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A TRIBAL VILLAGE
IN
ARAKU VALLEY

MADAGADA



1 a. A Bird's eye view of the village



1 b. The Valmiki Street

Village Study Series 2

M A D A G A D A

A TRIBAL VILLAGE IN ARAKU VALLEY

Issued by

Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute

Tribal Welfare Department

ANDHRA PRADESH

H y d e r a b a d

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FOREWORD

At the outset I should express my thankfulness to Sri D. R. Pratap, Director-in-charge, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad for the privilege given to me to go through the manuscript on Madagada and write the foreword of this volume.

This book sets forth a detailed account of the ecological setting, socio-economic life and the changing styles of living of the people of Madagada, a tribal village in Araku valley. This piece of anthropological research serves mainly three purposes. It has dispelled the false notion that the diversity of cultures of different tribal communities who seemed to stagnate in less advanced states of technological development was a permanent condition. Next, it fills the gap and removes the deficiencies in a large measure in our ethnographic knowledge of a region like Araku valley where tribal populations still constitute a major element in the ethnic set up. Finally, the author's new mood of integrating the well-trodden ground of conventional ethnographic account with the problem oriented research is certainly a significant contribution to the field

of applied anthropology. The knowledge provided in this volume on the inter-ethnic social alignments and the interactional processes in the work-ways and the thought-ways of the people of Madagada may surely be of immense profit to the planners and administrators in charge of tribal development in achieving practicability of plans and success in implementation of programmes of development

Rajendranagar,
NICD Campus,
Hyderabad.
Dated 4-8-1968.

N. Patnaik,
Joint Director,
Cultural Anthropology,
National Institute of
Community Development.

P R E F A C E

In developing countries where modernity is breaking through into the traditional life of the rural areas village studies provide dependable indicators of change. When the country is undergoing technological changes, village studies serve as tools to understand the emerging patterns of culture change among tribals who are custodians of the strategic hilly regions and a vital component of the Indian society. Diagnosis of the problems of rural areas is essential for grasping the prevailing conditions.

The present study aims at giving a brief description of the social system of a multi-ethnic village predominantly inhabited by the tribals in the hilly region of Araku Valley of Visakhapatnam district. Most of the villages in this valley are inhabited by more than one tribal group. The village Madagada is typical in its ethnic composition; it is inhabited by tribal as well as non-tribal groups. Generally tribal groups lack occupational specialisation except in one or two cases where tribes like Kammaras have occupational specialisation. The non-tribals in the village amply compensated the absence of occupational functionaries like potters and goldsmiths by their immigration to this village. The study also attempts to analyse the functional inter-dependency of the

tribals and non-tribals in their day-to-day life. Further it throws light on the interaction between the tribals and non-tribals in a situation in which the physical, political and economic resources are mostly controlled by the predominant tribal groups of the village. In this context it brings into lime light the inroads made by the non-tribals in securing cultivable lands and membership of elected bodies inspite of the best efforts of the traditional leaders to thwart them.

In the first instance the main object of the study was to delve into the social inter-action of the various ethnic groups. But as the field work progressed, it was found imperative to study the various facets of village life in all its ramifications. Thus the study ultimately emerged as a holistic study of the village society covering social, economic, religious and political life of the villagers. Since the inception of the block many a development programme has been introduced in the village. Hence the impact of the various development programmes and the shortcomings noticed in the programme implementation process have also been studied. This enables us to analyse the structure and functioning of the various facets of village life and reveal factors that accelerate or retard social, economic and cultural progress so as to isolate certain indicators of change. It is expected that the knowledge thus gained will provide the content and direction of policies to be pursued for the planned development of the tribal villages.

An attempt has been made to arrange different ethnic groups inhabiting the village in a hierarchy, so as to reflect the relative social status of a community in relation to other communities. This hierarchy is based on the prevailing commensal patterns among various groups, their food habits and their general notions of the social status. But this is not a rigid classification and is based on the empirical study of the village under review. As such, it may or may not be reflecting the regional social hierarchy of the valley as a whole as precept sometimes differs from practice from region to region and within the same region from village to village.

The entire village consisting of 145 households was studied. The sociological field work techniques such as non-participant observation, interviews, and the canvassing of schedules were employed to collect the necessary data. Discussions were also held with the village leaders-official and non-official and the concerned block officials regarding the various development programmes implemented in the village. Secondary data were collected from the official records of the block functionaries. Field work was done in 1964-65. Every stage of this research project was executed under the close supervision and guidance of Sri D. R. Pratap, M. A., Director-in-Charge, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad, who has intimate knowledge of tribal villages of the State both as a development functionary and as a research scholar for about two decades. The field work was conducted by the Research

Staff of this Institute, especially Sri D. Hanumantha Rao, Ex-Research Officer, Sri A. Joseph, Research Officer, Sri K. Mohan Rao, Lecturer and Sri M. V. Krishna Rao, Field Officer. The report was drafted by Sri M. V. Krishna Rao, Field Officer of this Institute. Population and economic tables were prepared by Sri A. Somasekhar, Statistical Officer and Sri Ch. Subba Rao, Research Assistant of this Institute. Maps, sketches and diagrams were drawn by Sri B.S. Sanjeeva Rao, Artist and photographs by Sri G.V.N. Bharatan, Cameraman of this Institute.

I am very much indebted to Dr. N. Patnaik, Joint Director, Cultural Anthropology, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, for having patiently gone through the manuscript and contributed a valuable foreword.

I am highly thankful to the various functionaries of Araku Block for their active cooperation throughout the field work. I am also grateful to Sri V. Raghavaiah, B. A., B. L., member of the Institute Advisory Board for his valuable comments and suggestions for the improvement of the report. I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention the forbearance and patience of the villagers who were put to much inconvenience during canvassing of questionnaires and the informal discussions without which the study would not have been successful.

P. Kamala Manohar Rao
*Director,
Tribal Welfare.*

LOCATION MAP OF

MADAGADA VILLAGE

PADERU TALUK

VISAKHAPATNAM DISTRICT

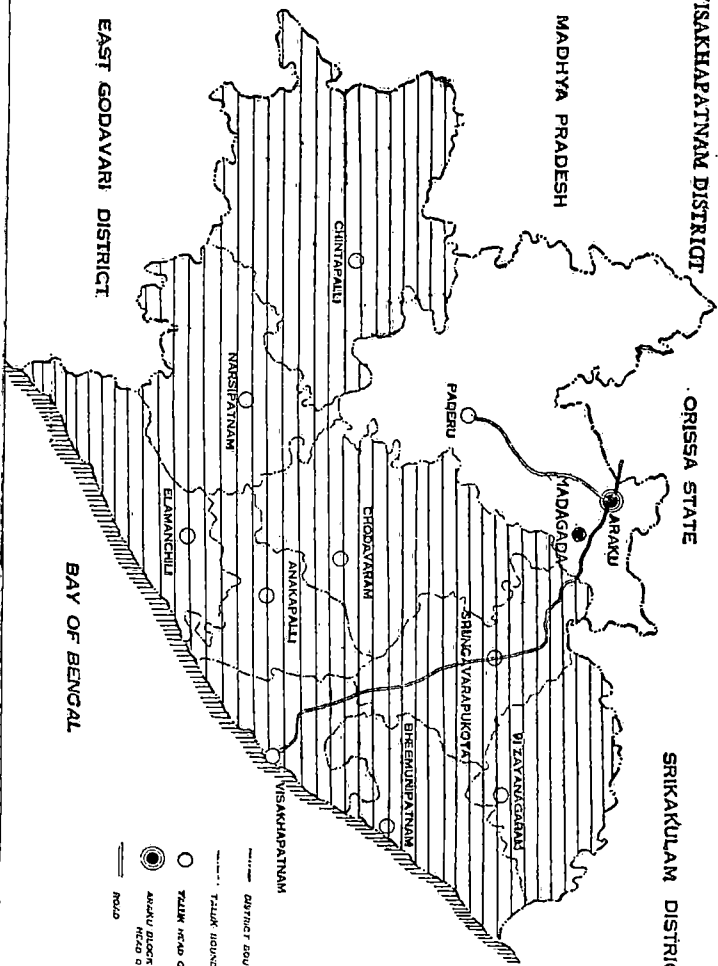
ORISSA STATE

SRIRAKULAM DISTRICT

MADHYA PRADESH

EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT

BAY OF BENGAL



- DISTRICT BOUNDARY
- - - TALUK BOUNDARY
- TALUK HEAD QUARTERS
- TALUK BLOCK HEAD QUARTERS
- ROAD

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

India lives in its villages. This is more true in the context of tribal India. Almost all the tribals live in villages which are either perched on hill tops or neatly tucked in the valleys of the tribal areas. Many of the tribal villages do not offer a single cultural pattern as there are great variations in climate, topography, language, customs and in ethnic composition.

In Andhra Pradesh, according to 1961 census there are 13.24 lakhs of tribals constituting 3.68 per cent of the total population of the State. There are 33 Scheduled tribes inhabiting both the hilly and plains areas of the State. Many of the tribals are confined to the hilly tracts where they live in scattered settlements situated on hill slopes and valleys. The most important rivers that flow down the hill slopes and the valleys are the Godavari and its tributaries like Sabari, Penuganga and Sileru. Besides these rivers innumerable hill streams and rivulets originate in these areas providing plenty of scope for harnessing the waters for irrigation purposes. The hill streams are also the most important sources of drinking water supply for the tribals inhabiting the area. It is a common sight that many of the tribal villages are situated on the banks of some hill stream or the other. The average annual rainfall varies from 1122.5 m.m. in Srikakulam district to 973.8 m.m. in Adilabad district (1964-1965). The temperature ranges from 19.66°C. to 46.68°C. in

Introduction

Visakhapatnam whereas the variation in temperature at Adilabad is from 16.2°C. to 42.2°C. Both South-West monsoon (June-September) and North-East monsoon (October-December) are active in the tribal areas of the State. The soils that are generally met with in the tribal areas are loamy soils, sandy loams and clay loams with varying proportions of sand and clay.

The major tribes inhabiting the areas are Gonds, Koyas, Hill Reddis, Bhagatas, Valmikis, Savaras, Khonds etc. The scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh depict a miniature tribal world of food gatherers, pastorals and agriculturists. Gonds, Koyas, Bhagatas and Valmikis are settled plough cultivators whereas Khonds, Hill Reddis and Savaras are 'Podu' cultivators along with settled plough cultivation. Banjaras and Goudus are mostly pastorals while food gatherers are represented by Chenchus. The racial affiliations of these tribal groups vary from the Negrito to Mongoloid. Chenchus are considered to be having Negrito strain whereas the Savaras have Monogoloid racial strain. The remaining tribal groups mostly belong to proto-Austroloid stock. There are at least eight tribal dialects spoken by the various tribal groups. While the Gondi dialect spoken by the Gonds of Adilabad belongs to the Dravidian linguistic family, the Savara dialect spoken by the Savaras of Srikakulam district is akin to the Mundari group of languages belonging to Austeric family of languages.

In Andhra Pradesh, a tribal village generally comprises of a cluster of huts with wattle or mud walls and thatched roofs. Generally, the country side is not open and there are hardly any roads leading to

Madagada

or from the villages and the tribals have to use the bridle paths on the hill tracts and negotiate hill streams in order to gain entry into or exit from the village. Very often the surrounding hills and hillocks and the thick forest growth around the village hide the village from sight. The village comprises of a number of hamlets, scattered here and there; in the jungle clearings and hill tops of the main village, forming the smallest unit of the Government administrative set up which may sometimes coincide with the jurisdiction of the Statutory Panchayat. The tribes inhabiting these villages and hamlets have their own age old individual tribal Councils and village level tribal Councils whose main functions are to deal with intra-tribal and inter-tribal code of conduct, and the maintenance of harmonious social life within the tribe and in between the various tribes of the village respectively.

Within the village there will be narrow alleys and lanes whose elevation varies with the undulating slopes of the settlement area. Ponds, tanks, hill-streams, wells and thatched temple structures of the village deities constitute the general land marks of the village whose ownership rests either with the community as a whole or with individual tribes or families. Common weekly markets, common school, and common pasture areas in the forest where the cattle are driven for forage by the village cattle herder form the live links of a number of surrounding villages.

The various tribal communities living in a village are socially stratified into high and low and each tribe is a separate entity maintaining social distance from other tribes on grounds of traditional decrees of social

Introduction

prestige. Rules of tribe endogamy and clan exogamy moulded them into intimate spatial and kin groups. The occasional violation of the social code some times results in conflict and tension. These temporary phase of conflicting situations are slowly compromised through the mechanism of social control. Thus the social relations in a tribal village are decreed by tradition and the position of each tribal group in the social hierarchy. In spite of occasional friction arising out of group conflicts, the village functions as a social unit. The various communities living in a village are closely knit into a "We group" through a web of emotional ties and reciprocal relationships. The corporate worship of the village deities brings together the various tribal groups of the village and this common worship is intended for the benefit of the whole village and not necessarily meant for the welfare of a particular tribe or family. But social ceremonies like child christening, marriage etc., set limits to the joint participation as the participants are limited to the particular family, clan or tribe. This gave rise to separate priesthood for each tribe and diverse ritual practices. Along with the tribal groups a handful of plains caste people also live in these villages since a long time. These plains caste groups came in search of a livelihood and eke out their living as petty traders, money-lenders and settled cultivators. These alien settlers exercise parasitic hold over the tribals and they can gauge the pulse of the tribals better than the Government officials, political leaders and social workers of the areas. Thus these immigrant non-tribal groups are a force to reckon with in tribal areas. The principal occupations of these tribals are agri-

Madagada

culture and allied labour while collection of minor forest produce, forest labour and labour in development works constitute the supplementary occupations. Most of their economic activities are characterised by mutual cooperation based on reciprocal help irrespective of clan, tribe and social status of the village communities.

The variegated patterns of the complex fabric of tribal life in Andhra Pradesh can be understood through a series of systematic studies covering all facets of tribal culture. These empirical studies reveal the clues for better economic and social planning which are so vital for their allround development. The crux of the problem is to decipher the nexus of relations and to identify the threads that weave the pattern on the tribal canvas so as to provide the planner with proper guidelines for evolving a suitable plan which can be implemented with minimum difficulty to achieve maximum results. It is with this intention the present study of Madagada village is undertaken. This is a comprehensive study covering the social structure, economic organisation, ritual structure, inter-community relations, Political organisation of a multi-ethnic village life.

CHAPTER II

THE VALLEY AND THE VILLAGE

Araku Valley is situated in one of the ranges of the great line of the Eastern Ghats. The Eastern Ghats have been described as a disjointed line of small confused ranges which begin in Orissa, pass into Ganjam, and run through a greater or less extent of all the districts which lie between the Ganjam and the Nilagiri Plateau. The hilly tracts of Visakhapatnam District contain a series of undulating plateaux consisting of highest peaks like Galikonda which rises to a height of 5300 ft. above the mean sea level. The Galikonda stands on the edge of the plateau amid a group of several other notable peaks.

The Araku agency starts from 38½ mile and extends up to the 78th mile on Visakhapatnam-Machkund road. This agency can be bifurcated into two tracts viz., the hill tracts covered with thick jungle growth and narrow perched valleys starting from the beginning of the ghats to Sunkarametta and the tract devoid of thick forest growth with broader valleys beginning from Sunkarametta and extending upto Orissa border. Madagada Village is situated in the later tract about 6 miles distance from Sunkarametta. The forests of the hilly tract extending upto Sunkarametta are of semi-deciduous type. The important tree species are *Terminalia tomentosa* (Maddi), *Pterocarpus Marsupium* (Yegisa), *Tamarindus Indicus* (Chinta), *Pongamia glabra* (Kanuga), *Mangifera Indica* (Mamidi), *Semecarpus anardium*



A VIEW OF ARAKU VALLEY

THE VALLEY AND THE VILLAGE

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A VIEW OF ARAKU VALLEY



Madagada

(Jidi), *Melia-Azadiract* (Vepa), *Albizzia Amara* (Nalla regu) *Allizzia lebbeck* (Dirisinam); *Coadrelc. toona* (Galimanu) *Dillenia Pentagyne* (Revadi); *Bombax Malabaricum* (Burugu) and bamboos. The picturesque Araku Valley starts from Sunkarametta and extends upto Orissa border. It is devoid of thick forest growth and superior species of timber. The surrounding hills are covered with scrub jungle growth and bushes. Some of the tree species that are found in the valley are *Tamarindus indicus* (Chinta), *Pongamia Glabra* (Kanuga), *Mangifera indica* (Mamidi), *Semec carpus anardium* (Jidi), *Melia Azadiracta* (Vepa) and *Bombax Malabaricu* (Burugu). The most important animal species of this region are Panther, Bear, Sambur, Deer, wild boar etc.,

The nature of the rocks is Biotic granite gneisses with a laterite capping. Khodalites and charnokites are also found here and there. Red ochre, yellow ochre and lethonarge are also met with. The Borra caves are famous for phlogopite mica and quality marble.

In general the soils are poor, ranging from rock, and gravelly soils to red clay loams which are deficit in organic matter, nitrogen and lime. They are slightly acidic in reaction. The soils of Araku agency lack fertility due to the absence of organic matter as the area is without thick forest growth. They are hungry soils which respond to heavy manuring and irrigation with the depth of the soils varying from a few inches to 5 to 8 feet in some places.

The climate will be cool and pleasant during summer with plenty of scope to develop the valley into a beautiful summer resort. Winter will be very severe

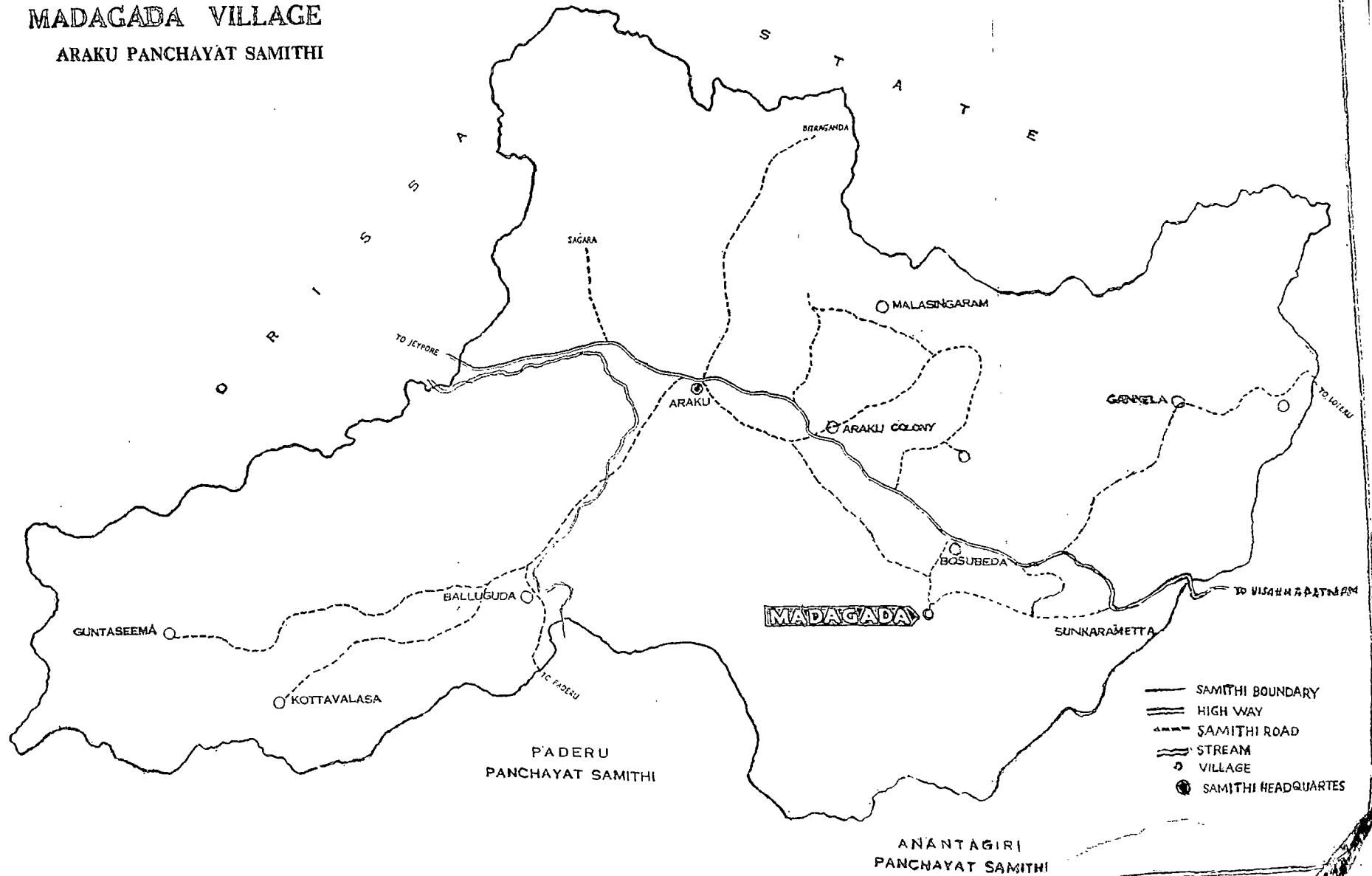
The Valley and the Village

during December and January while heavy and incessant rains lash the valley during rainy season viz , June to August, the average annual rainfall being 56.9". The altitude varies from 3000" to 5000" above mean sea level.

Chittivalasa and Gostani rivers originate in the hill ranges of Anantagiri. The Chittivalasa (Bimlipatnam) river rises in the slopes of the great Galikonda hill and runs nearly south, past historic Padmanabham and busy chittivalasa and drains into the Bay at Bimlipatnam. The Gostani also called the Champavati rises just north of Chittivalasa river and flows in an almost parallel course past Gajapatinagaram into the sea near the Konada Salt factory. The Macheru or Machkund rises in the Madgole hills on the 3000 feet plateau and at first runs nearly north a long a very meandering course, passing close under Yendrika hills and through the wide padwa valley. The Machkund Hydro-Electric Project is about 70 miles from Araku proper and the river constitutes the boundary between Andhra Pradesh and Orissa near the project site and at Jalaput:

The valley is the natural abode of at least 16 tribal groups with a sprinkling of settlers from plains areas. Bhagathas, Gadabas, Kotias, Konda Doras, Porjas and Valmiki constitute the major tribal groups while Samanthas (Konds) are also found scattered here and there. As Araku valley is adjoining the Orissa State border, both Telugu and Oriya cultures have a profound bearing on the way of life of the tribals of this area. Samanthas speak 'Kui' dialect and all the major tribal groups speak Telugu while Oriya is the

MADAGADA VILLAGE
ARAKU PANCHAYAT SAMITHI



- SAMITHI BOUNDARY
- == HIGH WAY
- - - SAMITHI ROAD
- ~ ~ ~ STREAM
- VILLAGE
- SAMITHI HEADQUARTES

Madagada

next predominantly spoken language in the valley. Thus Araku valley is a melting pot of many cultures.

The Araku valley proper is about 2 miles wide and 7 miles long with the altitude varying from 3,000 to 3,827 feet above mean sea level. The other valleys of this area which are smaller in size than Araku valley are :

1. Malasingaram valley
2. Pedalabudu valley
3. Ondra vagu valley
4. Balluguda valley
5. Guntaseema valley

A hill-stream runs through the middle of Araku valley with grass lands and cultivated fields on either side. The area where Government institutions, offices and residential quarters are located is called Araku colony. The Jilda Vagu water fall is 4 miles from Araku colony. It is a perennial water fall of 30' height. Its water is being brought to the Government orchard by means of a channel. The area of the orchard is 26 acres where citrus fruit plants, exotic vegetables and plantations like coffee, cinchona, pyrethrum and eucalyptus are grown.

Araku Block

The Araku Valley National Extension Service Block was started on 4-3-1956. This was upgraded as a Multipurpose Project from 1-4-1956 and the Panchayat Samithi was constituted on 1-9-1962. The Araku Panchayat Samithi area extends upto the borders of Orissa in the north and west. On the eastern side it is bounded by the Salur Taluq of Srikakulam District and on the southern side by the Paderu Tribal Develop-

The Valley and the Village

ment Block. It comprises of the entire area of ex-Pachipenta Estate which is now included in Paderu Taluq after the abolition of the Estate on 20-6-1955, under the Estate Abolition Act of 1948. The total area covered by the Panchayat Samithi is 212 Sq. miles, consisting of 55 main villages and 329 hamlets with a population of 35,560 as per 1961 census. Araku village is the headquarters of the Block which is situated at a distance of 116 k.m. from Visakhapatnam and it is the biggest village in this Samithi with a population of 1,116. The Block headquarters is at a distance of 88 k.m. from the nearest Railway Station viz., Kothavalasa and 54 k.m. from Taluq headquarters - Paderu.

The principal occupation of the tribals of this block is agriculture-wet, dry and *Podu* types and the major crops grown are paddy (wet and dry), *Ragi*, *Sama*, niger, blackgram, bengalgram, gingelly, and castor. A little wheat is also grown here and there. Tobacco, turmeric, ginger, mustard, chillies and *pippali* are the commercial crops raised here.

THE VILLAGE

Location

Madagada village is situated at the foot of a hill at a distance of 3 k.m. interior from Bosubeda - a tribal village on Visakhapatnam - Srungavarapukota - Araku bus route in the hill tracts of Araku Block in Visakhapatnam District. It is located between $17^{\circ}.10'$ and $18^{\circ}.51'$ of the northern latitude and $83^{\circ}.55'$ - $84^{\circ}.50'$ of the eastern longitude. Bosubeda is 5.6 k.m. from Araku colony towards S. Kota. On the northern side Madagada is bounded by Dalpathiguda another village

Madagada

in the vicinity of Araku colony. Hill-ranges of various heights constitute the southern and western borders of the village whose rocks are biotic granite gneisses with laterite capping. On the southern and eastern sides, two hill-streams namely Donga Gedda and Katni Gedda (otherwise known as Bodo Gedda) flow southwards and eastwards respectively. Bosubeda and Hattaguda villages are situated in the eastern and western sides of Madagada.

Settlement History of the Village Communities

No written account of the village settlement history could be traced. In the absence of any authentic record the only dependable source is the various stories current in the village regarding the early inhabitants of the village. Two mutually conflicting stories are current among the Bhagatas and Kotias of the village—each claiming to be the first inhabitants of the village.

According to the story current in the family line of the Bhagata *Muttadar* of the village, a lone Ghasi tribal family was the original inhabitant of the village. Among the Bhagatas the present Muttadar's fore-fathers were the first people to settle down in Madagada. Originally the ancestors of the present Muttadar belonged to Jara Konda village near Paderu. Seven brothers belonging to the Majji family were living in Jara Konda village. Due to a family feud three of the seven brothers separated from the rest and immigrated to Pattam, a village situated at a distance of ten miles from Madagada. As these three brothers could not eke out a living in Pattam, the family shifted still fur-

The Valley and the Village

ther down to the banks of a hill-stream and established a settlement called Majjapani Gedda. One day the three brothers set out on an hunting expedition to the site of the present village. They were equipped with axes, bows and arrows followed by three hunting dogs and three *Degas* (falcons) to help them in their hunting expedition.

As soon as the three brothers approached this village site, their hunting dogs were attacked and killed by a rabbit. This unexpected attack by a proverbially timid animal on their ferocious dogs upset the three brothers and they started contemplating upon the significance of this unusual event and attributed it to their hunting methods. So they thought of testing the efficacy of their bows and arrows also. After returning to the village, the three brothers released three arrows in the direction of the village site in order to test whether the arrows reach the spot or boomerang upon them. To their relief the three arrows were found near the spot where the dogs were killed. Again this prompted them to test the auspicious nature of the place by another method. An egg was kept on the site of the present Muttadar's house with an oath to the effect that if the egg hatches into a chicken and the chicken in turn grows into a big fowl overnight, they would select this place as their permanent habitat. To their surprise in the next morning a full grown fowl was found in place of the egg. So they believed that providence ordained them to settle and seek their fortunes here. Then the three brothers requested the Ghasi to sell the site. The Ghasi sold them the present site of the Muttadar's house for Rs. 12/-. Thus the

present site of the Muttadar's house was acquired by his ancestors who settled here permanently. Gadabas, Kotiyas, Porjas and Konda Doras followed suit and settled down here as agriculturists at the instance of the Bhagatas. While Valmikis were invited to serve as the village servants, Goudus came to this village as cattle herders. As almost all the tribal communities were living here since a long time, it is very difficult to calculate the period of their first settlement here.

A more realistic version of the settlement history was given by the Panchayat member, Mr. Patro who is a converted christian of the Kotiya tribe and at present resident of Benjipur Village. According to him neither Bhagatas nor Ghasis were the first settlers of the village. Before the administrative machinery of the British Government could extend its control to these interior parts, Kotiyas, Gadabas and Porjas were living in this village. In course of time the Government started extending its administrative wings to these parts also with the result that many Government officials used to visit these villages on horse back. But the visiting officials refused to accept food and water from these tribals as the people were considered to be inferior in social status. Moreover nobody was trained in looking after the riding horses of these officials and attend to their menial work. So the local tribals invited the Bhagatas, Ghasis and Valmikis to come and stay here. Bhagatas, being a warrior community catered to the food, water and shelter needs of the visiting officials, while Ghasis served as their horse feeders. Valmikis attended to the menial work like carrying the luggage of the officials and guiding them in their tours from one village to the other. Taking

The Valley and the Village

advantage of their direct contacts with the visiting officials Bhagatas became very powerful. Moreover, they were acknowledged as a superior status community by the other tribal groups because the Bhagatas were the honoured invitees of the tribals. Their ascribed status coupled with their administrative influence helped them to become the virtual rulers of the village. Thus they became village heads (Munsifs) and Muttadars of Pachipenta Zamindari which formed part of the Jeypore Estate. Goudus came to this village as cattle herders which is their traditional occupation, at the invitation of the Muttadar.

Even now the visiting officials enjoy the hospitality of the Muttadar whenever they camp in these villages. Village servants like 'Barike' and 'Behara' belong to the Valmiki tribe and Goudus herd the cattle of a majority of the villagers. The second version of the settlement history seems to be more logical and nearer the truth than the first version. Many stories similar to the first version pertaining to the establishment of petty princely states and empires are current all over the State. For example, a similar story is narrated regarding the establishment of Vijayanagar Empire in Andhra in the 14th Century A.D. Thus the first story seems to be a figment of imagination of the Bhagata community as they claim to have served as soldiers of the erstwhile Golugonda Kingdom of the region. Thus the diffusion of such stories might have prompted the fore-fathers of the present Muttadar to conveniently adopt it with slight modifications so as to attribute sanctity to the original inhabitants of the village. Regarding the immigration of the plains caste people

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viz., Kummaris, Sundis, Kapus and Kamsalis no such confusion is there. All of them remember the time and places from where they had emigrated. Kummaris came to this village some 50 years ago while the other three castes settled down here about three decades back. Thus the settlement period of the tribal communities was buried in the remote past, whereas the non-tribal communities came here as alien settlers within the last 50 years.

Etymology of "Madagada"

According to the villagers, the original name of this village was "Mangod". Etymologically this can be divided into two words—'Mond' meaning higher and 'God' means the highest in Oriya. As the settlement was constructed on an elevated place, it is probable that the village got the name 'Mangod' which was modified into Madagada in course of time.

Climate

The village is situated at an altitude of 3,000 feet above the mean sea level. The monsoons are aggressive from June to August and the average annual rainfall is 56.9". The winter is severe especially during December and January. In contrast to the extreme rainy and winter seasons, summer will be cool and pleasant without the scorching heat of the sun.

