

Ethnography of Bagatha Tribe in Andhra Pradesh

**Sponsored by
Department of Tribal Welfare
Government of Andhra Pradesh**

**J.M.NAIDU
Project Consultant**



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2020

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ethnography:

Ethnography is a process of observation, recording and interpretation of another people's way of life through intensive field work, intimate participation in the community to find out modes of behaviour and organisation of social life of an alien culture/ society. Ethnography is humanistic, qualitative, descriptive, narrative and subjective. Ethnographers conduct field work to understand the way of life of people by participant observation. Field work is the study of people and their culture in their natural habitat characterised by prolonged residence to grasp the native's point of view (*emic*) as complementary to the objective observer's perspective (*etic*). Investigator needs to participate intimately in the community to understand inside view of native people. The descriptive reporting of the customs, traditions, inclinations and accomplishments of foreign peoples is almost as old as writing itself (Rosalie wax, 1971). Morgan is one of the pioneers who has undertaken genuine field work. Famous anthropologists namely Haddon, Saligman, Rivers and Radcliffe- Brown have also spent considerable time in the field to collect firsthand information through observations and total understanding of lives of people. The works of Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict and Malinowski are master pieces of ethnography.

During the last few decades, the emergence of post modernism brought a "reflexive trend" and new forms of field work relations, and ethnographic writing. Auto ethnography, narrative ethnography and new life history approaches such as 'testimonio' and new practices of writing, communicating, and reading ethnographic accounts as 'texts; (Bharathi et al 2016). The new ethnography incorporates three interlocking concerns such as multivocality (multiple voices representing multiple interests or realities), how and the ways in which fieldwork is conducted, whether research participants are incorporated in to the ethnographic account and increased regard for the context and whether proxies are engaged in writing texts. The importance of ethnography, a paradigm of qualitative research methods has grown substantially. Ethnography is thus a process of discovery and continuous probing to achieve *emic* and *etic* perspectives of a community through a holistic approach.

The ancient populations of India are designated as tribes referred as aboriginals, *adivasies*, *girijans*, *adimajatis*, or indigenous population or primitive population or primitive groups. Tribe, commonly referred 'Scheduled Tribe' in the Indian context, is an administrative and legal term to label some ethnic groups based on their socio-economic status, religious and

cultural customs in order to give special attention to them as mandated by the constitution. There are 705 scheduled tribes in India as defined in article 366 (25) of constitution of India as per 2011 census, out of which 75 are recognised as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), later renamed as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). As per fifth schedule of constitution of India, several special provisions are provided to tribes inhabiting scheduled areas through tribal sub-plan strategy. Currently, Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) is conceived for targeted development of tribal area and tribal population. Tribes typically live on hills, somewhat remote from caste villages. Tribes generally speak their own dialect, recognised as tribal language. Often tribes used to practice shifting cultivation and tend to form self-sufficient economic units. The land use rights are traditionally derived simply by tribal membership.

Tribes of Andhra Pradesh: In Andhra Pradesh there are seven ITDAs in the state scheduled area, established at K.R.Puram, West Godavari dist; Paderu, Visakhapatnam dist; Parvathipuram, Vizianagaram dist; Rampachodavaram, East Godavari dist; Seethampet, Srikakulam district; Chinthur, East Godavari district, and Srisailam, Kurnool dist. About 34 tribal groups inhabit the state of Andhra Pradesh, as listed in table -I-1

Table I.1. List of Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh

1 Andh, Sadhu Andh	18 Koya, DoliKoya, GuttaKoya, Kammara,
2 Bagata	Koya, MusaraKoya, OddiKoya, Pattidi Koya,
3 Bhil	Rajah, RashaKoya, Lingadhari, Koya
4 Chenchu	(ordinary), KottuKoya, Bhine, Koya, Rajkoya
5 KallayiGadaba, ParangiGadaba,	19 Kulia
KatheraGadaba, KapuGadaba	20 Malis
6 Gond, Naikpod, Rajgond, Koitur	21 Manna Dhora
7 Goudu	22 MukhaDhora, NookaDhora
8 Hill Reddis	23 Nayaks
9 Jatapus	24 Pardhan
10 Kammara	25 Porja, Parangiperja
11 Kattunayakan	26 Reddidora
12 Kolam	27 Rona, Rena
13 KondaDhoras, Kubi	28 Savaras, KapuSavaras, MaliyaSavaras,
	KhuttoSavaras
14 KondaKapus	29 Sugalis, Lambadis, Banjara
15 Kondareddis	30 Valmiki,
16 Kondhs, Kodi, Kodhu, DesayaKondhs,	31 Yenadis, ChellaYenadi, KappalaYenadi,
DongriaKondhs, KuttiyaKondhs, Tikiria,	ManchiYenadi, ReddiYenadi
Kondhs, YenityKondhs, Kuinga	
17 Kotia, Benth Oriya, Bartika, Dulia,	32 Yerukulas, Koracha, DabbaYerukula,

Holva, Sanrona, Sidhopaiko

KunchapuriYerukula, UppuYerukula
33 Nakkala, Kurvikaran
34 Dhulia

b. List of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGs)

- 1 Chenchu,
- 2) Gadabas, BodoGadaba, GutobGadaba, KallayiGadaba, ParangiGadaba, KatheraGadaba, KapuGadaba
3. Kondareddis
4. Kondhs, Kodi, Kodhu, DesayaKondhs, DongriaKondhs, KuttiyaKondhs, TikiriaKondhs, YenityKondhs, Kuvinga
5. Porja
- 6 Savara

Source: Census of India 2011

Few tribal groups namely Yanadhi, Yerukula, Sugali, Lambadi and some sub groups of these tribes live in plain areas, while majority of tribal groups (27) inhabit hill areas which are referred to as hill tribes. In Andhra Pradesh six tribal groups namely, Chenchu, Gadaba, Konda Reddy, Khond, Porja and Savara, are recognised as PVTGs populations based on backwardness, pre-agricultural technology and illiteracy. Majority of hill tribes inhabit forest clad Eastern Ghats in North Coastal districts namely Srikakulam, Vizainagaram, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts in Andhra Pradesh. The scheduled tribes possess differing degree of characteristics such as close attachment to ancestral territories and natural resources in these areas, self- identification and identification by others as members of a distinct cultural group, indigenous language, presence of customary social and political institutions, and primarily subsistence oriented production. Tribes of Andhra Pradesh are mostly forest dwellers with distinct culture and heritage. The livelihood of majority tribes is settled cultivation, animal rearing, collection of non timber forest produce (NTFP) and agriculture labour. These tribes are referred to also as *Adivasi*, *Vanavasi*, Hill People, Agency People or *Kondollu* by local plains people. The distribution of tribes in Andhra Pradesh may be understood through two broad divisions namely agency or scheduled areas and plain regions. The agency areas are also known as partially excluded areas which are largely hill areas with dense foliage and some difficult terrain. The plain areas are mostly level land. Among the hill tribes of Andhra Pradesh, Bagatha is a socially, politically and economically dominant group inhabiting Paderu ITDA area, in Visakhapatnam district. Bagatha is also a numerically dominant tribe with 1,32,577 people (Census of India, 2011) concentrated mainly in ITDA Paderu, and the second most populous hill tribe after Savara tribe inhabiting Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts.

The area is shown in maps -1 and 2

Map-1: Andhra Pradesh, highlighting Visakhapatnam district



Map-2 Study area shown in colour from ITDA Paderu, Visakhapatnam district



Aim and Objectives:

Aim: To observe, record, document and write ethnography 'Text' of Bagatha tribe representing people's views (*Emic*) and researcher's perceptions and impressions (*Etic*).

Objectives:

1. To collect ethnographic information about origin, history, synonyms, etymological significance, myths, legends, distribution, population trend, physical characters and prepare data base of Bagatha tribe
2. To understand family, clan, lineage and kinship organization and list out clans and lineages of Bagatha
3. To study life style, way of life, dress pattern, food habits, ornaments and material culture of Bagatha
4. To observe environmental sanitation, hygiene, disease and treatment and record daily activities of Bagatha people and their modes of behavior.
5. To find out the regional distribution of Bagatha population and their relation with other tribes.
6. To record life cycle events such as birth, puberty, marriage, death and distinct cultural aspects, if any, among Bagatha
7. To understand religious functionaries, deities, rituals, calendar of festivals and religious organization among Bagatha
8. To identify the changes due to globalization, market economy, communication network, culture contact, etc.
9. To know the impact of television, mobile network, and other modern electrical and electronic gadgets on the way of life of Bagatha people
10. To know the impact of developmental activities undertaken by ITDA, NGOs and intervention of Govt. on the living conditions of Bagatha

Methodology:

1. Secondary data on the population distribution of Bagatha in villages and mandals in Paderu ITDA are collected.
2. Multi-tribal villages inhabited by Bagatha based on larger number of households, and also villages exclusively inhabited by Bagatha are selected.
3. At least two or more villages each from **eight** mandals where ever Bagatha are concentrated covering both interior and road side villages are selected for study.
4. Two or more representative and proportional sample villages in Paderu, Araku Valley, Chinthapalli, Dumbriguda, Hukumpet, G.Madaugula, G.K.Veedhi and Koyyuru mandals are studied.

5. Field work was conducted in eighteen villages to observe way of life of people
6. At least two or more men and women, representing, both old and young generations from each village are selected as key informants.
7. All the households in the eighteen selected villages are visited and ethnographic data are collected.
8. Headman, Sacred specialist, *Guruvu*, *Pujari*, *Shaman*, *Yejjodu*, etc. from Bagatha inhabited villages were interviewed
9. Holistic approach with *Etic* and *Emic* perspectives are applied
10. Interview schedule is used to collect qualitative and quantitative data
11. Information about family, kinship, rituals, temples, priests, festivals, life cycle events, food habits, crops, agriculture operations, daily activities, entertainment, traditional and elected village leaders, development of infrastructure, living conditions, economy, social and cultural taboos etc were elicited through key informants.
12. Focus Group Discussions are conducted to cross check and corroborate the information given by the key informants.
13. Case studies are taken up to observe finer details such as landholdings, crop pattern, income, expenditure, etc.
14. Participant observation of procedure for puberty, death ceremony and few cases of rituals was possible during ethnographer's visit.
15. Changes in dress pattern, housing, tribal's perception, crop pattern, economy, education, traditional institutions, infrastructure, etc. are observed and recorded.
16. Empirical data are collected from 203 households in 6 sample villages covering 825 Bagatha people.
17. Photographs of village, men, women, boys, girls, children, ornaments, agriculture implements, religious structures, village deities etc., are captured.

Bagatha concentrated mandals and villages studied during September 2018 to March 2019 from Paderu ITDA, Visakhapatnam district are listed in table –I-2. Bagatha are distributed thickly in many villages in Paderu, Arakuvalley, Chinthapalle, Dumbriguda, Hukumpet, G.K.Veedhi and G.Madugula mandals. However, they are sparsely spread in very few villages in Pedabayalu, Munchingput and Koyyuru mandals. Some of the villages inhabited by Bagatha who do not have marital relations or links with upland Paderu region are Nallagonda Kakrapadu, Katragadda, Rampachodavaram, Mampa, Batta Panukulu, Nadimipalem, Sarabampalem, Koyyuru, Seegayapalem, Nellipudi, Ankampalem, Kinchali, Kittaram, Vootamalla, Thallapalem, Vadaparathi, Surampalem, Labbuethi, Lagarai,

Bondamallu, Munjaram, etc. from Koyyuru mandal who marry among themselves forming a separate endogamous group.

Table 1.2. List of Villages inhabited by Bagatha

Sl.No	Name of the Mandal	Name of the Village
1	Chinthapalle	Vamugedda Bailukunchangi Pasuvulabanda Goyyelametta
2	G.K.Veedhi	Jerrela Thotlagondi Adaparaigondi
3	Paderu	Legisipalli Minimuluru PathaPaderu
4	Dumbriguda	Araku Kuridi Dumbriguda
5	ArakuValley	Chompi Yandapallevalasa
6	Hukumpet	Sukuru Bakuru
7	G.Madugula	Sangam Neruduvalasa
8	Koyyuru	Ramanapalli Nallagonda

Chapterization:

The ethnographic text of Bagatha is presented in the following chapters.

1. Introduction
2. The Bagatha Tribe
3. Social Organization
4. Dwelling, Food, Dress and Material Culture
5. Economic Organization
6. Life Cycle Events and Customs
7. Religious Organization

8. Political Organization

9. Leisure, Recreation, Child Play, Inter community Relationship

10. Development and Change

11. Summary

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Annexure

Photographs

CHAPTER II

THE BAGATHA TRIBE

Origin, History and Etymological Significance:

The Bagataha are a scheduled tribe population inhabiting hill tracts of Eastern Ghats in Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh, India. They are also called as Bagata, Bogatha, Bhagadha, Bhagatha, Bhakta, Bhaktha and Bakta. Thurston (1909) reports that Bagatas, Bhaktas or Baktas are a class of Telugu fresh water fishermen, expert in catching fish with a long spear. It is noted in the Madras census Report, 1901, that “on the *Dasara* day, they worship the fishing baskets, and also a kind of trident”. However, these are some superficial generalized impressions of British Administrators although objective in nature. These statements are neither substantiated or corroborated nor evidenced. Thurston (1909) also records that “some of the Bagatas are hill cultivators in the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam accounting their name by the tradition that they served with great devotion (*bhakti*) the former rulers of Golugonda and Madugol, who made grants of land to them in Mokhasa tenure. Some of them are heads of villages and called Padal. Padala occurs as an exogamous sect of Kapu caste suggesting that Bagatas are an offshoot of Kapu”. The Padals style himself Nayak or Raju while *Mokhasadar* has the title Dora.

The Census Report, 1871 recorded that “in low country, the Bhaktas consider themselves to take the rank of soldiery, and rather disdain the occupation of *ryths* (cultivators). However, “in hill Madugula in the Vizagapatam district necessity has divested them of such prejudices, and they were compelled to delve for their daily bread. In appreciation of the military services, the chieftains appointed Bagathas as local chiefs, “*Muttadars*” of hill tracts who claimed themselves as warier tribe, expanded geographically, developed politically and acquired social supremacy in the tribal area over a time span from the late 17th century to the early 18th century” (Reddy, A.M 1972). This ethnographic account seems to be more realistic in the sense that Bagatha are neither expert in fishing as noted by Thurston (1909) nor large water bodies are available on hill slopes of this region. The elderly Bagatha people who are above 70 years old opine that their forefathers were cultivators. It is also observed that even today several traditional headmen of Bagatha tribe / village heads have suffix after their first name viz. Padal, Naidu, Raju, Dora or Patrudu whose forefathers used to collect land cess from tenants on behalf of large land holding *Zamindars*. During British rule period, Government started extending its administrative control to the remote tribal areas also to explore and exploit natural resources. As such British Government officials used to visit villages on horseback.

Bagatha being a warier community used to cater to the food, water and shelter needs of visiting officials. The local tribes attended to menial works like carrying the luggage and showing the routes from one village to other. Due to their direct contact with visiting British officials Bagathas were recognised as a superior status community by the local tribal groups. Bagathas were the honoured guests of local tribes. This ascribed status in addition to their administrative influence helped Bagatha people to become virtual rulers of villages or heads of villages (*Munisif*) and *Muttadars* of *Zamindari*, a part of Jeypore estate. Majority of *Muttadar* families who are politically and economically strong provide hospitality to the visiting officials even today.

According to the Vizagapatam District Gazetteer of 1907, the Bagatas (Bhaktas) who number 30,000 were a branch of the Kapus who chiefly reside in the Madugole and Golugonda hills. The family names of several Bagathas are same as in the Kapu and Telaga caste and marriage customs resemble those of Nagaralu caste. As regards their occupation they were never fishermen and they were eking out their lively hood as cultivators of flat lands and hill slopes locally known as '*garuvu*' and '*kondapodu*' respectively from their forefather's time.

Myths and Legends connected with the origin and history:

As per Census of India (1961) records, Bagatas were martial community at one time and have been the devoted soldiers of the kings of Golugonda Estate who in appreciation of their loyalty called them Bhakatalu meaning devotees which was pronounced later as Bagatha. A story recorded in a monograph of Census of India 1961, 'Jerrela village Survey' says, there are three exogamous sub-groups among Bagatas Viz. (a) Padala (b) Kakari and (c) Ulangi, the origin of which have a *puranic* derivation. While lord Maheswara was attending to cooking of meat, people that took uncooked meat out of hunger were called Padala i.e., eaters of raw flesh, and people that took half-boiled meat were called Kakari and the people that took the cooked meat were known as Ulangi. However, people belonging to other sub-groups also affix title Padal when they happen to be the head of the village (*Pethandar*). Thus it is more a title than a sub-group. *Pethandar* in local language means a headman or administrator.

As per Census of India 1961, (Monographs) a detailed village surveys were conducted in 1963 at Jerrela and Annaram villages in Chithapalli Taluk of Visakhapatnam district where Bagatha tribe inhabited along with Valmiki tribe and a non - tribe namely Sathani. After a gap of 55 years, the same villages were revisited in September and November 2018 by the present author and probed about their origin, migration, etymological significance of the term Bagatha and sub groups / divisions if any. Even the most elderly people of the village do not remember

or aware of subgroups derived from purana except that their ancestors and forefathers were *Muttadars/ Pethandars* of villages and all members of Bagatha belong to one group only. However, they recall that male members belonging to some families based on their surnames use title Padal while some use Dora, or Naidu or Raju. Several male elected political leaders from Bagatha who served as legislators or block leaders of this region during last few decades specially after India's independence have suffix Naidu, Dora, Padal or Raju. However, Bagatha, inhabiting Koyyuru mandal, do not have any titles as suffix after their name.

A.M.Reddy (1971) conducted field study in KothaPaderu, Antharla, Lammasingi and Pedavalasa villages of Paderu ITDA during 1968-70 and recorded distinct sub groups among Bagatha namely Raja Bagatha (Pedda) and ReddiBagatha (Chitti). During the present study after about 50 years, none of the surviving elders could recall or remember about the divisions in Bagatha in those villages, except a slightly elevated social status to village *Pethandar* Bagatha families who are politically, educationally and authoritatively superior in village, although inter dining, intermarriage and participation in rituals with other Bagatha families are common.

The neighbouring tribes such as Valmiki, Gadaba, Porja, Konda Dora, Koda Kapu Goudu, etc. perceive Bagathas as land holding ryths or Kapus who are superior to all tribes. In Koyyuru mandal the Konda Doras recognise Bagathas as Kapus, and the hamlet of Bagathas is referred to Kapu dhoddi meaning settlement of Kapus / ryths. The principle occupation of Bagatha is cultivation. Of late, several educated Bagatha youth are working as government or private sector employees such as teacher, administrator, village assistant, police, forest officer, doctor, engineer etc. Bagathas too consider themselves most superior to other tribes in the villages and do not accept cooked food from any tribe except plain Kapu caste people.

