in nowhere to find any interesting topic.

I have completed my fieldwork within two and half months that went smoothly as I planed to do. I was there in middle of monsoon period where heavy rainfall is almost inevitable. During my project, condition of factory was in worst condition and awaiting annual pilgrimage walk for kamleshwor created dramatic necessity of work and money. At the middle of my fieldwork, I happened to know my informant was about to have pilgrimage walk for a week. So I decided to follow him to his pilgrimage journey. Everyday, I had to cover 4 miles of distance to reach in my field site. First stages of my project I was trying to get close to kamleshwor as factory worker. Second stage, provided me a chance to visit his community where I saw him as father, friend, husband and a community member. And in final stage, I got chance to follow him going to pilgrimage walk. On this entire project, I managed to see his struggle for getting money, being responsible father of big family, active social member of his community and great devote of his God “Shiva”.

3.2 Kamleshwor and his role

My key informant, ‘Kamleshwor’ lives in small village situated in the border area between Nepal and Indian. Village located in-between of two fastest growing city of Gogbani, India and Biratnagar, Nepal. Biratnagar is second biggest city of Nepal. In middle of his community, there is a main checkpoint through which major export and import supply has been transporting between two nations. As a result, Biratnagar is established as biggest industrial city of Nepal. Community people were working in nearby factory but had to lose their job when factory was shutdown in 2008. Since then, they moved to any other possible job created by their locality. But in the case of

Kamleshwor and other traditional skill worker, had affordable working condition in city. With the growing global market, modern non-sticky pan has been replacing the demand of traditional aluminum pot. As a result, Kamleshwor's job as pot maker is in danger and that forces him to find other side job to hold his big family expenses.

3.2.1 Kamleshwor as aluminum pot maker

He has worked in different factory as pot maker over a decade. He has learned pot-making skills since he came to Nepal at the age of ten. His work has been taken as one of the locally practiced artwork and traditional source of income. It is his major source of earning out of which he has been running his seven family members. The owner of the factory is hilly-immigrant Nepali family (who is my friend and contact person).

Every day he rides his bicycle for three miles to reach to the factory. He arrives in factory around 9:00 am and start preparing his tools for making pot. He is responsible for major part of pot production where he gives shape to the pot and left other worker to polish it for final production. He uses local technology to produce aluminum pot through forging method. Recycling method is adopted in supplying raw material. They collect aluminum product that has been thrown away. They visits machine workshop and metal collector for getting aluminum part in the form of broken spoon, plates, old aluminum pots, Coca-Cola cans and machinery waste parts. Although, he is master on founding pot but lack of work in factory he has to do other related job in factory.

In the factory, he uses different locally constructed tools and equipment. He makes needed equipment when there is less work in factory. He first prepares aluminum melting oven. He uses air blowing machine, charcoal, fire mouth and iron pot in melting section. In casting section, he uses black sand, pincers, hammer, metal rods, and wooden rod, knives and format box.

In process of pottery, he sets blowing machine in contact with fire mouth to heat the fire. He uses Charcoal to produce fire and uses iron pot to malt aluminum. The fire melts the material into semi-liquid form. In other side, he prepares mold. He put moister clay or black send in his forma bin. He turns upside down on a smooth plain ground. When clay is firmly stuck round the pot. Then, he put mark in joint so

that it will not miss the replacement. He repeats the process in other forma bin and places it in top of other. Thereafter, the top part of forma removed from the mold. He uses metal pincer to remove the pot from the sire and pour the liquid into the mold through a hole on top. The cast is left to cool down for at least five minutes before the aluminum rot is removed by separating the clay molded in it. He then, sends the pot to other worker to polish pot for final production.



Kamleshwor making aluminum pot in factory

3.2.2 Kamleshwor as Father

Kamleshwor has small area of living inside his community. He is the only income generator in his family. He has one elder son called ‘Jitan’ and has five daughters and his wife. Generally, woman were not seems to be working in public place. Hence, Kamleshwor has financial responsibility. He wants his son to study in college. But his son has dropout school after completed class 12. Kamleshwor do not like to see his son get involve in goods supplying job in border. He afraid that his son might end up doing trivial works at the border. He has been sending his four younger daughters in nearest government school. His elder daughter has dropout school after she fail in class 10. Although, government school is cheap in compare to private school he has been struggling to pay the bill for them.

Kamleshwor wants to send his son to abroad so that he will help him financially. He has seen his neighbor has done great financial uplift by sending their son to foreign country. He has visited different manpower to send his son abroad and waiting for the decision to get visa and job offer.

Every day, he left home in morning and go to the market and public places. If there is work in factory he has to work for more than 15 hours in a row. Whenever there is much work he has to work till mid night and can not come to home. Even he do not have job in factory, he does not like to stay in home. He goes to market trying anything that can built his network to other and able to earn money.