Soils

The soil of this village is mostly red-loam type which is of low fertility. In addition to the hills around

The Valley and the Village

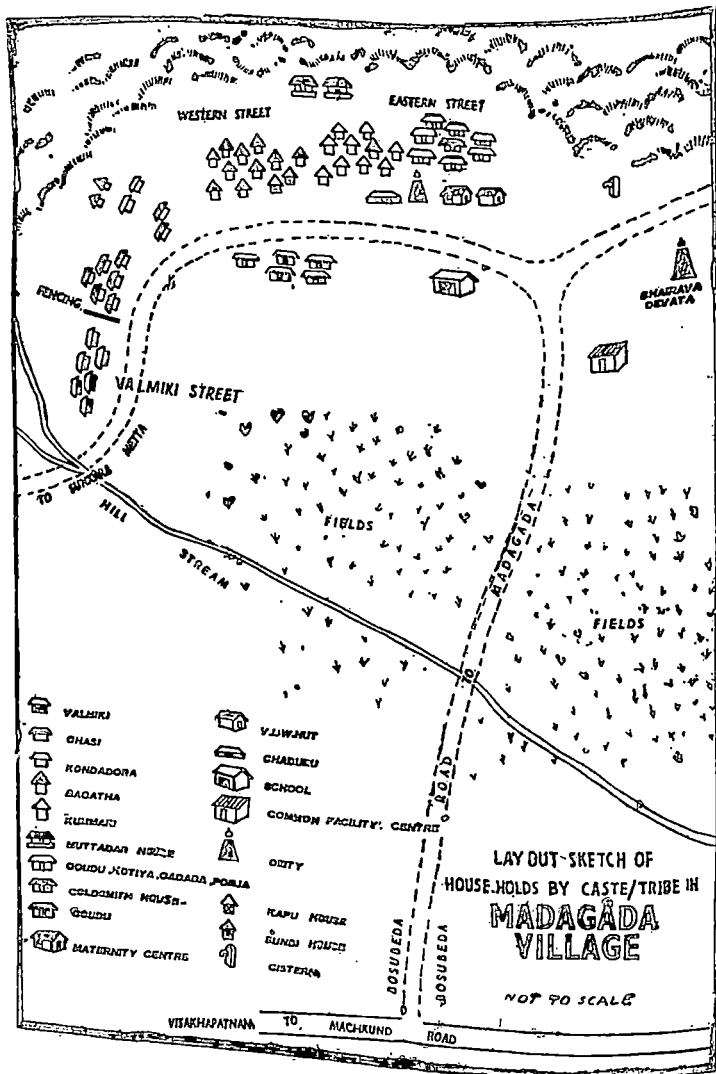
the village there are a number of protruding granite stones in and around the village. The soils formed by the disintegration of these rocks are highly ferruginous and often sandy.

The Village Plan and Residential Pattern

The village is divided into three *Padas* (streets) for all practical purposes. Each street has a separate cattle herder who grazes the cattle of all the communities living in the street, irrespective of their social status. The contributions in cash and kind for the celebration of festivals are collected taking the family as a unit.

The Valmikis and Ghasis live in one street called the Valmiki *Pada* which is located at one end of the village though not separated by any distance. These two communities are considered impure because of their general uncleanliness and their beef and carrion eating habits. The general cleanliness of this street is not as good as the other two. The Ghasi houses are also isolated from the Valmiki houses in one cluster, within a fenced enclosure.

The other communities are dispersed in compact groups in the other two streets. Most of the Bhagata families and all the Kummari families live in the western street. Sundi and Kapu non-tribal families are also residing in the same street. The Kummaries have occupied the upland area with only one Bhagata family living amidst them. On the other hand, one Kummari family is residing near the Bhagatas. As indicated in the sketch plan of the village Bhagata houses are also located in one part of the street. The Mutta-

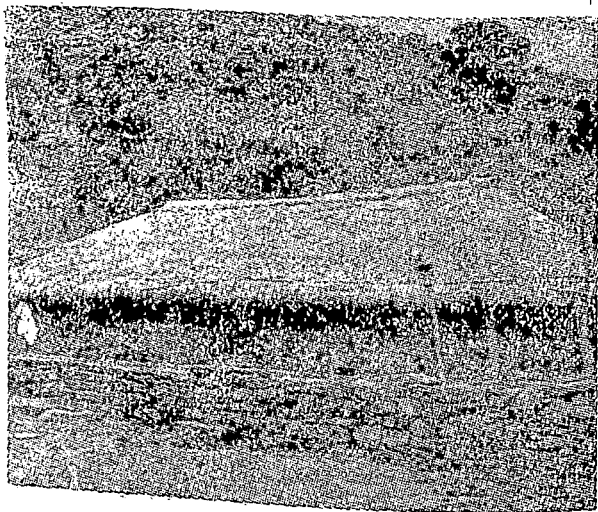


- | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| | VALMIKI | | VJIWJUT |
| | GHASI | | CHADIKU |
| | KONDADORA | | SCHOOL |
| | BAGATHA | | COMMON FACILITY CENTRE |
| | KURISAJI | | ORITY |
| | MUTTADAR HOUSE | | RAPI HOUSE |
| | GONDU, KOTIYA, QADADA, PORJA | | GUNDI HOUSE |
| | GONDUMIYAN HOUSE | | CISTERNA |
| | GONDU | | |
| | MATERNITY CENTRE | | |

LAY OUT-SKETCH OF
 HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE/TRIBE IN
MADAGADA
VILLAGE

NOT TO SCALE

VIKARPATNAM TO MACHKUND ROAD

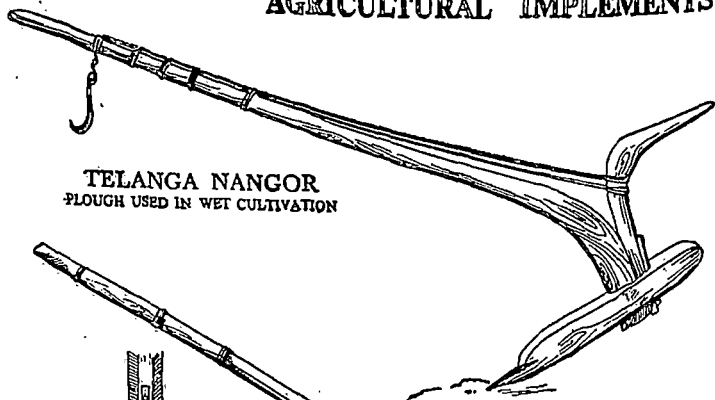


2a. The Muttadar's House

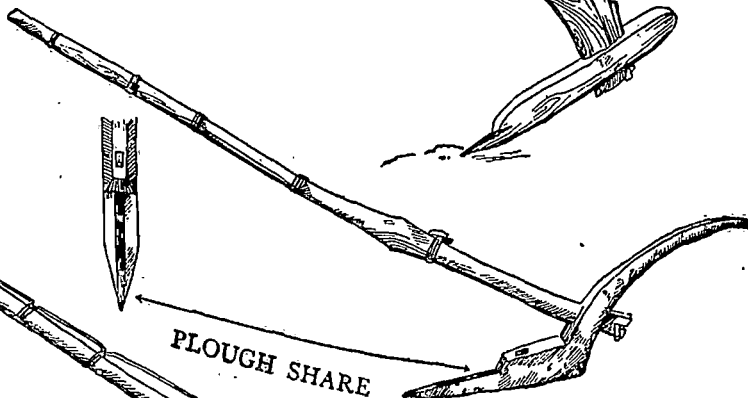


2b. A Valmiki couple

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS



TELANGA NANGOR
PLOWG USED IN WET CULTIVATION



PLOWG SHARE

PAIKI NANGOR
PLOWG USED IN DRY CULTIVATION

Madagada

dar's two houses which are located on a higher level, perch prominently a little away from the other houses. Only 8 Bhagata families are inhabiting the other street. One Konda Dora family resides in this street in one of the two rooms of a house along with a Bhagata. This Konda Dora acts as a *Chellan* (messenger) to the village Panchayat.

About 6 communities reside in the eastern street; of whom, only the Gadabas and Porjas confine themselves to a particular portion of the street due to their beef eating habit. Only one Gadaba family is residing along with the Kotiyas in a two roomed tenement, each occupying one room. The Goudus have also occupied a part of the street. They are relatively closer to each other. The Kamsali also lives in the same street. The Kotiyas are dispersed indiscriminately in this street. Two Konda Dora, two Bhagata and two Ghasi families are scattered away from the main village due to personal reasons.

The Government officials like the Village Level Worker, the Maternity Assistant and the aided school teacher used to live at the entrance of the village. The *Chaduru* (village community platform) and *Bodo Devta* (Nishan God) are located side by side in between the eastern and the western streets.

A close examination of the residential pattern of this village shows a general resemblance to the non-tribal villages with the impure communities living at one end and the other groups tending to cluster round. Yet the group identity and solidarity of each community are still discernable from their tendency to construct

The Valley and the Village

most of the houses of a particular community at one place only.

Dwellings

The shape of the houses is usually rectangular; a few are of square type also. The walls are constructed with mud and wattle. Generally the size of the house reflects the economic position of the household. By taking their length, breadth and height into consideration they can be classified as follows :

1. Length=20' Breadth=12' Height=8'
2. Length=12' Breadth=9' Height=8'

Most of the houses have the roofing of *Durba* leaves (*Rella* or thatch grass) and some of the houses have the roof of date leaves also. The timber used is of a very inferior type. Bamboos are used as rafters and for doors. The costly teak wood is not at all used except for a few houses belonging to the *Muttadar*, due to the non-availability of quality timber in the scrub jungle of the surrounding areas.

While selecting a site for the construction of a house, they perform a special ceremony to test the auspicious nature of the house-site. On that particular spot, they arrange three grains of rice in such a way that the third grain is placed over the two rice grains which are placed on the ground side by side. Then it is covered with a basket. Early in the next morning before the dawn of the day, this basket is removed. If the arrangement of rice grains is disturbed, they consider the site unsuitable for house construction; otherwise,

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it is regarded as good. Their dwellings are mostly without ventilation as there are no windows to their huts.

Implements

Hoe-cum-digging sticks, ploughs, crowbars, sickles and axes are used as agricultural implements. While nets, traps and arrows are used in fishing, axes, spears, bows and arrows form their hunting equipment.

Land

It is a medium-sized village spread over an area of 7,680 acres. Out of this an area of 5,554 acres is covered with forest. The area under barren and un-cultivable land is 62 acres while the extent of uncultivated waste land is 197.60 acres. There are two irrigation tanks in the village—the one at the western extremity of this village is a cistern constructed by the Block and the other one is fed by a hill-stream under which a cropped area of 296.40 acres is irrigated. The net area sown is 1464 acres. The extent of land under *Podu* cultivation is 13 acres.

Crop Pattern

The major crops raised in this village are *Ragi*, *Sama*, paddy, maize and niger. Redgram, ginger and castor are also grown. As the climate and elevation are found to be suitable for raising coffee plantations a few villagers are growing coffee. The area under each major crop and the average yield per acre (in bags) during 1964-65 is noted as under.

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Name of the Crop	Area under each crop (Acres)	Average yield per acre.
Paddy	360	6 bags
Ragi	60	3 1/4 bags
Sama	40	3 1/4 bags
Niger	60	2 bags
Maize	40	1 bag

Paddy (wet and dry) is the main crop of the village, followed by *Ragi*, niger, *Sama* and maize. While paddy, *Ragi*, maize and *Sama* are food crops, niger is a commercial crop. A large portion of the area is under food crops. But the villagers are also growing coffee and ginger indicating that they are slowly learning the techniques of growing commercial crops and realising the benefits thereof.

Live-Stock

The cattle of this village are of non-descriptive type and stunted in growth. They are generally undernourished and weak in their physique and are unfit for deep ploughing with the heavy improved variety of ploughs.

The total live-stock position of this village is as follows :

Working animals	256
Milch animals	31
Dry animals	51
Young stock	30
Sheep and goats	69
Poultry	102
Pigs	35
Donkeys	2

Total : 576

Madagada

The average milk yield is 1/2 lb for a cow and 3/4th lb for a buffalo. The fodder comprises of green grass from the forest and paddy stalk. The tribals are not in the habit of stall feeding the animals. During day time the animals are driven into the open fields and the surrounding scrub jungle and in the evening they bring back the cattle into the cattle shed. The tribals of this village still follow their primitive way of castrating animals with the help of two bamboos. The common diseases among the cattle are foot and mouth infections, Black quarter and Haemorrhagic Septicemia etc.

Population

This village is populated by 672 persons residing in 145 households. There are 8 tribal and 4 non-tribal communities; the percentage of the non-tribal communities is 13.24 to the total population. Valmikis and Bhagatas are the two numerically dominant communities forming 39.58p.c. and 27.98p.c. to the total population respectively, followed by Goudu, Kotiya, Porja, Ghasi, Konda Dora and Gadaba, residing along with the non-tribal Kummari, Kapu, Kamsali and Sondi communities. The particulars of community-wise distribution of the people of the village are analysed*

The size of an average family is 4.63 with the number of members varying from 2 to 11. The average size of a tribal family is 4.52, while that of a non-tribal family is 5.56 indicating that the Non-tribal families are bigger in size than those of the tribal families. The tribal component of the population is 86.76p.c.

* Table 1

The Valley and the Village

and the rest (13.24p.c.) belong to non-tribal castes. Valmikis are the numerically dominant community (39.58 p.c.) followed by Bhagatas, Goudus etc. Among non-tribals, Kummaris are numerically dominant followed by Sundis, Kamsalis and Kapus.

The sex and age-wise * analysis of tribal and non-tribal groups reveals that out of 672 persons, 50.59p.c. are males and the rest are females. Adolescents and children constitute 6.40p.c. and 35.12p.c. respectively to the total population. Thus adults out number children and adolescents in numerical strength. Among the major tribal groups such as Bhagatas, Valmikis and Goudus, children constitute 33.51p.c., 37.22p.c. and 34.84p.c. respectively to their respective population. Females out number males among Bhagatas, Goudus, Gadabas and Kotiyas, whereas among non-tribals except Kamsalis and Kapus, females are less in number than males in the other two communities.

The analysis of the marital status ** of each community indicates that out of the total population the percentage of unmarried is 42.86 and that of the married people is 51.93 while widows and widowers constitute 5.21p.c. There are more married people than the unmarried, widows and widowers in the village. Among unmarried people males are more in number than females, whereas among married, females out number males. This can be attributed to the prevalence of polygyny among tribal and some of the non-tribal communities. Widows are 2 1/2 times to widowers

* Table 2

** Table 3

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and they are predominantly found among numerically dominant communities.

The village depicts a very poor picture of the literacy levels* of the villagers which is a common feature of all the tribal villages. Only 3.57 p.c. of the total population is literate. Out of this males constitute 75p.c. and the rest are females. 79.17p.c. of the literates are found within the age-groups of 10-30 years. The analysis reveals that males and younger generation people are more attracted towards education than the people belonging to higher age-groups. In general, the educational status of these people is very poor. It is conspicuous to note that none of the literates are educated beyond 5th standard. Thus higher education is unknown to these villagers.

Transport and Communication Facilities

Madagada lies in one of the hilly tracts of the Block and is not easily approachable. A fair weather kutcha road was constructed between Madagada and Bosubeda during 1959-60. Another kutcha road was also laid connecting Madagada with the neighbouring villages, namely, Sunkarametta, Jangaguda, Hattaguda Dalapathiguda, Nandiguda, and Chompi. This facilitates the villagers to attend the shandy which is being held at Sunkarametta without much difficulty. A third fair weather kutcha road was also laid connecting Araku colony, thus reducing the distance between the village and Block headquarters. All these roads are not jeepable during rainy season. The common mode

* Table 4

The Valley and the Village

of transport for the people of this village is the bus running between Vizag and Araku and the recently introduced country bullock carts. Grains and other articles are transported by pack animals, bullock carts, head loads and *Kavadi* loads. The nearest railway station to the village is KothaValasa located at a distance of about 85.5 k. m. It has no post office of its own and the nearest post office is situated in Bosubeda at a distance of 3 k. m. from the village. There are no telegraphic facilities in the immediate neighbourhood; the nearest Telegraph Office is at Araku at a distance of 9.6 k. m. from the village. The recently constructed D. B. K. Railway line which runs about 2 miles from the village is sure to provide the villagers with better and faster communication facilities in the near future.

Food and Food Habits

The staple food of the Madagada villagers is *Chodi (Ragi)* which is cooked in a variety of combinations with rice and *Sama*. They take *Ragi* gruel when they are hungry and drink liquid preparation of *Ragi* to quench their thirst. The tribals of Madagada generally consume only cooked *Ragi* twice a day. Rice is cooked specially on festive occasions or on the visit of a close relative. Only well-to-do families mix *Ragi* with rice while preparing food.

The villagers also eat the fruits like Jack and Mango during summer season. These fruits are abundantly available in and around the village. Raw as well as ripe fruits are a source of supplementary food for them. The poorer sections of the tribes store dried

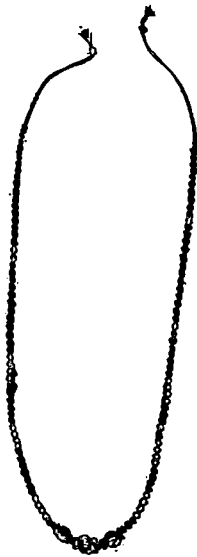


3a. Bodo or Pathala Gedda -- A Hill-Stream

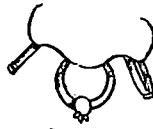


3b. Kavadi -- Typical Tribal mode of transportation

ORNAMENTS



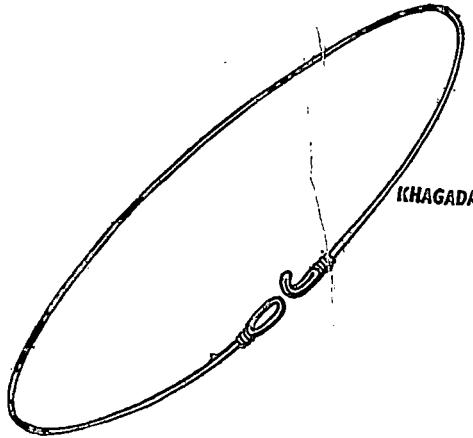
BEAD NECKLACE



BULAKI



HAGULU



KHAGADA



KHADDAS

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mango seed and prepare porridge with the powdered soft portion of the mango kernel. They crush this seed make a lump and preserve it for use in times of scarcity. When required it is soaked in water for some time and when it is soft enough porridge is cooked. Small white insects (boddling) found in the decaying shrub are also eaten by some of the tribals. These insects are either burnt and consumed or cooked into a curry and eaten.

Madagada villagers supplement their food by using edible roots, tubers, leaves etc., that are found in the surrounding jungles. The roots and tubers that are raised in the proximity of this village are sweet potato, *Nangaru kanda*, *Pindi kanda* and *Turgai kanda*. The wild leaves and flowers that are generally eaten by the tribals of this village are *Chenna pattaro*, *Servalli*, *Chakonda*, *Koilarisagh*, *Chondisagh*, and the tender shekai leaves. They bring these leaves, boil them and eat. *Kondru Pool* (a kind of wild flowers) are also used in the preparation of curry. The villagers grow pumpkin in their kitchen gardens. They preserve these pumpkins throughout the year. The flowers, tender shoots and leaves of pumpkins are also used for preparing curries. Besides cereals a variety of pulses like redgram, *Siri Kandulu*, *Konda Kandulu* and also vegetables like beans and tomato are consumed. They eat tender bamboo shoots and bamboo rice. Some of them grow cucumbers, gourds and brinjals in their kitchen gardens.

The tribals of this village also eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls and other wild animals. *Konda*

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Doras, Gadabas, Valmikis, Ghasis and Porjas rear and eat pigs. Valmikis and Ghasis eat the flesh of dead animals also. The flesh of *Rambi* bird is regarded as a taboo and as such not eaten even though it has no totemic significance. Besides tribals, the non-tribal communities are also non-vegetarians except the Kamsalis, who are strict vegetarians. During the season beginning from August, the Bhagatas daily consume pumpkin leaf curry. The people of Madagada do not have any light refreshments during the day. Between 9 and 10 a.m. the first meal is taken which is cooked afresh and at the end of the meal they drink gruel to complete their full meals. Nobody takes the remanants of night meal in the next morning. Evening food is generally eaten between 7 and 8 p.m. When engaged in agricultural work, they take gruel alone twice a day in the field itself.

Dress and Ornaments

The pattern of dress is the same for all the tribal groups. Men wear a dhoti up to their knees and a turban and women wear a sari above their knees without any upper garment. The end of the saree is taken over the shoulder and folded and knotted over the shoulder in such a way so as to cover their breasts. The non-tribal men wear a shirt along with the dhoti. The women wear a sari with blouse; the sari is worn and folded in a different fashion. On account of their increasing contacts with the plains people some of the tribal men and women have also started wearing shirts and blouses respectively.

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The women of the village are no exception to the proverbial fascination for ornaments of various types. The ornaments include noselets, ear and nose rings, anklets, armlets, various types of bead and metallic necklaces and bangles. The women belonging to well to do families wear both gold and silver ornaments made by the Kamsali of the village. The brass and aluminium ornaments which are readily available in shandies are worn by the poorer sections of the women folk. The most important ornaments worn by the women are *Nagulu*, a snake-shaped brass ornament and *Kamma* fixed to the ear lobe; the other brass ornaments like *Jamdor*, *nakuppu* and *bulaki* are worn to the nose; a silver ornament manufactured by the gold smith of the village called *Khagada* is worn around the neck. They wear German silver bangles called *Khaddas* around the wrist with ordinary glass bangles in between two *Khaddas*. Brass or silver anklets known as *Andelu* and *Kadiyalu* are also worn by the women of the village. A marriage locket generally hangs around the neck of married women.

The tribal women's hair style is characterised by a typical conical bun shaped knot arranged in one corner of the occipit. The hair is parted in the middle and a knot is made and twisted inside covering the knot. They dress their hair with hair oils like niger oil, gingely oil and coconut oil. Some of the non-tribal women and younger generation tribal women of this village are also found to plait their hair in the fashion of plains women. They bind their hair with hair-pins which are purchased in the shandies. The tribal women usually decorate their hair with a pinkish paper flower

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which looks like a rose. The old men of the village generally tie the hair in a knot near the occipital region. But most of young men are cutting their hair in the plains fashion. Young men and women mostly dress their hair with coconut oil, whereas old men and women use niger oil.

Musical Instruments

Musical instruments are played by all the communities of this village except the three communities from the plains, namely, Kamsalis, Kapus and Sundis. The Kummaris and Ghasis also use the same musical instruments; no community is barred to use a particular musical instrument. The following musical instruments are played by the villagers during the various religious and social ceremonies and *Bhajans*.

Bavsi (Flute)

During their leisure time they play upon this bamboo flute for recreation. It is a hallow bamboo tube with eight holes cut at one end at equal intervals and another hole at the other end to facilitate blowing of air with the mouth. The flute is held in both hands in such a way that the eight holes are covered with the eight finger tips of both hands and air is blown through the single hole at the other end, thus producing a melodious tune by alternately closing or opening the eight holes with the finger tips.

Jodu-Kommulu (Baka)

A horn shaped brass trumpet used to create excitement during the *Dimsa* dance and other ceremonial

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occasions, usually played by two persons, one each, standing face to face or side by side.

Jodukam

This is a clarinet shaped folded brass musical instrument played in combination with other instruments on festive and ceremonial occasions.

Mori (Sannai)

This comprises of a funnel shaped brass head fixed to a wooden tube whose other end is equipped with a dried palmyra leaf mouth piece. It is a leading instrument used for giving the tune and direction throughout the *Dimsa* dance played in combination with other musical instruments like *Kiridi*, *Tudumu*, *Dappu* and *Jodu-Kommulu*.

Dappu (Dapnadrum)

This consists of a circular wooden frame, one side of which is covered with goat's hide stretched taut. It is played on with two small sticks called *Dappu-Dong*. This is played during festival dances, processions and social ceremonies. This is also used to scare away birds from ripe fields and to stimulate reapers during harvesting time.

Tammuck (Tudumu)

It comprises of a big hemispherical earthenware body whose mouth is covered with cow's hide which is tightly secured to the body with leather strips fixed to the bottom. It is played on with two compressed-leather flaps during *Dimsa* dance and other ceremonial occasions.

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Kiridi

This is a miniature *Tammuck* covered with calf's skin or goat's hide. It is played upon with two sticks in consonance with the tune of *Mori* during *Dimsa* dance and ceremonial occasions.

Dolu

It consists of a hallow cylindrical wooden body covered with cow's hide on either side and held together with leather strips. This is played on during marriage and other social ceremonies.

Ramgunta

It has a hemispherical gourd shell to which a bamboo pipe is fixed near the open end. The mouth of the gourd shell is covered with goat's hide. A brass or copper string is attached at the free end of the bamboo pipe and it is stretched taut length wise over the bamboo pipe and fixed at the side of the gourd shell. A wooden rest is placed over the skin covering the gourd shell so as to tighten the metal string passing over it. This is the only stringed instrument played for recreation during their liesure time. Porjas use it during their festive and humorous dances.

Murudula (Mridang)

This consists of a hallow earthenware or wooden cylindrical body with a bulge in the middle. The circumference of one end of the cylindrical body will be larger than that of the other end and both the ends are covered with calf's skin. This is played upon with fingers of both hands during their Bhajans along with *Ginni*, *Thal* and *Khonjari*.

Ginni

It consists of two circular bronze discs with a diameter of 3". Sharp metallic sound is produced by striking one disc against the other. They are played according to the tune of the devotional songs of the *Bhajans*.

Thal

The *Thal* are double the size of the *Ginni* which are used to produce loud metallic sounds by striking the two bronze discs against each other during their *Bhajans*.

Khonjari (Kanjari)

It consists of a wooden circular frame, covered with goat's membrane. Small circular bronze discs are fixed in pairs along the circumference of the wooden frame at equal intervals. This is played during *Bhajans* in consonance with *Murudula*, *Ginni* and *Thal*.

The last four musical instruments are exclusively played during *Bhajans* to the tune of the various devotional songs. *Bavsi* and *Ramgunta* are played to the tune of their recreational songs during their leisure times. All other musical instruments are played in combination during social ceremonies, funeral processions, festive occasions etc. Eventhough the same musical instruments are used on different ceremonial occasions, the tune of the music varies with the occasion. For example, while exhilarating tunes are played on during marriage and other festive occasions, sad and sober tunes are played during funeral ceremonies.

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The musicians are called as *Bhajanari* and mostly Valmiki are considered to be the expert traditional musicians of the village. *Ginni, Thal, Murudula, Khonjari, Bavsi, Dappu, Tammuk* and *Kiridi* are played by all the tribal communities and Kummari caste people of the village whereas the rest of the instruments are exclusively played by Valmiki. Thus without the services of the Valmiki musicians no religious or social functions will be organised in the village.

Smoking, Chewing etc.

Smoking country cigars is very much popular among all the males and females of this village. Even children of ten years of age and above are seen smoking. Generally husband and wife smoke the same cigar, but they do not share the same cigar with others. It is very interesting to note that many of the women folk of the village are found smoking cigars with the lighted end inside the mouth which is common among the low caste people of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts. But smoking of *Ganjay* is not common, though habitual with a few persons.

All the people, irrespective of community, sex and age chew tobacco in the absence of cigar. It is the fibrous portion of the tobacco leaf that is chewed. But they do not chew betel leaf.

Drinking

All communities, except Kummari and Kamsali irrespective of age and sex drink palmyra toddy, *Jeelugu kallu* and illicit liquor. *Jeelugu* (caryota) toddy provides the *Cup of joy* to the otherwise dull and monotonous

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life of these tribals. Drinking has ceremonial significance also. They indulge in community drinking of liquor during religious and social ceremonies. It stimulates their hearts and energizes their limbs during the exhilarating ceremonial dances.

Language

Both Telugu and Oriya are spoken by the various communities of the village except Kummaris who can understand Telugu but cannot speak. The Bhagata, Kotiya, Goudu, Gadaba, Valmiki, Ghasi and Konda Dora communities are Oriya speaking people. The Valmikis in addition, speak *Valmiki bhasha* which is not an original dialect. They speak a corrupt form of Oriya. They have modified the pronunciation of Oriya words and adopted this as their secret language. The Kapus, the Sundis and the Kamsalis speak Telugu in their houses and are also fluent in Oriya. The *Kumhari's* mother tongue is Oriya. It is interesting to note that none of the Gadabas know the Gadaba dialect.

Personal Hygiene and General Sanitation

Almost all the villagers take daily bath. Their houses are also cleaned every day and are white washed once in a year. Some of the houses are painted and partially decorated with red ochre also. Valmikis and Ghasis are negligent regarding cleanliness and sanitation. Some of them use the front verandahs of their houses as pig sties and cattle shelters. The cattle shed is erected separately in front of their dwellings. All the waste is heaped upon the outskirts of the village.

SOCIAL LIFE**Social Contours**

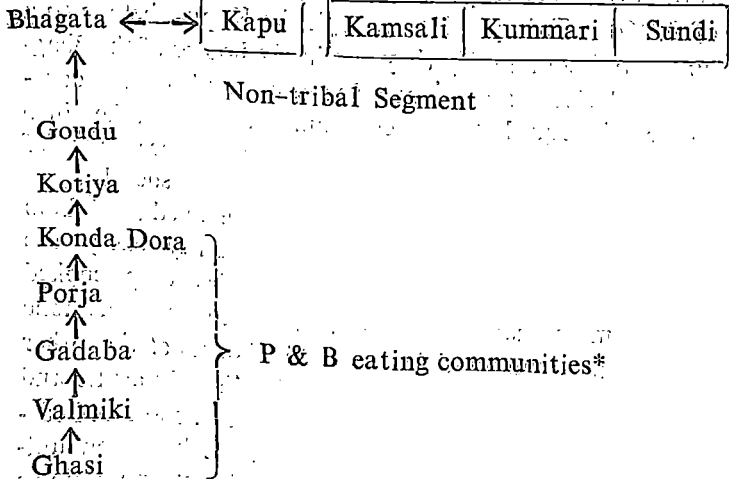
The social structure of Madagada village comprises two distinct segments, namely, the tribal and the non-tribal. The former segment consists of eight tribal groups viz., Bhagata, Goudu, Kotiya, Konda Dora, Gadaba, Porja, Valmiki and Ghasi, while the latter segment comprises the plains settlers who belong to Kapu, Kamsali, Kummari and Sundi castes. These segments function within the complex cultural framework of the village social structure in general. In this tribe-caste cultural configuration, membership of a status group is through birth only. According to the decree of tradition, personal achievements, individual personality and wealth are not taken into consideration in determining the social status of an individual. While the non-tribal segment of the social structure is built round the traditional plains social system, the tribal segment also resembles the plains caste hierarchy in some respects.

One interesting feature of the non-tribal segment is that all the four castes function as exclusive groups. These four castes cannot be grouped into a hierarchical order from the point of view of caste superiority as none of them observes the usual practices of interdining, acceptance of cooked food etc., which are the symbolic representations of caste superiority or infer-

iority. The only connecting link between the tribal and the non-tribal segment of the village social structure is the lone Kapu family who hails from the plains of S. Kota Taluq. Even though the Kapus belong to a non-tribal community they eat in the houses of the Bhagatas and vice versa. Thus Bhagatas and Kapus constitute the equal status communities if we take into consideration interdining practices, and acceptance of cooked food as the criteria for deciding the social status of a community. Kapus do not accept cooked food from any other tribal or non-tribal community except the Bhagatas. But all the tribal communities accept cooked food from the hands of Kapus. At the same time none of the tribal communities eat in the houses of the other three non-tribal castes, namely, Sundis, Kamsalis and Kummaris. Nor do the above three non-tribal castes accept cooked food from any of the tribal communities including the Bhagatas. Thus it is not possible to fix the social status of these three non-tribal castes in the social hierarchy of either the tribal segment or the non-tribal segment. Except these three communities the other communities can be grouped into the following social hierarchy taking into consideration interdining and acceptance of cooked food as the criteria symbolic of the social status.

The Social Hierarchy of Village Communities

Tribal Segment



Again the tribal segment can be subdivided into two distinct sections taking their food habits like eating beef and pork into consideration. Bhagatas, Goudus and Kotiyas observe taboo in eating beef and pork. The other tribal groups, namely, Konda Doras, Porjas, Gadabas, Valmikis, and Ghasis eat beef and pork. So they are considered to be inferior communities. Among the tribal communities Valmikis and Ghasis are treated as impure communities because of their general uncleanness and carrion eating habits. The following brief description of the status characteristics of each commu-

* P—Pork.
B—Beef.

ity throws light on the relative position occupied by each community in the social-hierarchy of the village.

The Bhagatas occupy the highest rung in the social hierarchy of the village. Bhagatas claim to belong to a warrior community and according to tradition they served as soldiers under the Gólugonda Kings. As they served, the erstwhile Golugonda Kings with *Bhakti* (Devotion) they are called Bhagatas. The Muttadar, the head of the village, belongs to Bhagata community and the Pujari, the lone religious functionary of the village, also belongs to this community. Moreover nearly 75 p.c. of the cultivated land belongs to the Bhagatas. Thus socially, economically, politically and ritually Bhagatas occupy the highest position in the village society. All the other tribal communities and the Kapu caste people accept cooked food from the hands of Bhagatas. They being an endogamous tribe marital alliance with other communities is taboo. Interdining with the Kapus alone is permitted while interdining with other communities is strictly forbidden. The Goudus are the traditional cattle herders of the village. In social status they are ranked second to Bhagatas only. They accept cooked food from Bhagatas and Kapus as remuneration for grazing their cattle, while from other communities they accept only raw food grains. Goudu men alone eat in the houses of Bhagatas and Kapus whereas women do not take meals in the houses of Bhagatas and Kapus. This is a traditional practice for which no plausible explanation is put forth by the Goudus. Kotiyas are third in the order of community precedence and occupy the position next to the Goudus in the social hierarchy. In addition to Kapus

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and Bhagatas, they accept cooked food from the hands of Goudus also. All these communities do not eat beef and pork.