Distribution and Population Trend:

Bagatha are currently distributed mainly in Paderu ITDA area specially Paderu, Chinthapalle, GudemKothaVeedhi (G.K.Veedhi), Gangaraju Madugula (G.Madugula), Araku, Ananthagiri, Hukumpet, Pedabyalu and Dumbriguda mandals and sparsely in Munchingiput and Koyyuru mandals. Few Bagatha people live in villages in the neighbouring Rajavamangi mandal, East Godavari district (849) bordering Paderu ITDA and also at the foot hills of Ananthagiri in Srungavarapukota mandal of Vizainaragaram district. As per 1961 census, there were 55,156 Bagathas (male- 28,223, female- 26,933) with a literacy rate of 5.98% (male- 10.70%, female- 1.03%) and sex ratio of 954 females per 1,000 males. As per 1971 census, there were 71,657 Bagathas. According to 1981 census there were 87,994 Bagathas (male- 44,659, female –

43,335) with a sex ratio of 970 females per 1,000 males. As per 1991 census, the Bagathas population size increased to 1,09,686. Bagathas recorded a decadal growth rate of 29.92% during 1961-1971; 22.8% during 1971-1981; and 24.68% during 1981-1991 periods. As per 2001 census, there were 1,33,434 Bagathas (male-66,920, female- 66,514) with a sex ratio of 994 females per 1,000 males. The literacy rate as per 2001 census was 40.80% (male-54.72%, female- 26.76%). Further, 50% males and 42.08% of women were main workers, while 5% of males and 12% of females were marginal workers (TCRTI, 2008). Bagathas recorded a decadal growth rate of 21.65% during 1991-2001 period. However, the population size of Bagatha decreased during 2001-2011 period. As per 2011 census, the total population of Bagatha are 1,32,577 (male-64,884, female-67,693) with a sex ratio of 1,043 females per 1,000 males. There are 1,29,772 Bagathas in Visakhapatnam district alone. The decadal growth rate during 2001- 2011 years is negative (-0.08%). During the fifty years period from 1961 to 2011, the average annual growth rate is 2.8%. Bagatha, a second dominant hill tribe constitute about 5% of scheduled tribe population of Andhra Pradesh and 20% of ST population of Visakhapatnam district. Excluding plain tribes such as Yanadhi, Yerukula and Sugali, the Bagathas are next to Savara (1,37 613) in their population size in Andhra Pradesh. The district wise distribution of Bagatha tribal population in Andhra Pradesh is listed in table-II-1. The sparse distribution of Bagatha either in single or double digits in several districts may be the employees migrated from Paderu, region. However, in few villages contiguous to Paderu ITDA, in Rajavamangi mandal, East Godavari and S.Kota mandal in Vizianagaram district, Bagathas are in considerable numbers. The present ethnographic study was conducted in 21 villages covering 8 mandals. About 51 men and 35 women belonging to Bagatha tribe were interviewed. The names of Bagatha key-informants, their age, sex village and mandal in Visakhapatnam district is presented in Anexure-I

Table II.1 District wise Bagatha tribal population in Andhra Pradesh, (Census of India 2011)

Sl. No	District	Bagatha tribal population				Total A.P Bagatha Population	% to total tribal population
		Rural		Urban			
		Male	Female	Male	Female		
1	Srikakulam	24	19	18	10	71	0.05
2	Vizianagaram	824	708	95	77	1704	1.28
3	Visakhapatnam	60185	63615	3231	2741	129772	97.88
4	East Godavari	364	390	56	39	849	0.64
5	West Godavari	11	13	4	5	33	0.02
6	Krishna	3	4	18	16	41	0.03

Sl. No	District	Bagatha tribal population				Total A.P Bagatha Population	% to total tribal population
		Rural		Urban			
		Male	Female	Male	Female		
7	Guntur	7	9	2	4	22	0.01
8	Prakasam	6	0	2	0	8	0.006
9	P.S.Nellore	2	0	11	0	13	0.01
10	Y.S.R.Kadapa	3	1	5	12	21	0.01
11	Kurnool	1	0	0	0	1	0.00
12	Anantapur	1	0	12	16	29	0.02
13	Chittoor	4	4	4	1	13	0.01
	Total	61435	64763	3458	2921	132577	100.00

Household survey was conducted to find out the age and sex of individuals in six sample villages namely Bailukunchingi, Pasauvulabanda, Vamugadda, Jerrala, Thotlagondhi and Adaparaigondhi inhabited by Bagatha from Chinthapalle region. The population structure show that majority of Bagatha are in the age group 21-25 years (14.67%) followed by people aged 26-30 years (12.97%) and age group 16-20 years (11.27%) in that order. About 19% of Bagatha are children below 15 years of age. Slightly higher proportion of middle aged people between 31-55 years old (29.45%) is recorded. Only 1.91% of Bagathas are old people above 60 years of age. The population pyramid indicate a bulged middle ages tapering up towards older ages, while the base is slightly compressed due to depleted size of younger generation children. The average family size among Bagatha is 4.06 persons, with 2.1 surviving children per couple. This trend indicates that the Bagatha population is currently at the bare replacing level. However, a positive note is that a relatively higher proportion of female children and youth are recorded who are currently under 20 years of age with a sex ratio of 1,314 females per 1,000 males. These are the prospective mothers which is a good trend for future population growth of Bagathas.

Table II.2 Age and Sex wise Bagatha population in the sample study villages

Sl No	Age group	Male		Female		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
1	1-5	22	5.37	33	7.93	55	6.67
2	6-10	23	5.62	28	6.73	51	6.18
3	11-15	22	5.37	29	6.93	51	6.18
4	16-20	41	10.02	52	12.5	93	11.27
5	21-25	66	16.13	55	13.22	121	14.67
6	26-30	57	13.93	50	12.02	107	12.97
7	31-35	28	6.84	37	8.09	65	7.88
8	36-40	38	9.29	29	6.97	67	8.12
9	41-45	28	6.84	22	5.29	50	6.06
10	46-50	25	6.11	33	7.93	58	7.03
11	51-55	20	4.89	16	3.84	36	4.36
12	56-60	23	5.62	24	5.77	47	5.70
13	61-65	10	2.44	3	0.72	13	1.58
14	66-70	4	0.98	5	1.20	9	1.09
15	71-75	1	0.24	0	0	1	0.12
16	76-80	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
17	81-85	1	0.24	0	0	1	0.12
Total		409	100.00	416	100.00	825	100.00

The marital status of Bagatha in the present sample study villages is reported in table-II-3. It is found that 45.70% are unmarried people, 46.42% are married and 7.88% are either widows or widowers. Very high numbers of widows are found (47) compared to widowers (18) which may be due to age gap between wife and husband or due to high male mortality at older ages.

Table II-3 Marital Status among Bagatha in the Sample Study Villages

Sl. No	Marital Status	Sex wise		Total	% to total
		Male	Female		
1	Married	200	183	383	46.42
2	Un Married	191	186	377	45.70
3	Widow/Widower	18	47	65	07.88
	Total	409	416	825	100.00

Physical Characteristics:

Naidu.J.M and NaniBabu.M (2011) have conducted Anthropological studies among tribes which reveal that Bagatha people are dark brown to brown in skin colour with straight to wavy black hair, black iris, oval face, straight and medium to broad nose, wider nostrils, short to medium stature (mean height; men- 158cm, women -149 cm), lighter body weight (mean weight; men-50kg, women - 42 kg), relatively broader shoulders (37cm), medium pelvis and waist; and thinner skin folds (5mm). When compared to neighbouring caste populations the anthropometric measures of Bagatha are slightly on lower side. However, Bagatha are relatively taller, heavier and fair compared to the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG) people. The Body Mass Index (BMI) values indicate that they are in normal range, neither weak nor obese. Except wider nostrils majority of Bagatha from Koyyuru mandal also resemble like plains caste people by their appearance.

The demographic survey (NaiduJ.M and NaniBabu.M, 2011) reveal that 91% are nuclear families. Only 9% are vertically extended joint families, where parents, unmarried and married children and sometimes one of the dependent grandparents are living in the same household. Majority (18%) of households have 3 to 5 members with an average of 4 members per family. Majority houses are electrified (96%), avail drinking water from tap (65%) or bore well (27%) water facility. Of late, construction of toilets in each house is undertaken in a big way to make open defecation free villages and it is observed that more than 62% households have availed the scheme.

Although cooking gas is available, supplied in cylinder, the facility is used by 7.3% of families only. Majority Bagathas (88%) use fire wood for fuel which is collected from forest at free of cost. They cook on open stove / hearth outside the house (41%) or varandah (55%) and a few cook inside the house. About 40% have separate cattle sheds. The roof of majority houses is tiled (84%) followed by asbestos sheets (13%) and a few (3%) RCC structure. Only very few thatched cattle shed houses are observed in villages.

Further, the demographic survey of Bagatha tribe infers that 55% of people are aged between 15 and 39 years, 19% are children below 15 years and about 2% are elderly people above 65 years. Population pyramid show slightly narrow base and a bulged square shape at middle ages tapering up indicating that there is a declining trend in the size of children over the last two decades. Females outnumber males with a sex ratio of 1,018.

Among adults, about 48% of men and 52% of women are once married. Out of them 2.5% are widowers, 9.1% are widows. About 1% of women are separated from husband. The estimated

mean age of Bagatha population is 29 years, with a relatively lower proportion of dependent young children and very low proportion of old people above 65years. The mates are selected mutually through love or negotiation by elders / parents although practice of elopement followed by admission in to family later is reported. About 23% of marriages are contracted with in the same village. Affinal marriages have increased (78%), while consanguineous marriages have reduced to only (22%) compared to last century. Tubectomy (70%) is preferred mostly for limiting the family size although about 5% of vasectomy cases were recorded. Among Bagatha woman aged above 30 years, they have 2.6 live births (92% of deliveries) per woman and 0.41 postnatal deaths (8% of deliveries). About 3.5% of married women are sterile who have no conceptions. Majority of Bagatha men are engaged in agriculture and related labour work especially under Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS). However, 12% of men and 9% of women among Bagatha are employed as teachers, Anganawadi workers, administrative officers, forest and police service, doctors and engineers.

Several studies referring Bagatha tribe are available in the literature such as Castes and Tribes of Southern India, by Francis (1901, 1907), Thurston, E, (1909); Madagada, A tribal village in Araku valley by TCR&TI (1968); Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, 2011; Reddy, AM (1971, 1972, 1979); Reddy, G.G (1973); Naidu and Veerraju (1977); Naidu and Veerraju (1978); Naidu et al (1978); Naidu et al (1988); Sachi Devi and Naidu (1990); Rao, NVK (1993); Venkatarao (2004); NaniBabu (2011);Sudhakar Rao (2015); Census of India 1961, Andhra Pradesh Village Survey Monographs of Jerrela (SLNO.13) and Annavaram (SLNO-11) from Chinthapalle taluk, Visakhapatnam district, Bharathi et, al (2016), etc.

CHAPTER-III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Family, Clan, and Kinship

Family: Bagathas practice patrilineal and patrilocal family system. The family size varies from a single widow or widower household to seven people under the same roof. The average number of members in a family among Bagatha is four which is moderate. Most of the families are nuclear or simple elementary type consisting of people of two generations that is parents and dependent children. Few families are polygynous with a father, his wives and their children. Of late, polygyny practice is declining among Bagatha. Some families are vertically extended elementary type consisting of three generations with dependent parents, either widow or widower along with an earning man and his wife and dependent children. In some Bagatha houses unmarried brother or sister along with dependant parents and children are also observed. Very rarely extended families with four generations are noticed. Horizontally or laterally extended and compound families are not reported in this study.

Lineage: Bagatha refer family in local Telugu term as '*Kutumbam*' and household as '*Illu*'. The family name/surname/lineage is referred as '*Intiperu*'. Bagatha tribe have a number of unilateral, exogamous, non residential *Intiperu* kin groups either derived after a plant, animal, bird, village, fruit, flower, caste, insect, god, occupation or an object, etc. The appellation *intiperu* means household. In the present study more than 120 *intiperu* /family names/surnames were recorded among Bagatha of Paderu region which are listed in alphabetical order in table III-1. Bagathas also inhabit on the foot hills nearer to plains area in Koyyuru mandal. In Koyyuru region Bagatha are not Muttadars. The Konda Dora are Muttadars. The Bagatha of Koyyuru mandal do not have marital relations (except one Lakey family, where the boy from Paderu has married a girl and staying at Nallagonda) with Bagathas from Paderu, Araku or Chinthapalle area. Further, the lineage names of Bagatha in Koyyuru mandal are different from Paderu (uphills) area except 'Salbam' Lakey, Pandra, Gadthuri, etc. the Bagathas belonging to Padi, Salabam, Kone / Kona and Vadagala lineages are brothers by relationship who can get spouses from Jampa, Kakara, etc.

Table III.1 List of Lineages / Surnames / *Intiperlu*among Bagatha

Adapa (Rarity)	Gonda,
Agguru	Gujjala
Allangi	Gummadi (Pumpken)
Amparam	Kapooru (Village in this region)
Arada	Jadumura(Name of village),
Bavada	Jantharangi,
Bakuru(Name of village)	Janakani
Ballodi	Jarasingi
Bapana (Brahmin caste)	Kankipati (Village in plains)
Bonangi(Name of Village)	Kimudu (Village in this region)
Bonda (Pit)	Kavadam,
Bongaram	Kakari,
Borubojji	Killo (Monkey)
Challa (Buttermilk)	Kinche,
Cheedala (Termites)	Kotagulli/ Kottaguli
Chetti,	Korabu
Dasri (Plains caste)	Konjarthi
Desagiri (Hill of this region))	Kandula (Red gram)
Dongabantu (Deputy of thieves)	Korra (Millet),
Devaraju (Principle deity)	Konthalingi,
Dooru (Distant)	Kodingi,
Durgapujari (Priest of goddess durga)	Kuda,
Gabalangi/Gubalangi(Villagein the region)	Kunchettu
Gaduthuru / Godthuri (Name of a village)	Kursa (Short)
Gamu (Name of a hill)	Kuruju (Short)
Gangapujari (Priest of goddess ganga)	Konthari /Konthuru (Name of village)
Gathuru	Lakey/ Lakea,
Gollori / Golluru (Monkey)	Lalam,
Gabbada (Name of village in plains),	Lochili/ Lochala (Village in this region)
Gemmili,	Lampa,
Giddi,	Lutha
Mottadam	Lavvabu
Malluraju (King of wrestlers)	Solugu,

Table III.1 List of Lineages / Surnames / *Intiperlu*among Bagatha

Madapala	Sanibangi
Mmamidi (Mango)	Samareddi
Mattam (House of hermits)	Sarigama,
Matha (Mother)	Segina/Sagina(Elastic),
Minimulu (Black gram)	Seerikari,
Machili/ Machala	Sunkara
Machiraju / Matcharasi	Siruvali
Murla,	Sukuru (Village in this region)
Mandebu,	Suragam/ Sarigama (Village in this region)
Nandipujari(Priest of Bull god)	Surabam,
Onamu	Sulabam,
Pathuru/ Pothuru	Sikari,
Panasala (Jack fruit)	Thaggi,
Pandra	Thalabu,
Palasi/ Palsa	Tokiri,
Pasupuleti	Tharada
Pothuraju (Village Deity)	Varthanam
Pamirilli	Vandalam
Pittala (Bird)	Velam / Veelam
Pangi	Vallangi,
Paradhani	Veelam
Pathunu	Vanipuri,
Polam (Field)	Varthanam
Robba (Bush),	Vanthali (Village in this region)
Ranasala,	Valagali/ Vanagula / Velaga
Sadda,	Varikadi
Sobha	Vanthala
Salamu,	Vanupali (Village in this region)
Salabam,	Vellusooru / Valusuri (Village in this region), Vonugu/ Vanugu

List of Lineages among Bagatha observed in Koyyuru Mandal

Bachhala / Bachhula	Konepu	Palli
Eere	Konakam	Pandra
Gaduthuri	Kakara	Salapu Reddi
Jampa	Lakey	Yamala
Kerepu	Legela	
Kone	Marri	

A.M.Reddy (1971) reported existence of two sub tribes among Bagatha namely Raja Bagatha and Reddi Bagatha also referred as Pedha Bagatha and Chitti Bagatha respectively. The study also recorded names of lineages separately for two sub tribes although some family names (surnames) are common. Relatively more lineages were recorded for Raja Bagatha due to their preponderance in Paderu region. However, in the present study none of the informants and older generation Bagatha people could recall or remember the existence of sub groups among Bagatha tribe. The issue was probed in about twenty villages. All subjects have reported non-existence of divisions or sub groups among Bagatha.

Membership in a lineage /*intiperu* group is purely by birth. Adopted sons will acquire father's lineage. Girls belong to father's lineage till they get married. After marriage woman acquires husband's lineage. Divorced woman and widow if remarried acquires the lineage of current husband and loses former husband's lineage or *intiperu* although her children born to former husband will carry their biological father's surname / lineage. Woman migrates to husband's residence after marriage. A man after his marriage lives with his parents for one or two years and prefers to establish a separate dwelling (neo-local) but continues to help and work in father's agricultural lands. However, employed men establish family at his place of work immediately after marriage.

All the members of a lineage/ family name/ surname together form a larger group. Within this larger group many smaller groups which are more effective, functional, and cooperative units consisting of same surname people in and surrounding villages that have continuous interaction are formed mainly for observation of pollution on the death of its lineage members. The members of smaller group trace their descent in the male line from a common recently known agnatic male ancestor. These agnatic descent groups are non-residential, unilineal kin groups which are part of larger exogamous lineage group or '*intiperu*' group. Further, this smaller cooperative group facilitates jural, ritual and moral status to the

members of its lineage in addition to unified action in conducting and observation of pollution, common festivals, rituals, agricultural labour operations, etc, together as a cooperative unit.

The elderly members of lineage control disorderly behaviour and chide errant people of lineage for maintaining harmonious relations in the village. The members of the same *intiperu* participate and help in activities at the time of birth, marriage, and death; they will have obligations of mutual aid and hospitality. Each such lineage/ surname group may have about 40-60 households depending up on size of the village and number of houses of same lineage in the neighbouring villages. All the lineage groups enjoy equal status, although some *intiperu* groups are well recognised due to their numerical domination, huge landholding, reputed political leaders, higher education and employed people. Prominent people who play important role in rituals enjoy relatively higher reputation.

The members of lineage get priority and preference, in case land is to be leased / sold or offered for share cropping. Adult and close relatives are consulted in matters of economic and political importance. As such relations are regulated by solidarity and ideals of mutual cooperation between members of a lineage and affinal relations due to marriage and other lineages of residential proximity.

Some titles commonly used by Bagatha tribe are Padal , Dora, Naidu, Patrudu and Raju. Again these titles are also lineage specific. Certain surname people use specific title for example; Patrudu is the title for Lakey surname while Mattam, Vanthala, Kunthuru, Sagina, Salabam, and Lochala surname people use Naidu as the title at the end of their name. Korabu and Bonagi surname people use Padal, while Bakuru, Matcharasi and Sikari lineage people call themselves with title Raju.

Clan: The clan which is referred to ‘*Kulam*’ or ‘*Vamsam*’ by Bagathas in local Telugu language consists of more than one lineage (*intiperu*) group. The plain caste people refer clan to ‘*Gotram*’. The *Kulam* or *Vamsam* is a larger group than lineage which is again a unilateral, non-residential, agnatic usually exogamous kin group whose members perceive that they are descended and blessed by an animal, plant, bird, deity, etc, after which their clan is derived. However, few marriages between the same *vamsam* members belonging to different lineages were reported, indicating that the rule of clan exogamy is not followed or being violated in many cases, may be due to the fact that several households have forgotten the name of their

vamsam or the educated present generation members are not strictly honouring the traditional marriage rules such as tribe endogamy, *vamsam* exogamy, etc. However, Bagathas strictly follow lineage exogamy. Some of the names of *Clan / Kulam / Vamsam* recorded in the present study along with the English meaning are listed in table III-2.

Table-III- 2 List of some Clans (*Vamsam / Kulam*) among Bagatha

Alamanthu or Hanumanthu (Monkey)	Paidipala (One type of Tree)
Chandra (Moon)	Pala (One type of Tree)
Dega (Eagle)	Peyya or Surbhi or Surabhi (Cow)
Elugu or Elugubanti (Bear)	Puli / Killo (Tiger)
Errabanti (Red bear)	Racheluka (Tree shrew)
Kamba (One type of Tree)	Reddi (Name of plains caste)
Matya (Fish)	Sadu or Sudaga (Coital fluid)
Meka (Goat)	Sanku (Conch)
Mynagora (Myna bird)	Surya (Sun)
Nallabaliya (Plains Caste Baliya)	Thummeda (Dragan fly)
Naga (Cobra)	Errabaliya (Plains Caste Baliya)

In addition to the clans in the above table Bagatha have few more clans which are common for many other tribes of this Arakuvalley region namely, 1. Killo (Puli), 2. Gollari (Monkey), 3. Pangi (Kite), and 4. Korra / Surya (Sun). Some of the clans listed in the table such as Naga/Nagula, Surya, Chandra, Paidipala, Pala, Reddi, Nallabaliya, Errabaliya, etc, are the 'gotras'/ clans of neighbouring plains caste populations. The Bagathas from Koyyuru mandal also have clan names such as Naga / Nagula, Pala / Paidipala, Hanumanthu, Surya, etc., which are similar to Bagatha from Paderu region. The members of some of these *Kulam/Vamsam* avoid eating, injuring or hurting the animals, birds, plants, insects or objects with which their *Kulam* is associated or possessing mystic relationship. Now a day, the principle is not honoured and often violated because some animals such as Tiger (*Puli*), Cobra (*Naga*) etc., are dangerous animals and also several people may not be aware of their clan. *Naga* clan people worship cobra at snake mound and avoid killing cobra. The *Peyya* and *Surbi Vamsam* people worship cow and offer special dishes to cow and do not yolk calf. Members of '*Puli*' *vamsam* are expected to avoid killing tiger. It is informed that in case they happen to kill a tiger, they need to perform expiation ceremony to offset the evil consequences by worshiping dead body of tiger. Of course, tiger population is no more found in forest except few wild cats such as cheetah, leopard etc., at Paderu region now. Similarly the '*EluguVamsam*' members are expected to avoid killing or injuring bear. It is

also told that bear is fond of fruits of *Cassia fistula* (*Rella tree*), hence ‘*Elugu Vamsam*’ people even avoid using timber of *Rella tree* for any purpose. The ‘*Surya and Chandra vamsam*’ people who trace their descent from Sun and Moon are expected to eat food after seeing sun in the morning and Moon in the night respectively. When probed deeply majority people are not practicing this principle any more. Also members of *Matya*, *Meka* and *Racheluka Vamsams* eat meat of fish, goat and tree shrews respectively ignoring traditional *Vamsam* rule due to practical reasons. These *Vamsams* scattered all over in Paderu region are large groups enjoying equal status for recognition and regulation of marriage ties and certain specific rituals concerned to *Kulam*. Of course, these *Kulams* are neither corporate units nor hierarchy exists. Some Clans / *Kulam* grouped together are considered brotherly (sibling *Vamsam*), while some others are affinal (Annexure-I). Man is a member of natal *Kulam* throughout their life, while women is a member of her natal *kulam* till her marriage and incorporated to husband’s *Kulam* later after marriage. When married woman or a widow dies she is buried or cremated by members of husband’s *Kulam* who perform last rites as per their customs and the spirits become part of the lineage ancestors of husband’s lineage or clan. However, woman’s parents, siblings and their children mourn her death by their presence who are considered essential to perform certain of her mortuary rites and rituals. *Kulam* do not have chief or any authority to regulate their members nor do the members have obligation of mutual aid or collective liability, common assembly or occupation for get together or own any property. The members of brotherly *Kulam* / *Vamsam* / *Clan* as well as brotherly lineages call one another as ‘*nestham*’ while affinal Clan and lineage members as ‘*bandugulu*’. A list of brotherly and affinal *kulams* are presented below where marriages between clans are either practiced or prohibited.