Kamleshwor (left), his wife and his two daughter (Middle), his son (Right)

3.2.3 Kamleshwor as Pilgrim

Many of the community member including Kamleshwor walk to holy place as pilgrim every year. This is his tenth visit in same holy temple. His family was closely related to the Hindu ritual, which he never thinks of miss in any year. His father used to make clay pot for their community, which they used in process of rituals. He has learned the skills of making pot from his father.

At least one of the each family member is participated in pilgrim walk. They often go together in-group with all family and friends. While other who remain home,

get bless from the pilgrim by touching their leg. During the journey, Kamleshwor want to take marijuana with his friend that they regard as prasad¹of Shiva. He explain me of consuming marijuana as a way to enter into the spiritual world from the world of material. Along with, he has to take care of his all the rituals material and his family member. He is familiar to the journey sites and knows how to deals with different people during the journey.



3.2.4 Kamleshwor as community member

He is one of the visible members of his community. Whenever he has free time, he visits to the neighbor. He often goes to the teashop and gathered around his friend and other community people. He meets people who demand goods to supply and make deal for selling his product. He takes information about present job situation and gives idea about how to make money in different jobs.

¹ Prasad is a material substance of food that is a religious offering in both Hinduism and Sikhism, which is consumed by worshippers. Literally, a gracious gift. Anything, usually an edible food, that is first offered to a deity, saint, Perfect Master or an Avatar and then distributed in His or Her name to their followers or others as a good sign. The prasad is then considered to have the deity's blessing residing within it. In contemporary Hindu religious practice in India, the desire to get prasada and have darshana are the two major motivations of pilgrimage and temple visits.



Kamleshwor visits to the neighbor

3.3 week of pilgrimage walk to Deoghar

Annual pilgrimage walk to nearest Indian state Bihar is one of the unavoidable rituals among thousand of Hindu devotee from different part of the Asian country.

Kamleshwor is among those devotees who have been taking part on this ritual since he was child. Kamleshwor has his great faith on God Shiva. I have seen him borrowing money with friends and factory owner before he move to the house of his God. I can only guess how much deep faith he has for his Shiva. He gives all the credit to his god of organizing money and made him capable to visit temple. It took us three days to reached in holy sites called “Deoghar”. We started our journey by train to reach Katihar, India. After seven hours of train we took little rest and heading towards Bhagalpur (Sultangang) by bus. We arrived on the City of Ganga River at around 7 o’clock and rented lodge to spend night there. Next day, we woke up early in the morning to have some rituals at the bank of Ganga. We collected Ganga water for worship at temple. Kamleshwor and his group got busy with priest to follow rituals instruction before he started to walk towards the holy world. We had to walk bare foot on gravel and muddy path and the distance was to cover is 56 miles. At first, I was afraid for not being able to walk but I did not have any choices, so I followed them. My foot could not continue after I walked 12 miles in first day. I was not used to walk bare foot so I could not walk further. Kamleshwor advised me to take bus and

I did. I left them to walk and decided to meet again in Deoghar. After four hours I arrived to Deoghar. I found one Ashram to spend night. After spending two nights in unknown crowd, I finally meet my informant again at Deoghar.

3.4 utilizing field notes

During fieldwork, I used some note taking techniques as described in "writing ethnographic field notes" by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995). I started using note taking to remember person name and nickname and the name of their working tools. In the beginning, I jotted keywords and gave small name to events and conversation occurred inside factory, that I later expanded it by adding reflexive insight. In early phase of field work, note taking helped me for deciphering needed social setting, important interaction and to capturing local knowledge. However, it was very difficult to maintain notes along the journey and it became more chaotic to observe and understand the events. Moreover, transcribing the footage helped me to avoid repetitive action and understanding informant's daily life.

Most often, at the end of the day in field I worked for textual analysis. For that I used some methods described by James P. Spardley in his book "Participant observation"(1980). His method of making interference helped me to follow my informant's behavior and his artifacts. Which further provided me to decipher the aspects of his life. Spardley method of Development of research sequences has been used till the end of my fieldwork. In his method, I utilized his idea of discovering cultural theme such as, Rituals, devotion and local skills. I used the categorization of meaning using domain and taxonomies analysis. It helps me to discover my informant's roles in changing nature of his daily life and his religious journey.

3.5 Camera in fieldwork

I informed my informant about using camera to make film on him. But it took some time to start shooting. First I spent few days with them and decided to use camera only when they became little easy with me. Since I informed my participants about the shooting, I realized how camera became frequent matter of gossip among factory worker. Camera gossip often ended up by kidding my informant as being turn into

film actor, the “hero”(in some Bollywood film stars sense). In response, my informant used to give short smile towards them and got busy on his work. From the beginning, my informant seemed to be comfortable enough in presences of camera. Often, he had been indulged in his own hectic working demand. His attitude of paying no heed towards camera made me chose open observation method to capture his process of working. I observed his action and conversation with his colleague. It worked well for a week. But daily repetitive action of making pots and his unwilling sense of presenting himself in front of camera obstruct me to try other methods.