The other tribal communities viz., Konda Doras, Porjas, Gadabas, Valmiki and Ghasis eat beef and pork. Konda Doras occupy the position next to Kotiyas in social status. Konda Doras accept cooked food from Bhagatas, Kapus, Goudus, and Kotiyas but not from the other communities. Porjas of this village belong to the Parengi subdivision of the Porja tribe, which is considered to be a section of the Gadaba. But the Porjas of this village, neither speak Gadaba language nor accept cooked food from Gadabas. They marry girls/boys from the other sub-divisions of the Porja tribe but not from Gadabas. They claim superiority over Gadabas and accept cooked food from Konda Doras and other higher status groups only. They speak a distinct dialect which is different from Gadaba dialect. So Porjas are inferior to Konda Doras and superior to Gadabas in social status.

Gadabas are a step higher in their social status than the two impure communities, namely, Valmiki and Ghasis of the village. While Valmiki and Ghasis accept cooked food from the hands of Gadabas, Gadabas do not accept food from their hands. Gadabas eat cooked food from Porjas and other higher status groups only. Valmiki occupy the last but one rung of the social ladder. Ghasi is the only community which eats the food cooked by Valmiki. Valmiki accept cooked food from all other communities except the Ghasis because of the latter's association with the horse. Ghasis are experts in rearing horses which is considered as an unclean profession both by tribals and non-tribals. Thus

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Ghasis occupy the lowest rung of the social hierarchy. Eventhough they are not treated as untouchables, neither Valmiki's nor Ghasis are allowed to enter the houses of both tribal and non-tribal communities of the village. As has been already mentioned Sundi, Kum-mari and Kamsali castes do not fit into the social hierarchy of the village. These groups consider themselves as superior to other communities whose contention is not accepted by the other communities. None of the non-tribal communities of the village eats beef and pork. Sundis are economically better off than the other communities of the village except the Bhagatas. They are both owner-cultivators and money-lenders. Sundis and Kapus are non-vegetarians while Kamsalis and Kummaris are strict vegetarians. Both Kummaris and Kamsalis wear sacred threads. Their custom prohibits drinking of intoxicant liquors. Kummaris do not even consume eggs as it is believed that their pots are liable to give cracks while burning in the kilns if they eat eggs. The other communities consider them as clean but do not dine with them on account of a simple belief that the closing of the bottom of the pots during manufacture is considered as closing the anus of the human beings. This seems to be a sentimental manifestation of the other communities' attitude towards Kummaris. Kummaris do not interdine with any other community as most of them are either addicted to drink or eat beef and pork which are tabooed among the Kummaris. The Kamsalis' (Goldsmiths) position in this village is peculiar as is the case with them in any other plains or tribal village. They claim that they are the direct descendants of Lord Brahma (*Viswa Karma*) and hence consider

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superior to all other communities. But the other communities do not recognise their superior status and desist from taking cooked food from them on account of their association with metal work i.e. making ornaments out of gold and silver. Sundi, Kummari and Goldsmith communities do not dine in each other's houses as each of them considers their community superior to the other.

The customs of interdining and acceptance of cooked food set limits to the social and ritual interaction of these communities during the celebration of village level social and religious ceremonies. But it is not taboo to accept uncooked food stuffs from the hands of any community in this village. At the time of celebration of social ceremonies like marriage, the low status communities send raw food grains and vegetables to the houses of higher status communities.

The sociograms appended at the end of the chapter indicate the social distance maintained between the various communities of the village taking into consideration their customs of inter-dining and acceptance of cooked food as the criteria for determining their social status.

The clan organisation

A Clan is a unilateral descent group whose members trace their relationship to a common mythical ancestor. In Madagada village all the tribal communities are divided into a number of exogamous *Vamsams* or clans. Usually each of these clans is named after some of the natural phenomena like water, air, sun etc., or after some of the animal, tree, or bird species of the surrounding areas. But totemistic worship is comple-



4 a. The Bhagata Muttadar 4 b. A Valmiki Man



4 c. A Gadaba Youth 4 d. A Ghasi Man

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tely absent. One interesting feature of their clan organisation is the existence of common clans among the various tribal groups of the village. The members belonging to a particular clan—*Vamsam* (though of different tribal groups) are considered as fictitious parallel cousins. The clan members are tied together by a belief in common descent from the same mythical ancestor. So the members of a clan are considered as brothers and sisters and as such marriage or sexual relations between members of the same clan is a taboo. Similar to the existence of clans among tribals, *Gotrams* are prevalent among the non-tribal communities. Each of these clans and *Gotrams* are subdivided into a number of *Intiperulu* or Surnames, except among the Ghasis whose clan names are adopted as *Intiperulu*.

The *Vamsams* and *Gotras* prevailing among different tribal and non-tribal groups are given below :

Tribe	Local Name	English Equivalent
	(<i>Vamsams/Gotras</i>)	
1. Bhagata	a. Surya (Korra)	Sun
	b. Puli (Kilo, Bagh)	Tiger
	c. Gollari	Monkey
	d. Pangi	Kite
2. Goudu	a. Samardhi	Flower
	b. Bagh or Kilo	Tiger
	c. Korra (Surya)	Sun
3. Kotiya	a. Kilo (Puli)	Tiger
	b. Samardhi	Flower

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Tribe	Local Name (Vamsams/Gotras)	English Equivalent
4. Konda Dora	a. Korra (Surya)	Sun
	b. Kilo (Puli)	Tiger
	c. Onthalu	Snake
	d. Bandi	—
5. Porja	a. Korra (Surya)	Sun
	b. Kilo (Puli)	Tiger
6. Gadaba	a. Kilo (Puli)	Tiger
	b. Korra (Surya)	Sun
	c. Rambhi	Bird
	d. Tarra	Water
	e. Panggi	Kite
7. Valmiki	a. Korra (Surya)	Sun
	b. Pathi	Leaf
	c. Ballu	Bear
	d. Rambhi	Bird
8. Ghasi	a. Samardhi	Flower
	b. Panggi	Conch shell
Non-Tribal	<i>Gotrams-II</i>	
1. Kummari	a. Kopilas	—
	b. Sukri	Bullock
2. Sundi	a. Nageswara	Porcupine
3. Kamsali	a. Suvarna Narasimha	Snake God
4. Kapu	a. Tabelu	Tortoise

After marriage a woman will not loose the membership of her paternal *Vamsam* whereas her offspring belongs to her husband's clan. Thus the descent of clan members is traced through the male

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line only. Among all the communities except the non-tribal Sundis *Gotram* or *Vamsam* is exogamous. The peculiar feature of Sundi *Gotram* is that all the Sundis belong to *Nageswara Gotra* only. So both caste and *Gotra* are endogamous among Sundis whereas *Intiperulu* (Surnames) are exogamous. Families belonging to the same *Intiperulu* should not have marital relations. Thus while *Intiperu* alone is exogamous among Sundi, both *Intiperu* and clan are exogamous among the other communities of the village.

Family

Family is the basic unit of the village social structure. The family in all the tribal and non-tribal groups is patrilineal and patrilocal. Property and surname are transmitted from father to son. Immediately after marriage a man brings his wife to his parent's house. Family consists of consanguineous and sometimes affinal relatives also. Out of 145 families of the village, 64.14 percent are nuclear families while the rest are simple extended (15.86 p. c.) and extended (20.00 p. c.) types of families. Thus more than half of the families consist of wife and husband and their unmarried off-springs. Simple extended family consists of a married couple, their un-married children and one or two near blood relatives like unmarried brothers and sisters or one of the widowed parents etc., of the couple and an extended family comprises a group of nuclear families living under one roof and sharing a common kitchen. The size of the family varies from 2 to 11 members in this village. The average size of the tribal family is

4.52 and that of a non-tribal family is 5.56 showing that the non-tribal families are bigger in size than the tribal families.

Generally the eldest male member (Father or husband) functions as the head of the family. Under the general guidance of the head, the family functions as an economic and social unit. All able bodied members, irrespective of sex contribute their mite to the family maintenance.

Woman is an economic asset among the tribal as well as non-tribal families. In addition to her household chores, a wife helps her husband in his family occupation by doing lighter type of work. After marriage a woman adopts the family name of her husband. Even though a wife is under the authority of the husband, he generally consults her before taking any decision regarding their family problems. But the final decision rests with the head of the family and all other family members are bound by his decision. Sometimes a widowed woman acts as the head of the family in the absence of grown up or major sons. For example, when the father of the present Muttadar died the widowed mother of the present Muttadar acted as the head of the family and managed the affairs of *Mutta* until her son became a major. Thus under special circumstances a woman is allowed to function as the head of the family.

Child marriages are common among all the communities of the village. Immediately after marriage, the daughter-in-law comes and stays in the house of her parents-in-law even before her maturity. A daughter-in-law is expected to be submissive to all the elders of the family. Among all the communities of the village,

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the daughter-in-law assists the family members in the household work and the family occupation as well. Generally daughter-in-law keeps a distance from father-in-law and avoids meeting him out of reverence. She should behave with the utmost deference in his presence.

Generally when a married son is able to eke out his own livelihood, he prefers to separate from his parents or married brothers. Intra-family quarrels, especially between mother-in-law, and daughter-in-law some times contribute to the breaking up of the joint family. If the house is big enough, the son establishes a separate household in the same house, otherwise, they construct a separate hut for his family. Property is equally divided between the brothers and father if the latter is alive. The son will be given seeds, agricultural implements, and bullocks in addition to his share in the cultivable land if they are sufficiently rich. Even the fruits of trees are equally divided between the sons and the father. Daughters are not entitled for any share in the property. In general the tendency of the villagers is to establish separate households for their sons immediately after the marriage or at the latest within two or three years after marriage, if the newly weds are sufficiently grown up and are in a position to eke out their livelihood independently. Perhaps this is the main reason for the prevalence of a large number of nuclear families both in the tribal and non-tribal communities of the village.

Kinship Terms

Most of the villagers speak corrupt Oriya except the Kapu, Sundi and Kamsali, whose mother tongue is

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Telugu. Except these three communities, all the other communities use corrupt form of Oriya kinship terms. Kapu, Sundi and Kamsali caste people use Telugu kinship terms and all the tribal communities and the non-tribal Kummari caste people use the following kinship terms.

Local Term

1. Aba
2. Ayya
3. Po
4. Ji
5. Anna
6. Bodo Anna
7. Sano Anna
8. Bai
9. Bodo bai
10. Sano bai
11. Anni
12. Dadda
13. Dokiri bai
14. Bai
15. Mama
16. Ninna or Sano Aba
17. Bodo Aba
18. Atta
19. Sano Ayya
20. Bodo Ayya

Affinal Relatives

21. Bav/Bo

English Equivalent

- Father
 Mother
 Son
 Daughter
 Brother
 Elder Brother
 Younger Brother
 Sister
 Elder Sister
 Younger Sister
 Father's Father
 Mother's Father
 Father's Mother
 Mother's Mother
 Mother's Brother
 Father's Younger
 Brother
 Father's Elder Brother
 Father's Sister
 Mother's Younger Sister
 Mother's Elder Sister
 Elder Brother's Wife

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Local	English Equivalent
22. Buari	Younger Brother's Wife
23. Buari	Daughter-in-law
24. Atta	Maternal Uncle's Wife
25. Mama	Paternal Aunt's Husband
26. Satra	Father-in-law
27. Satri	Mother-in-law

A close examination of the above terms reveals that both descriptive and classificatory terms are used in defining the relationship of the kin. *Bai*, *Buari*, *Atta* and *Mama* are some of the descriptive terms which are applied to indicate more than one relative. *Po*, *Ji*, *Satra* and *Satri* are some examples of the classificatory terms which describe the speaker's exact relation towards him/her.

Intra-Family Relationships

Father and mother constitute the focus of interaction prevailing within the family group. They function as the principal agents in transmitting the traditional knowledge, customs and skills from the older to the younger generation. From birth to adolescence, the most plastic years of a man, are spent in his family. The family functions as an effective and active institution in moulding the behaviour patterns of the children in accordance with the code of conduct of the society.

In Madagada village the intra-family relationships are generally intimate and sentimental. Even after establishing a separate household, it is the duty of the son to come and help his parents in their agricultural operations and stand by them in times of crisis. A

married daughter returns to her parental home during social ceremonies of the family and at the time of village festivals. Parents will be more lenient towards their male children rather than female children. Since her 6th year, a daughter has to look after her younger sister/brother when the parents are engaged in their economic pursuits. She has to help her mother in the domestic work also. Every now and then she goes to the field or forest to supplement the family income. In contrast, groups of male children are found roaming about in the village. Generally until their 10th year they do not take much interest in the family occupation. Some of the male children attend the schools also. But after the school hours they usually indulge in playing games and hunting small birds in and around the village. Occasionally they extend a helping hand to their parents in their agricultural work and in the collection of minor forest produce. It is only from the 10th year onwards that tribal boy starts regularly helping his parents by undertaking lighter works like tending cattle, weeding fields, collecting minor forest produce etc. A tribal boy generally attends to outdoor work only whereas a tribal girl has to do both outdoor and indoor work. Thus relatively speaking a tribal girl grows up into a hard working and responsible woman whereas a tribal boy becomes a lazy and pleasure-loving man. But in general, parents tend to be indulgent towards their male as well as female children and are lavish in bestowing affection upon them. It is the ardent duty of both father and mother to teach their children the norms and customs of the society so as to mould them into responsible members of the society. It is generally



5a. A Porja woman

5b. A Goudu woman



5c. A Ghasi woman

5d. A Valmiki woman



6. A girl carrying her younger sister in a cloth sling

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the parents that are blamed when the children misbehave and violate the prescribed conduct of the social system. The relations between the siblings are also cordial and harmonious. Even after marriage the members of siblings' families help each other in their agricultural operations, social and religious ceremonies, and in times of crisis they present a solid defence against outside threats. Although no concrete evidence of conflicts between mother-in-law, and daughter-in-law is forthcoming, still there exists at least a traditional undercurrent of such conflicts. Whenever such conflicting situations come to surface, it definitely leads to the breaking down of the joint-family. But after separation normal relations are restored once again, resulting in mutual help and reciprocal visits. Thus in this village the circle of blood and affinal relatives lead a cooperative life and in the opinion of the villagers even though separation is not considered as an evil, a joint-family means progress and prosperity. But in spite of the exalted position of a joint family, the general family pattern in the village is of the nuclear type.

Status of Woman

The man generally claims superiority over woman, but in actual practice the woman enjoys equal status. At the time of marriage, the girl's consent is regarded as essential. In all the communities of the village women are allowed to dance with men during the social gatherings, marriages and festivals. But with regard to possession of property and succession she is overlooked. Even though a woman is an economic asset to the family, she is deprived of a legal share in

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the family property. Thus the duties of a woman outweigh her rights. In certain other matters also she is not given equal status with man. For example, she cannot partake with men at the *Chaitra* festival in the collection of sacred grain sprinkled by the *Pujari* at the Nishan God. Neither is she allowed to perform *Puja* there nor can she sacrifice a fowl or goat to the Nishan God in any community of this village. The widow is not allowed to sprinkle *Agutha* (rice mixed with turmeric) on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom on marriage occasion. She is not allowed to bless the girl in puberty also. The widow, accepted by another man as his second or subsequent wife is not entitled to perform *Puja* in the house and the first wife alone is allowed to perform all the religious rites. Eventhough women enjoy equal social status along with men, their ritual status is not on par with the men folk. This is because women are susceptible to menstrual pollution.

Child Rearing Practices

Since birth the child suckles the mother's breast for about one year or until the mother is pregnant again. Generally the child is weaned away after one year by slowly introducing him/her to cereal diet. If enough breast milk is not available, the child is fed on goat's or cow's milk. Till the end of third year, the child sleeps with the mother and from the fourth year onwards the child sleeps with other grown up girls and boys of the family. The children above 6 years of age are slowly introduced to agriculture, collection of minor forest produce and grazing of cattle. The girls

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between 5-10 years of age look after the younger brothers and sisters. The grown up girls generally carry their younger sisters/brothers in a cloth sling tied across their shoulders. When their parents are engaged in their family occupation. Parental fondling is not available to the young children during the day time. Nor is there any check or supervision over the activities of the older children. This sort of leniency is more pronounced in the case of male children.

Social Control—Norms, Folk-Ways and Mores

Group life leads to certain customs and habits which are traditionally recognised as approved pattern of behaviour; these unflinching become the folk-ways and mores of a given society in general. These traditionally established social codes are handed down from generation to generation and the community elders serve as guardians of the code of conduct. The social codes cover all the aspects of social life like birth, puberty, marriage, cohabitation, divorce, upbringing children, inheritance, death and connected rites. In fact, folk-ways and mores are an effective means of social control regulating the social relations of all the persons in a given community.

Social stratification such as prestige attached to the Bhagatās and the stigma associated with the Valmikis has moulded the behaviour of the villagers in respect of these two communities. This forms part of the folk-ways of this village. Polygynous marriages and levirate marriages are another aspect of folkways. The mores of this village are all well appreciated in case when a Bhagata man or a woman is barred from select-

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ing a mate outside his/her own community and violation of this rule generates group indignation towards the offender. A Valmiki man may get a girl from outside his community which is superior to his own, but the punitive feast to the community is compulsory. Violation of mores results in the imposition of punitive measures by the community upon the violator. Thus a sumptuous feast with liquor is required for an offence of a serious nature. In this village the Muttadar constitutes the pivot of the informal system of social control at the village level, while the elders of the various communities serve as the agents of the Muttadar in ensuring smooth functioning of the social system as a whole.

Ideal Behaviour

The ideal behaviour is judged by the degree of respect shown towards the Muttadar and the other elders of the village. People of all the communities pay so much respect to the Muttadar that they do not even undertake sowing operations until the Muttadar begins sowing. Conformity to this standard behaviour pattern to a larger extent is noticed in such activities. Secondly during the *Chaitra* festival, those men who hunt big game are held in high esteem. This status characteristic inculcates a spirit of competition among other villagers to achieve higher status in the society.

On marriage day, at midnight the Bhagata bridal pair is served with a ceremonial food, which should first be tasted by the bride-groom, subsequently the remaining food should be consumed by the bride. It reflects badly on the character of the bride, if she refuses or even hesitates to do so. Therefore, every Bhagata bride

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would be over anxious to consume the food thus served to show greater conformity to the approved standards of behaviour. Finally, at a Bhagata marriage feast, after the villagers are treated to a feast, it is customary that the bridal pair should remove the leftover particles of food from the plates of the guests. Thus the bridal pair act in conformity with the prescribed behaviour of the society which reflects their readiness to serve the community and be submissive to it by maintaining the decorum of the society through their ideal behaviour.

During *chaitra* festival like any other festival the women are mainly supposed to take part in the merriment whereas the men are so reserved that they remain as spectators or silent partners in the show. After propitiating the Nishan God, the *pujari* throws out the sacred grains which are caught by the menfolk only. The women are tabooed from collecting the sacred grain and accordingly their behaviour will be in conformity with the set patterns of ideal behaviour of the society. A man in all tribal communities of this village feels elated in society by taking the wife of his deceased elder brother in marriage. He never hesitates to assume the additional responsibility of taking care of his deceased brother's children also. Thus the village society provides protection to the fatherless children. There are certain situations which provide an opportunity to the individual to show his readiness to act in conformity with the prescribed code of conduct of the society and ensure the smooth functioning of the social system. While infringement is resented, conformity is appreciated by the other members of the community.

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Humour

The village society is not without humour. In fact, the art of humour among the tribal groups is more developed when compared to the advanced societies. The element of humour as such is a part of their tradition. This finds expressions on festive occasions when people will be full of joy. In Madagada humour is mostly produced by the Bhagatas and the Valmikis and is shared and employed by all the other communities with equal zest to pep up the jovial atmosphere.

During *chaitra* festival, before the men of archery go to woods on the ceremonial hunting expedition, the *pujari* or an elderly man arranges a mock fight between the in-laws, generally between the sons of sister and brother. Finally one person will be defeated and he falls a victim to the maltreatment of the women (other than his own clan) of the clan from which he had selected his mate. The women folk tease him by pouring dung water on him and the whole scene will be charged with fun and din.

When the Bhagatas observe *Bodo-Karobar* ceremony (10th day of death) they enjoy fun when the man belonging to the affinal kin-group of the deceased plays the role of a female and the others being enthusiastic spectators of the humorous spectacle. Humour is also enjoyed by wearing a tiger's skin and making advances at women who are afraid of wild animals and ghosts. Generally the villagers enjoy humour more in social gatherings and on festival occasions rather than in daily life. These humorous interludes in the middle of risky (ceremonial hunting), sad (death ceremony) and monotonous proceedings of the festivals and rituals

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provide a welcome relief to the participants. Thus humour acts as a tranquilizing agent and helps the group to forget the stresses and strains of the emotionally disturbing situations.

Life Cycle Ceremonies

Birth, puberty, marriage and illness are the critical turning points in the life of an individual. During these critical junctures an individual's confidence is shaken by the stresses and strains of the emotionally disturbed situations. Tribal man, like his advanced counterparts of the plains areas, tries to restore his lost hope and confidence by certain procedures that are expected to commission the blessings of supernatural powers which he believes to be capable enough to help him in tiding over each crisis. Each society has devised and organised certain procedures which are called *Rites de passage* for this specific purpose and they include the various socio-religious ceremonies relating to birth, puberty, marriage, disease and death.

Birth

From birth to death and for sometime even after the cremation of the body, life for the villagers of Madagada is a cycle of rituals and ceremonies. The first ceremony that is performed after the birth of a child is called *Gedde Uttaihar* (getting down the hill-stream). Until this ceremony is performed the woman is not allowed to enter the house as she is considered to be unclean. Till then she stays under the eaves of the hut where the child is delivered. During this period she is not even allowed to sleep on a cot. The ceremony takes

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place on any day after the 5th day of delivery. On this day the mother and the child will be given hot water bath. After the bath the mother goes to the hill-stream accompanied by the *Pila Sutrani* (indigenous *Aya*) and an elderly woman of the family. The mother takes all the clothes used by her during this period of seclusion. She also carries flowers, eggs, plantains, fruits, turmeric vermilion and incence which are kept in separate leaf cups. The *Pila sutrani* clears a spot on the banks of the stream and decorates it with *Chodi* flour and red ochre soil drawings. She keeps the leaf cups containing the offerings on this design and the mother offers them as oblation to the *Gedda-Demudu* (spirit of the hill-stream) She invokes the *Gedda-Demudu* to protect her and the new born child from all the evil spirits that may haunt them when she comes to fetch water either during day time or night time or at any other time of the day and be satisfied with the oblation offered. After offering this prayer she washes the clothes in the stream and returns home. The spirits are satisfied and the mother and the child are thus believed to have been protected from future illness, spirit-haunting and evil eye.

Auspicious and Inauspicious Stars

All the communities of the village believe that the time of birth is a significant factor in influencing the future fortunes of the child and the family as a whole. All these communities consult their respective *Guru* who is always a plains man. Immediately after the birth of a child the *Guru* is informed about the time of birth. The *Guru* refers to the Oriya almanac and calculates the ruling star of the time during whose

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period of influence the boy is considered to have been born. If the boy is born during the period of influence of an inauspicious star, namely, *Mula*, *Jyestha*, *Sravana*, and *Makha*, the *Guru* informs the parents accordingly and fixes the day of pacification ritual (*shanti*). He also informs them the type, colour and size of the animal or bird, goat, sheep, chicken etc., to be sacrificed to the spirits as an appeasement. On the fixed day the *Guru* goes to the confluence of two hill-streams with the sacrificial animal and the elders of the family. Here he cleans a spot and draws *chodi* flour, lime, turmeric and vermilion powder designs on the cleaned spot and sacrifices the bird or animal after invoking the spirits of the nature. The *Guru* gets the head of the animal and one rupee while the remaining meat is served as oblation to the members of the family. Thus the spirits are satisfied, the stars are set right and the child is protected from the malific influence of the inauspicious star.

Name giving Ceremony

No specific month is considered to be auspicious for the performance of name giving ceremony. The day is fixed by the *Guru* according to the star under the period of influence of which the child is born. On the day fixed, the *Guru* takes head bath and comes to the house of the parents. He secures milk, *Girake* (a variety of grass) and a lock of hair from the head of the child and keeps them in a leaf cup. The child is seated in the middle portion of the hut and the *Guru* turns the leaf cup containing the milk, *Girake* and locks of hair thrice around the head of the child and throws it in the nearby hill-stream. Thus the child is sufficiently pro-

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tected from evil spirits. According to the star during the period of influence of which is born, the *Guru* names the child and utters it thrice in the ears of the child. Then the child is given head bath.

In the evening, a community feast is hosted to all the elders of the community in which the *Guru* also participates. After finishing the feast, the child is again seated in the middle portion of the hut and a brass plate containing turmeric rice is placed in front of the child. One by one, the heads of the respective families of the community come forward and give cash presents to the child. After putting the vermilion powder on the forehead of the child, every elder in turn kisses the child on the cheek, calls him by the name and sprinkles the turmeric rice on the head of the child. The *Guru* is then presented with a new *Dhoti* if the family is sufficiently rich. The child is thus identified in the society with the blessings of all the elders of the community. The child christening ceremony is common to all the tribal groups. Eventhough the procedure followed is the same, the *Guru* is different from tribe to tribe. The *Guru* does not live in this village and he generally lives in a plains village.

The non-tribal groups do not have any ritual for child christening. They consult a plains Brahmin priest to fix up the auspicious day and on that day all the family members along with their near relatives enjoy the feast and name the child after one of their departed parents or other near relatives or some deity. It is almost a family affair.

Puberty

Puberty is an important occasion in the life of a

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female. It marks the end of a particular phase of physical development and the beginning of a full fledged womanhood. Both physically and mentally, the girl is considered to have attained maturity and fit for shouldering the responsibilities of a complete woman. So this heralds the stage of adulthood thus necessitating protection from malevolent spirits.

When a Bhagata girl attains puberty, the Bhagata *Guru* is consulted to find out whether the time of attaining puberty is auspicious or inauspicious. The *Guru* gives a flower of his choice to the father of the girl and asks him to give it to the girl if puberty occurred on an auspicious day. If the *Guru* finds it convenient he may personally hand over the flower to the girl. If the day is found to be inauspicious the *Guru* would take any flower of his choice and gives it duly charmed to the father of the girl and asks him to place it outside the village in a centre where two or three paths join. Thus she is believed to have been completely protected from all evil spirits throughout her future life and no evil spirit would dare haunt her during menstruation or any other biological crisis.

The girl is kept secluded in a portion of the house for 4 days and on the 5th day she is given head bath after anointing her body with *Kanugu* oil and turmeric paste. All the elderly women of the community will gather round her, dress her in new clothes and decorate her with ornaments like a bride. The women present there sing marriage songs and devotional songs in praise of Goddess-Parvathi. In the end a feast is hosted to all the guests present there.

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The *Guru* is not remunerated either in kind or cash for his services. This magico-religious ceremony is observed by the Bhagatas only. The other communities do not perform any puberty rites. But all the communities of the village keep the girl secluded, confining her to a particular portion of the house for four days after which she is given the purificatory bath as she is considered to be polluted during the menstrual flow. None of the tribals or non-tribals practise any corresponding male initiation ceremony in this village.

Marriage

Marriage is the most important turning point in the life of an individual. It is the most happy and joyous of all ceremonies connected with the life of a man or woman. It not only satisfies their biological urges but also gives them status in the village society. Unless a man or woman is married, he/she is not considered to be a responsible member of the society. The prestige of an individual is thus intrinsically linked with his/her marital status. This is very much true in the case of tribal societies. A tribal man would try to acquire a mate by the following four socially accepted methods of acquiring a mate which are resorted to by the tribals of Madagada village:

1. Marriage by negotiation.
2. Marriage by mutual consent and elopement.
3. Marriage by capture.
4. Marriage by service (*Illatam*).

The first and the last methods of acquiring the spouse are socially recognised and practised by the

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non-tribals while the other two methods are vehemently disapproved by the non-tribal groups of the village. The marriage ritual associated with these four methods, varies in details from one method to the other.

Marriage by negotiation is the most popular means of marriage, accepted and practised by all the communities of the village. Among the tribal communities of the village it denotes not a single ceremony in which the man and the woman are united together for a life time. It comprises a series of ceremonies covering a period of more than 10 days sometimes.

Negotiations are first initiated by the boy's party. The boy's party takes 20 measures of rice and one goat to the girl's parents. The elders of both the parties enquire about each others' terms and conditions like amount of bride-price to be paid and clothes to be presented at the time of the marriage. If they reach an agreement, the rice and goat are accepted by the girl's parents or else the same are refused. Immediately after the agreement, the boy's party presents a new sari to the girl's mother and the stipulated bride-price is also given to the girl's parents. The marriage day is also fixed in consultation with the *Guru* (Marriage priest). On the marriage day the girl's party arrives at the boy's place. The party consists of the bride and other relatives of the bride except her parents. The boy's party erects a pandal in front of the bride-groom's house and nine earthen pots are tied to the poles on the four corners of the pandal and in the middle eleven such pots are fixed. These pots are decorated with turmeric and rice powder before they are tied to the poles. Four

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small earthen-lamps are placed in the four corners while two lamps are placed in the middle of the pandal.

Generally the marriage celebrations take place in the evening. The tribal *Guru* officiates the marriage. He makes a ring out of a piece of cloth and keeps it around the necks of the bride and the bridegroom. Then two sturdy men carry the bride and the bridegroom on their shoulders and take them in a procession through the streets of the village to the accompaniment of the beating and blowing of drums and trumpets. After returning home from the procession, the bride and the bridegroom are jointly served food in one plate. First the bride feeds the bridegroom and the bridegroom follows suit and feeds the bride in return. Then a community feast ensues with much merriment and rejoicing. The rest of the night is spent in group singing and *dimsa* dance. Both men and women dance to the tune of music played by the *Valmiki Bajanari*. All the nearby villagers also participate in the marriage celebrations.

On the following day, the bride and the bridegroom are seated under the pandal and the *Guru* performs *Puja* to the various Gods and Goddesses of the village and propitiates the ancestor spirits also in order to seek their blessings. The newly weds are given bath after which they wear new clothes. They are taken to a hillstream where the bridegroom takes water into his mouth and spits it on the face of the bride, and the bride also repeats the same process. Repeating the same process, the bride and bridegroom start homewards. The bridegroom carries a long pole, to one end of which a jack fruit is loosely fastened with rope. As the

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bride-groom walks, he lowers down the end of the pole from which the jack fruit is hung, and the jack fruit slips down the pole and falls on the ground. The bride picks it up and keeps the jack fruit in position on the pole. The same process is repeated all the way until they reach home. Finally the bride-groom spits water on the bride's face. The bride also retaliates. Thus they return home. The whole process of spitting water on each other's face and the picking up of the jack fruit by the bride symbolises the ceremonial initiation of the bride and the bride-groom to face the insults that may befall them during their married life with patience and the wife is expected to extend her helping hand to her husband whenever he needs it.

The final stages of the celebrations are marked by ceremonial exchange of gifts between the bride's party and the bride-groom's party. The close relatives of the bride's party present rice, goat and pumpkins, to the bride-groom's party and the bride-groom's party in return presents new clothes to those relatives who had given them rice, goats etc. After dinner, the bride groom's party distributes goats to the different village people who have participated in the marriage celebrations. On the third and final day all the relatives sit under the pandal and the bride puts turmeric powder on the foreheads of the elders who have attended the function. The bride-groom ties *kankanam* to the right wrists of all the elderly men and women and they in return present money to the bride-groom. Thus the marriage celebrations come to an end.

The cost of the marriage varies from family to family since it is in consonance with the economic status

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of the bride-groom's parents. No fixed amount is paid as bride-price. It depends upon the terms and conditions negotiated by both parties. Among the non-tribals, kamsalis alone do not pay bride-price to the bride's parents. But they present some tolas of gold and silver in the shape of ornaments. Payment of dowry is in vogue among the well-to-do families of the Kamsalis. Except Kamsalis all the other non-tribal communities pay *voli* (bride-price) which is fixed at the time of marriage negotiations.

Marriage by elopement occurs when the boy and the girl love each other against the wishes of their respective parents. Weekly shandies, the surrounding forests and agricultural fields are some of the places where the boy and girl frequently meet and exchange ideas. On a mutually convenient day both the boy and girl escape to a friend's house outside the village. The marriage is performed secretly and ceremony is very much cut short to suit the emergency situation. Usually such marriages are approved by the parrents. Even married men and women resort to elopement if they are dissatisfied with their spouses. In such a case the new husband has to pay *Maganali* * to the former husband. The latter husband has to return the marriage expenses and the bride-price as decided by the elders of both the parties. Marriage by elopement is socially tabooed among the non-tribal communities of the village.