Marriage between the following Clans (*Vamsam* / *Kulam*) vice versa are **permitted** and **practiced** as per tradition:

1. Alamanthu or Hanumanthu can marry Elugu or Elugubanti, Errabanti, Kamba, Matsya, Meka, Naga, Nallabalija, Peyya, Puli, Racheluka, Reddi, Sadu, Sanku, Surabhi, Surya and Thummeda
2. Chandra can marry Dega, Elugu or Elugubanti, Kamba, Meka, Matsya, Naga, Racheluka, Sadu and Sanku,
3. Dega can marry Meka, Puli and Surya
4. Elugu or Elugubanti can marry Mynagora, Naga, Pala, Peyya, Puli, Racheluka, Suribhi and Thummeda
5. Errabanti can marry Matsya, Naga, Peyya, Puli, Sadu, and Surabhi
6. Kamba can marry Matsya, Meka, Naga, Racheluka, Surya, and Thummeda

7. Matsya can marry Meka , Myngora, Naga, Pala, Peyya, Puli, Sadu and Surabhi
8. Meka can marry Mynagora, Nagara, Peyya, Sanku, Surabhi and Surya
9. Mynagora can marry Naga, Peyya, Puli, Sanku, Surabhi and Surya
10. Nallabalija can marry Naga, Pala, Peyya, Puli and Sadu
11. Naga can marry Peyya, Puli, Sadu, Surabhi and Thummeda
12. Paidipala can marry Peyya, Sadu, Surabhi, Surya and Thummeda
13. Pala can marry Peyya, Sadu, Surabhi, Surya and Thummeda
14. Peyya or Surabhi can marry Puli, Racheluka, Sadu, Surya and Thummeda
15. Puli can marry Surya and Thummeda
16. Racheluka can marry Thummeda
17. Reddi can marry Sadu and Surya
18. Sadu can marry Thummeda
19. Sanku can marry Surya and Thummeda
20. Among Bagatha from Koyyuru mandal Hanumanthu can marry pala or Paidipala which is not permitted in Paderu area.

Marriage between some of the following Clans (*Kulam / Vamsam*) vice versa **are not permitted** as per tradition although not strictly followed:

1. Alamanthu or Hanumanthu shall not marry Chandra, Dega, Mynagora, and Pala
2. Chandra shall not marry Errabalija, Matsya, Mynagora, Naga, Paidipala, Pala, Peyya, Sanku, Surabhi, Surya, and Thummeda
3. Dega shall not marry Kamba, Matsya, Mynagora, Naga, Nallabalija, Pala, Peyya, Racheluka, Reddi, Sadu, Sanku, Surabhi and Thummeda
4. Elugu or Elugubanti shall not marry Dega, Kamba, Matsya, Meka, Naga, Racheluka, Sanku and Surya
5. Errabalija shall not marry Dega, Racheluka, and Surya
6. Kamba shall not marry Mynagora, Pala, Racheluka and Sanku
7. Matsya shall not marry Pal, Racheluka, Sanku and Thummeda
8. Meka shall not marry Nallabalija, Pala, Racheuluka, Sadu and Thummeda
9. Mynagora shall not marry Naga, Pala, Sadu, Sanku and Thummeda
10. Naga or Nagula shall not marry Pala, Peyya, Sanku, Surya and Surabhi
11. Nallabalija shall not marry Surya and Racheluka
12. Pala shall not marry racheluka, Sadu and Sanku
13. Peyya or Surabhi shall not marry Sadu and Sanku
14. Racheluka shall not marry Sadu, Sanku and Surya
15. Sadu shall not Sanku and Surya

However, these traditional marriage restrictions have diluted and Bagatha are not strictly following clan exogamy any more. Several Nagula clan people marry among themselves. The younger generation Bagathas are not aware of their clan. The present generations Bagathas do not respect the rule of clan exogamy any more.

Kinship Terminology:

Majority of kinship terms are Telugu terms similar or same used by plains caste population to refer a relationship or address a person in the family, among relatives or others. Usually younger relatives are addressed by name, while elders are addressed by the term of reference such as Father = *Ayya*, Mother = *Amma*, Elder sister = *Appa* etc., However, step father and step mother are referred to *Martiyya* and *Maritamma* although addressed as *Ayya* and *Amma*. Father's father is referred to *Muthanna* and addressed as *Anna*. Co-son-in-law or wife's sister's husband is referred and addressed with the same term *Jagili*. Father's mother is referred to *Buddappa* and addressed as *Appa*. Bagatha use the same term such as *Papa* to refer and address several relatives, like elder brother's wife; mother's brother's daughter, wife's elder sister and husband's elder sister. Maternal grandparents are distinguished from paternal grandparents, while referring such as *Tata* for mother's father and *Muthanna* for Father's father but addressed as *Tata* and *Anna* respectively. Similarly father's mother is referred to *Buddappa* while mother's mother is referred to *Tatappa* but addressed as *Appa* and *Atta* respectively. Bagathas use specific elementary terms to refer and distinguish between primary and secondary kins. Some single derivative terms to explain paternal or maternal relationship and age (old or young) such as *Peddayya*, *Peddamma*, *Chinnaih* and *Chinnamma* are used. Some kinship terms are denotative and classificatory to identify only one relationship such as *Yarani* (co-wife), *Menatha* (father's sister), *Menamama* (mother's brother) etc. Some kinship terms of reference used among Bagathas embrace more than one relationship such as *Peddamma* (mother's elder sister, father's elder brother's wife; step mother (elder than mother) etc.

The large numbers of classificatory terms used to refer relatives in Bagatha society have reduced to limited numbers by classification in to single categories based on criteria such as generation, sex, bifurcation, polarity, relative age etc. However, in Araku region where neighbouring Oriya influence is more, the kinship terminology is different from Paderu and Chinthapalle region. A list of such terms and their English equivalent which are used to refer and address are listed in Table- III-3.

Table-III-3 Corrupt form of Oriya and Telugu kinship terms used by Bagatha to address relatives in Araku area

Generation	Local Term	English Equivalent	
First (Same) Generation	<i>Anna</i>	Brother	
	<i>Bodo Anna</i>	Elder Brother	
	<i>Sano Anna</i>	Younger Brother	
	<i>Bai/ Akka</i>	Sister	
	<i>Bodo Bai/Akka</i>	Elder Sister	
	<i>Sano Bai/Chelli</i>	Younger Sister	
	Second Generation	<i>Abba/ Nanna/Ayya</i>	Father
<i>Ayya/Amma</i>		Mother	
<i>Po/ Kanna</i>		Son	
<i>Ji/ Thalli</i>		Daughter	
<i>Mama</i>		Mother's brother	
<i>Nanna/Sano Abba</i>		Father's Younger Brother	
<i>Bodo Abba</i>		Father's Elder Brother	
<i>Atta</i>		Father's Sister	
<i>SanoAyya</i>		Mother's Younger sister	
<i>BodoAyya</i>		Mother's Elder sister	
Third Generation		<i>Anni, Tatha</i>	Father's Father
		<i>Dodda, Tatha</i>	Mother's Father
		<i>Dokiribai</i>	Father's Mother
		<i>Bai</i>	Mother's Mother

Some more terms are used to refer the Affinal relatives such as *Bav/Bo* - Elder Brother's wife; *Buari* - Younger Brother's wife / Daughter-in-law; *Atha*- Maternal uncle's wife; *Mama*- Paternal aunt's husband; *Satra*- Father-in- law; *Satri*- Mother-in-law, etc.

Kin behavior

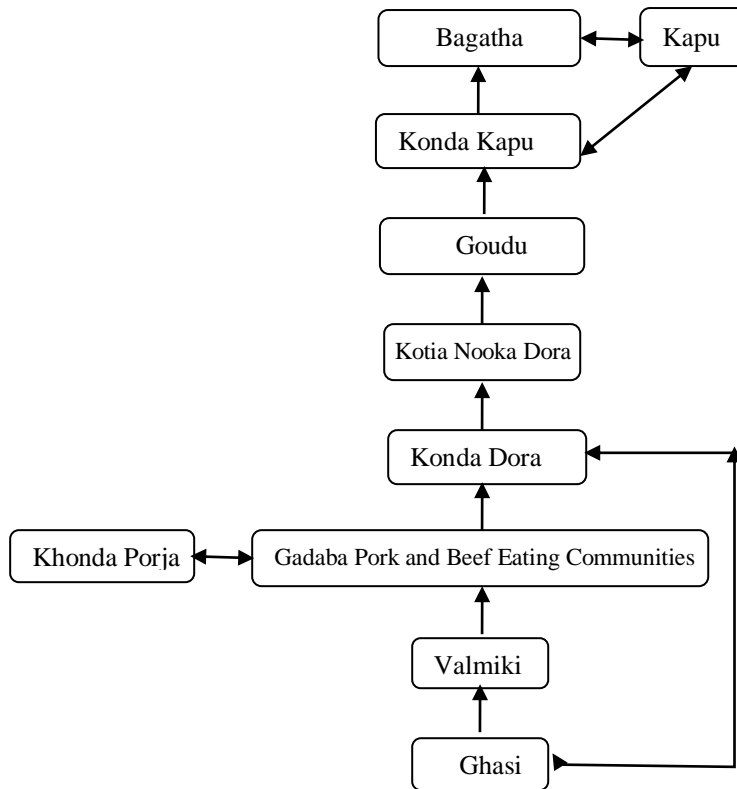
Avoidance: Avoidance relationship is reported between mother-in-law and son-in-law; father-in-law and daughter-in-law; and elder brother and younger brother's wife. Marital relations and conversation about sex issues are prohibited between the relatives coming under avoidance to safeguard the solidarity of the family. Deference between kinsmen is based on

age and sex. Usually older men receive deference from young men and women. Even wife observes difference to husband whether he is older or younger than her. Older mother-in-law and sister-in-law also receive deference from their daughter-in-law and younger kinsmen. Further, respect and salutations by way of bowing, kneeling, touching the feet are observed between a man and his father, mother, father's brother, mother's sister's husband, older brothers, mother's sister's older son, father-in-law, mother-in-law, father's sister's husband, and also between a woman and her husband, father, mother, father-in-law, mother-in-law, husband's sister's husband etc. A woman is expected to stand when her husband sits, and wife stays background. Younger people are expected to talk in low voice to elders, and a wife to her husband. Body elevation rules and speech etiquette form some customs of deference. However, now a days these traditional avoidance and deference rules are not strictly followed by younger generation youth.

Joking: Joking relations differ depending on degree of relationship, high degree between grandfather and his daughter's daughter, grand-mother and her son's son but not son's or daughter's son respectively. Disrespect and joking between mother's brothers (*Menamama*) and nephews (*Menalludu*) is allowed. Joking between mother's brothers and their nieces are permitted without any obscene words including marital relations. The relationship between mother's brother and nephew or niece is more affectionate and intimate and as such joking is a privilege. Joking relationship between cross-cousins is also intense, obligatory and at higher degree between opposite sexes. Usually wife does not address her husband by name or kinship term except when he is a cross cousin. Wife refers her husband as her child's father with others.

Tribal Social Hierarchy:

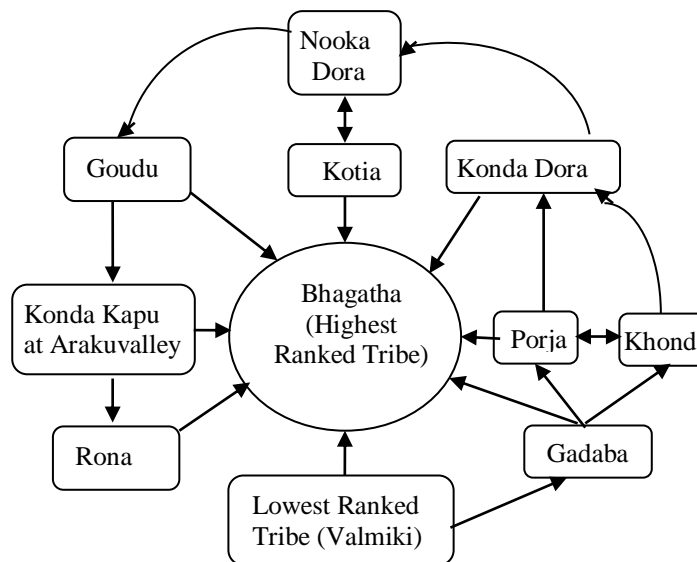
In several multi tribal villages Bagatha enjoy superior status. The social hierarchy of village communities in Paderu area is reported in the following sketch.



Commensal Relationship:

The commensal relationship between different tribes in this region is based on pork and beef eating behaviour. Some tribes like Mali do not eat cooked food in other tribe’s houses or any other tribesmen eat in their house. A diagrammatic sketch of commensal relations is presented here. Now a days these traditional commensal relations are relaxed specially among educated and employed men.

Bagathas Commensal Relationship with other tribes:



CHAPTER IV

DWELLING, FOOD HABITS, DRESS, MATERIAL CULTURE, LANGUAGE, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT

Dwelling:

The tribes in Andhra Pradesh mostly live in villages. The habitations of hill tribes are scattered, usually at the foothills or tucked in the valleys, hill slopes or perched on hill tops. Bagathas live in clustered settlements at foot hills or valleys with level land on the banks of rivulets and hill streams on Eastern Ghats. Springs and hill streams originating from hill slopes cater drinking and irrigation needs of Bagathas. Most of Bagatha inhabiting Paderu ITDA area with hilly terrain and valleys have similar climatic conditions. The ITDA Paderu agency area is situated at an altitude varying from 1,000 to 3,500 feet above mean sea level. The South West monsoon from June to August and North-East monsoon from September to December is aggressive. This region receives about 100 to 120 cm annual rain fall. The winter season (December and January) is very cool especially Paderu, Lammasingi and Chinthapalle valleys. However, summer season (April and May) is hot although slightly lower temperatures due to high altitude than plain areas. Bagatha usually live in multiethnic / multi-tribal villages with varying ethnic composition, spoken dialects, customs and topography. The soils are sandy loams or red clay loams. Prior to year 1985, the village or hamlet comprises of a cluster of huts with wattle or mud walls and grass thatched roof. There were no roads leading to villages. The tribes used to walk through foot trails or bridal paths on hill tracts and cross hill streams to access main road or other villages. Now, most villages are well connected with good roads, some black top or cement roads. Some villages which are on hill tops do not have roads for vehicle movement. The hamlets with narrow alleys and lanes on undulated slopes are surrounded by hills or hillocks with forest, hiding their sight. The government housing schemes have provided tiles or asbestos sheets free of cost or on subsidy to replace roofs, and cement and bricks as material component during 1987-90 for walls and continued the assistance to tribes for construction of RCC/Tiled or Asbestos sheet roofed houses. Bagatha have fully benefited with housing scheme and most Bagatha families own *pucca* house in Paderu ITDA area. Ponds, tanks, hill streams, temples of deities, common weekly market place, common pasture or grazing lands are owned by communities, which are links with neighbouring villages. Except in few homogenous hamlets, in many multiethnic villages, the tribes are stratified into high or low rank in social order. Each tribe is separate entity and maintains social distance from other tribes on grounds of traditional decrees of social prestige. Traditional rules of tribe endogamy, clan or surname exogamy

formed them into intimate spacial and kin groups. Social restrictions are decreed by tradition and position of each tribe in social hierarchy. The emotional ties, reciprocal relationships, common worship of village deities intended for the welfare of whole village, common festivals, participation in common recreation performances like dances bring together all the tribes in the village which functions as a social unit with 'we' feeling.

House:

The Bagatha dwellings are usually clustered at the entrance or centre of the village which may be divided into irregular or parallel streets / lanes. Prior to year 1985, Bagathas used to live in rectangular (L-6M; B-5M; H-4M) or square (L-5M; B-5M; H-4M) shaped houses, erected on wooden poles with beams and rafters, covered with *durba/rella* grass. In the past the houses used to be without windows or ventilation, while the roof slopes down up to one meter height from ground on three sides as shade to protect from rain and cold winds during winter and a varandah on front side. The cattle shed / hut used to be on one side or on front side of the house. At present Bagathas have either RCC houses or asbestos sheet roofed or tile roofed houses with brick walls plastered with cement. Usually a typical house is a single room of 5 to 6 m length, 5m breadth with a 3m wide front varandah.

Selection of New House Site:

For the construction of a new house, selection of house site is most important. Bagathas consult *Muhurthagadu* to fix an auspicious day to conduct preliminary test (*pati*) for selection of suitable site. The house builder cleans the proposed house site, smears with mud and cow dung and decorates with *chodiflour* or lime flour. Usually auspicious time (*muhurtham*) is fixed to be during evening hours. The proposed builder stands facing east and keeps the plantain leaf or adda leaf plate on the central spot of proposed site at the auspicious time. A measure of rice is kept on the leaf plate and covered with a bamboo basket. In the early hours of the following day he again measures the rice and if it is equal or more, the site is considered to be prosperous and suitable.

Foundation of house:

The house builder will erect a central pole in the house site on an auspicious day and time fixed by *Muhurthagadu* as a mark of foundation ceremony. Construction starts from March – April months usually early summer. In the past all the wood required for the house used to be collected from forest with the help of family and kin group members. All the community members irrespective of tribe assist the builder in the construction of house. The house owner in-turn offers food to all the participants in this cooperative effort once in a day during the

period of construction. The women are exclusively engaged in construction of mud walls (*Kartikudu*) or wattle walls (*Dirukudu*). For mud walls (*Kartikudu*), a foundation of two feet is dug. For wattle walls thin beams of *Terminalia alata* (*Maddi*) or *Grewia tiliaefolia* (*tada*) are fixed at an interval of 10 cm or 15 cm connecting them with transverse bamboo rafters and horizontal strips which are plastered with mud and cow dung on either side. They keep three or four beams on these walls to support the loft constructed over them with wooden rafters or planks. A rectangular entrance of 4 feet is made to the loft either at the centre or at one corner of loft where corn, seed and agricultural implements are stored. The roof is supported by about 11 to 12 feet central pole with four slopes on four sides. The main doorway of Bagatha houses faces either to the east or north. The length and breadth of house varies depending on site.

Now, majority of Bagatha own either tile roofed /asbestos roofed houses or RCC structures with cement plastered brick walls and an entrance in the middle of wall facing to the street. Yet houses are not well ventilated due to few small windows. Bagatha use one side of the *varandah* for cooking and the other side for sitting or sleeping during day time. Some families use one corner of main room for cooking. The rectangular independent house used to have two portions known as *gondillu* with a partition wall of 5 feet height separating *inillu* over which a square bamboo mat of 3 feet length (*Joli* or *Dagari*) is hung to dry the corn and other seeds. Adjoining the oven / hearth an earthen platform of one feet height, two feet breadth and 3 feet length known as *Kuduru* is made to keep water pots and vessels containing cooked rice, curries etc. The *gondilu* is used to keep all provisions and domestic items and utensils. The ancestral pot is also kept in *gondillu* which is the darkest room in the house. Cooking is done in *inillu*. Each house will have a front *verrandah* (*Duku*). A stone mortar or mill for pounding is embedded in the floor of living room or *verrandah*. Most households have separate sheds for cattle and toilet. The size and roof of the house depend on economic condition of household. Of late, the houses built under Govt. housing scheme are uniformly rectangular single room with front *varandah* although few families have partitioned the single room as double room. The kitchen is mostly on one corner of room or one side of *varandah*. However, unlike traditional hierarchical settlement / housing pattern, now tribes of different hierarchical status got houses side by side due to lottery in allotment of houses ignoring social distinction or status. Slowly the social hierarchy is weakening since low and high ranked tribes are neighbours. Government have provided assistance for construction of toilets to make tribal villages open defecation free. In many villages the toilet construction is ongoing. In several villages on hill tops, toilet rooms constructed on Govt. subsidy are used

for storage of agricultural implements since toilet require more water and continuous running water facility is not available.

Majority of houses have entrance at the centre of front wall facing the street / lane. The house and open space is protected by compound wall for few houses. In many cases a fence either with thin wooden poles and rafters collected from forest or live vegetative growth of shrubs as fence, and pen without any fence are observed. They depend on bore well water in majority of villages. Stream or spring points are only source of drinking water in few villages. Protected tap water supply is available in several villages nearer to Paderu head quarters as well as mandal head quarters. Bagatha sleep inside the house during winter to protect from cold, while in summer they sleep in open, outside the house on cots or in the varandah. In many villages cattle houses are next to residential house. Toilet or latrine is always outside the house. A separate small shed or open to sky enclosure with wooden rafters to create privacy for taking bath and cleaning utensils is observed for several households. The flooring is mostly with cement in houses provided under housing scheme. In several tile-roofed houses, earthen flooring, cleanly smeared with cow dung is observed. The households without any cattle house keep or tether their cattle at one end of street / alley nearer to fields in open space. Majority of houses have only one entrance door without any opening towards backyard. The doors are made of country wood available from forest prepared by carpenter fixed to door frame. In houses provided under housing scheme, readymade wooden doors are fitted. All houses are single floor in all most all villages except a few in Paderu or other towns which are owned by richer Bagatha families where no segregation of houses according to tribal hierarchy exists. Both tribes and non-tribes irrespective of social hierarchy live side by side in Paderu, Chinthapalle, Araku, and other semi- urban settlements.