After two week, factory was shut down because of the leakage in melting pot. My informant had nothing to do in factory so he stopped coming to work. But he accepted my request to visit his home. There I observed my informant in new social role and different part of his life. Since he did not have much to do, we got some good time to share things. I got a chance to use some premeditated camera shots. In factory he could not say what he going to do next. Most often he had to rush for some sudden task to do. As a result, I could not prepare myself for any kind of pre-plan shots to take. But at his home, he could tell me what will going to happened and how their family preparing for participating on annual pilgrimage journey. Teashop were another social setting where Kamleshwor met his friend and talk about job, journey and present condition. The more he became open to express about him, his community, family and his friend the more I got new ways of using my camera on him.

Although, I decided to follow him on his journey hoping for getting some interesting part of his life but often I end up experiencing the situation without camera. In course of journey using camera is challenges in many ways, such as crowed street, censored place to use camera and sometimes unwillingness of my informant himself. I started using camera less and less as I got tired after walking a long distance. Nonetheless, camera gave me following ability in fieldwork:

Deformalized the familiar: My chosen field site is not in any case exotic place rather it was the same city where I spent five years of my student life. It is exactly what we called “doing anthropology at home”. And my first field setting is the factory of my old friend who has been producing aluminum pot since we knew each other. Instead of using camera to have “accounting for cultural variation” so that curiosity

and interest can persist over the phenomenon. I might not have comparative eyes to look on those familiar matters but I did get another chance to learn things with which I had long been overlooked. By using camera, I captured the process of action and intention of interaction that deserves many reasons of getting attention. Review the footage also helps me to understand situation better. My informants explain the things that happened at that time. So the camera taught me to see same usual events with new eyes otherwise I might ignore those situation again.

Non-verbal communication: When I started to work with my informant. He had been going through number of challenges in his life. His pot-making job is in danger. Poor factory condition compelled him to do other trivial job such as collecting waste material, buying coal, formatting molding pot. Most necessarily he had to manage money for annual pilgrimage walk. During the fieldwork, I could not realize what is happening to him. Why he secretly talking with his colleague? But he never seemed to express those difficulties to me until he finds no hope to manage it.

MacDougall has viewed the contribution of camera as new approach to “anthropological conceptions of culture gradually shifted from the external to internal, from visible artifact and behavior to invisible knowledge”(1998:225). Similarly, I have gain access to that internal and unspoken expression of my informants by looking at the footage.

Multiple actions within ritual performance: I have gone through many challenges to capture the process of my informant’s pilgrimage action. Pilgrimage sites were full of people with lot of noise and multiple actions that was not easy to remember everything happened around. But camera helped me to revisit the situation gave me a chance understand it. Carrying camera surrounded by thousand of same dress user with same motives was not easy for me to focus my self in one particular action. Most of the time, my informant was not seem to be sure of where he suppose to follow the path and what rituals procedure need to take. On that chaotic environment, camera worked as keen observer to capture multiple actions while cameraman was not capable enough to plan any action to highlight. MacDougall has describes the potential of camera to present multiple layer of information should be taken as “true scientific which reveal the biases of the film maker”(126). It can not be denied my footage of pilgrimage journey might make one confuse due to its uncontrolled

meaning production but the vary footage help me to view so many essential part of human endeavor without which it is easy to overlooked them.

Following chapter is analysis of the field experience and discoveries during making film. I have selected some scenes and conversation of my informant in two different social setting. I have tried to use my footage and my field study to show the transformation and continuity in his two aspects of life; factory and pilgrimage.

4. Transforming factory and ancestral skills: Kamleshwor`s challenges and abundance in life.

4.1 Bad condition of factory and its impact on my informant

I would like to describe my findings from the factory because my informant do regulate all of his major responsibility of being bread winner and struggle to fulfill his dream and wish by working as pot maker in factory. Factory is the first social setting; I started to observe my informant life condition, conversation and his upcoming dreams and desire.

First thing that allow me to understand life of Kamleshwor through the price board of items hanged in the wall. In the price board, different price of the manufacture item was marked. Price of the item was rubbed and overwritten number of times in the board. Decreasing prices of the manufacture items hints some transformation in factory so as it effect to the life of Kamleshwor The board was filled with following rates:

SHREE LAXIMI ILLIMUNIUM FACTORY PRICE OF THE ITEAM 2060

Item	Size	price	
Karahai (Deep coocking pot)	Large	RS. 1250	1110
Karahai	Medium	RS. 745	695
Karahai	Small	RS. 425	405
Tava (Dripping pan)	Large	RS. 675	645
Tava	Small	RS. 435	425
Handi (Rice cocker pot)	Large	RS. 1510	1400
Handi	Medium	RS. 945	930
Handi	Small	RS. 490	475
Bhagona (Stainless steel pot)	--	RS. 867	855

Patila (Stackable pot)

RS. ~~620~~ 612

In the list of items, the entire updated price has overwritten with the previous item, which is lower than before. But when I followed my informant to the raw material collection store the list of price of raw material has also recently updated but the new price has higher than previous. Here is the material price written in the board.