* Compensation includes marriage expenses and bride price.

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Marriage by capture is not in vogue now-a-days. But some of the tribals resort to mock capture which is prearranged with the knowledge and consent of both parties. The bride comes to the bride-grooms village singing humorous songs accompanied by some of her near relatives. The bride-groom and his party also follow them singing appropriate songs in reply to the bride's heckling songs. When both the parties approach the village, the bride-groom's party suddenly pounces upon the bride and carries her away to the bride-groom's house. The bride makes mock efforts to free herself from the hands of the bride-groom's party. Finally she is brought to the bride-groom's house and marriage is solemnised by the restricted circle of friends and near relatives of both sides. This is generally resorted to by poor people in order to minimise marriage expenses. Marriage by capture is practised by tribal communities only.

Marriage by Service (Illatam)

This method of acquiring a mate is approved by all the communities of the village. The prospective bride-groom stays in the girl's parental home and helps the would-be-parents-in-law in their family pursuits for a period of 2 or 3 years. At the end of the stipulated period, if the parents of the girl are satisfied with the services of the man, the usual marriage is performed. Even after marriage the newly-weds sometimes continue to stay with the girl's parents. Otherwise a separate hut is constructed by the father-in-law and the couple shift into it. If the father-in-law is sufficiently rich, the son-in-law may be given some land, seeds, agricul-

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tural implements and household utensils for the establishment and maintenance of the new household. This method of acquiring mate is resorted to when the parents of the girl are without a male issue or require the services of another man in order to help them in their family occupation. On the other hand, a poor man who is not in a position to bear the marriage expenses and pay the bride-price resorts to marriage by service. Instead of incurring the marriage expenses, he agrees to offer his services to the prospective father-in-law in lieu of his daughter's hand. Thus marriage by service is intended to help both the parties. The marriage is celebrated in the girl's parental home and all the expenses are borne by the girl's father.

Among non-tribal communities the marriage ritual is similar to the marriage ritual performed in their respective regions from which they emigrated. The negotiations are initiated by the bride groom's party. Except Kamsalis, the other three communities pay bride-price which is negotiated before the marriage celebration depending upon the economic position of the bride-groom. In addition to the bride-price the Kummari caste people present 25 measures of rice, 2 cows, one saree to the bride's mother, and 120 sweet meats to the bride's parents.

Cross-cousin marriages of both types are preferred among both tribal and non-tribal communities of the village. But it is not obligatory on the part of the man or woman to marry his/her cross-cousin. Uncle-niece marriages are taboo among all the communities of the village. While polyandry is prohibited, polygyny though limited to a few families is practised by all the

communities of the village except the Kamsalis who are strictly monogamous. Sororate is also permitted among all the tribal groups and the non-tribal Kummari and Kapu caste people. Levirate is in vogue among all the tribal groups and non-tribal Kummaries. But it is taboo among the other 3 non-tribal groups, namely, Kamsali, Sundi and Kapu. But monogamous marriages are much more frequent than the other types of marriages in the village. A man generally acquires a second wife if the first wife is barren or sometimes as a status characteristic when the man is sufficiently rich. The Bhagata Muttadar and the Kapu man have acquired, two wives each, as they are economically better off and at the same time it is in tune with their social, political and economic status in the village. Thus second wife is acquired as a matter of prestige. Eventhough a woman is an economic asset, the prohibitive cost of marriage celebrations seems to have restricted the number of polygynous marriages to the well-to-do families of the village only.

Widow Remarriage

Widow remarriage is permitted among all the tribal groups and the non-tribal Kummaries. The other 3 non-tribal castes strictly prohibit widow marriage. Among the tribals and the Kummaries usually a widow is expected to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. After the death of the husband, the young brother of the deceased, whether married or unmarried, is asked by the village elders to marry his widowed sister-in-law. If he accepts the proposal she marries him, otherwise the woman is at liberty to marry any other man she likes. But in either case it is the duty of the

younger brother to provide food and shelter to his deceased brother's children.

Divorce

Divorce is socially permitted among all the tribals and Kummari caste people. But Kamsalis, Kapus and Sundis vehemently disapprove divorce and a divorcee is socially looked down in the society. As there is no socially approved mechanism to affect separation between wife and husband it is very difficult to secure divorce among these three castes. Only extreme cases are referred to the local courts and legal separation alone is possible in these castes. It is very easy to get divorce among the tribal communities and Kummari caste people as divorce is socially approved. If a woman leaves her husband and elopes with another man, the second husband would return the marriage expenses and bride-price incurred to the former husband. The children born to her through the former husband are left to the guardianship of their biological father. If the woman is pregnant at the time of separation, the new born child should be restored to her former husband. Even when the woman escapes to her parental home without marrying anybody, the parents should pay back marriage expenses and the bride-price to her divorced husband.

The compensation to be paid is fixed by the elders of both the parties. When a woman elopes with another man, the former husband accompanied by his village elders, goes to the latter husband's village and sends word of the purpose of their arrival to her present husband. On receiving the news of their visit, the present husband meets them along with the elders of

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his village. Much haggling and bargaining transpires between the two parties and finally the amount to be paid to the former husband is decided. At the successful end of the deliberations a feast is hosted to the elders present there. Each of the contending men contributes 5 measures of rice and a goat for the feast. After the feast is over both men join hands and proclaim friendship. Thus bitterness is swallowed and friendship fostered.

Treatment of Diseases

When a person is sick, they generally follow their indigenous methods of treatment. They administer some herbs and some of them resort to magic also. Sometimes sickness is attributed to the wrath of malevolent spirits and angered deities. In such a situation *Goravagadu's* (witch doctor) services are commissioned. The *Gorava gadu* (Bhagata pujari) gives them charmed mango leaf or burnt cow dung cake powder or *Tayethu* (Talisman) depending upon the seriousness of the disease. If a person is believed to be suffering from spirit possession the *Goravagadu* applies black pepper paste to his eyes. This is believed to cause irritation to the eyes of the spirit and it leaves him immediately. The villagers also offer vegetable oblations and chicken sacrifice to the village deity Bhairav Devta. The idol of Bhairav Devta is located near the village. When a person is sick, they offer a chicken sacrifice to the deity and lift a stone lying before the deity. If the stone can be lifted very easily, it is believed that the sick person will survive or else he will die. They give herbal medicine internally and at the same time resort to the magico-religious

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treatment. Both tribals and non-tribals follow the same method of treatment. Thus their method of treating the sick is still tradition bound.

Death

One elderly villager remarked that if birth creates man, marriage procreates his species and death destroys him. Just as birth and marriage involve many rituals, death is also marked by many ceremonies. So long as he lives, the tribal man is under the continuous fear of the spirit world. But immediately after his death and till the final phase of the death ceremony is performed, it is his disembodied spirit that becomes the principal source of anxiety and concern to his kith and kin and other people of the village. The various rites and rituals customary during this period seem to have for their chief objects the prevention of harm to the living family members and to the village in general through his spirit. Even the offering of food to the spirit of the deceased seem to be prompted [primarily from a fear of his spirit rather than by a feeling of affection.

The villagers believe that until the death ceremony is completed the spirit of the dead lingers along in an unsettled state in between the world of the living on the one side and the spirit world on the other. This state of uncertainty is considered dangerous to the village community. So they rather hasten to perform the obsequies as early as possible.

When death occurs in a Bhagata family, all the people condole the bereaved family members, but the dead body is carried only by its clan members. It is

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laid on a specially prepared wooden structure and carried to the cremation ground. Other people of the village, irrespective of community, would also follow the corpse, but nobody is allowed to touch the bier. The nearest relative of the dead, either the eldest son or brother would carry the fire in a new pot, burning incense. When the corpse is taken to the cremation ground all the people would arrange a funeral pyre with firewood of miscellaneous species. The dead body is placed on the pyre in a lying posture with its legs stretched to the east and head to the west and hands lying by the sides. The nearest relative would set fire at the head without looking at the face of the dead body. When they feel that it would burn itself, all the people return to their respective houses and take a head bath. In case of the death of a married man, an old woman or a widow would break the bangles and the beads of the dead man's wife. Usually, this takes place outside the village at a distance of about one furlong in the same direction in which the corpse was taken and on the same day.

Oldi-Pitha-Sibar (3rd day ceremony)

On the third day all the village people would gather at the house of the deceased. They may bring food stuffs such as a measure of rice, pumpkin etc., according to their capacity for the family of the deceased. All the male members of the clan would necessarily shave their heads, smear turmeric paste and anoint their bodies with *Kanugu* oil. Then they take bath and serve the food. If the family is rich, food will be served to all. Otherwise the feast is restricted to the nearest relatives. They do not cut any fowls or goats on this day.

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Bodo Korabar (10th day ceremony)

The ceremony is rather important and the expenditure to be met with is considerably more than that of the previous one. Usually this is celebrated on the 10th day provided they could make all the necessary arrangements. But if the family is poor this may be observed at any time before the year expires. On this day, all the nearest relatives of the dead, irrespective of clan, will be present. A black fowl is sacrificed at the cremation ground. They purchase a new earthen pot and cook the fowl in it. Some rice is also separately cooked in another new pot. The cooked rice and fowl curry will be placed on a path (outside the village) leading to the cremation ground. The food thus offered is believed to be consumed by the soul of the dead which comes in the form of a crow or a dog. After placing the food the man never looks back at the food and straight away goes home and takes a head bath, as they believe that the spirit of the departed may follow him if he looks at it. The chief attraction is the costly dinner arranged at the cost of the bereaved family. Serving of liquor (*Sara*) is compulsory during this dinner. After dinner youth perform *dimsa* dance and make a sort of merriment. An affinal male relative of the dead man wears a saree and imitates a woman thus generating rib-breaking laughter. Perhaps these paradoxical situations are intended to relieve the monotony of the sad proceedings as humour is the best medicine for curing their sadness. Thus normalcy is restored as the spirit of the departed is incorporated in the community of the ancestral spirits and the death taboos on the survivors are removed. The villagers once again resume their normal activities.

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Valmiki

The Valmikis also observe cremation of the dead like the Bhagatas. They observe burial also if the death is due to some epidemic or accident. They also observe *Oldi-Pitha-Sibar* but the *Bodo Korabar* is generally observed by them on the occasion of *Kotha Amavasa* festival.

Gadaba

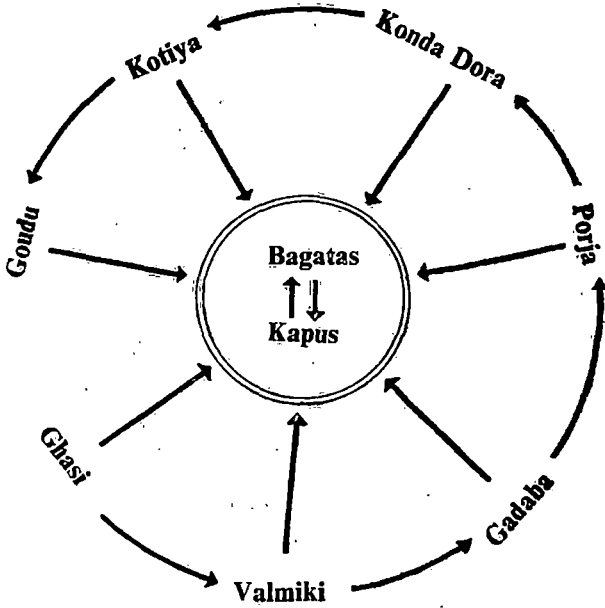
The Gadaba community like all the other communities of Madagada observes both cremation and burial of the dead. In most cases cremation is in vogue. But some of the rites connected with Gadaba death ceremony differ from the rites performed by the other tribal communities of the village. Unlike other tribal communities the wife of the deceased tribal will follow the corpse till they reach the outskirts of the village ; she will be stopped on the way and one of the elderly females breaks the bangles and cuts the black beads. After breaking the bangles and beads she will not be allowed to look at the corpse. The Gadabas also observe the 3rd day ceremony called *Oldi-Pitha-Sibar* and the 10th day ceremony (*Bodo Korabar*). The procedure for performing these ceremonies is one and the same for all the tribal groups of the village which needs no special mention.

All the non-tribal communities perform death ceremony in conformity with their respective Hindu caste procedures. Except Kamsalis and Kummaris, the other two non-tribal castes cremate the dead bodies. Kamsalis and Kummaris bury their dead bodies. While the former caste buries their dead in a sitting posture, the latter community buries them in a sleeping posture.

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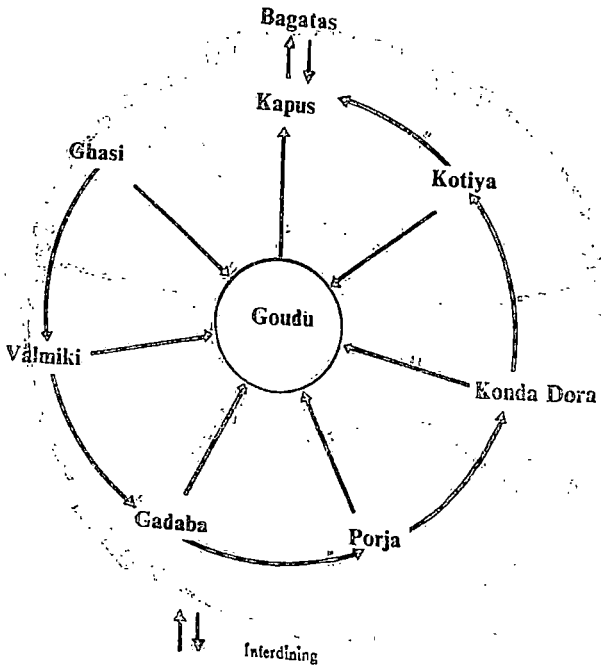
All the communities believe in transmigration of soul after death and rebirth. A pious man is believed to be reborn as a human being where as a sinner becomes an inferior animal in his next birth after suffering many ordeals in the upper world.

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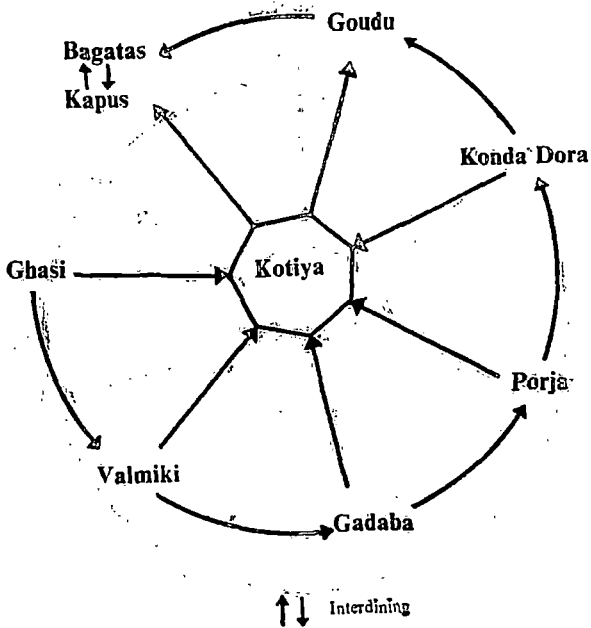
↑ ↓ Interdining
→ Acceptance of cooked food.

Sociogram - 1
Commensal Patterns of [Bagatas
vis - a - vis Other Communities



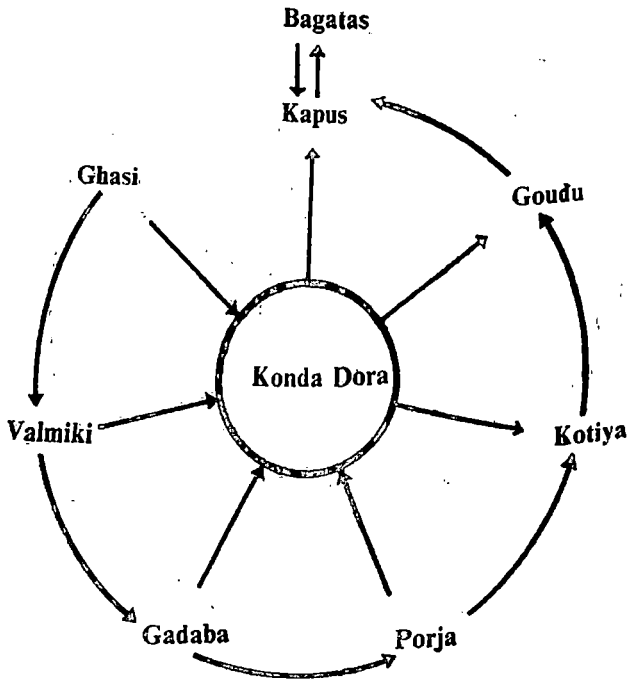
Sociogram - 2
Commensal Patterns of Goudu
vis - a - vis Other Communities

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↑↓ Interdining
→ Acceptance of cooked Food

Sociogram - 3
Commensal Patterns of Kotiyas
vis - a - vis Other Communities

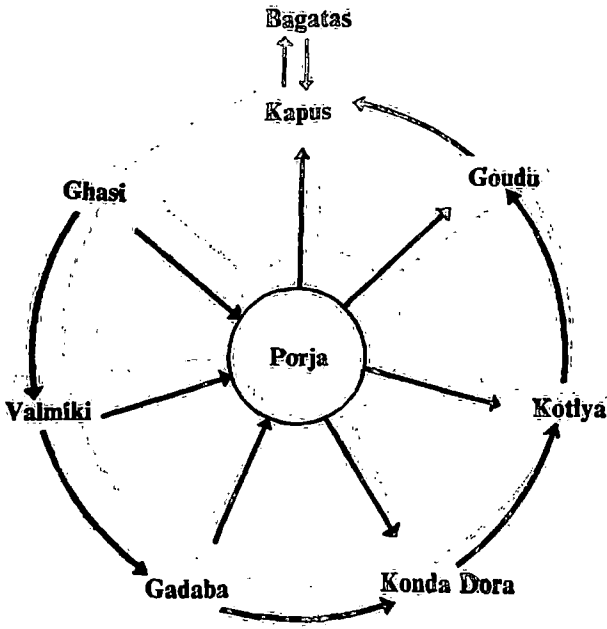


↕↕ Interdining

→ Acceptance of cobbed Food

Sociogram - 4
Commensal Patterns of Konda Doras
vis - a - vis Other Communities

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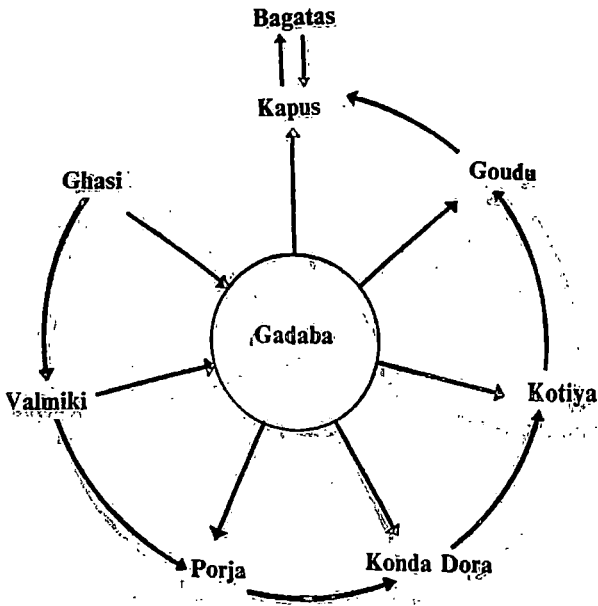


↕↕ Interdingling

→ Acceptance of cooked Food

Sociogram - 5
Commensal Patterns of Porjas
vis - a - vis Other Communities

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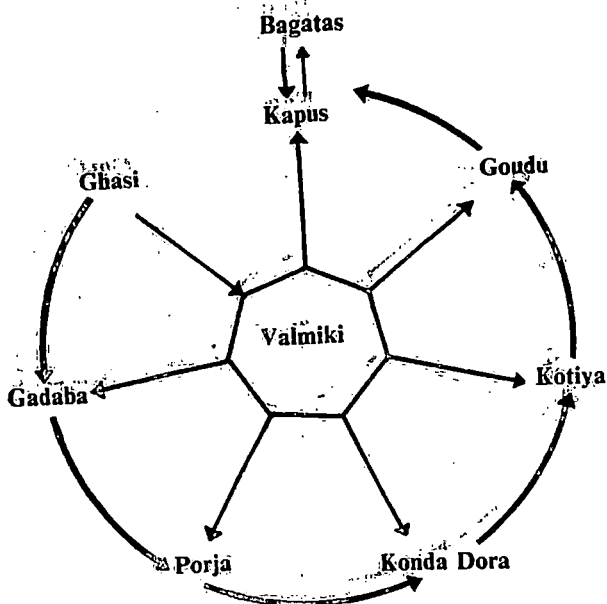


↑ ↓
Intermingling

→ Acceptance of cooked Food

Sociogram - 6
Commensal Patterns of Gadabas
vis - a - vis Other Communities

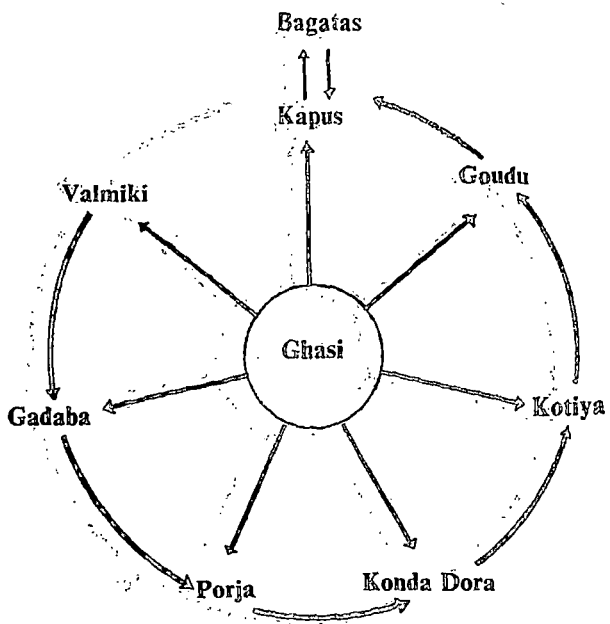
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↕ Interdining

→ Acceptance of cooked Food

Sociogram - 7
Commensal Patterns of Valmikis
vis - a - vis Other Communities



Sociogram - 8
Commensal Patterns of Ghasis
vis - a - vis Other Communities

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE ECONOMY

A brief account of the economic roles of the various groups would give us an idea of the functioning of the economic structure of Madagada village. Most of these groups have a major occupation as their traditional calling besides which, they pursue certain other subsidiary sources of livelihood. Many a group have formulated reciprocal relationships while discharging their economic functions which ensure the smooth functioning of the economic system in this village.

The village economy is based on agriculture. The principal methods of tillage are settled plough cultivation and slash-and-burn (*Podu*) cultivation. Of the four non-tribal castes, namely, Kapu, Sundi, Kamsali and Kummari, the latter two practise goldsmithy and pottery respectively. Some of the Kummari are also cultivators. All the other communities are mostly agriculturists. It is also found that a few families of either group, tribal and non-tribal have substituted their traditional occupation with an economically better profession. For example, the Goudus, who were traditional cattle herders, have taken to agriculture and some of them became traders in cattle and tobacco. While agriculture is the main stay of most of the tribals, collection of minor forest produce, forest labour, hunting, fishing, labour work in D. B. K. Railway and other development works constitute their supplementary occupations.

Village Economy

The Valmikis (otherwise known as Pydies or Dombs) form the majority of the village population. Many of them are agriculturists; a few are traditional *Barikas* and *Beharas*-village servants to the Muttadar. Some of them act as musicians during social ceremonies and festive occasions. The beating of drums, blowing of *Sannai* and *Baka* are the hereditary functions of Valmikis. These musicians are called *Bajanari*. The *Bajanaris* are annually paid in kind for their services. On special occasions they are presented with clothes also. Some of the Valmiki families are traders in pottery and a few others are engaged in purchase and sale of raw skins and hides. The other Valmikis are engaged as intermediaries in the purchase and sale of minor forest produce and agricultural produce from the tribals to the Sowcars.

Barika and *Behara* are the hereditary village servants and they belong to the Valmiki community. *Barikas* bring the disputes of the village to the notice of Muttadar and the *Baro-bai* (12 village elders). *Barikas* also attend to other works like carrying of luggage and guiding the visiting officials in their tours, from one village to another. *Behara* serves as a messenger for the Muttadar and the *Barobai*. He carries messages from one village to another in times of inter-village disputes and festivals. In return for such services, each servant gets 5 *Kunchams* (measures) of all the crops harvested from all the families of the village.

Valmikis are the most enterprising of all the other tribal groups of the village. They can practise any profession to eke out a living. They are litigants, money lenders, businessmen, agriculturists, government servants and last but not the least, illicit liquor distillers.

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The Bhagatas were once soldiers by profession and were awarded gift lands by the Golugonda kings whom they served with devotion (*Bhakti*). Hence they are called Bhagatas meaning those who served with *Bhakti*. They are also known as Ronas or Ranas. Nowadays all of them eke out their subsistence either as agriculturists or as agricultural labourers.

The Goudus are the traditional cattle breeders and cattle herders. They herd the cattle of all tribal and non-tribal people. In return for their services they daily get a small quantity of food with curry from each family. They also get 20 measures (*Kuncham*) of food grains from each family every year. Some of them are settled cultivators while some work as agricultural labourers.

The Kummaris are the traditional potters and are immigrants from the adjacent Orissa State. These families have entered this village in two different batches with an interval of 25 years between the first batch and the second batch. First batch settled down about 50 years ago. Then their services were required by the Muttadar; as such, the site for the construction of houses was given free of cost by the Muttadar. In addition to their traditional occupation some of them are engaged in agriculture and agricultural labour.

The Sundis are a caste people who have entered the Agency from the plains areas of Palakonda taluq in Srikakulam District. Their traditional calling is liquor vending and sale of narcotics, like Ganja. They have acquired lands and became settled agriculturists. Still they continue to sell illicit liquor and are engaged in money lending too.

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The lone Kapu family emigrated from the plains areas of S. Kota taluq. They are an agricultural caste but they sell illicit liquor and are engaged in money lending business also.

The only goldsmith's family inhabiting the village undertakes the manufacture of gold and silver ornaments for the entire village. They are also immigrants from the plains of S. Kota. They are not engaged in any other occupation.

Gadabas, Kotiyas, Porjas and Konda Doras are traditional agriculturists.

The village being the seat of the Muttadar, the land ownership pattern is the product of the Mutadari system which is prevalent in the agency tracts of Visakhapatnam District. The Muttadars were appointed by the Government during the British regime. A large number of tribal villages are grouped into a *Mutta* and it is managed by an intermediary called the Muttadar. These Muttadars are allowed to deal with the Government directly and were granted *Sanads* by the British Government during the *fituris* or tribal revolts. The Muttadari system is based upon service tenure whose conditions are :

- (1) a fixed *Kattubadi* to be paid to the Government by the Muttadar.
- (2) The *Mutta* is resumable by the Government for default, but for this condition the grant is otherwise hereditary and permanent.
- (3) According to *Sanad* conditions the Muttadars should maintain law and order by giving timely intimation to Government regarding disturbances and other infringement of law.

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It was stipulated in the *Sanads* that fixed amount of rents should be paid to the Government and the Muttadar should conduct himself loyally and peacefully rendering every help to the Government in maintaining law and order. The Muttadars thus act as intermediaries to the Government in collecting land revenue and in helping to maintain the law and order. The Muttadars collect land revenue through Voora Munsifs (Village Munsifs) appointed by the Muttadars. Both Muttadar and the village Munsif enjoy rent free lands for their services. Taking advantage of the tribal ignorance and their direct contacts with Government, the Muttadar expelled the tribals from their best lands which they have acquired for themselves or alienated to the plainmen. Thus in course of time they became feudal lords and the tribals of the village are reduced to virtual serfdom. By virtue of their authoritarian status, neither village festivals nor agricultural operations nor village disputes could be conducted without their knowledge. Thus they became all pervasive and unquestionable leaders of the *Mutta* in general and the residential village of the Muttadar in particular.

Land Ownership

The Muttadari system mostly conditioned the land distribution pattern among the various communities of the village. According to a census survey conducted in 1964-65, out of 145 households of the village 60.68* p. c. households are possessing land while the rest are landless. Most of the land belongs to

* Table 5

Village Economy

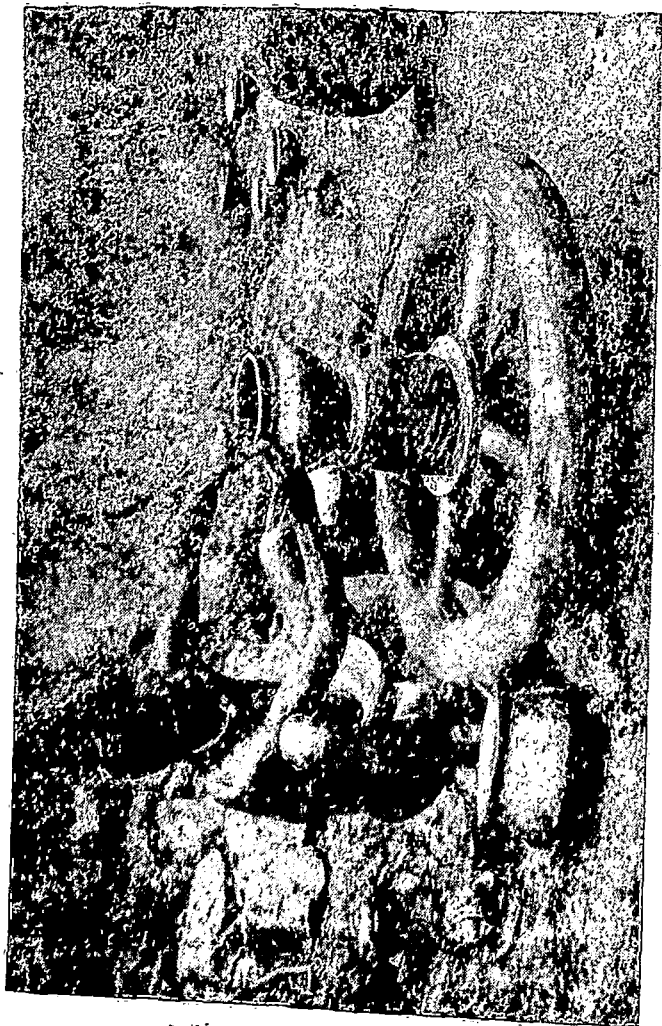
Valmiki and Bhagata tribal groups. Of the 88 households possessing land 79.54 p. c. belong to these two tribal groups only.

Among the non-tribals 2 Kummaris and 2 Sundis are in possession of land. From the analysis it is evident that (agriculture being the main stay of the villagers) Bhagatas and Valmikis are economically better off than the other communities. Though the social status of Valmikis is very low in the village, yet they are more prosperous than the other tribal groups except Bhagatas.

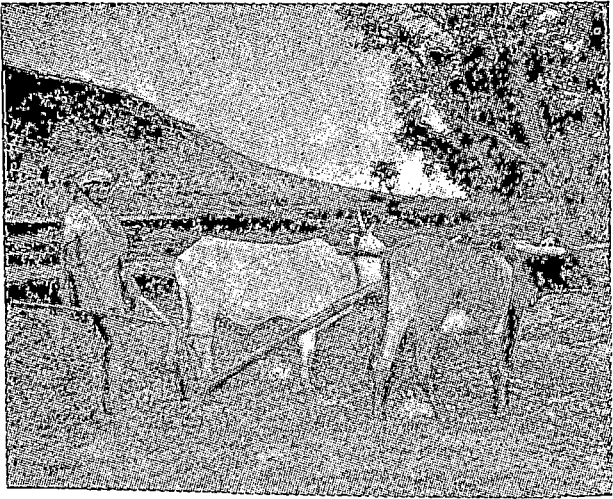
Type of Land Cultivated

Out of the 569 acres of land cultivated in the village*, 66.43 p.c., 29.97 p.c. and 3.60 p.c. of land is under dry, wet and *podu* cultivation respectively. Thus a large part of the land is under dry cultivation, while only a small portion is under *podu* cultivation. Out of the 170.50 acres of wet land 378.00 acres of dry land under cultivation 70.32 p.c. and 75.39 p.c. of wet and dry lands respectively are possessed by Bhagatas only. The most interesting feature of this village is that about 75 p.c. of *Podu* land is cultivated by Valmikis which is not generally the case in other villages of this region. 96.84 p.c. of the cultivated land belongs to tribal communities while the rest (3.16 p.c.) is being cultivated by the non-tribals. The extent of land owned by Bhagatas constitutes 71.88 p.c. to the total cultivated land followed by Valmikis (16.87 p.c.), Goudus (6.24 p.c.), Sundis (2.99 p.c.) and Konda Doras and Porjas (0.88 p.c. each). Bhagatas own the largest extent of land and

* Table 6



7. A potter at his wheel



8 a. Ploughing a Field



8 b. Hoeing a *Podu* Field

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among them the Muttadar is the biggest land owner. This may be attributed to the community feeling of the Muttadar. Thus Bhagatas occupy the highest rung in the economic structure of the village.