Household survey was conducted in six sample villages inhabited by Bagatha to enumerate type of houses; age and sex composition and marital status of Bagatha individuals from Chinthapalle region, ITDA Paderu. Type of house is recorded in table-IV-1. It is found that majority houses (84.24%) are tile roofed followed by 12.81% of houses covered with asbestos sheets and a few (2.95%) RCC structures. Thatched houses are not found in any of the study villages except a few thatched cattle sheds. About 92% of Bagatha households have separate cattle shed either on one side of the house or opposite the house or away at the outskirts of village near the fields. Separate toilet room outside the house is observed for 30% of the households although some are not using the facility due to lack of running tap water.

Table IV 1 Types of roof cover on house observed in the study villages

Sl.No	Name of the village	Type of roof cover on houses			Total
		Tiles	RCC	Asbestos sheet	
1	Bailukunchingi	62	2	17	81
2	Pasuvulabanda	27	0	1	28
3	Vamugada	9	0	5	14
4	Jerrla	35	1	1	37
5	Thotlagondhi	19	3	1	23
6	Adaparaigondhi	19	0	1	20
	Total	171	6	26	203
	Percentage (%)	84.24	2.95	12.81	(100)

Food Habits:

The traditional staple food of tribes used to be variety of millets. They used to cook flour of millets with rice or 'sama' in the past. The author has observed tribes specially Bagathas since 1975, closely watching their food habits. Tribes used to cook gruel with flour of millets (*Ragi / Korra/ Bajra*) as liquid preparation and eat thrice a day. One of the staple foods is finger millets (*chodi/ ragi*) which is cooked in liquid form (*chodijurang*) gruel and another semi liquid form (*choditopa*) . The flour of finger millet is boiled in water and stirred thoroughly to form a semi liquid (*choditopa*). The liquid gruel (*ambali*) is made by soaking *chodi* flour in water, a day earlier to the actual cooking. The soaked flour is poured in boiling water and mixed thoroughly to make *jurang*. In the past, Bagatha used to consume *sama* cooked in water, but now they eat rice due to the fact that the yield of *sama* is little and needs lot of labour to de-husk *sama* to make rice. Further, Govt is providing 5kg of rice per head at subsidised price of Rs one per kilogram. The cooked *sama* is called *Khoda unda*, while cooked rice is called *variannam*. They collect mango nuts in June / July, the kernel of mango nuts is powdered, the powdered kernel is collected in to a bamboo basket and kept in a running stream, to wash off the bitterness. Then the *takugunda* is mixed in boiling water and stirred to make *takujurang / takuambali*. Similarly they collect jack fruit nuts which are cooked to make curry or the powder of nuts is made as gruel and consumed. Of late, mango kernel is not preferred. Even today (year 2018) women cook *chodi* gruel with millet flour and salt (*Horu*) in the morning which is consumed along with green chillies (*Mirchiinga*) by both children and adults as breakfast (*Chalava*)between 8 am and 9 am in many villages and then men and women go to fields to engage in agricultural operations. Occasionally thick tamarind juice is added to gruel to enhance taste. Sometimes the men and women carry gruel or

porridge in *dippa* to fields and quench their thirst with gruel. In the afternoon they eat lunch (*jurang / gohono*) consisting of *choditopa* or gruel leftover from the morning breakfast with curry (*kuchha*) made of vegetables available in the season. Few well to do, educated and employed families cook rice and vegetable curry for lunch. In the evening Bagatha families cook millet flour along with rice, curry with leaves, mushrooms found in forest and vegetables grown from their kitchen garden for dinner. Pumpkin is regularly cooked and also stored for lean season (summer). They collect tubers, edible forms of flowers, rhizomes, leaves, roots of several wild plants, etc. and consumed either raw or boiled. The vegetables include raw banana, brinjal, *kumada*, cucumber, tomato, bottle gourd, bitter gourd, okra, ridge gourd, chilli, sweet potato (*Pindi Dumpa, Thega, Cheda Dumnpa, Saru Dumpa*) and variety of wild leaves such as pumpkin (*Gummadi, purla*), *Sorakura, Sarasakura*, leaves of *Achyranthes aspera*, tricolour, spininosis, viridis; *Amaranthus blitune (thotakura)*, *Alternanthera sessilis*; *Boerhaviadiffusa*; *Colcasiaesculantia*; *Codiospermum holicacabum*; *Cayratia trifolia*, etc. available in the forest. Some leafy vegetables also available in the forest which are called in local terms such as *Raayesara, Konkudi, Mandi, Godru, Munjuru, Bhachali, Thotakura, Saru, GummadiAaku, etc.* are cooked and eaten with rice or millet. Wild flowers such as *Kanchadipuvvulu, Chintha puvvulu, (tamarind) etc, are eaten raw.* While flowers of *Cassiaauriiculata, Cassiafistula, Oroxylumindicum, Abutilon indicum, Pavettaindica* etc, are cooked and used as vegetables. Tubers are cooked and eaten as curries. Rhizomes and tubers are consumed as a substitute of rice / millet at the time of non-availability of food. Roots of *Buteamonosperma* are crushed to make flour, while few roots are used to make pickles. They eat eggs, chicken, fish, meat of tree shrew, rabbit, wild pig, barking deer, wild fowl wild goat, wild cat and variety of wild animals and birds, locally referred to *Konda Gorre, KondaMeka, Manupilli, Chevulapilli, Poothapilli, Peacock, Rabbit, Nedubandi, Kurudipilli, Mongoose (Benthu); Puridi pitta, Chadarakodi, RaathiKodi, Laku pitta* etc from forest, dry fish purchased at shandy, fish caught from streams etc. During summer they eat jack fruit, mango, guava, pineapple, *Syzygiuncummini*, (black plum), tamarind, variety of wild palm dates of phoenix (*etha*), jujube(*regu*), *Semillasgrossella*, *estrellada (usiri)*, sweet tamarind (*chimachinta*), *Pithecellobiumdulce*, custard apple, goose berry, *Alangiumsalviplium, Bridellamontana, Physalisangulata, Phyllanthrusemblica, Sevcurinegaleucopylous, Mimiosposelengi, Buchananiaalanzan, Diospyroschloroxylon, Melanoxytonperiguina, Phonnixacualis, Ziziphusmauritiana*, variety of berries (cranberry) and other fruits available in forest locally called *Pala, Pagada, Adda* etc., They eat 'bodding' cooked as meat curry. *Bodding* is a larva of an insect living in the decayed phoenix dead wood which is a delicacy food. They consume raw roots, tubers, bamboo shoots etc, collected

from forest as a source of essential nutrients for survival during summer which forms supplementary foods. Bagatha do not eat beef and pork. In the past Bagatha used to store mango kernel and seeds of jack fruit, *adda* nuts etc, for consuming in times of scarcity. Of late, all English vegetables are also available in the market at nearby semi-urban towns. Bagathas also visit weekly shandies to procure dry fish and vegetables as and when required. Under public distribution system (PDS) Govt is providing 5kgs of rice per person at Rs one a kilogram, which has changed the diet pattern of tribes especially Bagatha. The traditional *Sama* millet which was staple food in the past is not cultivated by Bagatha except for a limited area in small dry patches of land. The number of millet varieties cultivated by Bagatha in dry land has also decreased due to ban on *podu* lands. When probed further, it is informed that an elaborate hard process is involved for de-husking raw *Sama* with wooden grinder to make *Sama* rice and hence discontinued the cultivation of *Sama*.

Dress:

The older generations among tribes are mostly tradition bound. Majority of tribes including Bagatha used to wear simple dress. Earlier men used to wear dhoti up to their knees and a headgear, while women wear a sari up to knees without blouse. The traditional typical dress of tribal woman used to be a sari, the loose ends of sari pass over left shoulder and tied with a knot on the left shoulder to cover their body and breast. Now, Bagatha women wear full sari till their feet. One end of sari is tied to waist wrapped round the hips and legs and the other free end passes over front side covering breast, then on to right shoulder and hangs on back side. This style of free end of sari passing on right shoulder is observed among plains castes women belonging to backward classes and scheduled castes. However, several Bagatha women wear sari with free end passing over left shoulder and hanging back side, a style similar to upper caste women. The children up to 10-12 years used to wear a small strip of cloth to cover their genitals. Even the older men used to wear a small loin cloth (*gochi*) across the genitals by tucking it into waist string without any upper garment, while working in the fields. Now a day, only few older generation men wear loincloth while most men wear either a shirt or *banianas* upper garment, a dhoti or a cloth, wrapped round the hips and legs (*lungi*). Several younger generation boys wear pant and shirt. School going girls wear skirt and blouse or shirt, while most young girls wear shirt and skirt or modern dress of latest fashions similar to non- tribes due to culture contact. Earlier foot wear was not used by tribes. Of late, they use foot wear purchased from weekly shandy such as sandals (*cheppulu*) but not shoes / boots. The priests wearing a sacred thread are observed in few villages. Very few priests wear either white, yellow or saffron coloured *dhoti*, with or without a *banian*, but covered their

upper body by a long towel during ceremonies, attending duties of deity and festivals. However, the priest dresses up like other men during leisure time. Most Bagatha priests wear white dhoti during festivals, ceremonies or conducting rituals to deity. Female priests (*Gurumai*) are observed only in very few Bagatha villages, although wife of priest (*Gurumai*) is respected equally. Other village functionaries like *Barika/ Challan / Salan*, except astrologer / guru wear dress similar to other tribesmen.

Ornaments:

Women wear few ornaments regularly, while many varieties are worn on occasions such as festivals or ceremonies, rituals or functions. The regular ornaments of married woman are *thali* (a gold disc), ear studs or ear and nose rings or nose pins etc. Necklace with black beads together with *thali* and toe rings form symbols of marriage. However, they wear gold or silver noselets or nose, pins, brass or aluminium anklets, necklace, variety of bangles, etc. during festivals or visiting shandy. These ornaments made of brass and aluminium are purchased in weekly shandy which are mostly worn by poor Bagathas. Due to close proximity of other tribes, few Bagatha women also wear thick anklets (*kadeve*). Married women wear *muddi/ mettelu*, a circular plain brass or aluminium rings to toes. Some toe rings may be fixed with three / four small bells (*Muvva*) which make rhythmic sound while walking. Few Bagatha women wear brass wire wound as a ring to fingers. Only older Bagatha women are wearing thin aluminium necklets (*khogudi*). Usually, Bagatha girls at the age of one year get their ear lobes, helix and nostrils pierced with a pointed copper needle by *Gurumai*, the traditional woman priest on an auspicious day usually Wednesday. The children wear three or four ear rings made of brass (*Murumu*) on ear helix and ear studs (*Tammetalu*) studded with stones to ear lobes. Some girls use only rings to ear lobes. Some Bagatha women wear circular *gundujatha* studs to ear lobes or *Gunusu* made of brass. Bagatha women wear *Soki* and *Kammi* on the nostrils. Same ornaments are called differently in Oriya influenced Munchangiput and Arakuvalley regions. The well to do families get their silver or gold ornaments made by order or purchase from Paderu, Chinthapalle, Araku or nearby plains area towns like Narsipatnam, Chodavaram, S.Kota or Visakhapatnam city. Most women wear a coiled snake shaped brass ornament (*nagulu / pagadi*), the hood projecting in the end, body rolled up passing through the earlobe, along with special ornaments '*jamdor, nakupa and bulaki*' on either side of nose on alare and in the mid septum. The bangles are either silver or brass worn along with glass bangles. The brass or silver anklets are of two types, thin with bells called '*andhelu*' and thicker without bells called '*kadiyalu*' which are worn during occasions. Some women wear several thick necklets made

of silver along with necklaces. Widows wear only anklets and synthetic rubber bangles. Of late, these typical traditional anklets and necklets are not worn by younger generation women and young girls. Instead they wear modern style, less expensive gold coated imitation ornaments available in shops or shandy.

Hair style:

The traditional typical hair style of tribal women used to be a special conical bun shaped knot (*Koppu*) on back of head towards one side. The traditional hairstyle of Bagatha man is known as (*Juda*), while woman is called *koppu*. Young girls are adopting plains way of hair style (*Jada*) plait. They apply coconut oil to hair and dress the hair with comb (*Paniya*). Some women use knitted jute bag (*Savari*) prepared with a piece of jute cloth or net similar to smallest gunny bag to wound up hair in it. Some women use hairpins (*Suja or kuppa*) but among Bagatha woman this style is very rare. The hair used to be neatly parted in the middle, tied by a knot and twisted inside covering the knot on the back side of head. Of late, younger generation girls and women apply coconut oil or hair oil purchased at shandy and imitate modern styles similar to non-tribal plains girls or women without any difference. Bagatha women and girls dress their hair similar to plait of plains women or bind their hair with a ring or elastic rubber bond or hairpins procured from shandy and put on a pink coloured artificial flower on the occiput. In the past, older generation men used to knot their grown up hair on the backside of head at occiput region. Now a day, most men especially boys have hair cut and style similar to plains people. Both Bagatha men and women wear waist string (*Tedalimada*), a cotton thread worn on the waist. Some Bagatha families own stitching machines for tailoring by their women folk who are trained in the skills by ITDA or NGOs. Several heads of households and youth own motor bikes for personal transport. Some Bagatha men own three wheeler commercial auto or four wheeler jeep for transporting (taxi) people. Some own mini tractors, tillers, and ploughs etc, for agricultural operations and also for supplying on hire to others.

Tattooing:

Tattooing (*Goddili*) used to exist in the past. Older Bagatha women have tattoo marks, on face, arms, and hands. Tattoo designs are only for decoration. The elderly women know the art of tattooing children usually before the child completes ten years. Oil is applied on the place where tattooing is to be done and tattoo marks are made using bunch fine needles by poking the skin. Also professional woman who are expert tattoo piercers used to visit tribal

villages seasonally (March – April). Of late, the younger generation is not at all interested to have tattoo marks on their body.

Smoking:

In the past, men, women and children belonging to tribes including Bagatha used to smoke cigar invariably although Bagathas are not fond of smoking now. They used to cultivate country tobacco for preparing cigars manually. The pieces of tobacco are wrapped in a tender adda leaf for smoking. Of late, smoking habit is on decline and tobacco cultivation is rare. Older Bagatha men used to smoke *beedelu* and country cigar.

Drinking:

The Bagatha men and women drink tea in the weekly shandies. Majority of men drink country liquor or *jeelugu kallu*. During religious festivals, social functions, all life cycle events, rituals and offering to deities; tribes invariably consume intoxicating liquors. Several Bagatha men are found in the intoxicated state during our visits. It is a source of enjoyment to many tribal men although their women folk are engaged in hard work the whole day. However, women also consume alcoholic drinks during festivals. It is a prestige and honour to serve liquor to elders of the village during life cycle ceremonies conducted by any household.

Material Culture

Domestic Articles:

Bagatha use earthen pot as well as metallic utensils for cooking and storing water. Plastic buckets and drums are also used to store water. They use stainless steel plates, tumbler or small cups for drinking. Different sizes of earthen pots are used to cook gruel/curries. Rice is cooked either in earthen pot or metallic vessels. Usually traditional earthen pots are used to cook on traditional stove using fire wood. Metallic pots are used to cook on gas stoves. They use *jurumdokaa* medium sized earthen pot for cooking gruel, while a larger pot (*ondavajindoka*) for cooking rice or *sama*. They cook curries in a small and shallow pot (*pidatha*) or aluminium vessel (*ginni*). They use *Hatwa* a long wooden spoon made out of *Gummadi* wood for stirring hot gruel or curry. They use *Jathu* or *Doki* made of ripened and dried water gourd shell an improvised ladle to take out hot liquids, vegetable soups or water. They also use metallic vessels (*Bindi*) for storing water. They use stone grinder to make flour out of millets (*Chodi / Jonna / Gantlu*) for preparing gruel and wooden grinder for de-husking *sama* millet. They also use pounding rod/ pestle to pound some items for cooking.

They use large half split bamboo (*Kavitibadha*) for carrying loads on shoulder such as adda leaves or any other agricultural produce to shandy or water from stream. A medium sized bamboo is used as bow (*vintebadha*) along with arrow for hunting. The bow consists of a half split bamboo of 6 feet long, bent and the ends tied tightly with a fibber rope (*Vintinara*). The arrow is made with a straight stick of light weight (*Voosa*) one side of which is fixed with a metallic arrow head and on the other side with feathers of a bird or cock. They also use *Eta* similar to sharp arrow but larger in size and heavier with a blunt heavy metallic head (*mitta*) to hunt animals. They use variety of bamboo baskets or adda leaf baskets (*Davada, Dalli, Deela, Tipni*) etc, to carry manure / grains or store grains.

Each family possesses three or four cots (*Katteli*) made of *tada* wood knitted with *adda* fibber. The common traditional domestic articles such as *Tipini* a small basket made of thin bamboo ribs is used for carrying or storing provisions. *Deela*, a basket made of *adda* leaves is used to store grains. *Dawada*, a shallow basket woven with thicker split bamboo ribs is used to carry dung and manure to fields. They make an improvised vessel out of ripe pumpkin water gourd which is dried and made hollow. Winnowing fan made of bamboo veneers is called, *Hechi* which is used for separating grain from sand. *Hapuri* is a sweeping aid made of hill broom which is collected by women, who also have the knowledge to make it. *Dalli*, a large basket made with bamboo ribs is used to store grains. Usually the *Dalli* is plastered with mud and dung. *Deerutaddi*, also made of bamboo is a larger basket for storing larger quantities of paddy, millet or other grains. Now a day, gunny bags are used instead of *Deerutaddi* since it occupies more space inside the house. They use *Hangun* made of bamboo ribs for storing flour of millets (*Chodi/ Jowar*). *Jatha* is a granite grinding stone for making flour from millets. They use *kolu*, a kind of pestle or pounding rod to pound corn or de-husk paddy. An iron ring (*ponnu*) is fixed at the grinding end of *kolu*. They cut plants /shrubs using *Dovali*, a sharp knife. The axe known as *Rali* whose head is made of iron, fixed to four feet long handle made out of locally available *tada* wood is also used for cutting trees or braking dried wood. However, the terminologies of domestic articles vary from region to region within the Paderu ITDA area.

They use rough broom made of a weed shrub (*Hapuri*) for sweeping outside the house and fine broom to sweep and clean inside the house. They use a flat bamboo mat (*Dhagari*) to dry grains. The same *Dhagari* is hung on hearth to dry wet grains / fresh grains, corn, seeds, and other agricultural produce if drying is required. Traditionally they used to carry gruel to fields using shell of pumpkin or water gourd (*Dippa*) which is of late replaced by metallic vessels. They used to draw water from pots using a shell of bottle guard (*Doki*) which is replaced by

tumbler now. In the past they used to make their domestic materials / required articles on their own skills using locally available bamboo, wood or gourds. Now they depend on modern domestic material available from market. The transformation from self sufficiency to dependency occurred gradually during the last three decades.

Musical Instruments:

During festivals, rituals and ceremonies, Bagatha along with other tribes use variety of musical instruments played especially by Valmiki tribesmen in Paderu ITDA area. The musical instruments include *dappu*, *tammuck*, *kiridi*, *dolu*, *murudula*, *bavsi*, *jodukam*, *jodukommulu*, *mori*, *thal*, *ginni*, *khonjari*, etc used in Arakuvalley area. A detailed description of each instrument is provided separately. However, the names of musical instruments differ in different regions of Paderu ITDA.

Bavsi: This is a flute made of bamboo by tribes. A hollow bamboo tube of different sizes (mostly one foot) is cut. About six to eight holes are made at equal intervals from one end of the bamboo tube. On the other end, a single hole is made to blow air into bamboo tube. This *bavsi* is played solo by Bagatha to enjoy during their leisure. This musical instrument is played by holding in both hands and covering the holes by fingers except the single hole at another end through which air is to be blown through mouth. This flute produces melodious sounds. By closing or opening of holes with fingers, several tunes are played.

Dappu: This instrument is a circular thin wooden frame, which is covered with tightly stretched goat skin on one side and hollow on other side. Small sticks are used to beat on goat skin to make rhythmic sound. This is played during processions, festivals, dances and social ceremonies. This *dappu* makes sound which also helps to scare away birds from ripe fields.

Dolu: This is a hollow cylindrical wooden body covered with cow's hide on either side held together with leather strips. This instrument is played either with fingers or by using two sticks beating on both sides making rhythmic sound. This is played during marriage and auspicious ceremonial occasions.

Ginni: This instrument consists of two circular bronze disks of 4 " to 8 " in diameter or some times larger. This instrument produces musical sound by striking one disc against other. This is played along with other instruments according to the tune of devotional songs.

Kiridi: This is a small *tammuk* covered with calf's skin or goat's hide. This is played with two sticks in conformity with the tune of *mori* during dance, festivals and ceremonies.