JAI SHIVA KABADDI (waste material) STORE
PRICE OF THE MATERIALS

Aluminum wire scarp (per kg)	189	205
Aluminum utensils scarp (per kg)	175	190
Aluminum accessories scarp (per kg)	165	180
Brass huny scarp	430	465
Copper mixed scarp (per kg)	510	525
Copper cable scarp	512	528
Gun metal scarp mix	518	530

After I observed changes in price of item in factory and in scarp store, I discovered the condition of the factory is running badly. Two questions came to my mind 1. What made the traditional pot-making factory get down in its business? 2. How it affect in the life of my informant?

Instead of understanding the objective cause behind the factory changing condition I directed my inquiry towards information given by my informant. Kmaleshwor and his co-worker was collecting scarp at waste material store. During the break time he explain me about the current condition of factory.

Days are not good in factory. Nowadays, I barely have to make 50 pots in a day. What to do, parties are not coming to buy our traditional pot. I have heard they buy new kind of pot somewhere from Indian market. Those new pots are modern type of pots and people say it looks good. But I know it cannot be as strong as ours.

You see! There are little scarps to collect today. They always say they do not have more than that and they also increase their rate.

It has been ten years I have been making pots in factory and have not seen these bad days before. I do not know what will happen. Last year, my income was good. I had earned almost enough to run my family. Now, my elder daughter already left school and it will be hard for me to pay school fee for other three daughters.

These work, collecting waste scarp, crafting format box, shining pot are not my job these are the job for newcomer. But what else I could do in these days I have to do whatever they ask me to do. Last year, I remember many parties could not get enough pots and willing to pay any price to buy our product. We had lot of work and many people demanded pots from us. But suddenly they disappear. Our production cost gets high and people want to buy pots in low prices. How will it work this way?

Now Buwa (owner) could not pay my salary from 3 months. I know he himself has problem to effort everything. Sometimes, I am thinking of changing my job and find something else but I do not know any other thing than pot-making.

Traditional pot making in Biratnagar has long been established as factory production items. But most of the factory equipment has to buy from nearby Indian cities. I found it is difficult to get access that pot material since they have to bring it all the way from India. The condition of factory heavily relies on the distance parties with whom they have to negotiate uneven profit. For example, after couple of weeks factory has to close their production because they could not replace their broken melting pot in time. Pot maker like Kamleshwor are always in danger of losing their jobs. Uncertain situation of having regular job can be seen in Kamleshwor life who himself forced to search for other option.

I tried to understand why this decaying situation of traditional pot maker like Kamleshwor find hard to find alternative mean of survival. Currently, Kamleshwor is the last person in his community who still continuing his traditional skills as mean of income although his friend and other community have long been left this profession.

4.2 Forefather taught me pottery and what else I can live with?

After 2 weeks of working with Kamleshwor he offer me to visit his house. Next day, I visited his house. He was sitting outside and having Chai with two other man in front of his house. They are his two elder brothers who live besides his house. They are planning to go pilgrimage together. After having discussion about the preparation for coming journey, Kamleshwor inform me, that his both brother used to work as pot maker but they no longer working on it. One of his brothers told me he has worked as pot maker like Kamleshwor do. But he switches his job as coal seller now. He pointed at Kamleshwor and said, “ I also suggest him to leave this job, it is outdated now, no one ever like to use this traditional pot nowadays. Even in my community people use different modern pot in their house. But he never listen to me and now he is in trouble to find money to go pilgrimage.”

Kamleshwor further justifies, “ I have been working as pot maker for almost 20 years. When I was child I used to go with my father in his work place and spent all day watching pottery. And when I became 10 years old I already start making pot by myself. Last year I tired to work as cloths seller but could not handle this job nicely and again back to the same job. I am good at making pot and this is the job our forefather have done what else I can work with.”

Kamleshwor attachment towards his pot-making job does not just seem to be confined as source of income generator. Its obviously is the skills that transmitted by his ancestors. In an interview with his neighbor and a close friend of Kamleshwor, he told me Kamleshwor forefather belong to the caste whose primary job is to make pot for rituals and household vessels. His father used to make pot not just to make money but the primary statuses of being rituals pot maker in community. But this attribute of his ancestors as port maker has lost its glory and status nowadays. Today pot-making is just a job; a source of income to run one’s family. If pot making cannot afford to run one’s family than there should not be any hesitation to stop doing it and be ready to find other mean of income.

But for Kamleshwor is not that easy to stop doing his pot-making job. The reason is not that he is not capable of finding any other job but he finds making pot is not just his job but he feels some kind of attachment to his job.

The condition of Kamleshwor not been able stop doing pot-making and looking for other well-earned job hints me that there might be other reason behind that he himself might not be aware or can not be able to express to other. I start become more interested to know what does pot making mean for Kamleshwor? Why he remains last person to hold his ancestral skills even though it makes him difficult to run his family day by day? Obviously Kamleshwor is aware of the fact that the condition of traditional pot and it changing demand as household equipment has effected his job opportunity. Most of his community members suggest him that it is a right time to stop doing pottery but what hindered Kamleswor infact?