Only 18 acres of land is under non-tribal possession and out of this 94.44 p.c. of the land is under Sundi cultivators while only a small bit of land is owned by the Kummaris. The Sundis are notorious for their money lending business and illicit liquor distillation. These two nefarious activities seem to have helped them in acquiring the cultivable land in the village. Gadaba, Ghasi and Kapu communities are the landless class who are sustaining on agricultural labour and on the land leased out by Bhagatas and Valmikis. Thus the analysis of the land possessed by different groups reveals the uneven distribution of land among the various communities of the village. The total land acreage is 569 and the average land per family is 3.92 acres. The number of families without land is 57 out of 145. The goldsmith's family does not cultivate any land as it exclusively depends on its traditional occupation.

The present land tenure system* shows that 9 Bhagata families have leased out their lands to others. As much as 58 acres of land was leased-out by them, but they do not take land on lease from any one. The Valmikis are found to have leased-out their lands and have also taken land on lease in equal proportion. Further the table reveals the fact that Kummaris, Gadabas and Kapus are mostly tenant cultivators and none of the communities have completely leased-out their lands.

* Table 7

Village Economy

The lone Kapu family is completely depending upon leased-in land cultivation while the two Sundi families have leased-in 8 acres of land in order to supplement the cultivation of land owned (17 acres) by them. The difference between the extent of land leased-out and leased-in indicates that 21.10 acres are leased-out to the cultivators of neighbouring village.

Present Occupational Structure

Agriculture and agricultural labour constitute the most important main occupations of the people of Madagada. Most of the tribals and non-tribals thrive on agricultural sector, followed by forest labour, collection of minor forest produce and pottery. Agricultural labour, forest labour and collection of minor forest produce are the major subsidiary occupations of the villagers. Nowadays, some of them are engaged in miscellaneous occupations like labour in D.B.K. Railway project, business etc.

The analysis of their occupational pattern* shows that 62.71 p. c. of the workers are engaged mainly in agriculture. Males outnumber females in agriculture and agricultural labour showing the inability of the weaker sex to undertake strenuous work, whereas more females are engaged in occupations like forest labour and minor forest produce collection which do not involve heavy work. Females constitute 61.90 p.c. and 60 p.c. to the total number of persons engaged in forest labour and collection of minor forest produce. The per centage of workers engaged in agricultural labour

* Tables 8 & 9

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is 24.36. The number of persons having collection of minor forest produce and forest labour as main occupation is very meagre constituting only 3.17 p.c. and 4.45 p.c. respectively. It is also found that children below 10 years and old people belonging to the age groups 51 and above are less in number because of their physical incapability to get themselves gainfully employed. Pottery and goldsmithy are exclusively practised by non-tribals. The total number of persons engaged in the various main economic pursuits is 472.

Even in their subsidiary pursuits, agricultural labour is first in importance. Out of 510 people having subsidiary occupations, 40 p.c. are engaged in miscellaneous occupations like labour work in D. B. K. Railway Project, business etc., while 26.47 p. c , 24.90 p. c. and 8.63 p. c. are engaged in agricultural labour, collection of minor forest produce and forest labour respectively.

Almost all the tribal communities subsidiarily depend upon forest produce. They subsist on roots and tubers during lean seasons. They also collect minor forest produce like *Adda* leaves, tamarind, hill brooms etc., and sell them in the weekly shandies. Thus collection of minor forest produce stands second in importance among subsidiary occupations. A few individuals of the various communities are also engaged in the sale of agricultural produce, cattle grazing etc. A few others are employed as unskilled labourers in D. B. K. Railway Project to supplement their meagre earnings from the major occupation. One of them has opened a tea shop at the weekly shandy. Thus most of the tribal communities in the village do not exclusively

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depend on one occupation. It also shows that these people are not averse to undertake new types of work if they are given the opportunity. In general, the agricultural sector is sustaining the largest number of villagers.

Division of Labour

Generally heavy and hard works are undertaken by men, whereas the womenfolk attend to the lighter type of works. Men undertake ploughing, broadcasting etc., while women do the weeding, transplantation, etc. In the *Podu* fields, men usually cut the trees and both the sexes including children and old people go to the forest for collection of minor forest produce. The women of Madagada assume greater responsibility in discharging their domestic duties. One may see menfolk idling away their time but women are seen busily engaged in multifarious activities. As such, women are considered as assets to their families. During the pre-natal and post natal periods woman is not allowed to work on the fields.

Grown up boys and girls assist their parents by doing the lighter type of works like weeding, tending cattle, washing clothes and last but not the least looking after the infants at home when the parents [are engaged in agricultural and other types of work. Many girls are seen carrying their younger brothers and sisters in a cloth sling hanging across their shoulders. The girls also help their mothers in their domestic work like cooking, cleaning the house, grinding and powdering the grain, boiling and washing clothes etc., in addition to their other work in the fields. Thus a tribal girl is

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trained in both the domestic chores and agricultural and forest work since her 6th year onwards. A lenient treatment is meted out to the male children. They do not have any work at home. Generally the boys are found roaming about the village playing in groups during morning and evening times. But for tending cattle, hunting small birds, chasing the birds in their fields and collecting fruits from the trees, they are accustomed to while away their time in pleasure giving pursuits. Thus a tribal boy grows up in a lazy and easy-go environment.

The laziness of a tribal man is proverbial. The apathy towards work is ingrained in the child rearing practices. Ritually, politically and socially, tribal man occupies a superior position than his female counterpart. Most of the rituals are performed by men; the tribal council consists of elderly men of the village and even in social ceremonies like marriages it is the responsibility of these men to make all the arrangements. As head of the family, man enjoys authoritarian status. This authoritarian status coupled with his social, religious and political status made a tribal male allergic to manual labour which is required in all his economic pursuits.

Occupational Mobility

Most of the villagers eke out their livelihood from cultivation, collection of minor forest produce etc. It is observed that there is no remarkable occupational mobility with far reaching consequences in this village. The introduction of afforestation schemes and D.B.K. Railway Project resulted in a limited and temporary

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change of occupation for a few tribals. But this never resulted in temporary or permanent migrations. Moreover the pressure on land does not seem to be very heavy as the average size of holding per family works out to 3.92 acres. This may also be responsible to the negligible occupational mobility of the villagers. Generally, the younger generation is being attracted towards new jobs rather than the older generation.

Economic Status

There are 187* earners, 285 earning dependents and 200 non-earning dependents in this village. 90.91 p.c. of the total earners are males revealing the dominant economic status of the males in the village society. Among the non-earners and earning dependents, the females outnumber the males. The data further reveal that 84.50 p. c. of the non-earning dependents are in the age group of <10 years. Another 2.50 p. c. of the non-earning dependents belong to the old age group. Hence it can be concluded that the bulk of non-earning dependents comprise of children. Thus children below ten years of age are not economically helpful to their families. Non-earners are not at all found between the age-groups 21—30 and 41—50. Out of 75 male earning dependents, 19 are in the age-groups of 21—30 and 31—40, showing that even some of the adult males are still economically dependent. Most of the earning population is concentrated in the able bodied age-groups viz., 21—50.

Sources and Pattern of Income

Most of the villagers depend upon agriculture and agricultural labour to eke out their livelihood. They

* Table 10

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supplement the meagre earnings from agriculture with the income derived from forest labour, collection and sale of minor forest produce and other miscellaneous sources like labour in D. B. K. Railway Project, development works etc. While forest labour is seasonal, both agriculture and minor forest produce are exposed to the vagaries of nature. So the income derived from these sources is dependent upon the climatic conditions and the nature and scope of government activities in and around the village.

Wet, dry and *Podu* cultivation are the chief sources of income under agriculture. Relatively speaking cultivation gives them bread and work throughout the year. So the villagers consider it as a more reliable and stable source of income than other sources like collection of minor forest produce, forest labour, etc., which are seasonal in nature. The census survey of all the village households revealed the various sources of income of the villagers*. Agriculture being the main source of income, the total income derived from agriculture and allied labour is 58.78 p.c. of the total income while the respective receipts from collection of minor forest produce and forest labour are 8.46 p.c. and 3.60 p.c. of the total income. The income derived from miscellaneous sources like casual labour in D.B.K. Railway project, pottery, business etc., constitutes 29.16 p.c. to the total income.

The analysis further reveals, even though the village is located in the forest and hilly areas of Visakhapatnam District, neither collection of minor forest produce nor forest labour provides them a sizeable

* Table 11

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income. Their main source of income being agriculture and agricultural labour, the villagers have passed the stage of food gathering from the forests and most of them became cultivators and agricultural labourers with the passage of time. Still this age-old source of livelihood (collection of M.F.P.) is not completely forgotten as it is one of the important supplementary sources of income. They not only collect minor forest produce like roots, tubers, hill-brooms, leaves, seeds, fruits etc., for home consumption but also supplement their meagre income from the agricultural sector by selling them in the weekly shandies and to the Corporation as well.*

The classification of households into different income groups** reveals the income distribution pattern of the village households. The annual average income per family works out to Rs. 671.66. An analysis of the table shows that 53.10 p.c. of the total households fall into the income groups between <200 and 401-600. This shows that more than half of the households are not even earning the average income while 16.55 p.c. of the total households, whose income group is Rs. 601-800 are just on the border with their income either a little less or a little more than that of average income. Thus 69.65 p.c. of the total households are either below the average income or a little above it. The remaining 30.35 p.c. households are having more than the average income. The above analysis of the income pattern reveals that the village economy is still of the subsistence type indicating the need for its toning up.

* Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation Ltd.

** Table 12

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Expenditure

The villagers do not lead an extravagant life. Except the Muttadar and a handful of other villagers, the remaining families lead a hand to mouth living supplementing the meagre agricultural produce with the edible produce of the surrounding forests. The clothing of the villagers is simple and their houses are constructed with the material available in the nearby forests. After food and clothing, the other important items of expenditure are drinking, smoking, social and religious ceremonies, cultivation and repayment of debt.

According to the present survey the average expenditure per household works out to Rs. 725.90 per annum. The expenditure on food, fuel and light saps out a major portion of their income followed by clothing, social and religious ceremonies, drinking, cultivation, smoking and redemption of debt. More than half of their income (57.92 p.c.) is spent on food, fuel and light. The villagers spend very little on fuel and light as all of them use the firewood available in the surrounding forests and they do not burn any oil for lighting purposes as most of them go to bed early in the night. Hence, most of the expenditure under this head pertains to their costly cereal diet only. The expenditure on clothing constitutes 12.71 p.c. to the total expenditure, while the respective expenditures on social and religious ceremonies, drinking, cultivation, smoking, redemption of debt and education are 9.66 p.c., 7.11 p.c., 5.65 p.c., 5.32 p.c., 1.46 p.c. and 0.17 p.c. The expenditure on education is negligible as most of their school going

* Table : 13

Village Economy

children receive their education free of cost. The poor economic condition of most of the households does not permit them to spare any thing for the repayment of debt. They smoke country tobacco which is sometimes grown in small patches of their fields. Some of the tribals smoke beedies also. Most of them drink fermented *Jeelugu* (*Caryota*) toddy and illicit liquor also. While *Jeelugu* toddy is tapped by them, illicit liquor is distilled by the non-tribal settlers like Sundi and Kapu families of the village. Social and religious ceremonies play a dominant role in the daily life. Not a month passes without the celebration of a village festival or social ceremony. Expenditure is incurred on ceremonial drinking and community feasting, and the amount spent is conditioned by the economic status of the household. Their clothing is simple and of coarse quality. Men's wear is meagre and simple whereas women's wear is full and relatively costlier. But the severe cold winter necessitates thick bed sheets and blankets. That is why the expenditure on clothing is second to the expenditure on food, fuel and light.

Most of their agricultural practices are tradition-bound which are undertaken by the family members and on the basis of reciprocal help. The imputed cost of family labour and reciprocal labour are not taken into consideration. Moreover most of the villagers are not practising the costly improved methods of cultivation like the use of chemical fertilizers, hybrid seeds, improved agricultural implements etc. In view of the above factors, the cost of cultivation is very low in this village. Thus the analysis of the various items of expenditure of the village folk does not portray a bright

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picture of their cost of living. Except the Muttadar and a few other villagers, most of the villagers appear to limit their expenditure to the bare necessities of life.

In order to find out the expenditure pattern of the village households all the households of the village are classified into expenditure groups*. According to this table more than half of the households (55.86 p.c.) are in the expenditure ranges of Rs. 401/- to 800/-. If the families in the expenditure groups of Rs. 200/- to 400/- are also added to the above expenditure groups (the average annual expenditure per household being Rs. 725.90), 64.83 p.c. of the total households are having expenditure below or a little above the average expenditure. The remaining 35.17 p.c. households are in the expenditure groups of Rs. 801-1000 and above. This shows the poor standard of living of a majority of the households of the village.

Indebtedness

Chronic indebtedness is the chief characteristic of the economy of the tribal households in general. The households of Madagada are no exception to this generalisation. Out of the 145 families, 83 families are indebted, constituting 57.24% to the total number of families. The total amount borrowed by the 83 indebted families is Rs. 17,715 which works out to an average of Rs. 213.43 per indebted family. The indebted families are classified into debt groups in relation to their income ranges**. An analysis of the table shows that more than half of the indebted families (55.42%)

* Table 14

** Table 15.

Village Economy

are in the income ranges between less than Rs. 200/- to 600/- revealing the fact that low income group families are the worst sufferers from this chronic malady. Maximum number (26) of indebted families are in the income range of Rs. 401/- to 600/- and in this income group, the debt range of 15 families is Rs. 0-100, showing that most of the families of this income group borrow in small quantities only. Nearly half of the indebted families (49.39 p.c.) are in the debt group of Rs. 100/- while 74.69 p.c. of the indebted families fall in the debt groups of below Rs. 200/-. This interesting factor proves the poor credit worthiness of the villagers. This also indicates that the credit needs of a majority of the villagers do not exceed Rs. 200/-. Thus there is immense scope for either the A. P. S. T. C. F. & D. Corporation or other co-operative agencies to offer small amounts of money as loans to these village folk in order to save them from the clutches of the private money lenders. The community-wise distribution of indebted families* and the extent of debt is also analysed. Among the 12 communities living in the village, Ghasis and Sundis are free from debt. While the former community is not credit worthy, the latter community is notorious for money lending business in these parts. Among the other communities 17 Bhagata, 6 Valmiki, 13 Goudu, 2 Konda Dora, 2 Gadaba, 1 Kotiya, and 2 Porja, are indebted while among the non-tribal communities, 8 Kumari and the lone Kapu and Kamsali families are indebted. The extent of debt in this village is Rs. 17,715 of which Rs. 14,710 (83.04 p.c.) are borrowed by the tribals. Among the tribals, Bhagatas borrowed the biggest

* Table 16.

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amount constituting 47.92 p.c. to the total amount borrowed while Valmikis occupy the second place (31.10 p.c.). The non-tribals borrowed an amount of Rs. 3005/- of which 83.36 p.c. belongs to the Kummari community alone. This uneven distribution of debt should be attributed not only to the numerical strength of each community but also to the credit worthiness of the individual communities. Thus there are more number of indebted families among Bhagatas (17) and Valmikis (36) as these two communities constitute the numerically dominant and land-owing communities of the village.

Sources of Credit

There are four types of credit agencies catering to the credit needs of the villagers. Private money lenders (both tribal and non-tribal), Block Development office, Co-operative Credit Society and friends and relatives constitute the chief sources of credit. According to the study 84.34 p.c. of the total indebted households borrowed from private money lenders, while 9.64 p.c., 3.61 p.c. and 2.41 p.c. of the indebted households have borrowed from Samithi office, friends and relatives and co-operative credit society respectively. Again out of the 83 indebted households 44.58 p.c. of the total households borrowed from non-tribal private money lenders while 39.76 p.c. of the households have borrowed from the tribal private money lenders. The analysis reveals the chronic parasitic hold of the private money lenders upon the villagers and among private money lenders the hold of the non-tribal money lenders is much more than that

* Table 17

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of tribal money lenders. While the number of households utilising the co-operative credit societies is negligible, only 9.64 p.c. of the indebted households have borrowed from Block Development Office. This reflects the poor flow of the Government credit in the village. Cumbersome administrative procedures, official red tape and ignorance of the tribal are to some extent responsible for not availing institutional credit on a large scale. On the other hand, the hold of the private money lender is traditional and friendly. The private money lender is ready to give money without insisting upon surities. Moreover he collects the amount due to him at appropriate time i.e., at the time of harvesting when the tribal is in a position to clear off his debt. The tribal, in his eagerness to tide over the immediate crisis, will be too glad to borrow money from the money lender inspite of the high rate of interest charged by the money lender, whereas institutional credit agencies insist upon personal surity or surity of land or other property. In the absence of survey and settlement in tribal areas, credit worthiness of the tribal is affected as he is not in a position to produce the necessary documents in support of his loan application. A few applicants who have secured the loans after fulfilling all the formalities are not in a position to repay the debt as the officials try to collect the money at the most inopportune moment. In some cases the tribal debtor, in his eagerness to escape the wrath of the official, once again seeks the help of the private money lender to save him from his plight. Thus the tribal is again thrown into the vicious clutches of the private money lender.

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The villagers mainly borrow money to meet the heavy expenditure on family maintenance, cultivation, celebration of social and religious ceremonies etc. The study indicates that 57.84 p.c.* of the indebted families borrowed money for the family maintenance while 7.23 p.c., 1.20 p.c. and 1.20 p.c. of the indebted families incurred debt due to the expenditure on social ceremonies, redumption of debt and construction of house respectively. 32.53 p.c. of the indebted families have resorted to borrowing for agricultural purposes in order to meet the cost of agricultural operations (15.66 p.c.) and purchase of bullocks (16.87 p.c.). This shows that most of the indebted families (90.37 p.c.) incurred debt for family maintenance and to meet the cultivation costs.

Assets

The value of the assets possessed by a household reflects the wealth of the household in general. The assets of a Madagada village household generally comprises of a piece of dry, wet or *podu* land, a small rectangular thatched hut, 3 or 4 heads of cattle and the traditional agricultural impliments like the wooden plough, sickle, hoe-cum-digging stick, crowbar, axe etc. A few of the villagers like the Muttadar, Sundis and others possess gold and silver ornaments and sizeable land holdings also.

The study** reveals that among the 145 households of the village, the value of the assets of 23.45 p.c. households is less than Rs. 200/- while the value of

* Table 18

** Table 19

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assets, of 22.07 p.c. households is Rs. 1601/- and above. Moreover the value of the assets of more than half of the total households (55.17 p.c.) falls under the value ranges of <Rs. 200/- to 800/- whereas 9.66 p.c., 5.52 p.c., 4.83 p.c., and 2.76 p.c. of the households are having assets in the value ranges of Rs. 801/- to 1000/-, 1001/- to 1200/-, 1201/- to 1400/- and 1401/- to 1600 respectively. The above analysis shows the uneven distribution of assets among the households of the village. The average value of the assets per household works out to Rs. 774.87 showing the poor economic position of the villagers. This also shows that the meagre income derived from their limited sources is not conducive for capital formation. The expenditure pattern of a majority of households also reveals that sizeable amounts of money are not invested in the acquisition of capital assets like purchase of land, livestock, farm equipment etc., which form the basis for capital formation.

Surplus and Deficit Household Budgets

The preceding discussion on the income and expenditure patterns gives an idea of the standard of living of the households of Madagada village. The analysis of the surplus and deficit household budgets helps us to understand the economic position of the villagers in a nutshell. The study revealed that out of the 145 village households, 77 households are having an excess of expenditure over income i.e., 53.10 p.c., of the total households are having deficit budgets. On the other hand only 46.90 p.c. of the households could either balance their expenditure with income or earn some surplus. The following statement reflects the economic condition of the village households:

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Surplus and deficit household budgets :

Total number of households in the village	145
Number of households having surplus budgets	68
Number of households having deficit budgets	77
Percentage of households having surplus budgets	46.90 p.c.
Percentage of households having deficit budgets	53.10 p.c.

The high percentage of deficit budgets shows that a majority of the households are not in a position to make the both ends meet. This is an alarming feature of the village economy.

The most important reason for their economic backwardness is that the villagers are not properly equipped to exploit the surrounding natural resources to the maximum extent. Their agriculture is a "gamble with nature". Moreover their age - old agricultural practices coupled with the poor type of cattle are not conducive for high agricultural yield. The depredations of money lenders, the addiction to drink, the costly social ceremonies and village festivals and last but not the least, the unpredictable nature of both agriculture and collection of minor forest produce resulting in the low per capita income explains the high percentage of deficit households,

In general the functioning of the economic structure of Madagada village is not conducive for healthy economic growth. The uneven distribution of land among the various communities of the village and that too the concentration of land in the hands of a few individual families like the Muttadar is the cause of economic inequality in the village.

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The ingrained allergy and the proverbial lethargy of the tribal villager towards the introduction of innovations also contributed to the poor economic conditions. Ignorance, illiteracy and sentimental beliefs coupled with lack of better stable occupations hampered his occupational mobility. So, many of the villagers cling to their age - old occupations inspite of the meagre returns. Thus there are many limiting factors which are to be tackled on many fronts in order to achieve proper economic growth of the village.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religion is the hard core of any culture. So it is not susceptible to change as easily as the other facets of life. Wherever one looks at—whether a tribal village or a modern metropolis one finds religion inextricably interwoven into the variegated pattern of social life. So the study of any society should invariably include the study of its religion.

Religion forms a vital part of the villager's round the year activities. The various religious beliefs and festivals depict the villager as a devout man. Their colourful festival dances and ceremonial singing to the tune of exhilarating music from the various musical instruments provide a welcome relief from the drab life of working, eating and sleeping. In the middle of all this exuberance and gaiety one can perceive the simple heart of the villager offering sincere worship. The villagers believe that their lives are ordained by the various spirits and deities of the village. Their material prosperity, health or sickness, favourable nature or natural calamities, every thing rests with the vagaries of these supernatural powers. Thus religious beliefs and rituals condition most of the activities of their life.

Dumba-Spirits and Unseen Powers

All the villagers irrespective of caste and tribe believe in the existence of a number of spirits and ghosts.

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There are both malevolent and benevolent spirits. They believe that the souls of persons who met with untimely death become malevolent spirits. These are the restless wandering souls of persons who died prematurely in an accident, killed by a wild animal, drowned in a hill stream etc. The benevolent spirits comprise of the souls of their dead ancestors. Those who died a natural death, after living a complete life become benevolent spirits. While malevolent spirits are considered to be quite dangerous and despised by the villagers, benevolent spirits are believed to be very much helpful and if they are properly propitiated, they are capable of bestowing many a favour upon their kith and kin. That is why the various ancestral spirits of the departed are remembered with reverence on every important occasion, such as birth, marriage and during the festivals of the village. Ancestor worship constitutes one of the important aspects of their ritual structure. But when they are neglected or forgotten these benevolent spirits turn into malignant spirits and do much harm. Sickness and misfortune are generally attributed to the work of neglected and angered spirits of the ancestors.

While the benevolent ancestor spirits live in a separate world called spirit world (*Dumba Duniya*), the malevolent spirits generally live very near human habitations. The villagers believe that burial and cremation grounds, tamarind trees, hill streams and some of the hillocks in and around the village are the favourite abodes of these malevolent spirits. The three hill streams near the village and the big tamarind tree on the northern side of the village are believed to be the abodes of three different ghosts. They haunt the passers-by with-

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out any provocation. They are believed to hover round these places during evening and night times, and capable of assuming various forms such as men, women and animals. They appear in one form, in a moment they take another shape and suddenly they vanish from the sight and reappear in still another shape. Their unpredictable and changing forms instil fear into the minds of passers-by who become nervous and disjointed.

Generally women and children are considered to be more susceptible to ghost-haunting than men as they are weaker than men. The symptoms of spirit-haunting are common to all. The victim will be hysterical and disjointed in his behaviour and talk. The body becomes very cold; shaking violently with eyes bloodshot and dazed. Whenever any person falls a victim to these ghosts the *Bhagata Pujari* is called in and he generally succeeds in driving away the spirit. One of the methods of driving away the evil spirit is to apply pepper paste to the eyes of the victim and beat him with neem branches. They believe that severe burning sensation is caused to the eyes of the spirit and it immediately leaves the body of the victim. The *Pujari* also gives charmed mango leaf or cowdung cake powder or *Tayethu* to escape future haunting of the evil spirit. Many of the villagers are found wearing these protective charms either in their waist belts or around their necks or as armlets.

Auspicious Moments, Omens and Superstitions

The villagers consult a plains Brahmin *Guru* for fixing up auspicious days for the celebration of the life cycle ceremonies. The *Bhagata Pujari* fixes the auspicious

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days for the celebration of the festivals of the various village deities and for the starting of agricultural operations. They consult a plains Brahmin *Guru* to ascertain whether the moment of birth of a child and the time of attaining puberty of a girl are auspicious or not. The auspicious nature of the time is decided according to the star during whose period of influence a child is born or a girl attained puberty. *Mula*, *Jyesta*, *Sravana* and *Makha* stars are believed to be inauspicious stars. If a child is born during the ruling period of these stars, the *Guru* prescribes a pacification (*Shanti*) ceremony in order to ward off the evil influences of these stars and to protect the child and the family from their malific influence. Thus the villagers are very particular about the auspicious moments and unless and until the auspicious moments are fixed they do not embark upon a new venture or undertake a journey on an important mission, such as, marriage negotiations, business etc.

The villagers particularly look for good and bad omens before going on a journey or starting any new enterprise. Sneezing, sight of a widow, empty and new pots, snake, and cat are considered as bad omens. The cry of *Rambi pitta* and *Dumba Pitta* are believed to forecast sure death in the village. The sight of a man with a stick in his hand, water pot and bear are considered to be good omens. This shows that the daily life of these villagers is steeped in superstition and no work could be under-taken without observing the omens and auspicious moments.

Festivals

The villagers live very close to the earth and thus affectionately call it 'Mother earth'. It is the fruit-

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ful cultivation of the soil that sustains the life of the villagers. A villager views life as an integrated whole in which each facet is inextricably inter-linked with the other facets. For him the sacred and the mundane are the 'interlocking wheels of one mechanism, and any slip or mistake in the performance of a ritual may lead to disastrous results as untimely sowing, faulty construction of houses and reckless weeding spoil their material welfare. Even when he finds leisure time, his thoughts and actions are oriented towards the welfare of his crops, cattle and the village in general. Thus when the villager abandons himself to the celebration of festivals of the various village deities, he is taking meticulous care of the coming year's harvest and the future welfare of the village. Not a month passes without the celebration of the festival of some deity or the other, intended for the protection and well-being of some activity or the other. A ceremonial calendar, with the names of the festivals, their implication, the deities worshipped and the months in which they are celebrated is given below.

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S. No.	Name of the Festival	Deity or Spirits worshipped	Implication	Month and duration
7.	Deepavali (Dyadi)	do	Dumba worship festival of lights	October-November (Dyadi) 4 days
8.	a) Chikkudu-Kotha b) Mukma Devi Panduga c) Ganga—Devudu Panduga	Mukma and ancestral spirits, and Ganga — Devudu	First fruits festival General Welfare	Dec-January (Push) 27 days
9.	Nandi-Devudu Panduga	Nandi-Devudu	New thatch to the huts	Jan-Feb (Magh) 1 day
10.	Phagun kalchuta.	—	Bumper crops.	Feb-March (Phagun) 1 day

S. No.	Name of the Festival	Deity or Spirits worshipped	Implication	Month and duration
1.	Chaitra (Kothamasa) Panduga	Nishan, Bhairav & Bees Janthra	Ceremonial hunting, first ploughing and charming seeds	March-April (Chaitra) 12 days
2.	Pedda Devudu Panduga	Pedda Devudu, Ancestral spirits	General welfare. Eating food in the fields	April-May (Baisakh) 1 day
3.	Bheema Devudu Panduga	Bheema	Cattle welfare	May-June (Landjat) 1 day
4.	Korra-sama Kotha	Ancestral spirits	Eating of first fruits	July-August (Banda) 1 day
5.	Balli or Gyamma	Jankari	Protection of the fertility of the seeds and soils	August-September 12 days (Vasa)
6.	Metta Dhanyam Kotha	Ancestral spirits	First fruits eating	September-October (Dasara) 1 day

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It is evident that except Deepavali and Nandi-Devudu *panduga*, all the other festivals are associated with some agricultural activity or the other. In addition to the various deities worshipped, the propitiation of the ancestral spirits is essential during the celebration of any of these festivals.

Chaitra Festival

For the villagers the new year begins with *Kothamasa* (new year day) in *Chaitra Masa* (March-April). The *Chaitra* month marks the end of severe winter season and heralds the cool and salubrious summer. By this time all the agricultural work will be over and the villagers find leisure to indulge in their favourite ceremonial hunting expedition. But the villagers do not forget that their sowing operations start within 2 months of this festival. So they charm the seeds with the blood from the sacrificial animals offered to Bees Janthra and Nishan deities. These doubly charmed seeds are preserved for future use immediately after the first rains of the rainy season. In addition to these deities, the village deity Bhairav Devta is also worshipped, if they are successful in bagging a big animal during their hunting expedition. Thus apart from the ancestral spirits three village deities are propitiated during the *Chaitra* festival.

The *Barika* informs the villagers at least one week before the celebration of the festival. He collects Rs.0.25 from every household of the village irrespective of caste and tribe. With this money he purchases a black goat and a red fowl for sacrificing them to the deity. The festival begins on any Tuesday of *Chaitra* month as deci-

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ded by the Muttadar in consultation with the *Baro-bai* (12 elders) and the *Bhagata Pujari*.

Bees Janthra is the first deity to be worshipped during the Chaitra festival. Bees Janthra is represented by an ant-hill situated near the trunk of a tree on the eastern side of the village. On Tuesday evening, the Muttadar, *Barika, Pujari, Barobai* and other villagers go to the Bees Janthra deity accompanied by the band of village musicians. They carry food stuffs like rice, green plantains, milk, jaggery and seed grains like *Sama, Chodi* and paddy with them. The *Pujari* cooks all the food stuffs in a new pot and feeds the fowl and goat with the cooked food. He chants a hymn and sacrifices the fowl and the goat in the name of Bees Janthra deity. He sprinkles the blood of the sacrificed animals on the seed grains and mixes them thoroughly. Thus the seeds are enriched with the sacred blood of the fowl and the goat. Then the villagers stand in front of the *Pujari* with their towels spread in their hands. The *Pujari* throws the seeds in all directions and the villagers vie with each other in collecting the sacred seeds. Women are strictly prohibited from collecting these seeds. They return home, and mix the sacred seeds with the seeds stored in their respective houses for future use. On Wednesday morning the flesh of the sacrificed animal and bird is equally distributed among all the families of the village. The *Pujari* gets the head and legs of the sacrificed bird and animal. All the villagers enjoy a family feast and spend the rest of the day without doing any work.

On Thursday the Nishan deity is worshipped. The deity is represented by a crude stone idol of Vighne-

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swara and kept in a circular stone enclosure by the side of the *Chaduru* (stone platform). Thursday morning all the families of the village cook food with water fetched in new pots. The elder members of the families observe fast during day time and eat the food in the evening only. In the evening the *Pujari* gives bath to the Nishan deity and cleans a spot before the idol. The *Chellan* (who is a KondaDora) brings food stuffs like rice, green plantains, jaggery, milk and seed grains like *Chodi*, *Sama* and paddy along with a red fowl and a pig. All the villagers gather round the deity and the Valmiki musicians play the musical instruments. The *Pujari* cooks the ceremonial food with all the food stuffs in a new pot and feeds the fowl and the pig with a little of the cooked oblation. The *Chellan* sacrifices the pig while the *Pujari* sacrifices the red fowl. The *Pujari* does not sacrifice the pig as he belongs to Bhagata tribe. The blood of the sacrificed animals is spilled over the seed grains and thoroughly mixed. The *Pujari* stands on the *Chaduru* stones and throws the charmed seeds in all directions which are collected by the villagers into their spread towels. They once again mix these charmed seeds with the stored seeds and preserve them for future use. All the pork eating communities share the sacred pork whereas the non-pork eating communities share the fowl as oblation. Early in the morning of Friday all the heads of the families owning land go to their respective fields with new ploughs and bullocks and make three furrows in the field in East-West direction after sacrificing a chicken in the name of mother earth (*Bhoomi Talli*). Thus their seeds are doubly fortified with the sacred blood offered to the

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supernatural powers and an auspicious beginning is made to the tilling of the soil on which they thrive.