Khonjari: This is a circular wooden frame of 18" - 24" diameter covered with tightly stretched goat's hide tied with leather strips to the circular wooden frame. Small circular bronze discs in pairs are fixed to wooden frame which strike each other when the person playing this instrument beats goat's hide with fingers or hands gently. This instrument is played in combination and tune with *murudula*, *ginni* and *thal* especially when devotional songs are sung.

Mori: It consists of funnel shaped brass head fixed to a wooden tube on one end. The other end is provided with a dried palmyra leaf to blow air, which is a mouth piece. This is an important instrument played in combination with other musical instruments such as *kiridi*, *dappu* and *jodu-kommalu*. This is played to provide tune during dance and marriage ceremonies.

Murudula: This is a hollow spindle shaped wooden cylindrical body, one end with larger diameter than the other. Both the ends are covered with calf's skin tightly stretched and tied with leather strips. This musical instrument is played with fingers of both hands to make gentle sound during ceremonies. This is usually played along with *ginni*, *thal* and *khonjari* specially while singing devotional songs and auspicious ceremonies.

Ramgunta: This is a hemispherical gourd shell to which a bamboo pipe is fixed on the open end. The mouth of the gourd is covered with goat's hide. A brass string is attached at the free end of bamboo pipe and is stretched tight length wise over the bamboo pipe and fixed at the sides of gourd shell. This stringed instrument is played solo for recreation during leisure by any person.

Tammuck: This instrument comprises of a big hemispherical earthen ware body whose mouth is covered with cow's skin which is tightly tied to the body with leather strips fixed to the bottom. This is played on with two compressed leather flaps during *dimsa* dance and ceremonial occasions.

Thal: Similar to *ginni*, *thal* is a larger instrument with two *bronze* disks of slightly large size. Rhythmic sound is produced by striking one disk against other, played in combination with other instruments while singing devotional songs. Some of the instruments are played during funeral processions also. The tune of music varies, either sad or sober tune for funeral or exhilarating tune for marriage or other social functions or festivals

Agricultural implements:

The agricultural implements include two types of *Nagali*. *Gubbam*, *Kotikarra*, *Gunapam*, *Oluvu*, and *Kori* are some of the local terms used for spade, long sickle, crow bar, sickle and axe used for turning earth, cutting shrubs, digging pits, cutting trees, respectively.

The terminology of names of agricultural implements differs from region to region depending on Oriya influence or other dialects of tribes inhabiting in the villages. Most men have the knowledge and expertise in preparing required agricultural implements on their own except some metallic aids such as axe-head, ploughshare, sickle, knife, spearhead, crowbar etc which are either purchased at shandy or got made annually by blacksmith who is paid few measures of millets / rice or other produce depending up on land holding or number of cattle pairs used for ploughing by the household. The small plough *buttinagali* is used for ploughing wet land while longer plough *peddanagali* is used for dry lands. The body (*dandi*) of *peddanagali* is longer than *buttinagali*. The plough is carved out of locally available wood from forest (*tada*, or *maddi*). The plough consists of main body (*dandi*) which is attached to a long wooden beam (*vetakarra*). The main body of plough will have two ends. One end is to hold the plough (*pata*) and the other end is attached with sharp ploughshare (*karru*). The main body (*dandi*) and handle (*pata*) are made out of single wooden piece (*thokanagali*). However, for some ploughs, handle (*pata*) can be attached separately. The plough and beam are tied securely to a wooden cross beam (*juvedi*) with ropes which is drawn by cattle or buffalo. A sharp iron bar of 20 cm to 25 cm length is fixed to the sharp end of main body of plough with 6cm to 10cm of it projecting out to go deep in the soil and turn earth during ploughing. The cross beam (*juvedi/kadi*) is prepared out of straight wooden pole. The farmer holds the handle (*pata*) while ploughing fields. For wet cultivation, after ploughing fields twice, they fill the plot with water and plough it again longitudinally and transversely and level the land using a flat wooden plank (*dammupetta*) drawn by cattle. The wooden beam of plough or *dammupetta* is referred locally as *ventakarra* while the cross beam is called *poonduat* Hukumpet area. For *podu* cultivation they use spade (*oluvu/gubbam*) to turn the earth on hill slopes. Another type of spade (*khorgi*) of relatively large size is used to turn earth in the flat dry lands and also to make earthen bunds across the fields. The handle of spade is prepared out of local *tada* / *maddi* wood which is fixed to an iron blade of 8 cm to 10 cm length and breadth. They use *Kotikarra* consisting of three to five feet long bamboo handle to which an iron sickle is attached to spread corn on the ground for drying. They use crowbar (*gunapam*) a pointed iron piece of 5 to 6 feet long to dig pits and lift huge stones in *podu* fields or dry lands. They use axe and knives of different sizes to cut shrubs, branches of trees,

small plants and also to clear jungle. Tribes usually carry axe while they go out to forest or fields to protect themselves from wild animals as well as for hunting small animals.

Environmental Sanitation, Hygiene, Disease and Treatment:

The environmental sanitation of Bagatha villages is relatively clean although cow dung and excreta of cattle, sheep and goat are found on the streets and lanes. The general surroundings of the villages looks clean but within the habitation the sanitation is not satisfactory due to close proximity of cattle sheds and goat pens amidst the houses, besides the daily rubbish being thrown as heaps close to the houses. Although open defecation is declining yet that habit is also observed in some villages. All the households sweep the front of their house every day and remove the garbage lying in front of their house. As such the streets or lanes are cleaned by households. Early in the morning, women clean the house by sweeping with broom. The front yard is also cleaned by sweeping dust and dry leaves fallen from trees and sprinkling cow dung mixed water if it is earthen floor. Otherwise they sprinkle water on cement floor to avoid dust coming inside the house. Women folk or younger children clean the utensils at one corner of front courtyard of their house. In some villages they carry dirty utensils and clean at the spring or stream point. Bagatha people take up repairs and general cleaning of the entire house once in a year during a *Chaitra* festival on no moon day (*Kothamavasya*) falling in the months of February-March. However, they undertake cleaning of house by dusting and removing cobwebs at the time of festivals or ceremonies. All the members of household brush teeth with agree wooden stick (*kanuga*) of pongamia or any other stick and take bath every day. Now a days they use tooth brush and paste. Men and children take bath in the bathroom or in the open in the front yard, while women take bath usually during evening hours after dark at an enclosed privacy place. Separate bathrooms and toilets are available to few Bagatha families. They use soap and soap nut powder for bath. However, many women take bath at spring or stream point after washing the clothes. They boil clothes in water once in a week. In the past, all the Bagatha people were practicing open defecation near the stream or agricultural fields. At present also in most villages men usually practice open defecation, but many women are using latrine constructed outside by the side or in front of their house under special scheme extended to all tribal families. Most households have cattle sheds in front of their dwellings, although in some villages cattle are kept or tethered at the outskirts of village in a fenced pen. House flies are commonly flying all over in the house premises during mango and jack fruit season in summer. All the waste and cow dung of each family is heaped upon separately at the outskirts of village. On the whole the sanitation is below satisfactory level similar to rural plains villages of Visakhapatnam district.

During rainy and winter season mosquito menace is common. Many tribal children and older people suffer with malaria, dengue, chicken guinea and viral fevers during different seasons. They also suffer from general fever, cold and cough due to virus. They take home remedies or herbal medicine for general fevers. They used to believe that some minor illness is caused due to neglect of ancestors which can be treated by offering a fowl to the ancestral spirits. The *Gurumai* (the traditional woman priest) of the village invokes the spirits and a sacrifice of fowl is offered to cure the disease. Of late, they visit primary health centre for free consultation, medical check up, prescription and free medicines. The Bagatha are aware of allopathic medicines and use the hospital facility for treatment of diseases. For minor ailments they take traditional diet precautions or herbal extracts.

Language:

Bagatha speak Telugu, a Dravidian language which is their mother tongue. However, Bagathas inhabiting villages contiguous to Odissa state such as Araku, Anathagiri, and Munchingput also speak *Adivasi Oriya* and converse in *Adivasi Oriya* with other tribes but speak Telugu at their home.

Literacy level and Educational status:

The literacy rate among the Bagatha as per 2001 census is 40.80%, (male- 54.72%, female - 26.76%). Among literates, 3.6% have completed school education (male- 5.5%; female- 1.7%), while 0.04% were graduates (males- 0.7%, females- 0.1%). Of late, the younger generation children and youth are also learning English as part of school or college education. The attitude of Bagatha for modern education is favourable. The literacy levels have improved during the last sixty years.

A household survey was conducted to enumerate number of literates, their education level and employment status among 825 individuals inhabiting six sample villages, in the present study. The information on literacy levels and educational status of Bagatha are presented in table –IV-2. It is found that 37.94% are illiterates (male – 32.27%, female-43.51%). Among literates, 9.82% have completed higher secondary level of schooling, 8.36% have bachelor degree, 1.09% have post graduate degree and 7.39% have professional diploma including technical education. About equal proposition of men and women have general degree and P.G. level education although more men have undergone professional education. Nursing course was opted by only girls.

Table IV 2 Literacy and Educational status of Bagatha in the sample study villages

Sl. No	Education Status	Sex		Total	% to total
		Male	Female		
1	Illiterate	132	181	313	37.94
2	Literate	22	17	39	4.73
3	Anganawadi (Pree school)	23	32	55	6.67
4	Primary school level	40	44	84	10.18
5	High School level	65	49	114	13.82
6	Intermediate	48	33	81	9.82
7	Degree	34	35	69	8.36
8	D.Ed (Diet)	18	8	26	3.15
9	B.Ed	10	3	13	1.57
10	ITI	7	0	7	0.85
11	B.Tech	6	0	6	0.73
12	MA /MSc	4	5	9	1.09
13	Nursing	0	9	9	1.09
	Total	409	416	825	100.00

Employment status:

The study of 825 Bagathas belonging to both sexes on their present employment / occupational status is reported in table IV-3. It is found that 33.21% are school and college students, 62.18% are agricultural labourers, 4.24% are employees. Among adults 93.1% are engaged in agriculture sector, while 6.4% are employees. Relatively higher proportion of men (9.3%) than women (4.2%) are employed either in government or private sector employment.

Table IV 3 Employment /Occupational status of Bagatha in the sample study villages

Sl. No	Occupational status	Sex		Total	% to total
		Male	Female		
1	Agriculture labour	254	259	513	62.18
2	Employees(Govt & Private)	24	11	35	4.24
3	School & College Students	129	145	274	33.21
4	Business	2	1	3	0.37
	Total	409	416	825	100.00

CHAPTER-V

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Ecology:

The habitat of Bagatha is part of Eastern Ghats, a set of hill ranges running from North-East to South- West of coastal Andhra Pradesh. The flora and fauna on these hill ranges are rich. The forest is classified as moist deciduous in Madugol hills and semi-evergreen in Great Galikonda hill near Ananthagiri. River Gostani or Champavathi originate in the hill ranges of Ananthagiri. The Macheru or Machkund originate in the Madugol hills on 3000 feet plateau and runs North-East in a very meandering course passing through wide Padwa valley. In between the hill ranges several valleys namely Araku valley, Malasingaram valley, Lammasingi valley, Madugolvalley, Minumuluru valley, Hukumpet valley, etc. are formed which are abode of about sixteen tribal groups specially Bagathas with a sprinkling of settlers from plains area. The South-West monsoon from June to August and North- East monsoon from September to December provide good rains with a mean rain fall of 120 cm per year. The summer season during April and May is slightly hot and humid although few evening showers cool the climate during night. The winter season during December- January is severe and early morning temperatures fall below 10° C with thick fog till 8am. The day temperatures are comfortable. The soils are sandy loams or red clay loams providing rich organic nutrients to plant species.

Flora:

The upper canopy of Eastern Ghats forest comprises of plants such as *Tectonagrandis*, *Terminaliatomentosa*, *Xylixycarpa*, *Anogerrouslatifolia*, *Dilleniapentagyna*, *Adina cordifolia*, *Mitragynaparviflora*, *Petrocarpusmarsupium*, *Lagerstroemia parviflora*, *Schleicheratrijuga*, *Mangifera indica*, *Dalbergialatifolia*, *Albiziaodoratissima*, etc. The lower canopy mostly consist of *Brideliarentosa*, *Scheberaswietenoides*, *Careyaarborea*, *Grewia tiliifolia*, *Polyalthia carasoides*, *Kydia calynica*, *Semicarpus anacardium*, along with *Dendrocalamusstrictus* and Bamboo bushes. Also *Clerstanthuscollinus*, *Holarrehenaantidysenteria*, *Embilicofficinalis*, *Strychnos potatorum*, etc .are found in shallow and rocky soils. The shrubs include *Pavetta indica*, *Nyctanthus aibortristis*, *Helecteris isora*, *Flemingia chapper*, *Indigofera cassiodes* along with tall grass in open area. *Bauhinia vahili*, *Milletiaauriculata* and *Butasuperba* are some of the climbers. Several edible leafy vegetable plants namely *Achyranthes aspera*, *Achyranthes tricolour*, *Achryranthes spinosis*, *Achryranthes viridis*, *Alternanthera sessilis*, *Boerhaviadiffusa*, *Colacasiaesculanta*,

Codospermum holicacabum, Cayratia trifolia etc are abundantly found which are cooked and eaten along with staple food. The flowers of several other plants found in the forest such as Cassia auriculata, Cassia fistula, Oroxyllum indicum, Abutilon indicum, Pavetta indica, etc. are also source of supplementary foods for tribes. Variety of fruit bearing plants such as jack, mango, guava, pineapple, black plum, tamarind, phoenix, custard apple, gooseberry, jujube, sweet tamarind, cranberry, Syzygium cummini, Semillas grosella, Pithecellobium dulce, Alangium salvifolium, Bridella montana, Physalis angulata, Phyllanthus emblica, Securinega leucopylous, Mimosa elangi, Buchnanian lanzan, Diospyros chcoroxylon, Diospyros malanoxylon, Diospyros periguna, Phoenix accualis, Zizipus mauritina, etc. are found in forest clad hills.

Fauna:

Although the forest ecology of this region is thick, the fauna are thin. Wild animals like Tiger, Lion, etc, are not reported to exist. Sight of Cheetah and Bear are reported. Several animals like Fox, Wild pig, porcupine (Spine pig), Wild goat, variety of wild Cats (*manupilli*, *poothapilli*, *kuridipilli*, *bakurupilli*), Monkey, Mongoose, Langur, Treeshrew, etc. are reported to exist in the forest. Tribes hunt and eat meat of majority of animals as a source of protein food except monkey. In addition, several other small birds (*puridipitta*, *chedarakodi*, *raathikodi*, *lakupitta*) are abundant in shrubs of forest which are also a source of protein food.

The principal sources of livelihood of Bagatha are cultivation of wet, dry and *podu* lands, collection of non-timber forest produce, collection of edible leaves, flowers, roots and tubers from forest. The cultivable lands are referred in local terms as *KondaPodu* for hill slopes and *Garuvu* for flat lands. They use traditional agricultural implements like plough and cultivator drawn by cattle for dry land cultivation. Now a day, they use different varieties of slightly improved ploughs drawn by cattle and also mini-tractors for wet land cultivation. The economic life of Bagathas mainly depend on climate, crops, live stock and availability of forest produce. Both adults and children are aware of the availability of seasonal edible tubers, roots, leafy vegetables and flowers which are the chief source of carbohydrates and other forest birds and animals which are main sources of protein.

Economic Resources:

Forest:

The forest is potential source of economy of Bagatha besides cultivable land. They use locally available bamboo and timber for house construction, dry shrubs and wood for fuel,

edible roots, tubers, leafy vegetables, flowers and fruits for food. Bagathas collect honey, adda leaves, gum, soap nuts, marking nuts and other forest produce and sell in the weekly shandy as source of monetary income. They graze their cattle, buffaloes, sheep and goats in grazing fields or near foot hills of the forest. They hunt wild animals and birds as a source of supplementary food.

Collection of non-timber minor forest produce (NTFP) such as *adda* leaves, *adda* fruits, soap nuts, hill brooms, tamarind, cashew, soya beans, *sheekakai*, gumkariya, *pungamseed*, markingnuts, soapnuts, *naramamidibark*, honey, beeswax, etc. for sale to GCC or traders is prevalent. Variety of fruits such as mango, pineapple, jack, papaya, berries, tamarind, etc. are collected for self consumption as well as sale at shandy which are subsidiary occupations. Males outnumber females in agriculture labour. Women and children also collect minor forest produce. Except for cutting trees and hunting wild life the tribes are allowed by forest department to collect forest produce. Young men and boys also catch wild birds like wild fowl, hunt small animals like rabbits, rodents, wild animals, etc. though not legally permitted for self consumption. Collection of honey is also another economic activity. They sell honey collected from forest to Girijan Cooperative Corporation (G.C.C) or traders in the shandy.

Land:

The major occupation of Bagathas is agriculture and agriculture labour in villages. The principal economic resource is land. Most Bagatha families own lands by individual ownership. In most villages dry and *podu* lands are cultivated by Bagatha. In villages near the running stream and shallow slopes they cultivate wet lands or terrace lands. The soil is clay and loamy. The economy is agro-forest based subsistence type. Bagatha cultivate variety of millets such as *korralu* (brown top millet), *chodi* or *ragi* (finger millets), *gantlu* (pearl millet/ bajra), *jonna* (great millet/ sorghum), *arikalu* (kodo millet), etc. in dry and *podu* lands on hill slopes. They cultivate paddy in wet lands with water facility and also on terrace lands. Most of the food grains are for self consumption, while excess stock of millets or paddy are sold in shandy or to traders who visit villages to procure or to money lenders who provided cash advance as loan to the family. They also cultivate oil seeds namely *valusulu* (neiger) which is used for their own consumption and also for sale. Few Bagatha families with large land holdings have leased out their lands to their kin / lineage families or others on tenure system or share cropping. In addition, Bagatha are cultivating commercial crops such as coffee, black pepper, cinnamon, and other spices in some areas, ground nut, ginger, sweet corn, turmeric, *pippili*, freach beens (*rajmah*), etc. Due to ban on *podu cultivation* some Bagatha families

living in villages on top of hills have become landless who mainly depend on agriculture labour or cultivation by crop sharing or tenancy land. The Bagatha from Koyyuru are engaged in horticulture by growing cashew plantations in addition to cotton and tobacco. They do not cultivate finger millet in their dry lands instead they cultivate red gram, green gram, black gram, corn, cowpea, black-eyed pea in dry lands and paddy in wet lands.

Majority of the Bagatha living in valleys have wet land and dry land (*Garuvu*). The flat lands at the foot of the hills will be ploughed after the first fall of rain in the months of May or June. They plough the fields three to four times and sow seeds of variety of millets as mixed crop in the months of May/ June/ July depending on rains. They are not aware of exact measurement of their land holdings in terms of acres. They measure their land by the quantity of seed used or required for sowing. Usually six *Kunchams* of millets (*Chodi /gantlu*) are required to sow one acre of land. They cultivate paddy in wet lands. They also cultivate variety of pulses in dry and *podu* lands. The produce is mainly for their self consumption. Of course, the surplus produce of millets, pulses, paddy, etc. are sold either to their tribesmen or traders. In the past, they used to carry their produce to weekly *shandy* as head load to sell in the market. Now a day, due to development of road and transport facility the traders visit villages and purchase the produce at the door step of tribes. Some traders who provided advance/ loan will set off the loan amount with the agricultural produce in kind at a slightly lower price than existing market rate.

A sample household survey is made to record the type of land and extent of land owned or cultivated by 203 Bagatha households from six sample villages in the present study covering their annual total income, expenditure, savings and total debts. The type and extent of land owned / cultivated is reported in table V-1. The quantitative data reveal that most of Bagatha families owned either wet, dry, or *podu* land. About 16.75% Bagatha reported that they don't have wet lands, while 71.92% reported that they don't cultivate *podu* lands which indicate that majority Bagatha depend on wet lands for their livelihoods and subsistence. About 74.39% have dry lands. Majority of Bagatha have more than one acre wet land for paddy cultivation and two acres or more dry land for cultivation of millets. Majority of Bagatha households are self sufficient agriculturists, sustaining on their agriculture produce for their livelihood. Landlessness is not reported among Bagathas.