Next day I get a chance to understand about the relation between Kamleshwor and his pot. Soon after having chai and chapatti, Kamleshwor decided to show his community and his friends around. He took me to the temple. He starts explain how old the temple is. And he remembered his childhood days.

When we start worshiping this tree I was just 8 years old. My father has made all the pot that need to do rituals for its opening. It took him many days to make pot. I remember he told me that it is our prestigious job to make pot for god. That is the skills we got from god so that we can gift back the pot we make. You should learn it from me before I get too old to teach you. I remember all this because next day my father took me to pilgrimage walk.

Generally, one can argue that Kamleshwor is end up of being pot maker because he is born in the family where making pot is their family business and privileged by their social status. But when it comes to the Kamleshwor's motivation of remaining last pot maker of his community indicate his profession is not just a mere continuation of traditional family

business. His inner motivation of being pot maker is further fueled by his childhood “memory” where he find his emotional attachment with his father as pot maker. When his father has transmitted the skills of pottery to Kamleshwor he also transmitted the rituals attributes of pot. In case of my informants, “memory” and “emotion” has stick to the pot. Likewise, rituals attributes of pot further contributes the motivation to him for continues his pot making job. Pot making skills has transmitted to my informant in a same fashion as rituals transmitted from generation to generation through the help of “successfully remembered” memories among them who shares same tradition (Whitehouse, 2002).

I tried to understand what meaning my informant possess on his profession of making pot. Although, current situation of living life by doing pottery is not easy for my informant but still he represent rare traditional pot maker in his community. In the beginning, I misunderstood him as not been able to find alternative job that can ease his financial burden. But when I analyze his attachment in his profession in term of his “memory” and “rituals” I found it is his unconscious choice of remaining pot maker rather than switch for some other jobs. Moreover, ritual meaning and memory attached to the pot is the past glory of being pot maker in the community. The memory he shared is his rituals essence of pot but the changing utilization of pot has lost those values. Like other, my informant is also aware of the fact that living with pot is not easy as it was before. But instead of coping with changing scenario of pottery he remain unchanged by not abandoning his profession rather he place the rituals aspects of being pot maker as a motivation factor to continue his traditional job.

4.3 “Our pot is no more in rituals ”

Although Kamleshwor represents few traditional pot-maker in the community who continues his work but the utilities of using pot has changed in present time. Pot is no more an essential part of ritual ceremonies like before nor it remains popular household vessels as it used to be.

When I enter into the Kamleshwor's house his wife is doing morning rituals and worship in her room. She fetches water in those vessels and pours it to the top of the statue of the god. Kamleshwor points to the vessels and said:

My father makes this vessel to use for worshipping god. It is the same process as I make aluminum pot. This is made of copper. In our religion copper items are regarded as pure so we use it in rituals. Nowadays, I do not see that many of copper vessels in rituals ceremony. Now people manage with any kind of bucket or vessels in their rituals. Probably it is because expensive effort for them.

In those days, many people come to our house and ask my father to make pot for their rituals. Some people come to order aluminum pot for household. His work had high demand and he had been making those pots all days. And I help him shining it. After he done making pots I had to deliver to their home. That way I have participated hundred of rituals in my childhood days. But when I grew up, there is not much rituals pot is in demand but aluminum pot was still people wants for their kitchen. But I afraid the demand of aluminum pot will also lose its demand.

As Kamleshwor has mentioned about the present condition of his job is in danger. He has seen how copper vessels have lost its demand as it has gradually disappeared from the rituals performance. He has accepted the fact that there is no more need of rituals vessels but he express his uncertain job condition of not been able to earn by making aluminum pot if it also lose its demand for household work. He himself is an eyewitness to see the changing pot necessities in his life. He informed me further on how this changes happened. He said:

Now you see! Only 5 years ago this month was rush hour for My job. I hardly come to home. I made pot whole day and

Sleep in factory for 3 or 4 hours. I could earn enough money to End my month to preparing myself for going to pilgrimage walk. This month million of people go to the pilgrimage. Each of one Carry two pots in both side of their shoulder. Only from my community around 500 people takes part in this journey. And I was the one who make pot for them. There are equal number of people go to pilgrimage today. May be more. But now they Use pot made out of plastic. So I have not much work in even in this month. It's been very difficult to find needed money to cover my journey. You will see next week! Even I going to use that plastic pot in my pilgrimage walk. It's cheap and light.

4.4 “If Shiva will I will be pot seller”

My informant is well aware of the present context of pottery job. But when his friend and family gathered around the teashop or in his house he often get advise of finding new ways of earning money. Some of them has given him an idea of doing export and import business of small goods and some have give him an idea of how to earn quick money by doing secretly trafficking the goods from India to Nepal. I see Kamleshwor hear them and been curious of knowing those ideas. But when it comes to the involvement he asks his friend and family to wait for sometimes. I asked to my informant, “Do you looking for new profession to work? He replied:

What shall I do and what not! If things goes as it is now I cannot afford my family. Now, it is not that easy for me to stop doing pottery and go for other. Been 10 year or more I am working with pot. With grace of Shiva, I managed to raise 5 children. Sent them to school. Because of Shiva our family got this profession. Otherwise I do not know if I ever had family or not. My load will give me the way I know. This time I will go to his palace. And he will hear me. But now I cannot think of new profession. I would like to collect some money and may be one day I will open pot

shop. What can I do! When Shiva will hear me I will be able to start a pot shop. At least in that way I will be around the pot.