The ceremonial hunting expedition starts in the evening of Friday. A mock expedition by two naked boys precedes the real hunting expedition undertaken by all the able bodied men of the village. The two boys are driven to the out-skirts of the village by throwing dung-water over them. They return back to the village after some time. This mock expedition is intended to protect the real hunting expedition party from the evil eye.

The real expedition starts on Saturday morning. After having their food all the able bodied men-folk of the village gather near the *Chaduru* stones. The *Muttadar* with the gun in hand, heads the party and the other men are equipped with spears, arrows and bows, axes, knives etc. The women-folk of the village come neatly dressed, colourfully decorated and singing songs in praise of their men-folk's valour. The musicians start beating the drums and blowing the trumpets. The whole atmosphere is charged with din and gaiety. The men folk march towards the forests and the women chase them to the outskirts of the village by throwing water and instilling enthusiasm into the men by singing songs in adoration of their courage and manliness. After the departure of the men-folk, the women return to the village and spend the whole day singing and swinging in cradles that are hung from the branches of big trees. By evening the hunting party returns from the jungles. If the hunting party returns without bagging any animal, the women insult them by throwing water and dung at them. They hurl abusive words and

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heckle their inefficiency. The same process is repeated every day until the hunting party could kill an animal. When the men-folk could finally succeed in their expedition and kill an animal, the women accord them heroes' welcome. Now it is the men-folks' turn to heckle and joke at their women. Irrespective of social status, age and sex distinction men and women freely indulge in all sorts of fun and frolic. The dead animal is brought in a procession and the man who killed the animal is specially honoured. A fowl is sacrificed in the name of all the hill deities. If the animal bagged is a big one like wild pig, bear or *Kanuju* (Sambur) they offer special worship to the village deity Bhairav Devta and sacrifice a goat. The dead animal is kept near the *Chaduru* and the villagers spend the whole night in singing and dancing around the animal. Next day morning the animal is skinned and the flesh is equally shared by all the families of the village. The actual hunter of the animal is given the flesh from the thighs and other fleshy parts of the animal in recognition of his sportsmanship. All the villagers enjoy a family feast.

This is the most important festival of the village. The villagers forget, for the time being, social distinctions and economic inequalities and the whole village functions as a single unit, generating 'we' feeling among the villagers. Moreover two of their age-old means of livelihood, namely, agriculture and hunting are ritually sanctified and three most important deities of the village are propitiated. In no other festival do the villagers worship as many deities as they worship during this festival. Thus the seeds are fortified with supernatural power; the hunting is sanctified and the three deities

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are satisfied, the villagers once again resume their normal avocations.

Pedda Devudu Panduga

Pedda Davudu is represented by a triangular stone, buried in an anthill, situated on the western side of the village, behind the Muttadar's house. This one-day-festival is celebrated on any Sunday of *Baisakh Masa* (April-May) and it has no specific implication. It is celebrated for the general welfare of the village. The day is fixed by the Muttadar in consultation with the *Baro-bai* and the *Bhagata Pujari*. One interesting feature of the sacrificial rites is the offering of a bird called *ParigiPitta* (quail) in addition to the usual goat and red fowl sacrifice as *Parigipitta* is considered to be a favourite bird of the deity. One week before the celebration of the festival the *Barika* informs the villagers through *tom-tom* about the day of celebration of the festival. He collects Rs. 0.25 from each family as contribution for the purchase of the goat and the birds.

On the fixed Sunday morning the women clean their houses and prepare food. The elderly members of the family fast during day time and eat in the evening. After having their food the villagers along with the Muttadar, *Pujari*, and *Baro-bai* go in a procession to the deity to the accompaniment of the beating of the drums and the blowing of trumpets. The *Pujari* gives bath to the idol and cleans a spot before the deity. He decorates the cleaned spot with *Chodi* flour designs and cooks food with milk, jaggery, rice and green plantains. He feeds the two birds and the goat with a little of the cooked oblation. While chanting hymns the *Pujari*

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sacrifices the goat and the two birds to the deity. On the next day morning all the families of the village equally share the flesh of the goat and the two birds as oblation. The *Pujari* gets the head of the goat and the birds as his share of the oblation.

The villagers celebrate this festival on the eve of starting the pre-ploughing and ploughing operations in full swing in anticipation of the first rains of the monsoon at the fag end of May or in the first week of June.

Gotnakaibarn (Eating Food in the Fields)

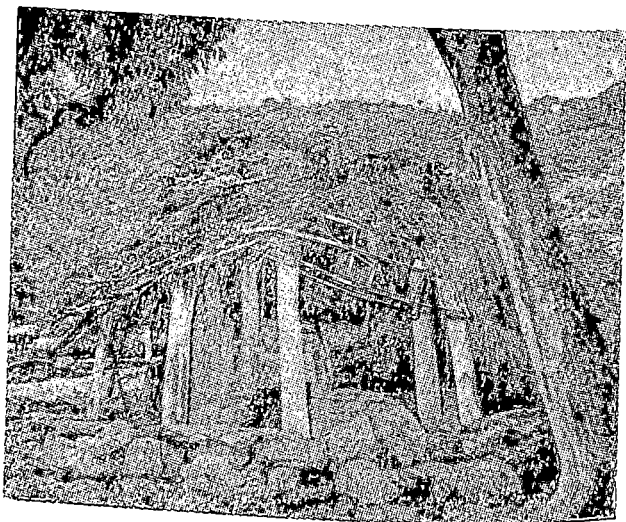
The villagers start the pre-ploughing and ploughing-operations in May in preparation for receiving the first rains of the monsoon. But none of the cultivators eat food in their fields until they perform *Gotnakaibarn* ceremony which is intended to propitiate their ancestral spirits. This is an individual family ceremony performed on a particular Sunday of *Baisakh* month by all the villagers. The *Muttadar* fixes the day on which the ceremony is to be usually performed. On the fixed Sunday the women-folk clean their houses, and cook various types of food stuffs like *Chodi Ambali* (*Chodi-gruel*), rice, vegetable curries and take them to their men-folk who are engaged in ploughing the fields. There they keep a morsel of each item of food in a leaf plate and offer them to the spirits of their ancestors. Then all the family members eat their food in the field itself and return home. They believe that if food is eaten in the fields without first offering it to the ancestor-spirits they are sure to incur the displeasure of the departed souls which may cause stomach-ache.

Bheema Devudu Panduga

Landjat (May-June) is the month during which



9 a. Bhairav Devta - Sickman's sooth-sayer



9 b. The Shrine of Nishan-Fertility Deity

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hectic agricultural operations are undertaken by the villagers. From morning to evening the draught animals work without rest in order to prepare the fields for receiving the monsoon rains and to start the sowing and broadcasting operations. Moreover with the starting of the rainy season, their overworked cattle are susceptible to fatigue and disease from which they are to be protected throughout the year. The successful completion of the agricultural operations depend upon the well-being of their cattle. So they propitiate Bheema Devudu who is believed to be the protector of all the cattle of the village.

Bheema Devudu is represented by a stone idol, embedded in an ant-hill and situated at the foot of a hill on the eastern side of the village. A small hut is erected on the ant-hill as a temple. This one-day festival is celebrated on any Tuesday of *Landjat* month as fixed by the *Muttadar* in consultation with the *Baro-bai* and the *Pujari*.

In the morning of the Tuesday, the *Pujari* takes head bath and goes to the temple of Bheema Devudu along with the *Chellan* who carries food stuffs like milk, rice, jaggery, green plantains, *Kanda* (tuber) and incense in separate leaf plates. The *Pujari* gives bath to the idol and cleans a spot before the deity. He cooks food on this spot in a new pot with all the food stuffs and offers them to the deity as oblation after burning incense. Then the *Chellan* and the *Pujari* return home. Again in the after-noon the *Pujari*, *Muttadar*, *Baro-bai* and other villagers go in a procession to the deity to the accompaniment of the beating of drums and the blowing of the trumpets. A fowl and a goat are sacri-

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ficed to the deity by the *Pujari* and then they return home. Next day morning each family is given a share of the flesh of the sacrificed goat and the fowl and the villagers enjoy a family feast in their respective houses.

Bheema Devudu is the protector of their cattle and if the deity is not propitiated, the villagers believe that some epidemic or other calamity may afflict their cattle. They also believe that if they fail to celebrate the festival, *Bheema Devudu* assumes the shape of a tiger and wreaks vengeance upon the villagers by killing them.

Korra-Sama-Kotha

The ceremonial first fruits eating of *Korra* and *Sama* grains is celebrated on the Full Moon day (*Purnima*) of *Banda* (July - August) month. This is a one-day festival only. *Korra* and *Sama* crops will be ripe for harvesting during this month. On the previous day of the festival the *Muttadar* assembles the *Baro-bai* to decide the amount to be collected from each family of the village in order to meet the cost of the sacrificial animal and the bird-goat and fowl. Generally 25 to 50 paise will be collected by the *Barika* from each family of the village and after purchasing the fowl and the goat, the *Barika* hands them over to the *Pujari*.

In the morning of *Sravan-Purnima* day the *Pujari* takes head bath and collects jaggery, milk, green plants and *Agarabathi* into separate leaf-cups. He cooks a mixed food of *Korra* and *Sama* grains in a new pot. Then he goes to the *Korra* field of either the *Muttadar* or his own, which ever is ripe and ready for reaping accompanied by the *Muttadar*, *Barika*, and the *Chellan*.

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The *Barika* brings the goat and the fowl while the *Chellan* carries the food stuffs kept in leaf-cups. The *Pujari* cleans a spot in the eastern side of the field with dung and decorates it with *Chodi* flour designs. He keeps the cooked oblation along with the leaf cups containing the other food stuffs on the designs and offers them to the ancestral spirits while chanting a hymn. He sacrifices the fowl and the goat in the name of the ancestor spirits and requests them to protect the fields, people and the animals from all diseases. Then they return home. The *Pujari* gets the heads of the goat and the fowl while the other fleshy parts are equally distributed as oblation to all the families of the village. Every family cooks the fresh *Korra* and *sama* grain food and after offering it to the ancestral spirits they ceremonially eat it.

None of the village deities are worshipped on this day. Only the spirits of the departed elders are remembered and propitiated as the tribal lives in constant fear of the departed souls. They believe that by celebrating this festival they can avoid the wrath of their ancestral spirits. They also fear that if they eat the fresh *Sama* and *Korra* grains without offering them to their ancestral spirits they are sure to suffer from stomach-ache and ulcers.

Balli or Gyamma Panduga

This is the only festival which is not celebrated every year. They celebrate this festival three years continuously and then stop celebrating it for the next three years and again start celebrating it for another three years. No explanation is forth coming from the

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villagers for the three years gap. But it is one of the most important and elaborate festival celebrated with much pomp and show by the villagers. Only one deity, namely, Jankari Devta is propitiated during the festival. This is the only deity which has neither a temple nor an idol to represent it. Jankari Devta seems to be the goddess of fertility because the festival is celebrated to protect the fertility of the soil and the seeds. The festival is celebrated for 12 days continuously starting on a Tuesday of *Vasa* (August-September) month. The Muttadar in consultation with the *Pujari* and the *Baro-bai* fixes the particular Tuesday on which the festival is to start. On Tuesday evening the twelve elders of the village (*Boro-bai*) go to the Bodo Gedda (A big hill-stream flowing between Bosubeda and Madagada) carrying twelve new baskets on their heads. The whole procession moves to the accompaniment of drum beatings and the blowing of trumpets. The 12 elders fill the baskets with the soil from the stream-bed and return to the *Chaduru* hut and keep them on twelve *Chaduru* stones. In the mean while the *Barika* brings one measure of wheat grains and keeps them in his hut. On this day the Muttadar selects two *gurus* from the Goudu tribe and 10 *Bheemas* from all the other tribes irrespective of community status. During the twelve days of the festival, the ten *Bheemas* visit all the villages of the *Mutta* and collect vegetables, rice and other food stuffs from the villagers and store them in the *Chaduru* - hut. On Thursday the *Barika* erects a pandal in front of his house and sacrifices a cow in the name of Jankari Devta. He skins the cow and spreads it on the ground under the pandal. On Thursday evening the Muttadar, a com-

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panied by the two Goudu *Gurus*, the 12 elders (*Boro-bai*) and other villagers comes to the house of the *Barika*. The *Barika* brings the wheat seeds and sits on the cowhide spread under the pandal. He measures three *sollas* of wheat into a cloth held by the Muttadar and then pours out the remaining wheat also into the cloth. The Muttadar and other villagers then go to the *chaduru*-house and prepare seed-beds in the 12 baskets by spreading fertile soil over the soil collected from the streambed. They also prepare seven seed-beds *Sathsaria* in front of the *Chaduru* stones. Then the elders show the wheat seeds brought from the *Barika's* house in the *Sathsaria* and in the 12 baskets. Turmeric water is sprinkled over the seed-beds and during the next ten days the twelve elders water the seed-beds daily so that the wheat seeds may sprout properly.

On the next Thursday, the 12 elders go to the hill-stream *Bodo Gedda* and collect thorns from the thorny bushes. They weave ten seats with these thorns and bring them to the *Chaduru*-hut.

In the evening Muttadar goes to a plantain tree bearing a big bunch and ties sesamum seeds in the flap of the hanging bunch. The bunch is cut from the tree and it is hung from the roof of the *Chaduru*-hut. The Muttadar and the 12 elders sit under the hanging bunch with new towels stretched in their hands. The bunch is then swung like a cradle. As the bunch moves hither and thither seeds of various varieties fall into the outstretched towels of the elders from the flap of the plantain bunch. They believe that even though sesamum seeds alone are tied in the flap, the gods have blessed them with all varieties of seeds in appreciation of their

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devotion. The seeds thus collected are preserved until the next broadcasting and sowing season.

After collecting the sacred seeds, the Muttadar and the elders keep the ten thorn seats on the floor of the *Chaduru* hut. By this time people belonging to the other villages of Madagada *Mutta* also gather there. The ten *Bheemas*, who have been collecting vegetables, rice etc., in the surrounding villages observe fast during the whole day. The fasting *Bheemas* are seated on the ten thorn-seats until next day morning. The whole night all the villagers of Madagada *Mutta*, irrespective of community distinction, age, status and sex differentiation revel in *Dimsa* dance and music before the seated *Bheemas*. This is a testing night for the *Bheemas*. The villagers believe that if the ten *Bheemas* are sincere in their propitiation of Jankari Devta none of the thorns on which they sat prick them.

In the early morning of the next day, the ten *Bheemas* get up from their seats unhurt inspite of their sitting on the thorny seats. By this time the seeds in the 7 seed beds (*Sathsaria*) and the 12 baskets sprout into seedlings. All the seedlings are now transferred to a cot. The *Pujari* sacrifices a goat and chicken to the Jankari Devta and sprinkles the sacred blood on the seedlings, thus enriching them with the sacred blood. Then a community feast ensues with food prepared by cooking all the vegetables, rice and other food stuffs collected by the *Bheemas* during the past 10 days. After the feast the cot containing the seedlings is carried to the hill stream in a procession by the 12 elders and the seedlings are ceremonially immersed in the hill-stream.

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Some of the *Mutta* villagers who are desirous of entering into ceremonial bond friendship (*Neshtam*) collect the immersed seedlings and exchange them. Thus they become sacred brother-hood members and it is obligatory on each other's part to live in mutual co-operation and extend reciprocal help in times of need. As they are considered to be brothers, marital alliances are taboo between the two families and their clans are called brother-clans. Entering into bond friendship is not restricted to members of a particular tribe only. Two persons belonging to two different tribes can also be treated as brothers for all practical purposes. Thus in addition to enriching the fertility of the seeds and the soil, the festival fosters friendship and harmonious relations among the various communities of the *Mutta* in general and the village in particular.

The villagers believe that unless this festival is celebrated, the seeds and the soil are sure to lose their fertility resulting in poor crops. But in Madagada village this festival is not celebrated for the last six years because of the indifferent attitude of the *Muttadar*. By a strange coincidence the crops have been failing for the last three years continuously. So the villagers are now attributing the continuous crop failures to the wrath of the *Jankari Devta*. They are very much bitter about the *Muttadar's* careless attitude. Perhaps it is such accidental coincidence that make a man more god-fearing and that is how religious beliefs and sentiments are perpetuated in human society.

Metta Dhanyam (Dry Paddy) Kotha

Dry paddy crop will be ripe for harvesting in the month of October (*Aswayuja*). After *Korra* and *Sama*,

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dry paddy is the most important item of their food. So the villagers once again offer the first fruits of dry paddy to their ancestral spirits before starting home consumption. The first fruits offering ceremony is performed on any Monday or Thursday of Dasara month as decided by the Muttadar in consultation with the village elders and the *Pujari*.

This is an individual family festival. All the oblations and sacrifices are offered by individual families only. On the fixed Monday or Thursday morning all the family members take head bath and the women fetch water from the hill-stream in a new pot. Some fresh and ripe paddy corn ears are brought from their paddy fields. The water is heated and the fresh corn ears are dipped in the boiling water. Then they pour rice in the boiling water and cook the food. A morsel of the cooked food is offered in the name of the departed souls of the family ancestors and village deities. If the family is economically better off they may sacrifice a hen also. After offering of the oblation and the hen-sacrifice, food is served as oblation to the members of the family. Generally, the elderly members of the family observe fast during day time and eat the oblation in the evening. Unless the first fruits offering ceremony is performed the villagers do not eat the new dry paddy, lest they should incur the displeasure of the ancestral spirits which are believed to cause stomach-ache and ulcers to the violator of the custom.

Dyadi Amas or Deepavali

Deepavali is another festival during which the ancestor spirits are propitiated by all the communities of the

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village in general and the Valmiki community in particular. The Valmikis perform an elaborate ritual to propitiate their *Dumba* or ancestor spirits. While Deepavali is celebrated to mark the victory of Lord Krishna over demon Naraka by the plains people, the tribals, especially the Valmikis, perform it in order to offer memorial services to their ancestor spirits. Some times even the month and days of celebration of Deepavali by the tribals do not coincide with the month and days on which Deepavali is observed by the plains people. Thus Deepavali celebrations have a different implication for the tribal communities of the village. Even the earthen lamps are lighted in the name of ancestor spirits and no particular deity is worshipped. The tribals seem to have adopted the name without actually observing the ritual followed by the plains people.

On the fest val day one Goudu tribal collects ghee from the Goudu families of the village. As Goudus are traditional cattle herders they preserve some ghee for this specific purpose. After securing the ghee the Goudu hands it over to the *Pujari* of the village. In the evening the *Pujari* goes to the *Chaduru* stones and distributes ghee to the heads of all the tribal families gathered there. All the tribal families dip the cloth wicks of the earthen lamps in the ghee and light them. Each family keeps the lighted earthen lamp near the entrance of the house in the name of the ancestral spirits. The non-tribal communities do not observe this custom. They celebrate Deepavali just as they celebrate it in the plains areas. Some of the well-to-do tribals may explode crackers along with the non-tribal families.

The Valmikis celebrate Deepavali for four days during which the *Dumba* or the spirit of the ancestors is

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invoked. The ritual is performed from Thursday to Sunday as fixed by the Valmiki *Baro-bai* (12 elders) with the prior permission of the Muttadar. The *Barika* who belongs to the Valmiki tribe collects money from all the families of the village in order to meet the cost of pig and cow to be sacrificed during the ritual.

In the morning of Thursday all the Valmikis take head bath and assemble near the *Barika's* house. This day is called *Baria Busba Din* (Pig sacrifice day). The *Barika* secures all kinds of vegetables, plantain fruits, rice, milk and keeps them in separate leaf plates. The pig is given bath and decorated with vermilion, turmeric, flowers etc. An earthen lamp is lighted and kept in the middle of the street representing the ancestor spirits. The *Barika* throws some rice grains into the flame of the lamp wick and sacrifices the pig after chanting a hymn, invoking all the ancestral spirits. A portion of the pork is cooked in a new pot. All the Valmikis go to the out skirts of the village in a procession to the accompaniment of drum beatings and trumpet blowings. They carry the various food stuffs kept in the leaf plates, the cooked pork, water, a lighted fire wood torch and a bottle of *Ippa* liquor with them. A spot is cleaned at the outskirts of the village and *Chodi* flour designs are drawn on the spot. A lighted earthen lamp is kept on the cleaned spot. The *Barika* performs *Puja* in the name of ancestral spirits with flowers and turmeric rice. He throws turmeric rice in all directions over the flame of the earthen lamp. Then he invokes the spirits of their departed great grand parents, grand parents and other ancestors and calls them to bring a number of pots to collect the various food stuffs like vegetables, rice,

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pork, water, milk, the lighted firewood and the bottle of liquor offered by them. Then they leave the various items of food, liquor, water etc.; near the earthen lamp with the belief that they will be collected by the spirits of their ancestors and return home.

The second day is called *Dharma Din* (Charity day). On this day they do not offer any sacrifice. All the Valmikiis take head bath in the morning and wear clean dresses. They once again assemble near the *Barika's* house. The *Barika* cleans a spot in front of his house and keeps an earthen lamp over the cleaned spot. He cooks rice along with some vegetables and milk in a new pot. He invokes the ancestral spirits and offers the cooked food to them. All the Valmikiis return to their houses and enjoy a family feast. All of them are expected to spend the rest of the day in noble thoughts and virtuous deeds like giving alms to the poor. That is why the second day is called *Dharma Din*.

The third day is called *Gay Marbar Din* (cow-sacrifice day). On this day they offer cow sacrifice to the ancestral spirits. But for this the ritual observed is the same as on the first day of the festival. Beef is substituted for pork and offered to the ancestral spirits along with other food stuffs on the outskirts of the village after reciting a hymn to invoke the ancestral spirits. The beef is equally distributed among all the Valmiki families while the head of the cow is preserved for the Sunday ritual.

The fourth day is called, *Moond Kaibar* (Head eating day). The *Barika* and other community elders cook the brain of the cow in a new pot. The ritual per-

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formed is similar to the procedures observed on the first and third days of the festival. Instead of beef, a portion of the cooked brain of the cow is offered to the departed souls along with liquor, milk and other food stuffs. The remaining part of the cooked brain is distributed equally among all the Valmiki families. The souls of the departed are thus satisfied with the ceremonial offering of liquor, beef and fork. The spirits once again retire to their abode in the spirit world.

Pork and beef are the most important delicacies of all the Valmiki dishes. They are very much addicted to *Ippa* liquor also. So, they believe that after death also the departed soul's favourite dishes and liquors should be offered in order to satisfy them to the maximum. The earthen lamp is the symbolic representation of the departed soul. It is very interesting to note that a lighted firewood torch is also offered to the departed souls with the belief that they will cook the offerings with the help of the fire from the lighted firewood. Even water is offered to quench the thirst of the ancestral spirits. No other community in the village shows as much respect as the Valmiki's towards their departed souls. Thus the core of the Valmiki religion centres round belief in spirit beings—Animism.

From Deepavali onwards the winter season becomes severe day by day. The most severe months of winter are December and January. By the end of December the wet paddy crop, *Chikkudu* (country beans) and all the pulses will be completely harvested. Once again the ancestor spirits and the village deities will be waiting for their share of the produce. Moreover the villagers will be in a happy mood as they have just reaped

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the fruits of their hard work. They will be very eager to show their gratitude to the ancestral spirits and the two village deities—godly spouses, Mukma Devi and Ganga Devudu. During the whole of *Push* (December–January) the villagers abandon themselves to festival celebrations and *Dimsa* dance. An air of gaiety and sacredness descends on the village, reaching the climax during Sankranthi celebrations.

Chikkudu Kotha

This is another first fruits offering festival. The villagers grow country beans in their fields and backyards as well. These beans are preserved for future use also as they are one of the important supplementary foods of the villagers.

The Muttadar and other elders of the village decide the day on which the first fruits of beans are to be ceremonially offered to the ancestral spirits. They fix it on any Tuesday of *Push* (December–January) month. In the early morning of Tuesday, mixed food of fresh beans and rice is cooked in a new pot. A morsel of this cooked food is offered to the ancestor spirits after invoking each one of the family ancestors by name. All the elderly members of the family observe fast during day time and eat the cooked food as oblation during night. This is a one day festival celebrated by individual families of the village.

Mukma Devi Panduga

Along with *Chikkudu Kotha* festival the villagers celebrate Mukma Devi festival also. Mukma Devi is believed to be the wife of another village deity Ganga De-

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vudu. This is an eight day festival which begins on the night before the Tuesday on which the *Chikkudu Kotha* festival is celebrated. By collecting donations the villagers purchase a goat and a fowl.

Mukma Devi is represented by a stone idol which is located under a tree, about one mile distance from the village towards Bosubeda village. On Monday night the *Pujari* goes to the deity to the accompaniment of the beatings of the drums and blowing of the trumpets. He takes with him the goat and the fowl along with *Chodi* flour, jaggery, milk, plantain fruits, incense, *agarbathi* etc., which are kept in separate leaf plates. He gives a bath to the idol and smears vermilion and turmeric paste over the idol. While chanting a hymn he offers the various food stuffs that are kept in the leaf plates and burns incense and *agarbathi*. He also sacrifices the goat and the fowl in the name of the deity. Then he lifts the idol and carries it home. Next day morning the flesh of the goat and the fowl is equally distributed as oblation among all the families of the village.

Until the next Tuesday the deity is kept in the *Pujari's* house. During these eight days, the *Pujari* performs *Puja* every day with flowers, turmeric rice and burns incense to the deity. Early in the morning of Tuesday, the *Pujari* performs the *Puja* as usual and sacrifices a chicken to the deity. In the evening the idol is carried by the *Pujari* in a procession throughout the village to the accompaniment of drum beatings and trumpet blowings. At each house the family members offer incense, coconuts, chicken etc., according to the economic capacity of each family. The deity is thus carried back in a procession to its original abode and restored

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to its place under the tree. After sacrificing a chicken the villagers return back to the village.

Until this deity is propitiated it is a taboo to eat pulses like blackgram and redgram. Even their cattle should not be fed either redgram or blackgram. If any villager violates this custom, the villagers believe that the deity assumes the shape of a tiger and kills the offenders.

Ganga Devudu Panduga

Ganga Devudu is believed to be the husband of Mukma Devi. The deity is brought from its abode and kept in the village for about 15 days and on the first day of Sankranti the deity is taken back to its place. This is another *Mutta* level festival during which the villagers of Balluguda and Dingriput are involved in a ceremonial show of strength (tug-of-war) in which the Muttadar plays the role of a pacifier. The festival starts on Tuesday and continues until the 3rd Tuesday.

The particular Tuesday on which the festival should start will be decided by the Muttadar in consultation with the *Baro-bai* and the *Pujari*. The villagers initiate the festival in a hilarious mood by performing *Dimsa* dance in the night of the Monday preceding the Tuesday on which the actual festival is to start. In the evening of the first Tuesday the *Pujari* goes to the Ganga Devudu who is represented by an iron chain, kept in a pot and housed in a small thatched hut temple. It is situated on an elevated platform on the eastern side of the village. The *Pujari* is accompanied by the musicians of the village. He performs *Puja* to the deity and sacrifices a chicken. He keeps the iron chain

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representing the deity in a new pot and carries it in a procession to the accompaniment of drum beatings and trumpet blowings through the streets of the village. The deity is carried to the *Pujari's* house first. He washes his face and hands and offers incense to the deity. Then the deity is taken to the *Barika's* house. The *Barika* fills two new pots with water and covers them with plantain leaves. On this leaf covering he keeps a leaf cup lamp. He also pours paddy in a winnowing fan. He transfers the lamp from the pot top to the paddy in the winnowing fan. The *Pujari* stands on a wooden plank. The *Barika* washes the feet of the *Pujari* with the water from one pot and with the water from the other he gives bath to the deity. After the bath the iron chain is again kept in the pot. *Kanugu* oil is poured over the deity and then a measure of rice is poured over it. He performs *Puja* with flowers to the deity and calls all the villagers to participate in the festival by offering the deity various kinds of food grains like *Sama*, *Chodi*, paddy etc. When all the villagers have gathered, the deity is taken in a procession through the streets of the village to the accompaniment of beating of drums and blowing of trumpets. After the procession the deity is kept in the *Pujari's* house. Every day evening the deity is taken in a procession through the streets and at each house they offer food grains like *Sama*, *Chodi*, paddy etc.

On the second Tuesday the *Barika* fastens a long cane stick (*Bentha Karra*) in a horizontal position to two vertical poles near the *Chaduru* of the village. Again the deity is taken in a procession through the village in the evening of every day until the third Tuesday.

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On the third Tuesday the villagers of Balluguda and Dingriput come to Madagada village in two parties. These two parties meet near the *Chaduru* of the village. The two parties hold the *Bentha* stick on either side and start pulling it. Madagada village elders also join this tug-of-war on either side. Some of the villagers paint their bodies in various colours and act as buffoons, providing humour to relieve tension in this tense situation. All the musical instruments are played until the two parties get excited. The whole atmosphere is charged with tension and a spirit of competition pervades the scene. Then the Muttadar appears on the scene with a long bamboo pole in his hand. He stands in the middle of the contesting parties and tries to pacify and control the emotions of the competitors. The two parties start pulling the *Bentha* stick on either side until it is broken into pieces. With the broken sticks in their hands the two parties retire to their respective villages and preserve them as mementos.

After the dispersal of the competing parties, the deity is carried back to its original abode by the *Pujari* accompanied by the musicians and the buffoons. They also take a goat and fowl along with them. The deity is restored to its original place and the *Pujari* sacrifices the goat and the fowl to the deity. Then the *Pujari* cooks the mutton and the fowl as oblation. Along with the musicians and the buffoons, the *Pujari* eats the cooked meat there itself and returns to the village.

The next day will be Bhogi, the first day of Sankranthi festival from when onwards the villagers revel in their favourite *dimsa* dance until the next Saturday. Thus during the whole of Sankranthi month the villagers

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indulge in festivities which are marked with pomp and splendour. By this time the crops are harvested and the produce is in their houses. This is the time of plenty and prosperity. Yet they do not forget the deities. Ganga Devudu is brought to the village and offered his due of the food grains like *sama*, *Chodi*, paddy etc. The harvesting season of the major crops is over and the successful completion of the harvesting operations require a fitting celebration which reaches climax in their robust *dimsa* dance in which men and women of all the tribal communities participate without any status distinction. Even some of the non-tribal men and women who know *dimsa* dance participate in this exhilarating dance performance. The ceremonial tug-of-war conducted on the final day of the festival instils a spirit of healthy competition among the people of Madagada and the two neighbouring villages under the alert eye of the Muttadar who is the hereditary guardian of the peace and prosperity of the Madagada *Mutta*.

Nandi Devudu Panduga

In the month of *Magh* (January-February) the villagers change the thatch of their huts. Dry *rella* and *durba* grasses (hill-grasses) are brought from the surrounding jungles and hills. As summer fast approaches there is lurking danger to their huts from accidental fire break-outs. So their huts need the protection of a supernatural power from these fires. Hence the deity Nandi Devudu is propitiated before covering their huts with the new thatch. Like Jankari Devta, Nandi Devudu is not represented by any stone idol. The spirit of Nandi

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Devudu is believed to pervade the fine soil of an ant hill located on the eastern side of the village.

This is a one day festival celebrated on any Saturday of *Maghamasa* (January-February) as decided by the *Muttadar* in consultation with the elders of the village. In the evening of Friday, preceeding the fixed Saturday the *Pujari* and the *Chellan* go to the ant-hill situated on the eastern side of the village with a new bamboo basket and a bottle of *Ippa* liquor. The *Chellan* pours the *Ippa* liquor on the ant-hill. When the soil is wet, he collects the clay from the spot and makes the figure of a *Nandi* (Sacred Bull). The figure is kept in the new bamboo basket. After invoking Nandi Devudu the *Pujari* sacrifices a fowl and sprinkles the blood of the sacrificed fowl on the clay figure. The *Chellan* carries the basket containing the clay figure and they return to the village. The figure is kept in the house of *Pujari* for the night. On Saturday morning the *Nandi* figure is taken in procession through the streets of the village to the accompaniment of music. At each house the family members offer six paise and some food grains. In the evening the *Chellan* and the *Pujari* carry it back to the ant-hill and after offering a chicken the clay idol is left there.

Now the spirit of Nandi Devudu is propitiated and the villagers start covering the roofs of their huts with the new thatch. The villagers believe that if they rethatch their huts without celebrating the festival Nandi Devudu is sure to wreak vengeance upon the villagers by burning their huts with fire.