Table V1 Type and extent of land owned / cultivated by Bagatha in sample study villages

Sl. No	Type of Land	Extent of land (Acre)	Households	
			Number	Percent
		Nil	34	16.75
		Below 1 Acre	13	6.41
		1 to 2 Acres	89	43.84
1	Wet	3 to 5 Acres	55	27.10
		6 to 8 Acres	9	4.43
		9 Acres & above	4	1.97
		Total	203	100.00
		Nil	52	25.61
		Below 1 Acre	20	9.85
		1 to 2 Acres	53	26.11
2	Dry	3 to 5 Acres	62	30.55
		6 to 8 Acres	10	4.93
		9 Acres & above	6	2.95
		Total	203	100.00
		Nil	146	71.92
		Below 1 Acre	1	0.50
3	Podu	1 to 2 Acres	20	9.85
		3 to 5 Acres	32	15.76
		6 to 8 Acres	3	1.47
		9 Acres & above	1	0.50
		Total	203	100.00

Livestock:

Rearing cattle, goats, sheep and fowls are subsidiary occupations and additional sources of income. Most Bagatha families use cattle for their agricultural operations. Bagatha rear goats and sheep and sell either in shandy or in the village. They have poultry pens. The eggs and chickens are for self consumption and sale. The animals graze in the common village grazing lands or in their own fields. Straw of rice, maize or millets crop is used to feed cattle. The livestock includes cows, bullocks, buffaloes, goats, sheep and poultry. The cows, bullocks and buffaloes are used for ploughing fields. They do not milk the cows and buffaloes and the dairy activity is totally absent. However, now a day they are using milk for preparing tea. The cattle are kept in cattleshed which is fenced on all sides with wooden poles and bamboo rafters. Usually the cowherd drives the live stock to the nearby grazing lands or forest for grazing in the morning hours and drives them back before sunset. Most of the livestock is indigenous short variety. Of late, new breeds of cattle / cow, goats and sheep are introduced by ITDA to improve the tribal economy. They sell their goats/ sheep and fowls for sacrifice to deities or spirits during festivals and also for various rituals and ceremonies besides for their own consumption. Beef eating tribes purchase cattle which are not useful for agriculture

any more from Bagatha for consumption of meat. Majority of Bagatha are sticking to their traditional occupation which is agriculture. Only educated Bagatha have shifted to employment outside their village. A few have established business by constructing small buildings on road side in towns or semi urban areas which are given for hire to run commercial shops by plains people. Several households are engaged in collection of adda leaves, honey and other forest produce which is sold at shandy for cash income. Of late, one family member from each household is engaged in labour work on minimum wage for a maximum of hundred fifty days provided by ITDA under Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), which forms an additional source of income.

Agricultural Practices:

Majority of Bagatha are owner cultivators of wet / dry or *podu* lands. They cultivate *KondaPodu* in villages where sufficient dry or wet land is not available. The Bagathas grow vegetables such as chillies, pumpkins, variety of beans and guards, okra, brinjal, etc. in plots at the immediate vicinity of their habitation. The plots are fenced with wooden poles, bamboo rafters and vegetable shrubs to protect the crops from cattle / goats and other wild animals.

After the first fall of rain during April/ June, the agricultural activity starts by ploughing dry lands at the foot hills using traditional *Peddanagali* or *Thokanagali*. Simultaneously, *podu* cultivation begins on hill slopes. Prior to the early showers of rain they clear the jungle of shrubs and vegetative growth in the plot by cutting with axe, sickle or big knife and the heaps of dried waste is burnt. Where ever cattle cannot be used for ploughing, they use agricultural implements like *Oluva* and *Borage* to turn the earth. They broadcast variety of millet seeds (*chodi*, *sama*) in *podu* as well as dry lands during May-June. The weeds are removed in June-July. The crops are protected from wild animals and birds by scaring them during August-September. *Sama* millet is a four / five months crop which is harvested in October / November while *chodi* is a bit longer duration crop which is harvested during October / November / December. Now a day, *sama* is not preferred by Bagatha because the yield of *sama* is very low and de-husking of *sama* is a laborious process. After harvesting *sama*, they plough the plot two / three times and Niger seeds are broadcasted in November / December. After continuous cropping for two / three years, the *podu* lands are left fallow. Now a day, the forest department is not permitting tribes to clear the jungle in new areas of forest and *podu*cultivation is discouraged and in several places totally prohibited. They used to mix millet crops such as *sama*, *chodi*, *gaddijonna* along with pulses as mixed crop and raise

required quantity for their domestic consumption. Now a day, they are aware of the value of millets and pulses which are sold for monetary economy and hence growing wherever dry land is available.

The Bagathas who have wet lands on the banks of the hill stream or in the valleys or terrace plots, plough the fields with *buttinagali* twice or thrice during June / July and broadcast paddy seeds. The weeds are removed using family labour. In some other areas, the wet lands are ploughed using traditional nagali drawn by cattle or use mini tractor a modern agricultural implement. Weeding in paddy fields are taken up by the family members or assistance by lineage members and friends on cooperative basis during August and September months. The paddy crop will be ready for harvest by December. Harvesting operation is done manually with the assistance of family and kinsmen followed by threshing either manually or using cattle to stamp on the harvested crop. The grains are separated from the straw. They store the rice straw on a pandal (*Baddi*) either on the side or front side of house, near cattle shed for using as feed to cattle. Few days before harvesting paddy they remove water from the wet paddy plot and broadcast either oil seeds (*Valusulu*) or black gram seeds which will sprout and grow as second crop. When the crop ripens the corn or other millets are separated from the straw using cattle to stamp on it. Pulses are harvested using knife to separate ear heads. Usually all Bagatha families store small quantity of corn, paddy, *sama*, *chodi*, pulses, etc. for seeds from year to year. Of late, they are borrowing improved hybrid short variety of paddy seeds and other millets from neighbouring plains people which is changing crop calendar. They are also cultivating commercial crops such as ginger, sweet corn, turmeric, coffee, black pepper, etc. which are exclusively sold for cash to traders. Commercial crops have brought extra income to many Bagatha families which changed the life style and improved the economy of many Bagatha households. Some Bagatha families with larger land holdings are using chemical fertilizers and modern agricultural implements for cultivation of paddy and commercial crops. Traditionally, cattle dung is the chief manure for the fields. The manure is evenly spread all over the plot after ploughing the plot. They plough the land three to four times before sowing. Of late, they transplant the paddy seedlings which are raised separately instead of broadcasting after rains. Majority families conduct agricultural operations in their fields mutually helping each other. Of late, some Bagatha families with large land holdings are using hired labour, casual labour or engaging modern agricultural implements such as tractor for ploughing and harvester for harvesting. Major agricultural works such as carrying dung and organic manure to fields, transplanting paddy seedlings, removing weeds, harvesting, transporting grains to home or shandy, turning of earth in *podu*

lands, etc. are done by women. Men work to plough and broadcast seeds. The children also help adults in agricultural operations whenever they are on holidays to school / college. An approximate crop calendar followed by Bagatha at Paderu, ITDA is presented in table V-2. However, now a day short varieties of seeds are used by some farmers where the sowing and harvesting seasons differ slightly from the following calendar which are given in brackets.

Table V 2 Crop calendar followed by Bagatha at Paderu ITDA Area

Name of the Crop	Sowing Season	Harvest Season
Paddy	May / June	November/ December (October /November)
Chodi	June / July	October / November
Sama	May / June	October / November
GadaJonna	May / June	November / December
Maize	May/ June	September / October (September)
Korra	June / July	October / November
Gantlu	June/ July	December / January
KondaKandi	May / June	December / January
Red Garam	June / July	December / January
Chillies	May/ June	August / September
Ginger	June / July	December /January October / November
Turmeric	June / July	January / November
Volusulu (Niger oil seeds)	October / November	December / January

Several men are engaged in self occupations such as driving transport or goods vehicles, running three wheeler autos for transportation of people, providing modern gadgets and implements on hire to clients, etc. Bagatha men engage in fishing only in few villages where water bodies are available. Most of the streams are steep and continuously flowing down on slopes and as such not much opportunity is there for fishing. There are no major industries in Paderu ITDA area except processing of dried coffee fruits to prepare coffee beans. There is no forced or bonded labour among Bagatha. Although many educated Bagatha men and women are unemployed, there is no mass migration or nomads among Bagatha tribe. When compared to 1960s, there is more unemployment among Bagatha. However, several Bagatha girls are moving to nearby towns to work as semi-skilled workers at Brandix Apparel garment industry, in Visakhapatnam and few girls are employed as sales girls in some malls

at several cities/ towns. Of late, several boys and girls are provided with skill improvement training in several trades who are working in semi-skilled trades outside tribal area.

The expenditure in the form of cash is negligible. The seeds are stored from last crop and organic manure is prepared by each family with cattle and animal dung. The labour for sowing, weeding and harvesting is shared by all the family members and on mutual cooperation from other households or on sharing labour. They spend some amount for purchase of agricultural implements for which they get cash by the sale proceeds of non-timber minor forest produce. Very few Bagatha households have taken loan from traders from plain areas for improving their house, repairs to house, construction of additional portion to the house, purchase of modern household articles such as Television, Iron safe, Fan, Gas stove Motor Bike, etc. which is set off by repaying in the form of produce in kind if procured on loan or by cash to trader as priority.

Division of labour:

Men under take heavy and hard work such as ploughing, tilling, broadcasting seeds and cutting trees in *podu* fields. While women engage in weeding, transplanting, procuring fodder for the cows and other animals, washing clothes, cleaning house and utensils. School dropout children above 10 years engage in caring younger children at home, tending cattle, weeding, collection of minor forest produce, washing clothes or playing, etc. Young girls attend to domestic chores and help parents in weeding, washing clothes, cleaning house and utensils, grinding and powdering grains, etc. Females are trained since childhood and are engaged in multifarious activities. During lean seasons men are idle and while away their time in either gossiping, chitchatting or under intoxicated mood by consuming alcoholic drinks. Children also participate in chasing or scaring birds and animals in the fields and hunting birds / animals in the forest. Of late, the forest cover is thinning and wild animals and birds have depleted due to over exploitation. As such wild birds and animal population have decreased in the forest compared to earlier decades.

Marketing:

The surplus agricultural produce such as paddy, millets, pulses, etc. are sold to traders either at shandy or merchants who visit village at their doorstep. Traditionally tribes used to carry head loads of their produce to shandy. Now most villages are connected by road and hence tribes transport their produce either by bullock carts or mini-transport vans. The transactions are in terms of cash especially for commercial crops. In the past tribes used to purchase

domestic articles such as baskets, pots, iron axe- heads, arrow tips etc by offering corn, millet or pulses in exchange to people visiting villages to sell their articles. Bagatha sell their NTFP to Girijan Cooperative Corporation (G.C.C) or merchants depending on price and cash requirement. The tribes also purchase domestic provisions from the Domestic Requirements Depots (DR Depot) established in several villages by GCC or at weekly shandy. In the past tribes used to depend on D.R.Depots mainly for kerosene oil which is used for lighting. Now most villages are electrified and all houses have got electrical connection. The expenditure on electricity is negligible since Govt. is providing free supply up to 100 units to each household. The tribes purchase rice provided on subsidy at rupee one per kilo up to 5kg per head, in addition to pulses, sugar / jaggery for making tea; coconut oil for hair dressing; match box, woollen blankets, etc. from GCC or merchants at shandy.

The weekly shandy serves as meeting place and attractive centres in the agency area. The tribes not only purchase clothes, ornaments, agricultural implements, cosmetics, domestic articles, etc. at shandy but also meet their friends, relatives, kinsmen, etc. from other villages. Bagathas establish cultural and social contact with other tribes from the neighbouring villages at shandy. Also they are the places where they meet people from plains area providing an opportunity for exposure to culture contact, alien culture, alien language exchange of ideas, techniques, etc. Hence, transformation occurred gradually in dress pattern, food habits and life style of tribes. Bagathas communicate well with the Telugu speaking traders. The most perceptible changes observed are wearing of jackets/ blouses by women / girls, using of cosmetics like soap, face powder, eye cream, modern ornaments, bangles, etc. by women and young girls. Material culture in the domestic items are also modernised like earthen pot replaced by metallic vessels, use of gas stove, iron safe, TV, electronic gadgets, cell phone, etc. Shandies also serve as meeting place for young boys and girls to make friendship or love, elope or get married. Shandy plays an important role in social, economic and cultural life of Bagatha people.

Income:

The results of the household survey of Bagatha on annual income are presented in table-V-3. It is observed that 41.38% of Bagatha families earn about forty thousand rupees per year followed by 25.12% up to sixty thousand rupees. However, the income of 20% Bagatha households who own only *podu* lands is less than twenty thousand rupees. Only 3.9% of households earn more than one lakh per annum, while the income of 13.3% is between Rs.61,000/- and one lakh.

Table V 3 Annual Income of Bagatha households in the sample study villages

Sl. No	Annual Income (Rupees)	Households	
		Number	Percent
1	Nil	1	0.50
2	1000 - 20000	40	19.70
3	21000 - 40000	84	41.38
4	41000 - 60000	51	25.12
5	61000 - 80000	11	5.42
6	81000 - 100000	8	3.94
7	100000&above	8	3.94
Total		203	100.00

Expenditure:

The annual expenditure of Bagatha is presented in table-V-4. About 33% of Bagatha households informed that they spend between Rs.10,000 to Rs.20,000 per annum, while 25.12% are incurring an annual expenditure between Rs.20,000 to Rs.30,000. The family expenditure is relatively lower in 16.75% of Bagatha households which is less than Rs.10,000 although 15.76% are spending between Rs.30,000 to Rs.40,000. Majority of Bagatha households do not spend over and above their income. They are contented and sufficient society depending on natural resources.

Table V 4 Annual Expenditure of Bagatha households in the sample study villages

Sl. No	Annual Expenditure (Rupees)	Households	
		Number	Percent
1	1- 10000	34	16.75
2	10001- 20000	67	33.00
3	20001- 30000	51	25.12
4	30001- 40000	32	15.76
5	40001- 50000	11	5.42
6	50001 -60000	3	1.48
7	60001-70000	1	0.50
8	70001& above	4	1.97
Total		203	100.00

Savings:

Particulars of annual savings are presented in table V-5 Majority of Bagatha families (70.44%) reported surplus savings during last financial year indicating self sustaining nature of economy. About 12.24% families save more than Rs.20,000 ranging up to Rs.50,000+.

Table V 5 Annual Savings of Bagatha households in the sample study villages

Sl. No	Annual Savings (Rupees)	Households	
		Number	Percent
1	Nil	35	17.24
2	1 - 20000	143	70.44
3	21000 - 40000	19	9.36
4	40001 - 50000	4	1.9745
5	50000 & above	2	0.99
Total		203	100.00

Debts:

Details of total debt of Bagatha households are presented in table V-6. Majority of the Bagatha households (55.66%) reported that they do not have any debts, while 28.57% families informed that they have debts ranging from Rs.1000 to Rs.20,000. However, 6.41% have a debt of more than Rs.20,000 ranging up to Rs.50,000+. Some Bagatha households have obtained loans either in bank or from money lenders for purchasing luxury home appliances like T.V, Iron safe, Fans, Motor bike, Transport Vehicle etc. However, Bagathas have capacity to repay their loan due to their larger land holdings and agriculture income.

Table V 6 Total Debt among Bagatha households in the sample study villages

Sl. No	Annual Debt Rupees)	Households	
		Number	Percent
1	Nil	113	55.66
2	1- 20000	58	28.57
3	20001 - 40000	19	9.36
4	40001 - 50000	7	3.45
5	50000 & above	6	2.96
	Total	203	100.00

CHAPTER VI

LIFE CYCLE EVENTS, BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

A.M. Reddy (1973) presented a detailed account of way of life of Bagatha inhabiting Paderu ITDA. The present ethnographic study was conducted in eight Mandals including the villages in the same area covering same Bagatha inhabited villages where A.M.Reddy surveyed for his research project in addition to several other villages. In-depth interviews with key informants covering old generation men and women were conducted to ascertain the traditional customs followed in the past and also current practices and changes if any during the last fifty years. Further, younger generation Bagatha men and women were interviewed. The customs and procedures followed for various life cycle events are recorded and presented in detail.

Life Cycle Events

Concept:

Bagatha believe that children are the result of union of semen and vaginal fluids during intercourse to form a foetus which develops in the womb for nine months and expels out when fully grown. They believe that their ancestors may reborn as their children and ancestral spirits may fecundate women if they are neglected. Childless couples adopt children of their relatives. Bagatha prefer to have at least one male child to perpetuate their family name / lineage although prefer more female children. Sterile (fecund) woman is pitied and attribute physiological, physical or mystical reasons for barrenness and impotency such as ‘ semen did not reach womb’ or ‘no seed is sown in the field’ or god has not blessed woman with child’ or spirit made womb incapable of conceiving, etc (Reddy A M,1971) . Sometimes sterility of woman leads to separation of couple or polygyny. Generally, woman takes herbal medicine prescribed by *Yejjodu* or *Shamen* if she does not conceive for more than two-to-three years after her nuptials. Bagatha consider abortion as a mere menstruation which may occur due to fear. They believe evil spirits or evil magic as causes of abortion. In the past abortion is considered a sin and women never recourse to abortion. Now a day, Bagatha do not hesitate to visit hospitals and consult specialist doctor on issues of abortion and artificial conception, etc.

Pregnancy:

If woman misses regular menstruation for one or two consecutive months she recognises and infers pregnancy. They know that signs of darkening of breast around nipples and slight

protrusion of naval are indications of pregnancy. The Bagatha woman informs her mother-in-law first about conception and later to her husband. They count the period of pregnancy based on number of new moon days after menstruation ceases by drawing a small line on the wall with lime or charcoal. Pregnant woman recognises the movement of foetus in her womb sixth month onwards. Pregnancy period ends with the birth of an infant. Pregnant Bagatha woman does routine work till six months of pregnancy. She will not be allowed to go to forest after seventh month as a precaution against over straining and fear of premature parturition. The neighbouring family friends and relatives cook special dishes and serve the pregnant woman. Her husband and family members also attend to her food preferences and satisfy her desires during pregnancy period. In some families, ill effects of planets on woman and foetus will be removed by propitiating planets by offering nine varieties of cereals/ millets, nine varieties of flowers in a papal leaf cup at the centre point of the house assisted by astrologer (*disari*) or *gurumai* (priest's wife) who invokes gods and recite magical spells in honour of planets to save woman and foetus from evil influence.

Pregnant woman among Bagatha do not eat meat of birds or animals shot or killed by tiger, dog or kite, believing that it will result in premature parturition. Eating of pumpkin, musk melon, some wild tubers, mushrooms, etc. are forbidden believing that they cause fever, cough, cold, death of foetus and infection with boils and ulcer respectively. Similarly they avoid meat of rabbit and peacock believing that the child would snore like rabbit and get spots on skin like peacock feathers. Eating eggs during pregnancy is believed to cause bald head to the child and eating tapioca cause skin rupture to foetus. Twin fruits such as double bananas are avoided by pregnant woman believing difficulty at the time of delivery due to twins. Some activities of pregnant woman are restricted. She is not allowed to participate in the annual Chaitra festival '*itukakla pandaga*. Pregnant woman abstains from *dimsa* dance, avoids lifting heavy loads, will not go alone to forest, shall not go to grave yard, avoids passing under trees, crossing rivulets/ streams, accompanying funeral procession, touching corpse, touching feet of elders, seeing solar or lunar eclipse, unpleasant talk, etc. lest her foetus suffers miscarriage. Also pregnant woman should not step across a pounding rod, a broom stick, a dog or lean against plough or sit on huge stones or grinding mill and wear new glass bangles as a precaution to avoid accidental fall.

When wife is pregnant husband shall not kill snake, hunt animals, shave his head, refrain from intercourse from seventh month onwards, touch corpse, plaster or under take renovation

works of house, etc. believing that they cause miscarriage, harm to foetus, stillbirth, premature birth, defective child, etc.

Child Birth:

Bagathas believe that the personality of child depends on the day of birth and consider Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday to be good days. If a child is born on no moon day or moonless night (*Amavasya*) they believe that child becomes thief or girl becomes characterless. Generally, woman's parents take care of her first delivery. The pregnant woman moves to natal home during seventh month of pregnancy and returns back to conjugal house few months after delivery along with child. *Anganawadi* assistant provides nutritious supplement food to pregnant women. Now, majority of deliveries are performed in primary health centres because village health assistant and *Anganawadi* assistant constantly monitor and guide the pregnant woman. She is taken to hospital by health worker and delivery is attended by trained nurse or doctor. In some cases, especially remote villages elderly woman or experienced midwife (*boddubuddi*) conducts delivery. During second half of twentieth century (year 1960 to 2000) different traditional child birth practices were followed for delivery. At the time of delivery, clothes of parturient woman are removed and rag is covered around her. She is not allowed to go near the pot of departed souls to avoid wrath of their ancestors. Midwife and elderly experienced woman suggests to pregnant woman several positions to facilitate easy delivery such as sit on a mat leaning back against a support of another woman or wall, incline or hold a rope hung from the beam of roof, while midwife stays in front of pregnant woman gently massaging her abdomen. When the baby is expelled out, the midwife holds the baby in one hand and cuts the naval cord with blade or sharp bamboo. The elderly woman places a piece of iron object such as sickle, knife, ploughshare and broom stick, etc. around the place of delivery to ward off and drive away evil spirits that are fond of lochia fluid. Bagathas believe that difficulty during delivery may be due to breach of taboos, sorcery, supernatural effect, disregard of authority of husband or parents- in- law or adultery on the part of the mother. They administer antidotes or home remedies such as forcing pregnant woman to drink dirty water after washing the feet of husband or relatives to confess about adultery. Then the mid-wife sacrifices a fowl to appease the ancestors to tide over the crisis. The assistance of *shaman* is sought to drive off evil spirits and evil eye who gives an enchanted tender Palmyra leaf to be put in the locks of hair of woman and removed after delivery. Of late, Bagathas do not practice these methods any more. Sometimes placenta does not descend after delivery which is handled by midwife by tying it to heavy pounding rod between the legs of woman. If delivery occurs in forest the umbilical cord is cut with

sharp bamboo and placenta and lochia blood are buried under an inaccessible bush in the forest. Generally, midwife ties a cotton thread to cord after squeezing lochia fluid from cord. Traditionally, the umbilical cord is cut with an arrow-head if the child is male, blessing the male child to be as strong as arrow-head, while for female infant the cord is cut with knife blessing the female child to be as sharp as knife in her character. Now a day, in hospitals the umbilical cord is cut by a new blade and some antiseptic medicine is applied for faster healing. If the delivery occurs at home, after cutting cord the midwife waves a copper coin round the baby to ward off evil effects of spirits and keeps it on the stub of the navel cord for a while, with a belief that it will help heal the wound faster.