4.5 Summary

First three weeks of my fieldwork revolves around my informant life as pot maker, his professional challenges and his motivation for continue his job during the bad condition. Initially frustrated informant for gradual lose of his job demand that leads him to think of stopping his decade long traditional skills further come with motivation to continue pottery which is not only a source of income to him. After interpreting my field data through ritual theory I learned my informant's strong attachment in his profession. Moreover, reason behind of his willingness of continuing his pottery is interpreted by the concept of memory, emotion and ritual transmission where his past emotion and attachment to the pottery gives an energy to continue his job. Although, he is aware of the changing context of the pot that lost it's past glory but with his religious appreciation and hope, he encourage to continue his work. Uncertain job condition forced him to think about other possibilities to earn but his faith in Shiva provides a power to cope with changing pot market.

5. Ten decades of pilgrimage walk: challenges of further continuation and remaining motivation.

After half of my fieldwork I understand how situation has been changing in professional life of my informant. Decreasing demand of his ancestral skills leave him in uncertainty of being able to continue his pot making job further. At the beginning I saw him as not been able to find other job that can give him steady income although other member has long been engaged. But at final, my informant has rather not willing to leave his pottery job at any cost. Behind his strong attachment in his job there is his past memory, his emotion and rituals essence. After gaining insight about his inner motivation and meaning of his profession, I am moving towards the vary source of his motivation which he though he gain it through his religion figure, Shiva. His devotion to Shiva have great influence on him therefore he keep on visiting long distance temple in order to keep get bless ahead.

In this chapter I will analyze six days of pilgrimage walk, which is my second observation arena. I have participated with my informant in his journey to Deoghar temple. I will discuss my informant preparation for the journey, his challenges before and during the journey and finally his motivational regain.

5.1 pilgrimage preparation and promise

A week left in the hand of my informant to get prepare for his annual pilgrimage. He has been trying hard to get financial support for the journey. He has promise to take his wife and second youngest daughter along with him. He needs to collect money to support three of them.

Kamleshwor and his coworker having conversation about managing money for his upcoming visit. He wants to borrow some money with him. His coworker asked him to give him 1000 Rs for three days and he will be able to give him 1500 RS at forth day. Kamleshwor explain him how he in need of the money since he

cannot avoid the journey in any cost. His coworker assures him not to be afraid and he promises to give back his money in the next day. Soon after, the coal delivery guy came to the factory. As soon as Kamleshwor saw him, he asked if Kallu (a coal delivery boy) was outside with his rickshaw. He ran into him shouting his name. He asked him if he could manage money for him. Kallu explained to him that he could not manage money for him because he had to sell his coal on credit. Kamleshwor was disappointed to hear that. He said, "then how could I manage for my pilgrimage journey".

This above description is an account of Kamleshwor's initial struggle of preparing his pilgrimage journey. Managing money for the pilgrimage has become more difficult than usual for him. That is the first time he has promised to take his wife and daughter, which made him to collect more money for his journey. Going to the pilgrimage demands more financial expenses for the devotees in the present situation. Growing financial matters in religious journeys not only indicate remarkable changes in religious sites but also hint at the transformation in the process of participating in the journey. Here is the conversation between the owner who has participated in the journey before 3 years and my informant who is going to take part in this year.

Owner: how much do you want to bring with you?

Kamlesh: at least I need to have 10000 Rs before I leave.

Owner: what! Are you about to buy the whole temple there?

Kamlesh: no! I am taking my daughter and wife with me so that is the minimum expenses that I wish to have.

Owner: I know how much it needs. I went to the pilgrimage before three years and I spent only 2000 Rs. I did not have to pay for bed, food and other assistance. Thousands of people standing on the way to help devotees for free.

Kamlesh: Buwa! Things are not the same nowadays. Now you cannot get any service for free. There are few ashrams that give free service and they will be full with people of their own. I have to stay in a local lodge and it is pretty expensive this month. Even I need to eat

in hotel because there are hardly any free food services nowadays. If you go now, you will see hundred of shop and market but all for making money. You will be wonder weather you are on pilgrimage or in city market.

Preparing pilgrimage brings those challenges to my informants that he did not face it before. One of the obvious challenges for my informant is to manage money. Financial support for any kind of journey is normal. In case of my informant, he has to manage double the money for the journey than he used to spend in previous journey. My initial impression towards my informant's financial problem is related to his professional downfall. But from the above conversation it hints the changing nature of "religious sites" and growing "tourism" in pilgrimage practices increase the burden.