Phagun Kalchuta (Burning the phagun)

Phagun (February-March) is the last month of the

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year according to the local calendar. The villagers make a bonfire of the past year's joys and sorrows. This is a day of joy, excitement and much merriment. The festival is celebrated on the full moon (*Purnima*) day of *Phagun* month. One week before the celebration of the festival, the *Barika* announces the day of celebration by *tom-tom* in the shandies and in all the villages of *Mutta*. On the *Purnima* day all the villagers bring logs of wood and construct a big wooden structure on the outskirts of the village, midway between Madagada and Bosubeda villages. Around this structure a big *Jathra* is organised. The villagers clean and decorate their houses with red clay daubing. All the villagers gathered there will be in a festive mood. The whole atmosphere is charged with fun and gaiety. The Muttadar prepares a big white cloth flag and ties it to a long wooden pole. By evening the Muttadar prepares a big white cloth flag and ties it to a long wooden pole. By evening the Muttadar hoists the flag on the wooden structure. A fowl is sacrificed in the name of all the ancestor spirits and the village deities. The Muttadar then kindles fire on the eastern side of the wooden structure. The people around raise a big din by beating drums and playing upon the musical instruments. With the deafening sounds of the musical instruments, the flames rise higher and higher until the wooden structure is completely burnt out and the flag along with the unburnt portion of the mast falls down. The direction in which the flag has fallen indicates the side in which there will be bumper crops in the coming year. The *Mutta* people spend the whole night in singing, dancing and all sorts of indulgences. Under the

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cover of this jubilant night atmosphere, lovers elope with their prospective spouses. Thus this *Mutta* level festival provides fun and frolic to all the people of the *Mutta* without any status distinction. The villagers look forward to the new year which begins with *Kotha masa* to start the cycle of activities afresh.

Mamidi Kotha

This festival is observed during the mango fruit season. The first fruits eating ceremony of mangoes is celebrated on a Monday as fixed by the *Muttadar*. In the morning of Monday, the family members take head bath and bring fresh mangoes and then cut them into small pieces. They are mixed with milk and jaggery and a sweet is prepared. Food is cooked in a pot and a morsel of the cooked food along with the sweet mango preparation is offered to the ancestral spirits. Then all the family members eat the cooked food and the mango sweet preparation. The elders of the family observe fast during the day time and eat the cooked food and the mango preparation in the evening. Without offering the first fruits of mango to the ancestral spirits it is a taboo to eat mangoes. The villagers believe that if any villager violates mango fruits without offering them first to the ancestral spirits, he is sure to develop stomach-aches and ulcers in the stomach.

Along with *Mamidi Kotha* festival, the villagers worship their agricultural implements. All the agricultural implements of the household are kept in a corner of the hut in the morning. An earthen lamp is lighted and placed before the agricultural implements. The head of the family performs a *Puja* by sprinkling tur-

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meric powder and vermilion on them. Both the rituals are performed by individual families only. No village deity is worshipped on this day. Unless and until they worship their agricultural implements it is taboo to use them next year.

Besides the above festival all the villagers irrespective of caste and tribe propitiate the Bhairav Devudu also. No special festival is celebrated in the name of Bhairav Devudu. The Bhairav Devudu is represented by a big stone idol located in a small hut on the southern side of the village. Once in two months, the villagers sacrifice goats and fowls and offer coconuts in the name of this deity,

Whenever a person is sick his relatives visit the temple of Bhairav Devudu. They offer cooked rice, burn incense and then pray the deity to reveal the fate of the sick person. After the prayer they lift a small stone which is lying in front of the deity. If the stone could be lifted easily, they believe that the sick person will recover and if the stone is lifted with difficulty the sick person is sure to die. Similarly whenever their animals are missing they propitiate the deity and lift the stone. If the stone is lifted easily they believe that they can get back their missing animal other wise it is taken for granted that the animal is lost for ever.

The four non-tribal castes of the village do not actively participate either in the procession or in the ritual. But all of them believe in the existence of spirits, both malevolent and benevolent. So they too offer memorial service to their ancestors during the observance of plains festivals like Sankranti, Sivarathri, Dasara, Ugadi etc. But none of these festivals are celebrated on

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a large scale by the plains people of the village. All of them celebrate them as individual family festivals. Even though these plains people do not actively participate in the various tribal festivals, they do not deny the existence of these deities. Nor are they daring enough to oppose the cow-sacrifice which is offered during Deepavali and Gyamma festivals. All the non-tribal castes except Kamsalis offer chicken sacrifice to Bhairav Devta whenever any person is sick in their family. But all the non-tribal families share the cost of the sacrificiai animal and other offerings during the celebration of the various village festivals. Some of the plains men and women who know *Dimsa* dance perform it along with other tribal men and women during the celebration of their festivals. But their belief regarding these various village deities is not as deep and intense as that of the tribals. Behind their backs the non-tribals do not hesitate to criticise their religious practices as crude and cruel, involving unnecessary bloodshed. But none of them are found questioning the very existence of these village deities. Perhaps they too have one or two similar deities in their respective plains villages.

All the non-tribal families worship Lord Venkateswara, Annavarapu Satyanarayana, Simhadri Appala Narasimha and Puri Jaganath in their villages. During the celebration of some of the plains festivals like Sankranti and Deepavali, they invite plains Brahmins for performing *Puja* and give them *Dakshina*. It is very interesting to note that whenever it is not possible to invite plains Brahmins, they offer *Dakshina* to three Bhagata men as they are considered to be the high status group of the village. Some of the older generation Bha-

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gatas are found wearing sacred threads around their necks or across their shoulders along with *Tulasi* beads under the influence of plains Hindu religious *Gurus*. Even though the non-tribal castes do not completely fit into the ritual structure of the village, still they do not segregate themselves from the various religious activities of the village.

About 60 days are spent by the villagers in the celebration of the various village festivals in a year. In addition to these 60 days, about 30 days are wasted in the celebration of social ceremonies like marriages. Especially between December and March a majority of the villagers completely forget themselves in the celebration of the various village festivals and marriages. At least 6 festivals are celebrated between December and March. February and March are considered to be auspicious for the performance of marriages. Thus in a year at least 3 months are wasted in unproductive activities. Perhaps this is one of the most important factors responsible for the negligent attitude towards reaping the fullest benefits of development activities.

CHAPTER VI

INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

In general the village life is free from bitter strifes and serious contentions. The sober nature of the villagers can be understood from the fact that they have not so far been in the throes of any inter-community strife resulting in serious frictions. Even though the villagers are not an exception to the usual human weaknesses like mutual jealousy, covetiousness and wantonness, the calm atmosphere of the village is never seriously threatened. Whenever there are any occasions of conflict arising out of illegal unions, divorce or theft, the traditional judicial body known as the *Bawo-bai* effectively deals with such situations under the effective leadership of the Muttadar. In spite of the multi-ethnic nature of the village social structure, the relations between the various tribes and castes are marked with mutual co-operation and reciprocity. A study of the behaviour patterns of some of the major communities of the village in the context of the actual cultural milieu throws light on the nexus of relations existing between different communities.

For example, let us see how some of the major castes and tribes behave and react towards the Bhagatas who have been the most dominant group in the village since time immemorial. At the time of marriage in a Bhagata house all the communities are invited to partici-

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pate in the marriage celebrations. Except the Kapus, the other three non-tribal castes do not eat cooked food from the hands of Bhagatas. So the Kapus alone participate in the community feast. The other castes are given uncooked food stuffs which they cook in their own houses and eat. The Kamsali manufactures gold and silver ornaments to be presented to the bride at the time of marriage. In return for the services, the Kamsali is given some money towards his labour-charges and raw food stuffs for preparing the food in his house. The Kumhari (Potter) supplies the new earthen pots which are decorated and hung from the marriage panda]. The Kumharis are also given raw food grains and vegetables towards the cost of the pots supplied. The Sundis send raw food grains and vegetables and in return they are given uncooked food stuffs. Among the tribal groups, the Valmiki act as the musicians (*Bajanari*) during the marriage celebrations. But they are not allowed to participate in the community feast as they are an impure community. Cooked food is served separately for the Valmiki. The Valmiki musicians are sometimes presented with new clothes if the family celebrating the marriage is sufficiently rich. In addition to the cooked food and new clothes, the Valmiki musicians get 5 measures of food grains every year if the family is cultivating lands. The other tribal groups are also given cooked food and they have no specific obligation except presenting the host with some measures of food grains and vegetables according to their economic position. Moreover the lavishness of the feast and the number of people invited also depends upon the economic capacity of the host.

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Even at the time of marriage among the families of other tribal groups like Valmiki, Ghasi, Kotiya, Konda Dora, Porja and Gadaba, those groups who accept cooked food may attend the feast and those who do not eat cooked food may be given raw food grains and vegetables which are to be cooked by them. The Kumari and the Kamsali play their respective roles and in return they are given uncooked food stuffs and the cost of articles including labour charges. The Valmiki are the ceremonial musicians for all the tribal groups of the village. They accept cooked food from all other tribal groups except Ghasis. In addition to their yearly collection of food grains from all the cultivators of the village, they are presented with new clothes at the time of marriage in return for their services as musicians. The marriage rites of all the tribal groups are similar, whereas the non-tribal castes perform marriages according to the plains ritual of the respective areas from which they had emigrated.

At the time of death all the villagers irrespective of community status condole the bereaved family. But carrying of the bier to the burial ground is restricted to the clan members of the deceased. The members of other communities are not allowed to touch the dead body. But elders of all the communities follow the dead body up to the burial ground. Again the Valmiki musicians provide the music when the dead body is carried to the burial ground. Generally the community feast given on the 10th day is restricted to the community members of the dead person. Sometimes other communities may also be given a feast if the deceased person is economically better off. Again the non-tribals

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are given raw food stuffs to be cooked by them in their houses. All the tribal communities perform similar death ceremony with minor variations here and there. The non-tribal communities perform death ceremony according to the practices prevalent in plains where from they had emigrated. Usually all the tribal groups cremate their dead; but the children, pregnant women and persons who died of infectious diseases or in accidents are buried. Generally whenever there is death in a family all the other communities console them and render assistance in the shape of food grains, vegetables etc. But in all social ceremonies, customs of community precedence and social distance practised by a particular community set limits to the participation of the other communities. Ghasis and Valmikiis are considered to be impure communities in this village. They are not allowed to enter the houses of other communities. The other communities do not eat cooked food or drink water from their hands. Thus the participation of the Valmikiis is confined to outdoor activities at times of marriage and death in the families of higher status groups.

Like many other tribal groups, the people of Madagada also enjoy group dancing and singing during the celebration of festivals and social ceremonies. The tribals of this region perform a particular type of dance called *Dimsa*. All the tribal groups and some of the non-tribals who know dancing participate in this dance performance irrespective of community status. Mukma Devta festival is one such occasion during which all the tribal groups dance together near the *Chaduru* (Platform). But, since a long time the Valmikiis have not

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been participating in this ceremonial dance because of the admonition of the Goddess Mukma Devta. It is reported that sometime back when the Valmikis were dancing along with other tribal groups during the celebration of the Mukma Devta festival, one Valmiki man fell into a trance, being possessed by Mukma Devta. The man in the possessed state uttered that Valmikis should not dance along with other superior tribal groups as the Valmikis are an impure tribe. The deity seemed to have ordered them to dance in their own street separately instead of dancing at the *Chaduru*. At that time, it seems Mukma Devta also danced with the Valmikis and those who were touched by Devta during the dance died. Since then Valmikis do not participate in the *Dimsa* dance performed at the *Chaduru* during the celebration of Mukma Devta festival.

Amongst all the tribal groups of the village Valmikis seem to be isolated in the social, ritual and political spheres of the village life. Valmikis are not allowed to touch the cooked food or water intended for the other superior communities. They are not permitted to enter the houses of higher status groups. They are strictly prohibited from touching the idols of the various deities during the celebration of the festivals. The *Barika* who belongs to Valmiki tribe is prohibited from carrying the ceremonial offerings like milk, rice, vegetables, etc., which are carried by the *Challan*, who belongs to the Konda Dora tribe. The elaborate ritual observed for propitiating the *Dumba* (Ancestral spirits) during Deepavali celebrations is peculiar to the Valmikis only. No other community of the village observes such an

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elaborate ritual for propitiating their ancestral spirits during the celebration of Deepavali festival. Even in the traditional political structure of the village Valmiks maintain a distinct set up. They have their own community *Baro-bai*, and they are not represented in the village *Baro-bai*, even though numerically they are the most dominant group in the village. Valmiks are having a Valmiki cattle herder to tend their cattle while the cattle of all other communities of the village are looked after by two Goudu cattle herders. Thus the relations between Valmiks and other tribal and non-tribal groups are less intimate than the relations existing between other communities of the village. Both self imposed restrictions and traditional customs of community precedence seem to have equally contributed for the limited interaction between Valmiks and other tribal groups.

Goudus are the third largest community of the village. Once they were a pastoral tribe. But now-a-days many of them have become settled cultivators. Still some of them are engaged in their age old occupation. Even to this day Goudus are serving as the cattle herders of all the communities of the village except the Valmiks. Though Goudus have no taboo on tending the cattle of Valmiks, yet Valmiks themselves have appointed a Valmiki man to serve as the cattle herder so that one of their community members can earn a livelihood. Thus communal considerations have restricted the occupational functioning of the Goudus to the other communities of the village. Goudus tend the cattle of both tribal and non-tribal groups. In return for their services they collect cooked food once in a day from

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the higher status communities viz., Bhagatas and Kapus and uncooked food grains from lower status communities. In addition to these daily perquisites, once in a year they collect 20 measures of food grains from each of the cultivators. The Goudus are also expected to fulfil a ceremonial obligation in the village. On Deepavali day it is the sacred duty of a Goudu man to collect ghee from all the Goudu families and hand it over to the Bhagata *Pujari*. The *Pujari* in turn distributes the ghee near the *Chaduru* to all the families of the village and with the ghee thus collected each family lights an earthen lamp in the name of their ancestral spirits.

But in the economic sphere social distinctions are completely ignored. Agricultural sector is sustaining the largest number of villagers. Their traditional agricultural practices coupled with primitive agricultural implements are not conducive for production activity individually. Especially settled cultivation is a corporate activity. Mutual help and reciprocal labour are the hall marks of the village agricultural practices. A Valmiki may extend a helping hand to a Bhagata for the successful completion of his agricultural operations and a Bhagata may reciprocate the same whenever the Valmiki needs his services. Sometimes a feast may be arranged by the beneficiary to all those who have helped him in the successful completion of the work. In this difficult and dangerous terrain a man cannot survive as an individual independent of other's help. Stable friendly relations are a prerequisite for continuous and uninterrupted mutual help. In order to secure such long standing friendship, the various communities of the village

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have developed certain ritual mechanisms which are intended to sanctify the friendship between two families. Bond friendship (*neshtam*) is one such sacred mechanism which fosters friendship of a long standing nature. At the fag end of Balli or Gyamma Panduga the tender saplings in the twelve baskets are immersed in a hill-stream. The heads of two families ceremonially exchange the immersed saplings; thus pledging mutual help in the name of God. This sacred bond friendship is not confined to members of a particular tribe only. People belonging to different tribal groups and even non-tribals can proclaim bond friendship. Thus bond friendship cuts across all caste and tribal barriers and nurtures healthy and harmonious inter-community relations. Those who enter into bond friendship have certain reciprocal obligations. For all practical purposes they are treated as brothers. Even if they belong to different clans or tribes their clans are treated as brother clans and marital relations are strictly tabooed between the two families. Whenever there is any social ceremony in the family of one friend the other friend should present him a goat, 10 measures of rice, vegetables etc. During village festivals they exchange gifts and ceremonial greetings. At the time of agricultural operations both the friends work hand in glove.

Among the four non-tribal castes Kamsalis and Kummaris (Potters) are the only functional castes. While the Kamsali manufactures gold and silver ornaments for the village people, Kummaris supply them pots. In return for their services, the Kamsali is paid the labour charges while the Kummaris are paid the cost of the pots either in cash or in kind. Almost all

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the communities require their services during the celebration of social ceremonies and village festivals and even to meet household requirements. The other two castes viz., Kapu and Sundis are flourishing agriculturists. They are also doing illicit liquor distillation and money lending business. The Kapu man's wife has become the village Panchayat Member, defeating a Konda Dora woman in a straight contest inspite of the opposition of the Muttadar. Thus the non-tribals though in small numbers are slowly entering the web of the village social and political life. During village festivals none of the non-tribals actively participate in the ritual. But some of the non-tribal men and women who know dancing participate in the *Dimsa* dance performed during these festivals. They also contribute money to meet the festival expenditure along with the tribal groups. Eventhough the non-tribals do not participate in the actual ritual, all of them believe in the supernatural powers of these deities. Whenever any person is sick in their families they too propitiate the Bhairav Devta to know the fate of the sick man by lifting the stone before the deity. Thus the non-tribals also share the religious beliefs of the tribals.

Though each tribal group is endogamous, a few instances of violation of this rule are also noted. A Kotiya man eloped with a Gadaba woman. As the Kotiyas had excommunicated him, he joined the Gadabas. Gadabas admitted him into their tribe as he belonged to a higher status community. A Kotiya woman eloped with a Valmiki. Kotiyas excommunicated the whole family as one of their women members eloped with a member of an impure tribe. The Valmiki man paid

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Rs. 200/- to the Kotiya woman's parents which they in turn paid as punitive fine (*Kulathappu*) for their readmission into the community. Eventhough the other family members are readmitted into their tribe, she is not treated as a Kotiya woman and for all purposes they consider her as a Valmiki. Even when she visits her parents' house, she is not allowed to enter their house. They give her food in a leaf plate, and not in a metal plate. A Bhagata woman married a Gadaba man and her brother paid the *Kulathappu* for the retention of the other family members in the Bhagata community. The Gadaba man need not pay any *Kulathappu* as he had married a woman belonging to a higher status community.

Community status thus holds sway in the social set up of this village. The inter-tribal and tribe-caste relations are still governed by the decrees of accumulated tradition. Centuries old social codes actually control the day-to-day modes of behaviours of the various communities of the village with minor deviations here and there due to altered economic relationships and changed political set up. Similarly distinctive cultural traits and to a limited extent occupational specialisation are the two factors that distinguish the non-tribal from the tribal groups.

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Political power in this village is vested with the Muttadar. The *Muttadari* system is an ancient institution in the hill tracts of the Godavari and Visakhapatnam Districts of Andhra Pradesh. The essence of this system is that the Government realise land revenue

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from the ryots in a group of of villages (*mutta*) through the Muttadar who is allowed the enjoyment of a part of the revenue he collects and also of some rent free lands for the service of collection and for helping the Government in maintaining law and order in the inaccessible hill areas. The Madagada *Mutta* was, in fact, a very big one in size, consisting of 63 villages. This *Mutta* had extended upto Bisupuram in the east, Sirgam in the west, Sothura in the north and Devarapalli in the south. The services of the Madagada Muttadar were recognised by the British Government by awarding a certificate at the Coronation Darbar of King George V on 12th December, 1911, which the present Muttadar is still holding. Copy of the Original Certificate is reproduced here.

C E R T I F I C A T E

By Command of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, this certificate is presented in the name of His Most Gracious Majesty King George V Emperor of India on the occasion of His Majesty's Coronation Darbar at Delhi to M.R. Raj. Jerra (3rd) Dharma Majji son of Mukhya Majji, in recognition of his public influence for good.

(Sd.) x x x

Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

Madras,

12—12—1911.

The *Mutta* of Madagada was entrusted to Jerra Kent Majji of the Bhagata community by the Maharaja

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of Jeypore. Jerra Kent Majji was later on succeeded by his son Jerra Mukkya Majji and he in turn was succeeded by his son Jerra Dharma Majji who was succeeded by his son Jerra Mukkya Majji. Jerra Mukkya Majji died, leaving his minor son and his wife. His wife, Jerra Lakshamma, took charge of the *Mutta* of Madagada and acted as *Muttadarini* on behalf of her minor son Jerra Dharma Majji till the *Mutta* was cancelled during the abolition of Zamindari. She died on 23-1-1961. The young Muttadar Sri Jerra Dharma Majji, a minor is made the head of the village by the villagers. He is not a Muttadar with a jurisdiction of 63 villages like his fore-fathers. His mother used to pay the land revenue as *Muttadarini* once in a year in the Pottangi Thana Office in Koraput District of the erstwhile Jeypore State. Due to the reverence attached, since generations to the office of Muttadar, the villagers of Madagada have elected the young Jerra Dharma Majji as President of the village Panchayat. He is addressed as head of the village and Muttadar though, the *Muttadari* system itself was abolished during his mother's time.

Before the introduction of the statutory Panchayats, *Baro-bai* was the only political institution in the village. *Baro-bai* is the traditional tribal council of the village. Literally *Baro-bai* means 12 elders. There are two types of *Baro-bai* in this village. Firstly, there is the village level *Baro-bai* consisting of 11 Bhagata elders and 1 Kotiya elder excluding the Muttadar. Secondly the individual tribal *Baro-bai* comprising of 12 elders of a particular tribe. While the former functions at village level, the latter functions at individual

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tribe level. In Madagada only Valmikiis have their own *Baro-bai*. For all other communities of the village the village level *Baro-bai* functions as the tribe level *Baro-bai* also. It assumed this dual role because except Valmikiis and Bhagatas the other communities are numerically small. But these minority groups have their own one or two community elders who represent their communities during the deliberations of the *Baro-bai*, in case their community members are involved in the dispute under discussion.

The meetings of the *Baro-bai* are generally held in the evenings, so that all the members can attend them. The main duties of the village *Baro-bai* are settling inter-community disputes and maintaining harmonious inter-tribal relations, representing Madagada villagers in case of disputes with other villages and making arrangements for the celebration of village festivals. The cases taken up by community *Baro-bai* deal with irregular unions, illegal sexual intimacy, divorce, elopment, family quarrels, and any other incidents that would lower the prestige of the whole tribe. Some of the disputes which could not be settled by the community *Baro-bai* are sometimes referred to the village *Baro-bai* for the final settlement.

The village *Baro-bai* meets only at the instance of the Muttadar. Whenever any issue is there for settlement, the Muttadar sends word to the members of the *Baro-bai* through the *Barika* specifying the nature of the issue to be dealt with, the time and venue of the meeting. The Muttadar presides over the meeting of the 12 elders.

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Whenever the *Baro-bai* members meet, the elders of other communities also attend the meeting as non-participant observers. The final decision is in general arrived at by majority concurrence. But final decision rests with the Muttadar and the Muttadar's judgement is binding on all the members even though it is not the majority decision. The Muttadar sometimes over rules the majority decision and imposes his own opinion upon others. Thus the powers of the Muttadar are similar to the powers of a Court Judge who can deliver judgement independent of the Jury's opinion.

Whenever there is any dispute between Valmiki and the other community of the village, the Valmiki *Baro-bai* sends a representative to the meeting of the village *Baro-bai*. Under the guidance of the Muttadar who presides over the meeting, the dispute will be settled. Whenever a dispute is settled, it is obligatory on the part of the party who succeeds in the dispute to give a feast to the *Baro-bai* and the Muttadar. A part of the fine collected from the offender is utilised for the purpose of giving the feast.

The *Baro-bai* members are neither elected nor selected by the Muttadar. Membership is achieved through hereditary succession only. The eldest son succeeds his deceased father. Even a minor son is permitted to succeed the father. If a *Baro-bai* member dies without son, his wife succeeds him as member. When both husband and wife die without children, the brother of the deceased member becomes the *Baro-bai* member and if there is no brother to succeed him, his nearest male relative becomes the *Baro-bai* member. Sisters

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are not entitled to take the place of a deceased *Baro-bai* member.

Previously the *Baro-bai* used to meet in the *Chaduru* hut (village community hut). The hut was erected on a stone platform and the stones were used as seats by the members of the *Baro-bai*. But after the demise of the present Muttadar's the father *Chaduru* hut collapsed for want of repairs. So at present the *Baro-bai* members meet in one of the houses of the present Muttadar.

Out of the 12 members of the village *Baro-bai*, 11 members are from the Bhagata tribe only. The Muttadar, who is the supreme political head of the village also belongs to Bhagata tribe. So the entire political power is almost concentrated in the hands of the Bhagata tribe. Bhagatas are also economically better off than the other communities of the village. About 75 p. c. of the cultivated land is in the hands of Bhagatas only. Moreover the traditional Muttadari system gave unlimited powers to the Muttadar in all spheres of village life. The *Pujari* of the village deities also belongs to Bhagata tribe. It is only at the instance of the Muttadar that any village festival is celebrated. Socially also Bhagatas occupy the highest rung of the social ladder. Thus politically, ritually, economically and socially Bhagatas occupy the highest position in the village society. Even in numerical strength the Bhagatas are second to Valmiki only. Among Bhagatas, the Muttadar is the most powerful man in every respect. The Muttadar's power is thus all pervasive in all the facets of village life.

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After Bhagatas, Valmikis are politically more powerful than the other communities. They are numerically the largest single community in the village. Eventhough their social position is very low, their enterprising nature and their intelligence seem to have compensated for their low social status. Hence the Valmikis could maintain their own *Baro-bai* inspite of the supreme authority of the Bhagatas in general and the Muttadar in particular. But even Valmikis are afraid of the Muttadar. They have to obtain the Muttadar's prior permission before performing the *Dumba* propitiation ceremony during Deepavali festival. No other community of the village is powerful enough to offer any opposition to the Muttadar. Even to this day, inspite of the liquidation of the *Mutta* it is obligatory on the part of the villagers to plough the fields of the Muttadar first, before undertaking ploughing operations in their own fields. Moreover they should first obtain the Muttadar's permission before undertaking any agricultural operation. During festive occasions the villagers present some vegetables or a fowl to the Muttadar. At the time of celebration of a marriage or other social functions gifts are offered to the Muttadar. Thus the traditional power structure of the village is monolithic rather than dispersed, in the sense that all power is concentrated in the hands of the Bhagatas in general and the Muttadar in particular.

The process of democratic decentralisation was extended to tribal areas in 1962 by conducting panchayat elections and constituting panchayat samithis. The two panchayat elections conducted in Madagada do not seem to have much altered the power structure

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of the village. The Bhagatas still continue to be the most dominant group in the village. The Muttadar could successfully adopt himself to the new pattern of the political institutions. He is the automatic and unanimous choice for the presidentship of the panchayat for the last two terms continuously.

The jurisdiction of the Madagada panchayat extends over 15 villages of the previous *Mutta*. The village panchayat consists of the following villages.

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| 1. Madagada | 6. Varthanur | 11. Naraguda |
| 2. Boduguda | 7. Pakanguda | 12. Dingripur |
| 3. Gathanguda | 8. Damiranzili | 13. Dalapa-
thiguda |
| 4. Nandiguda | 9. Majjiguda | 14. Benjipur |
| 5. Chanpa-
guda. | 10. Kusumguda | 15. Bosubeda |

Madagada is the headquarters of the village panchayat. The panchayat office is located in one of the houses of the Muttadar. The community wise composition of the panchayat for the last two terms reflects the power structure of the panchayat

Members of the Statutory Panchayat— Community Wise.

Community	No. of members in the previous term of the panchayat (1962)	No. of members in the present term of the panchayat (1964)
1. Bhagata ...	2	3
2. Valmiki ...	1	1

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	(1)	(2)	(3)
3. Christian ...		3	
4. Kapu	2
5. Kotiya ...		2	1 (woman)
6. Goudu	1
7. KondaDora...		1 (woman)	1
			...

An analysis of the above statement reveals certain interesting facts about the power structure of the Panchayat in general. In both the panchayats the Bhagatas continue to be the dominant group followed by Christians. While traditional hold helped the Bhagatas to secure the 3 seats in the panchayat, better education and official contacts (administrative influence) helped the Christians to capture the seats in both the panchayats. Among Christians Rev. Joseph of Bosubeda village is the most influential member of the panchayat. He is the chief adviser to the Sarpanch (Muttadar) and the other Christian members are his henchmen. Another peculiarity about the Christian members is that none of them are the original inhabitants of the tribal areas and except in Benjipur village the Christians are not in a majority in any other village. All of them hail from plains areas and they are preachers of the Canadian Baptist Mission.

Madagada village is represented by the Muttadar (Sarpanch) and the lone Valmiki member in the Panchayat. Both of them were unanimously elected for the last two terms. The Valmiki member of the panchayat is not a member of the Valmiki community (*Baro-bar*)

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panchayat. He is chosen for this post because of his capacity to intelligently manage the panchayat affairs.

The analysis further reveals that there are certain changes in the composition of the panchayat during the last two elections. In the previous panchayat a Konda Dora woman was unanimously elected from Pakanguda village. In the present panchayat she is replaced by the wife of the Kapu cultivator of Madagada village. The Kapu woman won the seat in a straight contest and that too inspite of the Muttadar's support for the Konda Dora woman. Money seems to have out played community considerations in this particular case. In the present panchayat while Rev. Joseph could retain his seat from Bosubeda, the other two Christian members from Benjipur and Dingripüt were replaced by a native Christian and a Goudu respectively. Benjipur is a christian village while Dingripüt is a Goudu majority village. Thus nativity considerations and communal feelings slowly entered the panchayat politics.

It is also observed that there are no areas of conflict between the election based statutory panchayat and the hereditary tribal council (*Baro-bai*). Most of the villagers could not understand the full implication of the Panchayati Raj set up. They consider it as a liaison institution between the people and the State administrative machinery. The villagers make clear distinction between the duties of a statutory panchayat and the *Baro-bai*. The panchayat is intended for providing certain civic amenities like laying roads, digging fresh water wells and collection of house taxes. None of these works were ever undertaken by the *Baro-bai*. The

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panchayat's jurisdiction covers a number of villages whereas the authority of the *Baro-bai* is confined to the particular tribe or village. While the panchayat is concerned with the material development of the village, the *Baro-bai* is interested in preserving the traditional customs and norms of the society. Whenever there are any disputes in the village, it is the traditional *Baro-bai* of the village to whom these disputes are referred to for arbitration. The *Baro-bai* is still the most effective instrument of social control. It is on the advice of the *Baro-bai* that the Muttadar makes arrangements for the celebration of village festivals. Even the starting of various agricultural operations is decided at the instance of the Muttadar as the traditional head of the village but not as the Sarpanch of the village panchayat. Thus the social, political, ritual and to some extent economic life of the village is still conditioned by the traditional council viz., *Baro-bai* rather than the newly introduced panchayat institutions based on election.

There is little political awakening among the villagers. They still respect and persevere with the traditional feudal type of set up. In some of the neighbouring villages like Benjipur, Bosubeda and Bathaguda there is a little political consciousness among the people as some of them have participated during national movement and actually courted arrest. None of the Madagada villagers know anything about the political parties of the plains areas in spite of the last four general elections. We can safely conclude that the Madagada villagers are still free from the pulls and pressures of modern party politics.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURE CHANGE

Madagada is one of the main villages of Araku Tribal Development Block, lying at a distance of only 6 miles from Araku, which was first started as National Extension Service Block on 4th March, 1956. It was converted into a Multipurpose Project from 1st April 1956. It entered stage II with effect from 1st April 1961. Consequent upon the introduction of democratic decentralization in tribal areas, the Panchayat Samithi was constituted on 1st September, 1962. The Panchayat Samithi consists of 27 Panchayats, of which Madagada is one. The block comprises of 55 main villages and 329 hamlets with an area of 212. sq. miles. As per 1961 Census the population of Araku Block was 35,560.

Since the inception of the block, Madagada has been the headquarters of the Village Level Worker circle with 39 villages including hamlets under its jurisdiction. In consonance with the policy of the planners to achieve integrated development of the village, many development schemes were introduced in Madagada with the starting of Araku Multipurpose Block. Most of the development activities in the village were introduced during the Multipurpose Project period only. Agriculture being the main stay of most of the villagers, it rightly received top priority in the development programmes.

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In the field of agriculture, an additional area of 80 acres was brought under cultivation and 120 acres were reclaimed. One irrigation dam constructed during the Multipurpose Project period fell under disrepair and thus rendered unserviceable. Another anicut was constructed across the hill stream Dongajole during the year 1963-64 under which an area of 48 acres was brought under irrigation. Out of the 48 acres, 30 acres are owned by the Muttadar himself. But he is neither cultivating the land nor does he lease it out to anybody. The benefits of this anicut are thus not fully derived due to lack of interest on the part of the Muttadar. An old tank which is situated on the eastern side of the village was renovated during the Multipurpose Project period in order to improve the existing irrigation facilities. The ayacut of the tank is 15 acres.