Traditionally, after cutting umbilical cord the mid-wife places the placenta / naval cord, amniotic fluid and lochia blood in a pot and disposes it off by burying under the cover of a bush which is not frequented by men and fix an arrow (if the child is male) or a small crow-bar (if the child is female) on the pit to warn people not to step on it . There are regional variations in the disposal of the lochia and cord. Generally, infants cry immediately after delivery. If not the infant is lifted by the nurse or mid-wife by legs with head downwards and gently slap on the cheek to make sure the infant is alive or possibility of any stillbirth.

After normal delivery, the mother and child are discharged from the hospital either on second or third day unless it is a caesarean (C- section). The placenta and other waste material after delivery are disposed as per hospital protocol procedures. The new born infant is given colostrums from the mother's breast after birth. However, if delivery is held at home, mid-wife feeds the infant with few drops of castor oil for free excretion of faecal matter stored in the stomach, gives bath with warm water and soap or a leaf powder (*Shikakai*). The infant is given bath daily at the place where the cord is buried until cord falls off. The mother is also given hot water bath.

Diet of infant and mother: If delivery occurred at hospital, *Anagnwadi* worker, nurse and village health assistant advise and insist the mother to breast feed colostrums to the infant. However, if delivery occurred at the home, mother milks out colostrums and breast feeds the infant believing that child can't digest initial thick milk which may cause diarrhoea to infant. The mother suckles her infant first time at the right side breast since it is considered auspicious. Mid-wife suggests diet such as porridge cooked with old rice, (paddy stored for one year and de-husked using pestle) along with soup prepared with certain medicinal plant leaves and herbs collected from forest and also drumsticks. Immediately after delivery the

mother is given hot water followed by powder prepared by quashing the root of long pepper if available. She is not permitted to eat wild tuber (*tegadumpa*) for three months, cucumber, sorghum, *jowar*, banana, meat of pea fowl, eggs, jack fruits, etc. for six months. If sufficient breast milk is not available to the infant, mother consumes dried fish cooked with rice in order to get abundance secretion of milk. Parents avoid intercourse till child attains two years, fearing that child will not get sufficient milk from mother's breast.

Purification of Birth Pollution: Pollution (*puruduantu*) is observed for a period of seven to nine days. The family members shall neither visit other's houses nor neighbours visit the family where delivery occurred during the pollution period. Mid-wife and other women who assisted delivery take bath to remove pollution from them. The family pollution is removed in two stages. On third or fourth day, family members participate in initial purification ceremony along with mid-wife by cleaning utensils, cleaning and washing or smearing the floor of the house with cow dung. Turmeric powder mixed sacred water is sprinkled all over the household articles and in the compound. The mother and infant are given bath; all the members of lineage take bath; if the father of the infant takes head bath it signifies his acceptance of his fatherhood of that infant and the birth pollution is removed. The final purification is observed on ninth day by thoroughly cleaning the house and sprinkling turmeric powder mixed sacred water in all areas of house and finally by hosting a feast to all relatives. Bagatha housewives kiss the infant and keep some cash in the hands of infant. The mid-wife is presented with hen if the infant is female or a cock if infant is male. The mid-wife asks mother to sit facing east holding infant in her lap. Then mid-wife holds the fowl presented to her with her right hand and stretches the neck, wings and legs of the fowl with left hand by which it is believed that the neck, legs and hands of infant become straight. The mid-wife is paid for her services.

Naming:

Based on the names of elderly Bagatha people aged above 50-60 years, it can be inferred that their parents have named them after their ancestor or regional deity. However, names of younger generation people below 20 years age reveal that they are named after movie stars or popular plains caste people or fancy names. Among Bagatha, the naming of child is generally conducted on the final birth pollution purification day or in 5th or 7th month. Traditionally, on ninth day after birth, that is pollution purification day, mid-wife cooks *sama* rice and prepares three morsels of *sama* rice. She straightens the legs, wings and neck of the fowl presented to her by the family on the purification day, while infant is in the lap of mother to remove

pollution and effects of evil eye on infant and mother. She places one morsel of *sama* rice in the right hand of infant in the mother's lap and utters the names of ancestors of the infant one by one. The name of ancestor which is uttered at the time the infant grips the morsel will be given to the infant. However, this procedure varies in different regions. In some places on purification day or on an auspicious day in fifth or seventh month as fixed by priest, three morsels of cooked rice are placed in an *adda* leaf cup in front of the infant. Either mid-wife, maternal uncle or father utters the names of ancestors one by one. If the infant catches the morsel with its hand at a particular name uttered, it is believed that the infant is born after that ancestor and named accordingly. In Koyyuru mandal the Bagathas do not strictly follow this traditional naming method any more. They name the child on any day before completion of one year as per the choice of parents, usually with modern names. Yet in another method three paddy grains are dropped in a wide mouthed pot before the infant while uttering the name of ancestor. If all grains sink, the infant is named after that ancestor, if not the process is continued till a name is selected and infant is named. In some places the recited ancestors name that coincides with the jerking movement of legs of fowl is selected and infant is named by father or maternal uncle. Now a day, modern names are also selected following the same procedure. If a Bagatha household believes that the child is by the blessings of a particular god / goddess or deity, then they name the child with that god's name. Generally, they name the child during mid-day or noon.

Generally, after naming ceremony is completed the mother ties her infant to her breast with loose end of her sari on shoulder or with a separate piece of cloth. From then onwards she will be carrying the child in that sling. A symbolic mock show of mother and her child visiting relative's house or neighbouring house is conducted after worshiping mother earth by touching the floor in the courtyard of the house. They tie a turmeric rhizome with a thread to the waist thread of the infant for repelling evil energies and evil spirits. Tribes do not threaten or frighten infant or children due to a belief that making infant cry is sin.

Cradle ceremony:

Either on the final purification day after naming and placing the infant in the sling hanging on the shoulders of mother or at an auspicious time on any day after child birth, cradle ceremony is conducted. A cradle is made with a long cloth or a sari folded into half and its two ends tied to the beam or rafter of the house. The paternal aunt (father's sister) ties a waist string / thread and places the infant in the cradle, the infant facing east. Some house wives attending the function sing lullabies, swinging the cradle till the infant sleeps. The mid- wife

cuts few strands of head hair of infant indicating that she removed 'keedu' (harmful effects) or evil eye or evil spirits from the child. From then onwards mother can sing traditional lullabies. Soon after cradle ceremony, the mother carrying a pot is ceremonially accompanied by the women to the nearby stream to offer prayers to frog-god represented by a stone collected from the stream or a clay figure prepared with soil / mud deposited at stream bed. After decorating the image of frog with turmeric paste and vermilion, a turmeric rhizome is tied to it. All women apply turmeric paste on their forehead with vermilion dot and pray frog-god along with mother. After this the mother fills up pot with water, places it on her head and carries it to her home. Similarly, a ceremonial visit to forest is conducted after mother returns from stream. The mother with her infant straddled on her hip by passing a long cloth under infant's buttocks tying the free ends of the cloth to her right shoulder (a easy way of carrying child) goes to nearby forest, makes a cradle with a cloth or an old sari whose free ends are tied to a branch of a tree. After infant sleeps, she collects some dry wood from forest symbolically for the first time after delivery. Her husband and family members also accompany her to the forest. Generally, an experienced woman makes brands on the abdomen and joints of the infant, fifteen days after birth with red hot turmeric rhizome or heated pin to avoid gastric problems or rheumatic pains in future. These marks on abdomen and limb joints are observed on majority of older men and women aged above 50 years. However, very few people practice this procedure now. Only in remote villages the women put brands to their children. Usually they allow children to suckle till two to three years and start feeding solid food after weaning the child. The couple is advised not to have intercourse till child is two years old believing that enough breast milk will not be secreted to infant. In few rare cases where mother does not have sufficient breast milk or if a mother dies after birth of infant or later, the infant is breast fed by a wet-nurse from the same tribe. In the past milking cow or feeding cow milk to infant used to be a taboo. Sometimes goat's milk is given to the infant. Of late, cow milk is fed to the child. Now a day, most of the younger generation educated youth drink tea with milk and Bagatha women also use cow milk for preparing tea. Traditionally they used to drink black tea.

Childhood:

The Child is allowed to eat morsels from plates of parents and grandparents to develop affection and bonding. Children can eat any number of times. Children are taught dos and don'ts by parents and grandparents. Children defecate and urinate on the beds till one or two years which are cleaned, washed and dried in the sun and bed spreads changed. From 3-4 years onwards, the children are taught how to go to toilet and how to clean. The children are

allowed to move nakedly till 2-3 years and taught to wear a small piece of cloth to cover their private parts. Of late, majority Bagatha boys are dressed with shirt and half pant/ short, while girls are dressed with shirt and skirt.

First hair removal:

Head hair are removed or shaved for the first time after birth to both boys and girls during third year, either at home or at a place of deity or temple of god/ goddess. Generally, maternal uncle cuts few strands of hair thrice which is followed by barber shaving cleanly. They offer hair to deity / god / goddess to express their obedience to god/deity. The boy or girl will be blessed by all relatives attending the feast hosted by the family on the eve of hair removal ceremony. However, this is a simple ceremony confined to close relatives.

Ear and Nose Piercing:

Traditionally, ears and nose of girl and only ears of boy used to be pierced any time before completion of third year on any auspicious day. An experienced elderly woman or a goldsmith pierces the nose of female child making two holes on either side (on alare), one hole in the septum of nose and two holes on the ear lobes, and four holes on the rims of the ear with either a sharp thorn or a needle. For male children, only two holes on ear lobes are pierced. Temporary copper rings are fixed to the holes and lime is applied to avoid infection. Later, the copper rings fixed to ears of girls are replaced by gold or silver rings / studs.

It is believed that children are vulnerable to the acts of evil spirits and hence spirit deterrent talisman provided by *shaman* are tied to arm, waist thread and around the neck of children up to six years old. The maternal uncle ties talisman to the waist thread or arm of child to protect from woofing cough. Weaning starts at the age of two but male children suckle longer than female. They think that male child is more temperamental and resentful than female. To avoid worm infections (helminths) to children, mothers give soups prepared with leaves or bark of certain medicinal plants collected from the forest along with black pepper powder. Tribal doctors also provide native medicines to avoid or cure liver diseases and gastric diseases, cough and cold as and when children suffer.

The children above six years of age help parents in scaring birds from the fields, tethering the cattle, penning the goats and tending sheep in addition to plucking roots and rhizomes, collecting tubers, weeding in the fields etc. The children are advised not to visit unfriendly houses. The children learn about various things such as sterility, abortion, pregnancy, delivery, menstruation, etc. through conversations of their elders. The children are taught to

observe privacy and put on dress and not to go nude in public. At the age of ten years, sex distinction becomes prominent and beds of male and female children are segregated. Of late, children from the age of 5 years are going to school wearing school uniforms. However, the children participate in agriculture activities if they are interested as and when they are on holiday. Some parents also feel that their children should not suffer by hard work in the field similar to them. Hence, opportunity for learning agricultural or traditional activities is diminishing among present generation Bagatha children making them lazy and idle after they are grown up and not employed.

The grown up children are disciplined by the parents to observe virtues of respect for authority, religiosity, honesty, etc. The children learn the etiquette and behaviour by observing the parents and elders. Several older generation Bagatha have tattoo marks on their body, believing that the people without tattoo marks will go to hell, while those with tattoos go to heaven after death. Similarly, they believe that tattooed children do not suffer anaemia. However, tattooing is not observed among younger generation Bagathas.

Puberty:

Slight regional variations exist in puberty rites among Bagatha. The girl after her first menstruation informs parents. The girl is seated on a mat or a palmyra leaf under which few measures of rice are spread in the varandah. Usually the maternal uncle brings a freshly cut palmyra leaves. She is secluded by enclosing a bamboo mat or gunny bag screen or sari to avoid her seen by male members. She takes bath during night (dark). The girl should not enter into house or touch household articles or touch grains causing pollution. None are allowed to touch her. She is not served spicy curries along with food. On the third or fifth day, married women keep jaggery, turmeric powder and vermilion on the girls head and sprinkle benedictory rice over her head. The *guruvu/ muhurthagadu* removes pollution and evil effects by turning a coconut around her from top (head) to bottom (feet) and blesses her. The barber trims off her toe nails. The *guruvu* will pour a pot of water on her head and shoulders to remove pollution. The girl is given bath either at the house or at the stream. In some villages women from each household bring lukewarm water and pour on the girl immediately after *guruvu* pours water on her to remove pollution. The bamboo screen, the palmyra leaves and mat on which girl sat are disposed at the stream or thrown on a dung heap. In Koyyuru mandal, the Bagathas burn the palmyra leaves, bamboo mat, etc. under a green tree. The house and utensils are cleaned to remove pollution. If the girl attained puberty at an inauspicious time / day, the neck of a red or black feathered chick is cut and the blood is

spilled on the palms placed one on the other and on the head of girl to ward off evil-effects of planets / stars before she is given ceremonial bath.

The maternal uncle and paternal aunt shall attend the function and present either a sari or gifts to the girl. Of late, Bagatha families spend huge amount of money by arranging a grand function with non-vegetarian feast to all relatives and friends. Bagathas incur lot of expenditure for conducting this ceremony. This is one way of notifying that they have a prospective bride in their house. However, no such grand function is organised for recognising the adolescence of boy although maternal uncle of the boy presents a new *dhoti* or *lungi* to the nephew during the fifteenth year which is worn by the boy.

Marriage Rules and Regulations:

Bagathas consider marriage a most important and primary event in the life of every human being for a legitimate sexual life, procreation, to have family and kin groups. Marriage and a house are regarded as primary things to achieve adulthood. Child marriages before attaining adolescence used to be prevalent till late 1980s. Now, marriages are performed mostly after one attains 18-21 years for a girl and boy respectively. The choice of spouse is regulated by certain norms, culturally determined rules and regulations. There are specific negative and positive notions that rule out a mating or permitting a marriage between certain persons. The important notions are, marriage partner shall be chosen within the tribe (endogamy) and outside lineage (exogamy). Bagatha consider age of bride/ groom, comparative wealth of family, distance between villages, personal qualities and character of boy / girl, diseases if any, etc. for marriage proposal. Persons with diseases like leprosy are not considered for marriage. Consent of boy or girl and their close relatives such as maternal uncle and paternal aunt are very important for contracting a marriage. A boy is permitted to marry a girl from lower ranked sub-tribe but not vice-versa. Marriage between persons of same lineage is strictly prohibited who are considered brother and sister. Bagatha observe incest taboos and prohibit marriages between a boy / man and his mother, sister, step sister, daughter, granddaughter, grandmother, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister, mother's sister's daughter, father's sister, brother's daughter, wife's brother's wife, father's brother's wife, younger brother's wife, maternal uncle's widow and wife's sister's daughter. A girl or a woman can not marry her father, brother, son, grandson, father's brother, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son, sister's son, husband's sister's husband, and husband's elder brother. However, marriages between an ego and ego's paternal and maternal cross-cousins, ego and ego's sibling's spouse's sibling, ego and his wife's sister, younger brother's widow,

ego and his sister's daughter, ego and her sister's husband, deceased husband's brother and maternal uncle are permitted. Till late twentieth century Bagatahs used to prefer cross-cousin marriages and permit levirate and sororal polygyny. The younger brother used to remarry elder brother's widow. Generally, a man / boy shall be two to three years older to woman / girl. However, there is a tendency to relax age rules and several older generation Bagatha men have married their senior women. They follow order of seniority rule for marriage among siblings in a family. Younger brother do not marry until elder brother's marriage and same is the case with sisters. Households choose a marriage alliance between two families of approximately equal wealth and prefer to marry within the village or from close proximity residential villages ranging from 5 to 50 km for known antecedents of family and partner and mutual help and cooperation in times of need. In addition to contiguous nature of village, hills and forest, weekly shandies, village festivals and fairs, etc. provide opportunity to a boy and girl to meet frequently and exchange ideas and express their love. The parents expect desirable qualities in the girl for marriage such as modesty, good temper, strong physic to work in the field, house and forest in addition to chastity. Virginity was considered to be a special virtue and hence tribes used to perform child marriages. Of late, beauty is regarded as special attraction that has decisive influence for preference of a girl. Traditionally, bride price was the norm and rule. Of late, bride price is only symbolic but now dowry in cash and kind has slowly infiltrated in to tribal society specially Bagatha. The desirable qualities for a boy or a man to marry are strength and capacity to do hard work, sincerity, politeness and good character. The consent of girl and boy are invariably taken during marriage proposal. If boy or girl has someone already in their mind, parents usually accept it and try to negotiate with the concerned families. In case the boy has fallen in love with a girl from another lower ranked tribe, the parents and elders try to counsel the boy. If the boy still insists, the boy along with some men of his village go and bring her, and marry without any ceremony and return to boy's home who are to be accepted by parents. However, the family has to arrange a feast to elders of village and headman of tribe and pay fine for violating tribe endogamy rule. In tribal society, including Bagatha, acquiring mate for marriage is by negotiation followed by betrothal, marriage ceremony with full procedures which is ideal. Marriage by mutual exchange of bride and groom between two families or marriage by service rendered by a boy are approved types of marriage. In the past, marriage by capture used to be practiced which has become a mock procedure now by some poor families to avoid huge marriage expenses. However, marriage by elopement is also observed between partners from same tribe or belonging to different tribes. In this case, formal marriage is not conducted, but the couple is admitted into their family if boy and girl belong to same tribe, if not by payment of fine by

the boy's family to the headman or tribal council. The family is expected to organise a feast to his tribesmen for violating tribal endogamy rule. In few cases, widow remarriage occur without much procedure. Similarly younger brother formally marries elder brother's widow and adopts her children. In the past this practice used to be rampant. Of late, this practice is not encouraged and the elder brother's widow is allowed to remarry another person of her choice in which case the prospective husband has to repay the expenses incurred for her earlier marriage. In any case the children of widow belong to her former husband's family and will be taken care of by grandfather / grandmother or her brother's in-law.

Marriage Procedure:

Marriage proposal and negotiations shall be customarily from the boy's side with the consent of maternal uncle. Widows have no roll in marriage. The boy's elders and relatives consult and enquire about the antecedents of girl and her parents. In majority cases specially cross-cousin marriages, or boy and girl from the same village or from neighbouring villages whose families are known to each other, the relatives of boy's family visit girls house. On arrival of boy's party the girl's party receives them and serve a meal with pulses curry. The boy's party formally expresses their wish and purpose of their visit seeking the girl for marriage with the boy they represent. The girl's father consults girl's maternal uncle and paternal aunt. Usually with their consent he sends a message to boy's father to send boy's party for bride-price negotiation.

If the boy's and girl's family are not known to each other earlier, both sides enquire about the antecedents of each other families economic status, boy's attitude, girl's temperament, and then decide whether to further negotiate or not. The negotiation party of boy's side consists of five members (two men and three women or vice-versa) who pray boy's ancestral spirits in the pot (*kuduru*) at the boy's house for success of negotiations. The boy's party carries three measures of rice and a measure of red gram (pigeon peas) in a bundle and set off to the girl's house. After reaching girl's house, female members keep the bundle they carried near the pot of diseased ancestral spirits and swing rectangular bamboo pan or *jolakatta* hanging from the roof above the hearth, tend the fire in the hearth and touch the inner sides of pounding mill indicating that they have come for marriage negotiation. The girl's family arrange meal with the rice and pulses brought by the boy's party. They discuss about the proposal informing the details of boy and his family. The girl's father tells the boy's party to come again for further negotiation. Mean while girl's parents enquire about the background of boy's family. If they are satisfied, girl's father will send a word to boy's party to visit once again for negotiations.

If not, he sends a word that he is not ready to perform marriage to his daughter at that point in time. Some times girl's father visits the boy's family to see the boy and assess the livelihood of boy's family. If he is satisfied he will send a word to boy's father, otherwise keeps silent.

Based on the message, boy's negotiation party will visit girl's house with prior intimation. After having meal they will hold discussions about the proposal and finally girl's father informs them to visit again for fixing bride price. If the girl's parents are not satisfied with discussions, they inform that their relatives have some other proposal in their mind. If parents of both boy and girl accept the proposal, on an auspicious day the boy's parents send five elderly people (two men and three women) for fixing bride price. One of the members, a woman carries on her head a bundle containing three measures of rice, one measure of red gram and a lump of jiggery, all packed in a piece of cloth. Another woman covers head and the bundle with umbrella and go to girl's house. After reaching girl's house, the woman keeps the bundle near the pot (*kuduru*) of departed souls and places her hand in the grinding mill. The girl's parents invite elders of the tribe in the village and girl's maternal uncle. The girl's father announces that he is interested in the proposal and requests the elders to enquire and know his daughter's mind and take maternal uncle's consent. If the girl is willing, she will say 'as per my parent's and elder's wish'. Then boy's party negotiates bride price and fixes mutually agreed number of items and cash to be paid on the day of betrothal. Of late, the boy's party negotiates the details of dowry in cash, ornaments to the girl, household articles, etc. to be given to boy's family.