Kamleshwor mentioned pilgrim practices have changes a lot in those days. Nowadays, he encounter lot of people on the way who does not seems to have any devotional nature towards the Shiva. He said "lots of people go their as fun. Some like to smoke marijuana for free and some go to see the mob". Since he visits every year he is well aware of the fact. But owner has not been aware of the changes. I asked him, if it is too difficult to manage money for this year why not looking forward to go next year? He replied, " its impossible! How could I skip to go to the temple of my Shiva! Till my body is fit to walk and will keep on participating pilgrimage."

Till now I had no plan to participating my informant's journey as part of my fieldwork. But after the above conversation, it hints me some interesting transformation happening in pilgrimage sites (most importantly for my informant). I have decided to participate on my informant's journey hoping to understand how my informant will cope with the changes and how he keep energizing his motivation on the transforming religious sites. I will further analyze my informant's reaction during the journey.

5.2 Kamleshwor journey of encounter and encouragement

A weeklong journey with my family and his family ends with number of experience and exploration. But here, I will particularly focuses on those issues that revolves around the changes and continuity of kamleshwor's decade long pilgrimage practice.

After traveling 8 hours in train we arrived to the city situated on the bank of river Ganga, called Sultanganj. The atmosphere is crowded and both side of street is packed with temporary shop house. All the shop is fill with rituals item to sell. My informant run one shop to another and tried to find cheap price of the items. He checks couple of shop and decides to buy his needed items in one shop. He does quick shop and come out but his wife and daughter is still looking for items to buy. I asked kamleshwor, "what else we need to buy?" he said:

I know what things one need to buy for worshipping Shiva. If you are not sure you might spend whole night here. They make money here (by pointing to the shop keepers). They want to sell everything they have. Now people start finding good time to make money. They change their way and so we do. Here, many people get attracted with anything they hang by their wall. Most of the things mean nothing for me it just distract you from you prime goal. This place has been changing so fast. Every year is not the same. I see many people buying so many things as if they come for holiday in foreign country. For me it is the place of God, and he embraces all. In his eyes all are fair. I think Shiva testing us to know what kind of devotees we are by looking our way of attraction.

So for Kamleshwor, according to his words and my observation, being a pilgrimage today has lots of changes to deal with. He believes all the items people selling in religious sites are not necessary for the fulfillment of the rituals. However, he does not want to get bother by involving in all kind of activities in the sites rather he keep alive his sense of pilgrimage and continue his journey.

Very next day we reach to the shore of river Ganga to do one ritual and fetch water in pot so that we can carry it all the way to final temple. So we took bath in river and fill water in our pots. Then we find one priest for rituals. Priest starts reciting mantra. Soon after the rituals done, kamleshwor told me:

What can I say! Priests are respected religious person. We cannot reach to the place of god without them. But they should not forget they are also one of the devotees of Shiva like us. Before we used to offer food and money to the priest who helps us to do our rituals. But you see! Instead of accepting my offer he demand money. I offered him 100 RS and he openly demand for 250 RS. Anyway he has to run his life by doing priest work and that he gets by the grace of god so I still respect them.

Now I understand why my informant and his factory owner have different views on expenses to go to pilgrimage. Since my informant has been participating in pilgrimage annually and he is aware of changing religion sites. On the other hand, factory owner has not been to pilgrimage in five years. So he is not aware of change that happened in religious sites.

I observed, my informant financial burden to accomplish his religion journey is an effect of changing religious sites. I found my informant is somehow fit on the Morinis definition of pilgrimage where participant go for 'sacred' journey. As morinis (1984) has emphasize on the transformation of religious sites and viewed pilgrimage sites, individual meaning and its practice and involvement as important aspect for transformation. But for my informant not all participants have same effect of changing context rather their involvement on the particular activities matter. Haab (1998) has focuses on motivation of the participants in pilgrimage. He viewed changes in motivation of pilgrimage transform the religious sites from sacred to secular where people start taking religious sites as wanderlust, time pass or exploration. As a result, the religious sites turn out to be religious tourism'.

5.3 Anthropology and pilgrimage

I have trying to analyze anthropological aspects of my informant's religious journey. Anthropology in pilgrimage focuses human act of traveling by which one break his ordinary social life and enter into new social setting. When certain group of people participates in pilgrimage they deviate their affairs from repetitive daily affairs and enter into special practices. My informant is also participated in his journey and experience different than his usual life affairs. He appears as devotee participants and wants to get blissful motivation back to his usual life.

Anthropology has its interest on culture and society. So as it interested on human practice of traveling to holy sites. Most importantly, it focuses on continuous practice of people over time and also tries to understand the practice change. My informant represent as one of the participant who has been experiencing and tackling those changes since he has been doing decade long pilgrimage practices. He sometimes finds himself not get fit into other participants. He seems trying hard to fit himself on the changing context of religious sites as well. Here is an example from my video transcript where my informant goes through the transformation of religious practices.