Like any other tribal village Madagada also is handicapped by traditional agricultural practices and primitive agricultural implements not conducive for an affluent agro-based economy. Prior to the introduction of development programmes, the villagers were not aware of transplantation of paddy seedlings, use of chemical fertilizers, improved seeds etc. So the first task of the extension personnel was to improve their methods of cultivation. As a result of the intensive propaganda and persuasion of the extension staff, some of the cultivators of the village adopted the improved agricultural practices like transplantation of paddy seedlings and accepted the use of chemical fertilizers, improved seeds, agricultural implements etc. During the Multipurpose Project period, Japanese method of

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paddy cultivation was introduced in 15 acres. 33.60 Qts. of improved paddy, *ragi* and millet seeds were distributed. 35 manties and buck scrapers were provided as improved agricultural implements. 16.80 Qts. of Ammonium Sulphate, Calcium Ammonium Nitrate and Super Phosphate were distributed in the village. The panchayat was equipped with 1 duster, 1 sprayer and a push-hoe.

The quality of the cattle is very poor in this village. So, a breeding bull was stationed in Madagada between 1959 and 1961 in order to upgrade the local breed. This breeding bull was withdrawn due to lack of funds from the Government for its maintenance. The panchayat was also not in a position to maintain it due to paucity of funds. 80 pedigree birds like Rhode Island Reds, and White Leg Horns were also supplied to the villagers by the Veterinary Department. A few Mandya rams were also given to the villagers.

One aided Canadian Baptist Mission Elementary School (Single teacher) is catering to the educational needs of village children since 1956. There are at present 61 tribal students studying in different classes from 1st to 5th standard. Mid-day meal programme was introduced in the year 1963-64. Pupils are supplied with books and slates free of cost by the block. The school is housed in a thatched hut which is rickety and needs immediate repairs.

Under Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries Programme 1 Tanning Centre and 1 Common Facility Centre-Training-cum-production Pottery Centre were established during the Multipurpose Project period. The Canning Centre was

opened with the express intention of imparting training to the Valmiki tribals who collect and sell raw skins and hides whereas the pottery centre was intended for imparting training to the Kummaris. The Tanning Centre was closed due to lack of response from the Valmikis as they did not relish the tanning profession. The Common Facility Centre functioned during 1960-61 and 15 potters were trained in the Centre. The Kummaris were provided with two iron potter's wheels. But none of them are using these iron wheels as they are too heavy to work upon single handed. Each wheel is to be operated by two people at a time. As such they prefer to work upon their traditional wheel which can be easily handled by a single person. The Panchayat Samithi started constructing a pucca building for housing the Pottery Centre. But the building was left unfinished due to paucity of funds and the training programme was also stopped.

There is no Co-operative Society in the village. But the credit needs of the people are met by Sunkarametta and Araku Co-operative Societies and the block as well. During the year 1960-61, Co-operative loans to the tune of Rs. 2420/- were sanctioned to 22 tribals. 10 tribals reaped the benefits of debt redumption scheme. Short term loans of Rs. 50/- each were also given to about 50 villagers during the Multipurpose Project period. These loans were channelled through Araku and Sunkarametta Societies. Loans were also sanctioned by the block office for the purchase of bullocks and towards irrigation and reclamation work. 4 villagers were sanctioned Rs. 150/- each for the purchase of bullocks. Rs. 30/- each were granted to 3 persons to meet the expenditure



10 The traditional source of drinking water

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on agricultural operations. 1 tribal was given a loan of Rs. 150/- for irrigation and reclamation work during 1964-65.

Under Health and Sanitation Scheme, 1 Maternity Centre was started in 1958-59 and a pucca building was constructed during 1960-61 by the block authorities. The Maternity Assistant used to attend to pre-natal and post-natal cases and also rendered first-aid. The centre is closed since two years and the building also collapsed as the branch of a tree fell on the roof. The building is yet to be repaired. During the Multipurpose Project period, drinking water well and a cistern were constructed. The well is not used by the villagers as some villager had thrown a dead animal into it. The drinking water cistern also fell under disuse. Periodic vaccination is also done to the villagers to prevent the outbreak of Small-pox. The nearest Primary Health Centre is located in Araku Village at a distance of about 11 k. m.

A fair weather approach road was constructed connecting Madagada with Bosubeda village, covering a distance of about 1 1/2 miles in the year 1959-60. But no internal roads were laid in the village.

During the Multipurpose Project period, 1 Mahila Mandali was organised with 20 members under Women Welfare Programme. Growing kitchen gardens, sending their children regularly to school, washing clothes twice or thrice a week and organizing village entertainments were the major activities of the Mahila Mandali. Some of the tribal women have also been trained in *adda* leaf plate stitching.

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A youth club was also organised in order to provide recreation and a common platform for the younger generation to discuss about the development works to be undertaken in the village. Both Mahila Mandali and the Youth Club are defunct now.

The above enumeration of the various development activities undertaken in the village gives us an idea of the multifarious efforts made to achieve both social and economic advancement of the village society. This affords us an opportunity to assess the performance of development programmes at micro-level. In spite of a decade of extensive development activities in the village the programmes introduced had no continuity and hence tangible results did not emerge. Except in the field of agriculture, the programme could not make much headway in creating a lasting impact on the village society. Poor receptivity of the villagers, improper assessment of the felt needs of the people, haphazard and half-hearted attempts on the part of the officials and inadequate provision for maintenance of works already executed are some of the main factors that contributed for a majority of the reverses suffered by the development activities in the village. The Extension staff could neither correctly feel the pulse of the inhabitants nor estimate the capacity of the tribal to adjust himself to the new deal nor understand the peculiar psychology of the tribal. For example the organisation of Mahila Mandali and Youth Club could not catch the imagination of the tribal as sufficient spade work was not done to prepare the ground for the introduction of these two alien voluntary institutions. The villagers are not mature enough to understand their utility. The lofty

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ideals with which these two institutions were organised are beyond the perception of the tribal women and youth. Tribal youth are not educated enough to participate in fullfledged discussions about the development activities. The village social system is such that it does not permit the younger generation to abruptly assume leadership in adopting innovations as it clashes with the set pattern of leadership. Moreover no specific projects are assigned to this institution to generate group activity and develop "we" feeling. This is an induced voluntary organisation which cannot survive without continued patronage. The Mahila Mandali undertakes to train women in indoor works like stitching, tailoring etc., whereas the tribal women are mostly accustomed to outdoor work. The idea of gathering together to learn a trade, confining themselves to a small room is quite foreign to them. So these two institutions did not thrive in the village society.

The Leather Tanning Centre was established without properly understanding the attitude of the Valmikis towards tanning profession. Even though Valmikis eat beef and some of them do business in raw skins and hides, they never practised processing of skins and hides. Tanning profession is socially looked down by the Valmikis as it is the traditional occupation of a plains low-status caste who are considered to be socially inferior to Valmikis. §The Tanning Centre thus failed to attract the Valmikis of this village. Lack of follow up financial provision has resulted in the closing down of the Common Facility Centre eventhough the Kummaris evinced interest and utilized the centre for getting themselves trained. The two heavy iron wheels supplied to

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the potters did not serve the purpose as the block authorities failed to take into consideration the physical capacity of the under-nourished Kummarris. Moreover, if two people operate the same wheel synchronization of action will not be there. But this initial mistake was later on corrected by the block authorities and they supplied 3 light type of improved wheels with ball bearings. The Kummarris are now fruitfully utilizing these wheels.

The closing down of the Maternity Centre, Common Facility Centre and the half finished building of the Common Facility Centre reflect the haphazard way in which programmes are introduced and later on abandoned due to lack of funds for their continuance even though the above institutions were of utility to the village community.

The block authorities took a right step by constructing a drinking water cistern on a hill stream. Eventhough villagers are availing this facility, the block authorities failed to repair the cistern when it fell under disrepair as a result people are once again drinking water from the shallow and dirty water of the hill stream. The irrigation dam constructed during the Multipurpose Project period was also damaged. But it was not repaired so far. Unless, enough provision is made for maintenance and repairs these development works will not serve the purpose. The lack of sustained financial provision naturally makes the tribal to believe that the Government lack persistence in their programmes and ultimately fail to command the confidence of the tribal.

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The digging of the drinking water well is undertaken without assessing the nature of the felt needs of the villagers. The villagers in this area are accustomed to drink water from running streams. They believe that the water in a well will be stagnant and as such not good for drinking purposes. They are against the sinking of the well as is evident from the fact that the well was made useless by deliberately throwing a dead animal into it, whereas a cistern constructed on a hill stream is happily utilized and accepted by the tribals. This additional facility which is not acceptable to the community was rendered useless, as the sentiments of the tribals were ignored. It is only in the field of agriculture that the block could achieve some tangible results. By persistent propaganda and persuasion, the block extension staff could successfully introduce some of the improved agricultural practices like transplantation of paddy seedlings, use of improved seeds etc. But the improved type of implements like buck scraper are not useful to the tribal cultivator, as the rocky terrain and the undulating slopes of the fields do not permit the use of this levelling implement which can only be fruitfully introduced in areas where the soil is soft and deep ploughing is possible. Whenever these improved implements needed repairs they were not effectively repaired due to lack of technical know-how and non-availability of spare parts. Most of the tribals do not even know the proper handling of the improved implements and as such they are susceptible to frequent repairs. Unless repair centres are established, at least in the block headquarters with plenty of spare parts, these improved

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implements will not be of any use in these areas. This is specially true of sprayers.

Another development work that did not yield the expected results was the construction of an anicut across the hill stream Dongajole. Most of the land under its ayacut is owned by the Muttadar who has not cultivated the field with the waters from the irrigation facility. The money invested in the anicut is a waste. The proverbial lethargy of the tribal seems to have made the Muttadar allergic to utilize the full benefits of this anicut, eventhough he is rich enough to bring his fields under wet cultivation. No development programme can succeed at village level if the local leaders themselves are indifferent in adopting innovations which are to their advantage.

The pedigree birds that were distributed in the village could not survive due to improper feeding, lack of immunity against local diseases and the ravages of predatory animals. The tribal has neither the capacity nor the knowledge and interest to scientifically feed and house them in properly constructed poultry pens. Moreover the exotic birds are not considered fit for sacrificing them to the deities. This shows that the block authorities could not visualise these difficulties in advance. Lack of foresight resulted in the loss of valuable poultry.

The most important of the new functions entrusted to blocks was the implementation of elementary education programmes in tribal villages. A mission school is already functioning since 1956 in the village. But the school is housed in a thatched hut, which is

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badly in need of repairs. This hut does not provide proper shelter either in severe winter or in the rainy season. The block authorities should have provided funds for the construction of a good hut in order to provide proper shelter to the school going children.

Eventhough, Madagada is the headquarters of the V.L.W. Circle, since a long time the Village Level Worker is not staying there as the Village Level Worker's hut collapsed some time back. Thus the villagers are deprived of technical and general guidance and the livelink between the village and the Panchayat Samithi is almost cut off. Instead of depriving the villagers of the services of the Village Level Worker, the authorities should have got the hut repaired and asked the V.L.W. to stay there only.

The discussions with the block officials revealed that many of the development activities could not be pursued further due to the indifferent attitude of the Muttadar (who is also the Panchayat President) in particular and the people in general. But if the Muttadar failed to provide the progressive type of leadership, it does not justify the discontinuation of the programme. The block officials could have tried to build up secondary systems of leadership in the village society or they should have put in more efforts to convince the Muttadar of the changed conditions of life and the necessity for a change in the outlook of the Muttadar and the people as well. This requires missionary zeal and sympathetic understanding of the psychology of the tribal which is sometimes lacking on the part of the samithi personnel.

The above analysis of the implementation of Community Development Programmes and works reveal

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the achievements and short-comings in the process of transforming the village society. The programmes that are undertaken in the village throw light on the weak and strong points involved in the programme implementation process. The success of some of the programmes can be attributed to:

1. Correct assessment of felt needs of the people
2. Proper introduction of improved methods without coming into conflict with the traditional practices.
3. Persistent persuasion and propaganda among the people highlighting the advantages of the development works.

The causes for the failure of many a programme to achieve their purpose can be attributed to 1. indifference to the felt needs of the people and unrealistic plans, 2. defective technical guidance and design, 3. inadequate provision for the maintenance of works already executed and, 4. disregard for the traditional customs, social values and attitude of the community for which the programmes are intended.

Today Madagada presents a pathetic picture of abandoned development programmes. The half-finished Common Facility Centre, dilapidated Maternity Centre and the damaged anicut stand as monuments of unrealistic planning with no follow-up provision for maintenance and repairs. Moreover, the block seems to have tried to implement too many development programmes at a time. This naturally resulted in diffusion of effort. The programme could have fared

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better if the planners were to concentrate upon a few important items of development like Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Irrigation and Education. This would have helped the Block to conserve the energies of its personnel and financial resources for the intensive development of the main stay of the people. After achieving convincing success in the major fields of activity, they could have slowly developed the other facets of their life. This approach would have provided a solid base on which the process of cultural transformation could have been nurtured.

Even prior to the introduction of Community Development Programmes certain agencies of change have been operating in the tribal areas. These can be broadly classified into Government agencies and private agencies. While the former is represented by the various departments like Revenue, Forest, Social Welfare, etc, the latter comprises of the plains people, who came in search of a livelihood and settled here as agriculturists, businessmen, money-lenders etc. The Government departments have been working here for protecting the interests of both Government and tribals in land and forest, whereas the plains settlers immigrated to these parts with the selfish motive of exploiting the tribals to their advantage. Thus the activities of the plains settlers have always been detrimental to the social and economic advancement of the tribals.

On the other hand, there is a gulf of difference between the activities of Community Development Blocks and other Government Departmental activities.

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The major difference between the previous Government activities and the Community Development Programme is that the former lacked coherence and co-ordination in their respective activities whereas the latter has been making concerted efforts to implement welfare programmes in a planned way. Moreover, the blocks are better equipped both with men and money than the previous Government Departments. Relatively speaking the achievements of Community Development Programmes are more striking than the achievements of previous Government Departments. This is because while the former Government Departments made isolated efforts to develop tribal areas in patches and shreds, the Community Development Programme has been aiming at the integrated development of all the tribal areas.

In the preceding pages the impact of the Community Development Programme on the life and culture of the Madagada villagers is discussed in detail. Now let us examine the contribution of other Government departments and the plains settlers to the process of culture change in the village.

The opening of the Visakhapatnam - Machkund Road and the consequent introduction of modern means of transport like buses, jeeps, etc., brought these villagers into close contact with the activities of the Government departments and the culture of the neighbouring plains people. The organisation of shandies in Sunkarametta and Araku villages which are located on the bus route facilitated the diffusion of the finished products of the plains material culture into the village. Many

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of the non-tribal material culture traits, like brass utensils, ceramics, glass-ware and agricultural implements such as iron crow-bar, spades, axes, plough-shares etc., found their way into the tribal households of the village. The few plains settlers living in the village and the visiting Government officials served as models to the tribals for a new way of dress and decoration. The traditional dress of the men and women are slowly being replaced by the plains pattern of dress. Previously the men used to wear lion-cloth and the women used to wrap a saree round their body from above their knees and tie it over their shoulders. Men and women were not accustomed to wearing shirts and blouses respectively. But nowadays many a man is found wearing dhoties and shirts while some women are wearing blouses which are available in the weekly markets. This changed pattern of dress is more marked among the younger generation. Still a large number of adult tribals are found wearing their dress in the traditional pattern. Many of the tribal women are using the plains products of decoration like cheap cosmetics and brass and rolled gold ornaments which are offered for sale in the weekly shandies. Even in their drinking habits a marked change is observed. Nowadays many of the tribals of the village are habituated to drinking coffee, tea and illicit liquor which are readily available in the shandies and the village as well. At least two families of the plains settlers are engaged in illicit liquor distillation in the village.

A degree of change is also noticed in their occupational pattern because of the activities of both

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Government and plains settlers. Some of the tribals are engaged as labourers in D. B. K. Railway project work and in development works. The activities of Forest Department are providing them supplementary occupations. A few of the Valmiki tribals have been engaged in business. Some of the tribals are raising coffee plantation on a small scale under the guidance of Forest Department. But their occupational mobility is very limited and temporary as no marked shift is found in the occupational pattern of most of the villagers. Still agriculture and collection and sale of minor forest produce constitute the most important main and subsidiary occupations respectively of the villagers.

The most striking change is evident in their behaviour patterns and attitudes towards plainsmen and visiting officials. The villagers are no more the proverbial meak and submissive tribals of the past. The frequent contacts and interaction between the tribal and the non-tribal resulted in intimate relations. The tribal may be indifferent and suspicious towards the visiting officials but he is not afraid of them. Once the tribal villager is convinced of the good intentions of the visiting official, he will very closely move with him and co-operate in his work. The plains settlers who are mostly agriculturists, money lenders and businessmen exercise a parasitic hold over the tribals. Their intimate and friendly relations are always to the advantage of the plains men.

Some of their social customs are also in the process of transformation because of the long standing

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influence of the advanced culture of the plains people. For example, the custom of marriage by capture is fast vanishing among the tribals. Nowadays marriage by capture lacks the elements of force and surprise. Only a few of the tribals occasionally resort to pre-arranged mock capture if the bridegroom is not rich enough to bear the marriage expenses.

The hard core of their culture-religion, seems to be undergoing some superficial changes due to the influence of plains religious practices. To fix up an auspicious day, the tribals of the village consult a plains *Guru*. They are also found observing some of the plains festivals like Deepavali, Sankranti etc. But they have only adopted the name of the festival without following the ritual implication e.g., the Deepavali observed in this village very much differs from the Deepavali, observed in the neighbouring plains areas (vide Deepavali festival) In some years the villagers celebrate Deepavali festival either in advance or after the celebration of the Deepavali festival in plains areas. Some of the Bhagatas and Kotiyas are found wearing sacred threads under the influence of plains Hindu religious *Gurus*. The tribals are still propitiating their traditional village deities and are following the same rites and rituals in worshipping them. Thus the plains religious practices have only touched the fringe of their religious sphere of life without disturbing its core. While all other facets of their culture are undergoing perceptible changes, their religious life remains a cultural lag.

The above microcosmic study of the dynamics of culture change in the village shows that inspite of the

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multifarious activities of the various agencies of change, the structure of the village society could not be radically transformed. Eventhough the Community Development Programme could not make a great leap forward, yet it could make the villagers conscious of the main theme of planned progress. Perhaps ten years is too short a period to bring these socially and economically backward people on par with the more advanced people of the plains villages. However, the ball is set to roll and at least in the years to come the tribal villagers are destined to catch the train of progress. If the planners are more realistic in their approach and evolve plans based upon the rich experience gained so far and take into consideration the specific conditions obtaining in tribal areas, the tribal villagers are sure to 'jump the gap' that is existing between their level of development and that of the neighbouring advanced societies.

STATISTICAL TABLES

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TABLE 1

Community-Wise Distribution of the Village Population

Sl. No.	Name of the Community	No. of House-holds.	No. of persons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
TRIBALS			
1.	Bhagata	48	188
2.	Valmiki	51	266
3.	Goudu	14	66
4.	Gadaba	2	10
5.	Kotiya	3	12
6.	Konda Dora	2	11
7.	Ghāsi*	3	12
8.	Porja	6	18
NON-TRIBALS:			
9.	Kummari	12	61
10.	Kapu	1	7
11.	Kamsali	1	9
12.	Sundi	2	12
Total:		145	672

* Ghāsis are not declared as Scheduled Tribe but they are called tribals by Anthropologists.

Statistical Tables

TABLE 2 Tribal & Non-Tribal Population (Age Groups)-Community-Wise

Sl. No.	Name of the Community	Children (Below 15 years)		Adolescents (15-18 years)		Adults (19 years and above)		Total		Total
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
T R I B A L S										
1.	Bhagata	33	30	3	2	56	64	92	96	188
2.	Valmiki	58	41	8	11	72	76	138	128	266
3.	Goudu	10	13	2	1	20	20	32	34	66
4.	Gadaba	...	1	1	1	3	4	4	6	10
5.	Kotiya	2	3	...	1	3	3	5	7	12
6.	Konda Dora	2	...	2	...	4	3	8	3	11
7.	Ghasi	1	2	2	...	4	3	7	5	12
8.	Perja	2	2	2	...	6	6	10	8	18
NON-TRIBALS										
9.	Kumari.	12	9	3	4	18	15	33	28	61
10.	Kapu	2	2	...	...	1	2	3	4	7
11.	Kamsali.	...	5	2	2	2	7	9
12.	Sundi	3	3	3	3	6	6	12
Total:		125	111	23	20	192	201	340	332	672

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TABLE 3 Marital Status-Community-Wise

Sl. No.	Name of the Community	Unmarried		Married		Widow/er		Total		
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
R I B A L S										
1.	Bhagata	37	32	50	55	5	9	92	96	188
2.	Valmiki	71	55	65	65	2	8	138	128	266
3.	Goudou	12	14	19	16	1	4	32	34	66
4.	Gadaba	1	2	3	3	...	1	4	6	10
5.	Kotiya	2	4	3	3	...	...	5	7	12
6.	Konda Dora	5	...	3	3	...	...	8	3	11
7.	Ghasi	3	2	3	3	1	...	7	5	12
8.	Porja	4	2	6	6	...	...	10	8	18
NON-TRIBALS										
9.	Kummari	16	10	16	16	1	2	33	28	61
10.	Kapu	2	2	1	2	...	...	3	4	7
11.	Kamsali	...	5	2	2	...	...	2	7	9
12.	Sundi	3	3	2	2	1	1	6	6	12
Total:		157	131	173	176	10	25	340	332	672

Statistical Tables

TABLE 4

Literacy Levels (Age-Group-Wise)

Age-groups (Years)	Literates		Studied upto 5th Standard		Total Literates
	M.	F.	M.	F.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1-10	2	2	3	...	7
11-20	3	2	...	1	6
21-30	6	6
31-40	1	1
41-50	1	1	1	...	3
51-60
61-70	1	1
71 and above
Total :	14	5	4	1	24

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TABLE 5

Land Ownership-Community-Wise

Sl. No.	Name of the Community	No. of families possessing land	No. of landless families
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
TRIBALS			
1.	Bhagata	33	15
2.	Valmiki	37	14
3.	Goudu	9	5
4.	Gadaba	...	2
5.	Kotiya	1	2
6.	Konda Dora	2	...
7.	Ghasi	...	3
8.	Porja	2	4
NON-TRIBALS			
9.	Kummari	2	10
10.	Kapu	...	1
11.	Kamsali	...	1
12.	Sundi	2	...
Total :		88	57

Statistical Tables

TABLE 6

Distribution of Land-Type-Wise and Community-Wise

Sl. No.	Name of the Community	Extent of Dry Acres	Land Cultivated Wet Acres	Cultivated Podu Acres	Total Acreage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
TRIBALS					
1.	Bhagata	285-00	120-00	4-00	409-00
2.	Valmiki	52-00	28-50	15-50	96-00
3.	Goudu	25-00	10-50	...	35-50
4.	Gadaba	...	...	...	...
5.	Kotiya	...	0-50	...	0-50
6.	KondaDora	1-00	3-00	1-00	5-00
7.	Ghasi	...	...	...	...
8.	Porja	4-00	1-00	...	5-00
NON-TRIBALS					
9.	Kummari	...	1-00	...	1-00
10.	Kapu	...	...	...	...
11.	Kamsali	...	...	...	...
12.	Sundi	11-00	6-00	...	17-00
Total		378-00	170-50	20-50	569-00

TABLE 7
Land Tenure Particulars-Community-Wise

Sl. No.	Name of the Community	Extent of land cultivated in the village (Acres) (3)	Land leased-out (Acres) (4)	Land leased-in (Acres) (5)	Total owned or L. I. Land cultivated by each community (Acres) (6)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
TRIBALS					
1.	Bhagata	409-00	58-00	...	351-00
2.	Valmiki	96-00	16-50	16-00	95-50
3.	Goudu	35-50	...	8-50	44-00
4.	Gadaba	...	...	1-00	1-00
5.	Koriya	0-50	...	...	0-50
6.	Konda Dora	5-00	...	...	5-00
7.	Ghasi	...	...	0-50	0-50
8.	Porja	5-00	...	...	5-00
NON-TRIBALS					
9.	Kummari	1-00	...	14-40	15-40
10.	Kapu	...	...	5-00	5-00
11.	Kansali	...	...	...	...
12.	Sundi	17-00	...	8-00	25-00
Total :		569-00	74-50	53-40	547-90

T A B L E 8
Main Occupation (Age-Group-Wise)

Age-group	Agriculture		Forest Labour		Agrl. Labour		M. F. P.*		Pottery		Goldsmithy	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
<10	6	6	...	1	8	8	2	2	...	2	...	...
11-20	33	27	...	4	11	12	3	3	1	2	...	...
21-30	34	46	2	6	15	11	...	3	5	5	...	...
31-40	37	32	6	2	9	13	...	1	3	1	...	...
41-50	32	20	...	...	8	7	...	...	2	1	1	...
51-60	13	3	...	...	8	4	...	...	...	1	...	...
61-70	3	4	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
71 and above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total:	158	138	8	13	60	55	6	9	12	12	1	...

* Minor Forest Produce.

T A B L E 9

Subsidiary Occupations—Age-Group-Wise

(1) Age-groups	(2) Agrl. Labour		(3) F.		(4) Forest Labour		(5) F.		(6) M. F. P.		(7) M. F. P.		(8) Others		(9) M. F. P.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
<10	4	...	...	...	1	3	9	7	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
11-20	6	15	...	...	5	4	7	14	22	16	...	...	...	...	...
21-30	14	20	...	...	5	3	12	13	22	34	...	...	...	...	...
31-40	14	22	...	...	6	4	16	18	27	21	...	...	...	...	...
41-50	8	12	4	2	12	7	22	23
51-60	9	10	3	2	9	2	5	2
61-70	1	2	...	1	...	5	2
71 and above
Total:	56	79	26	18	66	61	106	98							

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Statistical Tables

TABLE 10
Economic Status (Age Group-Wise)

Age-groups (1)	Earners M. F.		Earning Dependents M. F.		Non-Earners M. F.		Total (8)
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
<10	...	...	16	19	86	83	204
11-20	9	...	39	48	9	13	118
21-30	40	8	16	63	...	...	127
31-40	52	4	3	45	...	...	104
41-50	43	4	...	24	72
51-60	20	1	1	7	1	2	32
61-70	6	4	1	4	15
71 and above
Total:	170	17	75	210	97	103	672

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TABLE 11

Income of Village Households—Source—Wise

Sj. No.	Source	Amount (Rs.)	Percentage to the total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Agriculture	41,220	42.32
2.	Agricultural labour	16,030	16.46
3.	Minor Forest Produce	8,240	8.46
4.	Forest Labour	3,505	3.60
5.	Others *	28,395	29.16
Total:		97,390	100.00

* Others include casual labour in D. B. K. Railway, Pottery, Goldsmithy etc.

Statistical Tables

TABLE 12

Distribution of Households as per Income Groups

Income group (Rs.)	No. of Households	Percentage to the total No. of Households
(1)	(2)	(3)
<200	2	1.38
201-400	26	17.94
401-600	49	33.79
601-800	24	16.55
801-1000	19	13.10
1001-1200	10	6.90
1201 and above	15	10.34
Total:	145	100.00

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TABLE 13

Expenditure of Village Households—Item—Wise

S. No.	Items of Expenditure	Amount spent (Rs.)	Percentage to the total expenditure
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Food, fuel and light	60,965	57.92
2.	Clothing	13,375	12.71
3.	Social and religious ceremonies	10,165	9.66
4.	Drinking	7,485	7.11
5.	Smoking	5,601	5.32
6.	Cultivation	5,945	5.65
7.	Redemption of debt	1,535	1.46
8.	Education	185	0.17
Total:		1,05,256	100.00

Statistical Tables

TABLE 14

Distribution of Households as per Expenditure groups

Expenditure Groups (Rs.)	No. of House- holds	Percentage to the total households
(1)	(2)	(3)
< 200	1	0.69
201-400	12	8.28
401-600	52	35.86
601-800	29	20.00
801-1000	21	14.48
1001-1200	14	9.66
1201 and above	16	11.03
Total:	145	100.00

TABLE 15

Distribution of Indebted Households in Relation to Income and Indebtedness Ranges

Income Groups (Rs.)	DEBT GROUPS							Total	Percentage
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		
<200	—	—	1	—	1	—	2	2.41	
201-400	7	4	4	2	1	—	18	21.69	
401-600	15	6	2	2	—	1	26	31.32	
601-800	8	6	—	1	—	—	15	18.07	
801-1000	5	3	1	—	1	—	10	12.05	
1001-1200	3	2	—	—	—	—	6	7.23	
1201 and above	3	—	—	1	—	1	6	7.23	
Total:	41	21	10	6	3	2	83	100.00	

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Statistical Tables

TABLE 16

Distribution of Indebted Households—Community—Wise

Sl. No.	Name of the Community	No. of Households	Extent of Debt
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
TRIBALS			
		17	7,050
1.	Bhagata		
		36	4,575
2.	Valmiki	—	—
3.	Ghasi		200
4.	Kotiya	1	
		13	1,935
5.	Goudu		280
		2	
6.	Konda Dora	2	330
		2	
7.	Gadaba		340
		2	
8.	Porja		
NON-TRIBALS			
		8	2,505
9.	Kummari		200
		1	
10.	Kapu	—	—
		1	
11.	Sundi		300
		1	
12.	Kamsali		
Total:		83	17,715

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TABLE 17

Source-Wise Distribution of Indebted Households

Sl. No.	Name of the source	No. of households borrowed	Percentage to the total indebted households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Private money lenders	(70)	(84.34)
	a) Tribal	33	39.76
	b) Non-tribal	37	44.58
2.	Block Development Office	8	9.64
3.	Co-operative Credit Society	2	2.41
4.	Friends and relatives	3	3.61
Total:		83	100.00

Statistical Tables

TABLE 18

Purpose-Wise Distribution of Indebted Households

Sl. No.	Purpose	No. of households	Percentage to the total indebted households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Agricultural operations	13	15.66
2.	Purchase of bullocks	14	16.87
3.	Family maintenance	48	57.84
4.	Social and religious ceremonies	6	7.23
5.	Redemption of debt	1	1.20
6.	House construction	1	1.20
Total:		83	100.00

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TABLE 19

Distribution of Households as per Value Groups of Assets

Value-Groups of Assets (Rs.)	No. of Households	Percentage to the total households
(1)	(2)	(3)
<200	34	23.45
201-400	28	19.31
401-600	15	10.34
601-800	3	2.07
801-1000	14	9.65
1001-1200	8	5.52
1201-1400	7	4.83
1401-1600	4	2.76
1601-and above	32	22.07
Total:	145	100.00

GLOSSARY

Andelu	Brass anklets
Bariabusbadin	Pig sacrifice day. The first day of <i>Dumba</i> worship undertaken during Deepavali by the Valmikis on which they sacrifice a pig.
Barika	Village servant.
Baro-bai	Twelve Elders of the village or Tribe level Council.
Bhairav Devta	A male village deity
Bentha karra	Long cane stick used in ceremonial tug-of-war during Gangadevudu festival
Bodo korabar	Ceremony performed on the 10th day after death
Chakonda	Edible wild leaves used in the preparation of curry
Challan	Village servant
Chennapattaro	Edible wild leaves used in the preparation of curry
Chodi	Small millets
Chondisagh	Wild leaves used in the preparation of curry
Darbha	A kind of wild grass used as thatch
Dharma Din	Charity Day-Second day of <i>Dumba</i> worship undertaken during Dee-

Madagada

- pāvāli festival by the Valmīkis which they spend in giving alms to others.
- Dumba
Dyadi
Gangādevudu
Gay Marbar Din
Gedde-Uttaibar
Goravagādu
Guru
Khaddus
Kojlari sagh
Konda Kandulu
Kondrupool
Moond Kaibar
Nangarukanda
Neshtam
- Ancestor spirit.
Deepavali.
A male village deity
Cow Sacrifice Day—Third day of *Dumba* worship on which the Valmīkis offer sacrifice to the ancestral spirits during Deepavali festival.
Purificatory ceremony performed after the birth of a child.
Spirit Doctor.
Priest for life cycle ceremonies.
Bangles.
Wild leaves used in the preparation of curry
A variety of redgram grown in hilly tracts.
Wild flower used in the preparation of curry.
Head Eating Day—Fourth day of *Dumba* worship during which the Valmīkis ceremonially eat the head of the sacrificed cow while celebrating Deepavali festival.
Wild tuber eaten by the tribals
Ceremonial bond—friendship entered into during Gyamma festival.

Glossary

Oldi-pitha-sibar	Ceremony performed on the third day after death..
Pilasutrani	Indigenous Midwife.
Pindikanda	Wild tuber eaten by the tribals.
Pujari	Priest of the village deities.
Rambi	Wild bird whose flesh is not eaten by tribals as it is a taboo.
Sama	Small millets.
Servalli	Edible wild leaves used in the preparation of curry.
Sirikandulu	A variety of redgram grown in hilly tracts.
Turgaikanda	Wild tuber eaten by the tribals.

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