After 30 km of walk, Kamleshwor and his wife resting besides the road. There is still 70 km more to walk to reach the temple. Sita, Kamleshwor's wife was participating to the journey for the first time. She asks to kamleshwor: "you told me there will be many people to serve us on the way but I do not see them."

Kamleshwor: (pointing to the man offering water to traveler) you see that man! He helping us to drink water and if needed he can help us more. He never asks any thing in return.

Sita: but you have told me there are many assistance we can get on the way and in the temple.

Kamleshwor: now! There are very few people doing free services. Rest of the other is seller. There is still some ashram where people can get free lodging and food but they cannot afford us all. I have

heard those place is already been full. People who are near to the ashram people occupied the place already.

Sita: that's mean we need to pay for lodging and food then!

Kamleshwor: (turn his head towards me and said) look Subash! I do not care what people do here. They are here with different motives. Even though, they treating people differently but god Shiva treats us all equally and I am here for him. We may hide our intention to the people but Shiva knows our intention clearly and he can easily find his true devotes and bless them always.

Most of the conversation with my informant ends with his faith in Shiva. As he experiencing changing religious sites he also developed his own coping strategies to deal with it. But in care of Sita, she experiences the religious journey different than what she had heard before. She expected to get special treatment from local people but she discovers she needs to pay for everything. But my informant has confronted those transformations and seems easy to the atmosphere around the religious sites. But his well-accepted attitude has not come without participating on the newly transformative practices. He shares his past experiences:

Every year thousand of people come to worship Shiva and thousand of people involves in different activates. This all is not necessary for us to truly worship Shiva. For me these unnecessary things are mean of distraction against my devotion.

Once, may be two year before, when I was here, a group of people has open a shop where they make up people like Shiva. They changed your skin like Shiva and put all the weapon and ornament to you and take picture of it and give you a copy of it. That time I took the picture by being Shiva. They charge me 400 RS. That became unlucky year in my life. I lost my mother and stay home jobless. Then I realized that my fault for trying to imitate Shiva. Probably, Shiva was not happy for doing that. I should never want to be Shiva. I should be his true devotee.

Above example illustrates that my informant has been constantly negotiate with the changing human practice in religious sites. As much as he travel to the place

he began to understand the touristic aspect of religious place. He gets fascinated to the new practice but at the same time he evaluate it with his devotion to Shiva. He finds rational enough to participate on those activates which he finds relation to his sacred sense of religious journey.

5.4 summary

My informant has two fold of response towards the practices in religious sites. My informant has experience of involving and avoiding to the transforming religious activates. Not only religious site and the practices have been changing but also my informant himself has gone through different phase of transformation in term of accepting or rejecting those changes. My informant represents on of the traditional pilgrim whose prime motives for participating pilgrimage is to get bless by god. However, in process of continuing his religious practices he sometimes get attracted with newly introduce practices which he decided to avoid it later. In case of performing by clowning himself as Shiva and get photo is one of the practice he never want to continue. But sometimes he accepts the changing practices. For example, he do not like the way priest has bargain for the offer he gets. But he accepts the fact by rationalizing it as the priest deeds is related to the worship of god Shiva.

6. Conclusion

My aim of this paper was to explore how my key informant Kamleshwor struggled to cope with his degrading demand of his traditional pot making and how he continues with his decade long pilgrim practice that has transformed into an expensive journey. In order to give analytical touch on his aspects of life, I have borrowed the ritual theory in order to gain informant's meaning to his profession. I also used the anthropological perspective on pilgrimage practice to comprehend my informant's motivation and challenges to keep his religious faith in context of transforming religious sites.

Traditional skills and profession is no more a source of income for most of the family in kamleshwor community. Nearby sugar factory and border trafficking business provided new job for the community people. But my informant remains only person who has continued his ancestor pot making skills although the pot has lost its religious value and transformed into a factory production. Moreover, informant's pilgrimage practices has transformed as religious sites has turned out to be a tourism market. But here in my study, I found that Kamleshwor has deep meaning on his profession and practice fostered by memory and transmission of his past that makes him continue his job even the current transformation was not in his favor.

Kamleshwor has dream of establishing his own pot shop in town. But in reality, he is reluctant to do trivial job in factory. He has to accept the fact that he is not going to be treated as skilled pot maker in his factory. Similarly, he has experienced number of transformation in religious sites that does not make him happy. For him religious site has been changing a lot by them who turn the place as business hub. He seems prepared enough to cope with the expensive shopkeeper and express his wonder why people around becoming so money minded. But he seems to show his respect to other who is directly related or gain status of being religious person. In case of the ritual priest, my informant expresses more respect than the shopkeeper even though both the parties tried to get more money from my informant.

I found, that my informant has developed a range of response in order to cope with the situation. In his professional life, he put his faith on Shiva and accepts his working condition and hope for getting better in the future. He believe his Shiva will give his grace to him since he regard himself as true devotee of Shiva.

Similarly, in pilgrimage, he has various filtering mechanism to respond the transformation. He participated on those events, which gives him religious values but avoid those attraction that has no connect of being devotee for him.

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