Betrothal:

On a mutually agreed auspicious day, the boy's party presents the primary marriage gifts to the prospective bride in the presence of Bagatha elders of the girl's village including girl's maternal uncle. Usually, the bride price and gifts consist of gold ornament, one sari each to bride and her mother. The girl will wear the new sari brought by the boy's party and sits on a heap of three measures of paddy. The women from boy's party dye new cotton thread in turmeric paste and tie it hanging to the girl's neck and put a betrothal ring to the right hand little finger of prospective bride. The elders attending betrothal ceremony shower turmeric coloured sacred rice on the girl while she bows to all the elders who bless her for an early marriage. The boy's party usually pays bride price as agreed mutually on the day of betrothal itself. From now onwards the girl is addressed as bride and girl belongs to boy's family. After the betrothal feast, the priest or *muhurthagadu* or Brahmin *purohit* is invited to fix auspicious time and day, the bride's father pays the fees in cash and some presents in kind to him. The

auspicious day for marriage may fall immediately or sometimes few months after betrothal. Few weeks before actual marriage, women except widows de-husk paddy, and few measures of rice is mixed with turmeric powder and few drops of water, and prepare benedictory rice to be used during marriage at boy's residence. After this event both boy and girl's families can engage in marriage preparations.

Marriage Pandal:

Marriage pandals are to be erected at both boy's and girl's house although they differ in size and some features. In the bride groom's house, men go to forest and cut strong and, straight branches of mango or black plum trees, prepare twelve poles / posts and bring them home. The poles are arranged in four rows length wise and three rows breadth wise in front of boy's house. Thick cotton thread is twined round each pole to facilitate inserting flowers and mango leaves as decoration. Of late, they are decorating with coloured and glittering papers also. At the foot of each pole in the middle rows except the two central poles a mud platform is made, on which a linear row of six or more pots painted with designs and colours progressively smaller in size upwards are arranged. On top of each pot a mud saucer with oil is placed, along with a cotton wick. In the middle of pandal, between two central poles a square or rectangular mud platform of one feet height (*pene*) is made with red earth by happily married women. The platform is smeared with cow dung and decorated with flour designs on all sides which form the marriage dais. At the foot of two central pillars also a mud platform is prepared and twelve pots progressively smaller in size upwards are organised. Close relatives of bride groom bring branches of non-dichotomous black plum, mango, and banana plants. The branches of mango and black plum plant are also tied to poles. Three trenches are dug to the right side of dais in which some paddy and variety of raw pulses with rupee coins are put, branches of mango, black plum and banana plant are also fixed in the trenches and covered with soil, smeared with cow dung and decorated with white flour. Similarly marriage pandal is erected at bride's house with only nine poles. A square shaped dais is prepared with red earth smeared with cow dung.

Marriage:

Both boy and girl's parents send intimation of marriage through village servant to all relatives. Now a day, printed wedding cards are distributed among relatives to be invited. Marriage celebration is for five days. At least two to three days before actual day of marriage, gifts are carried by boy's relatives to girl's house. Bride is decorated and feast is served by the bride's family on the first day. On the second day morning tug of war near marriage

pandal, visit to papal tree, pairing of bride's finger and toe nails will be performed. In the noon, after decoration of bride, she is handed over to the women of groom's party followed by bride's journey to groom's village, removal of evil sprites or evil effects upon couple and tying of marriage badge on the night are performed. Other rites are conducted on third and fourth day and boughs of mango/ black plum and other decorations under marriage pandal are removed.

A day before actual marriage day, the groom is served breakfast with chicken curry. Then onwards he is not permitted to eat spicy curries including non-vegetarian food till the marriage ceremony is over. The groom sits symbolically in his paternal aunt's lap while women anoint his head with castor oil and smear his face and body with castor oil and turmeric paste and massage his head and body. Traditionally for child marriage, young child as bride groom used to sit in his paternal aunt's lap which is symbolically continued even today. The left over turmeric paste after applying to bride groom is sent to bride along with the marriage gifts. The bride groom takes bath and he is ready for other rituals. Two or three days before the actual day of marriage depending on the distance between bride and groom's villages, the marriage gifts such as sari with green coloured border, blouse, silver or gold ring, twined cotton threads or a skein of yarn dyed in turmeric paste, ornaments for bride and a sari for bride's mother are packed in one box made of split bamboo. In another large sized split bamboo box they pack turmeric paste leftover after using for groom, bride's decoration items such as vermilion, black beads, turmeric powder, mirror, comb, black beads, toe rings, darkening eye cream, sandal paste, and other items like small stool made of black plum wood, a ball of cow dung, seven black plum twigs for brushing teeth, thirty pairs of leaf plates, a piece of white cloth, red clay, lime paste, betel nuts, betel leaves, lamp, oil, a big spoon, an earthen saucer or pot lid, mid-veins of some leaves, fifteen thin bamboo strips, roots of a tree, few coins of cash, sweets, three measures of red gram, five measures of rice, besides bride price in cash if not paid earlier on betrothal day. Along with gift boxes two goats are sent to be presented to the bride.

The packed gift boxes are tied with twelve strands of cotton thread smeared with turmeric paste seven in longitudinal rows and five in transverse rows. The gift boxes covered with a cloth will be carried by groom's party consisting of five people accompanied by groom's family in a procession through groom's village till outskirts of village in the evening. The procession is greeted with a flame of prosperity by housewives and happily married women on the way to bride's village by gifting them with some cash. The groom's family members

return home after sending their party with gifts from the out skirts of their village. On reaching the out skirts of bride's village in the evening or night, the bride's relatives receive groom's party and arrange dinner at camping resthome. On the next morning the grooms' party carries marriage gift boxes, leading goats to bride's house. A tug of war will be held near the marriage pandal between bride's party and grooms party pulling a long bamboo pole, to show physical strength for entering into pandal. The bride's party places a cot under the pandal and spread a new cloth over it. The groom's party keep the bamboo gift boxes on the cot and tether goats to one of the legs of cot. The bride's family checks the gifts and arrange feast to the groom's party.

Then women decorate two bronze pitchers or earthen pots with turmeric paste, vermilion and tie thread dyed with turmeric paste round the neck of each pitcher or pot. They also tie turmeric rhizomes and black plum or mango leaves to the pots / pitchers called '*thogarumunthalu*'. Widows do not participate in this ceremony. Two women carry these pots / pitchers accompanied by bride and her best maid (*thodaperndlikuthuru*) to a fig tree following a procession of men and women, while musical instruments are played with beating drums. The women and bride pray the fig tree to bless the girl with good motherhood and remove small pieces of bark of ficus tree which is placed in the pots. Then they proceed to stream or a water source and fill the pots / pitchers with water and put some turmeric paste and vermilion to make a mixture. They return to pandal by which time a cot covered with mat is laid under the pandal with two measures of paddy heaps on the cot. The two pitchers / pots are kept on the paddy heaps, the new clothes to be worn by groom and bride during marriage will be soaked in one pot of turmeric coloured water. The clothes are dyed in yellow colour, the ends of two clothes are tied by placing a copper coin in the knot and dried. The wooden stool sent in the gift box is placed on the marriage pial under the pandal by groom's party for which mango and black plum leaf bunches along with four small banana plants are tied. The bride is brought to marriage pial, sits in the lap of her paternal aunt, facing the main entrance of bride's house. The women anoint bride's head with gingely oil and apply, turmeric paste sent by groom (left over paste after used by groom) to her face, body and massage her hands and feet. Then married couples and elders attending the ceremony bless her with turmeric coloured sacred rice. Then the bride is taken to a heap of paddy and instructs her to draw the heap towards her using a metal bowl, three times by its obverse side and three times by its reverse side. If the bride draws paddy completely that is an indication that she has more affection to parents-in-law otherwise her love to parents is noted. Then the barber removes over grown nails on toes after wetting with milk, first on right foot toes

starting with big toe to little toe followed by left foot. Then she is taken round the marriage pial in clock wise direction for three rounds and all happily married women sprinkle turmeric coloured water from the other pot / pitcher on bride's head. Then the bride takes bath, wears new sari gifted by groom's family and decorated with ornaments sent by groom's family. Then the bride is ready for transfer to the groom's party after packing a measure of rice and few coins at the loose end of sari and tied to her waist. Rice signifies her future fertility and coin for prosperity. All female relatives kiss the bride by presenting some cash. The bride washes the feet of elderly men who stand on a brass plate. All elderly men bless the bride. Then bride is taken on a visit to village deities for prayer and finally bride is handed over to females from groom's party. Till then bride groom's party are not expected to touch the bride. On the same day, simultaneously women from groom's residence visit a fig tree (*Ficus religiosa*) pray the tree and bring a pot of water, give bath to groom after which he gets ready dressed up. Then women visit priest's house with few measures of rice, turmeric powder, few pieces of cloth, a spool of thread and few coins of cash. The priest provides two pairs of '*chaplets*' prepared by threading nine rice grains smeared with turmeric paste in three rows and a bouquet of flowers which are brought to the marriage pandal. Mean while the groom's relatives bring small branches of mango and black plum with leaves and a small banana plant which are handed over to the women bringing chaplets. Then the branches and banana plant are fixed on the right side of marriage dais in a trench.

By this time bride, her people along with groom's party arrive at the outskirts of groom's village who are greeted and received by groom's relatives and lead them to a camping rest home . Simultaneously, by then the ritual brother and his wife arrive at the outskirts of village. They will be received with traditional music and drums and proceed to groom's house. The ritual brother brings a sari, a gold disc (marriage badge), few measures of rice, pumpkin, a pair of dhotis and a cock or goat and presents to groom's family. The bride and groom wear turmeric dyed clothes after sunset at the camping rest home and groom's house respectively. They are taken in a procession sitting on separate palanquins through streets of village. On approaching the marriage pandal the groom pulls the bride on to his palanquin exhibiting his strength. The bride and groom on reaching the pandal are asked to stand outside the pandal. Of late, they are carried on shoulders by relatives to the pandal. The village priest or *purohit* who is hired for conducting the ceremony initially propitiates planets. The priest puts a new pot containing coconut, three varieties of un-husked pulses, paddy, jaggery and bananas in the marriage booth. The priest smears the front side of marriage booth with turmeric paste and applies designs with flour and some colours. A platter

made of fig leaves is placed on the design on which small earthen ware oil lamps are put on four corners and one at the centre in which a copper coin is put. Priest lights the central lamp first and other lamps later. Holding the platter carefully the priest waves it thrice on the faces of bride and groom together and asks them to spit in the central lamp. After both groom and bride spit, the platter is thrown away behind the couple. Then the priest instructs bride groom and bride to kick the pot placed behind them, groom with his left foot and bride with her right foot at the same time. After that the bride and groom are invited on to the marriage platform or marriage booth. They are advised to sit on a wooden plank made of black plum facing each other the groom on platform (pene). A wide metal plate is placed in the centre on which bride and groom keep their feet. A cloth screen will be held by two people to avoid bride and groom see each other the groom on platform (pene). After the benedictory turmeric rice and marriage disc / badge is blessed by all attending relatives and friends, the priest asks the groom to gently press the right foot big toe of bride and tie an armlet made of fig leaf to the right arm of bride and *chaplet* to her fore head. Then groom removes his foot placed on bride's toe. Then the bride ties armlet and *chaplet* to groom. The priest shows three marriage badges in gold (*Thali*) separately slung on turmeric dyed threads brought by groom, bride and ritual brother. Then the groom ties *thali* one by one round the bride's neck. The procedures differ slightly depending on regions and officiating priest.

All the attending guests and relatives bless the couple by showering turmeric coloured rice and flowers. Then two women holding three pounding rods together dip their working ends into milk in a plate and place them on the forehead, shoulders, arms, knees and feet of the groom and bride symbolising their oath with milk. Then the couple go round the marriage booth thrice. Few measures of rice (from the de-husked paddy on the day of starting the marriage preparations) are placed in a wide plate / dish at the marriage dais. The couple pour rice on each other's head, first the groom followed by bride alternatively thrice ceremonially. Of late, the priests from plains who are hired by Bagatha are conducting some of the rituals in the plains style or as per their knowledge with many amendments or modifications. After pouring rice the couple showers flowers on each other's head. They exchange garlands similar to plains area.

Then the couple is lead outside the marriage pandal by priest which is open to sky and shows a star in the sky '*aaramjyothi*' thrice while chanting some hymns intended to bless the couple to be chaste and devoted to each other throughout their life. Then they return to marriage dais and proceed into groom's house. At the entrance, the couple are advised to enter their home stepping

their right foot first inside the house. Then they are seated on a mat at the centre of house. A pot full of water is placed in front of couple and a silver or gold ring is placed in it which is to be picked by the couple three times. Whoever picks the ring thrice or twice is said to be physically strong and dominant in decision making. In the same way a plate with rice is placed in front of the couple and groom is asked to hold hand full of rice in the first, while bride is asked to take rice from the groom's fist which is repeated thrice. Similarly groom tries to pick up rice from bride's fist. Whoever succeeds in this game is considered to be physically strong. Then the couple will have dinner along with family members. By then all guests and friends are served with marriage feast. The nuptial ceremony will be held next day night at the groom's residence after they pay visit to village deities during the day. Bagatha in Koyyuru mandal arrange nuptials on third day at bride's residence. Women advise bride about dos and don'ts. Then onwards the couples start their married life. They abstain from intercourse during menstrual period. Regional variations in the marriage procedure are reported depending on the priest who is conducting the marriage. Local priests belonging to Bagatha tribe do not follow elaborate procedure while Brahmin priest adopts both plains caste's custom and tribal practices together while conducting marriage.

Marriage by Elopement:

Relatively few cases of marriage by elopement are reported among Bagatha. Generally, when a boy and girl fall in love with each other and if their parents refuse their marriage, the boy elopes the girl to one of his relative's or friend's house. After some time, parents reconcile and admit them into their house. In majority cases, if the boy's family cannot afford to celebrate formal marriage or pay the bride price (voli) they advise their son to bring the girl of his choice from Bagatha tribe to their home. Of course, if the girl's parents agree, there is no problem, if not they will complain to headman of tribe and village headman who solve the dispute by imposing a token fine on the boy's family to be paid to girl's parents in addition to a simple feast to all the Bagathas of that village. Of course, this type of marriage is common among tribes of this region although slightly less among Bagatha. In some villages, the newly married couple along with parents whose son eloped with a lower ranked tribal girl is excommunicated by not inviting them to life cycle event in other houses and do not attend any functionaries in the house of rule violators.

Marriage by capture:

It is relatively rare, though socially accepted. Now a day, no man can force a woman to live with him. This type of marriage was in vogue in several other tribes of this region. Bagathas of Paderu region do not allow or recognise marriage by force. However, symbolically mock

ceremonial capture is reported in some cases where prior negotiations were held and approved by both families. On the marriage day, the groom captures the hand of bride symbolically and then proceeds with all marriage procedures as per tradition of parents negotiated marriage.

Marriage by Service:

In case a man / boy cannot afford to pay bride price, he agrees to compensate by his service to the girl's family by staying in their home and helping girl's parents in all household and agricultural activities for some period of time or stay at in-law place for longer period if they have only one daughter. Generally, those parents who do not have male children accept the services of a boy and after satisfied service they get their daughter married to that boy. In most cases boy continues to stay with girl's parents in their house after marriage till he establishes his own house.

Marriage by Exchange:

Two families mutually agree to give their daughters in marriage to the sons of each other's family in exchange without bride price. These types of marriages are approved among Bagatha society. In the past marriage by exchange used to occur occasionally. The marriage procedure is as per marriage rules and custom. However, due to independent nature of present day younger generation children, marriage by exchange are rare among Bagatha.

Divorce:

Either husband or wife can demand divorce or separation from the spouse. The main factors for demanding divorce or dissolution of marriage by the husband are maladjustment, unfaithfulness / adultery, persistent laziness, and not attending to household duties, disrespect and improper attitude towards parents-in-law and husband by wife, sterility, incurable disease etc. While wife can demand divorce on grounds of persistent ill-treatment, impotency, incurable disease, neglecting wife, etc. If husband neglects or ill-treats or beats wife, she complains to the husband's parents who counsel and warn their son to mend his ways. If he does not listen, she seeks refuge with her parents. If husband reconciles and realizes his mistake he personally visits her at natal home requests her to return to their home. Some complicated cases will be referred to headman and tribal council. The members summon both wife and husband along with their parents and counsel them thoroughly and advise the couple to live together. If the council feels that the issue is beyond their counselling they allow separation. Of late, few couples have got legal separation. If separation is approved by the tribal council, both wife and husband can remarry another person. If husband demands

divorce, he has to pay compensation to wife for her maintenance until she remarries. Similarly, if wife demands divorce, she or her parents have to return all the marriage gifts, bride price and material assets given at the time of her marriage to the husband or his family. Similarly if husband demand divorce, he has to return dowry he has received to bride's family. Divorcee remarriage is permissible and majority of divorcées are remarried.

Widow / Widower Remarriage:

In case of death of a wife or husband, the widower and widow are permitted to remarry without much ceremonial wedding. In case a married woman elopes with another man, or a widow remarries another man or a separated woman remarries a man, the current husband has to repay the bride price and marriage expenditure to the former husband of eloped woman or widow or separated woman's former husband's family. In all these cases the children belong to former husband or his family.

Death:

Bagatha conceive death as the end of corporeal existence which is normal and inevitable. They consider death due to ill health or old age as natural while death due to snake or scorpion bite, murder, suicide, difficulty in delivery, drowning or attack by tiger, etc. as abnormal. People who die of abnormal deaths become malevolent spirits for some time and later join the ancestral world. Death involves many rituals similar to marriage. A Bagatha individual is conscious and lives under continuous fear of the malevolent spirits. After death of an individual, it is believed that the disembodied soul or spirit will be hanging in an unsettled state till final death rites are performed. During this period the soul becomes principal anxiety and concern of family members and other people in the village. The chief objective of various rites, rituals and offering of food to the deceased are to prevent harm to family and others in the village by the spirit / soul or prompted from a fear rather than by affection and love towards departed. This state of uncertainty of soul lingering between living world and spirit world is considered dangerous to the village community. Hence, the family is insisted to perform the obsequies as soon as possible. If a Bagatha person is seriously ill and the family is expecting death, the near relatives such as brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, cousins and other relatives are the first to be informed. At the last minutes holy water, a mixture of water and crushed basil leaves is dripped into the mouth of dying person by the son or son's son to render the passage of life smoothly. It is believed that the soul will escape through one of the nine orifices of the body according to character of the individual. The death is recognized by the stoppage of breathing and heart beat or sudden stare in the eyes.

After the death of a person the clothes on the body are removed by the sons / daughters / relatives, smear the body with turmeric paste/gingily oil and dress it with washed clothes. The body is removed to a place near the ladder to the entrance of the loft and arranged in a sitting posture facing east or north, hands folded and palms touching each other. The toes are tied by cotton thread. A ball of turmeric paste is kept on the head and a light is kept on the ancestral altar. The death is formally announced to all relatives. In case a person dies in the evening hours, four or five close relatives sleep near the dead body. After the death of a person, the relatives and neighbours of Bagatha family condole the bereaved family. In some areas, the dead body is placed in the varandah with light lit on the side of head till all relatives visit and condole the death. Some Bagatha families cremate while few bury their dead individuals. About few hours before the disposal of dead body, few male relatives of the dead go to the burial ground to dig the grave, one of them carry some rice and a coin in a leaf cup. The eldest among them marks the head at a spot with ash of cigar he is smoking to repel evil spirit hanging there if any. The first sod/turf is cut by close relative followed by others who dig a pit of six feet deep. If the dead body is to be cremated, the place is cleared by cutting bushes and a rectangular pyre is made ready with wood from forest. On the same day or next morning depending on the time of death, the dead body is washed and transferred on to a bier with wooden chair made with fresh split bamboo. The bier of some Bagatha families may be a large sling by tying two free ends of a cloth / blanket to the centre of a long heavy bamboo pole or yet other type of bier, a rectangular frame with two bamboo poles of seven feet long bounded by seven pairs of two feet long half split bamboo strips securely tied to carry corpse in lying position. The relatives of the bereaved family and each household in the village bring a pitcher of water for washing the dead body. Men wash dead body of male, women wash female corpse and also the spouse of dead who sits by the side of dead body with water brought by relatives. Sons and daughters do not wash their dead parents to avoid see nakedness of their parents. The body is shifted to another place in the courtyard and the wet clothes are removed and religious marks are then put on the shoulders by the sectarian priest (*Sathani/Jangam*). Vermillion mark is put on forehead to male or married woman. The spouse changes wet clothes. The dead body is dressed in white cloth dyed with turmeric water by sons or daughters. The spouse puts flower garland to dead body. The priest keeps another garland in the hands of dead body and same garland is put round the neck of dead person's spouse symbolizing remarriage. All the relatives sprinkle benedictory rice on the dead body and the spouse marking as remarriage. Some dots of black soot are applied on the left side of the dead body. Later any child born with a mole on that side is believed as a reincarnation of the dead person. A grass png from the roof of the house is used to be put

near the dead body symbolizing that the shelter is also coming along with the person. Attending relatives, friends and ritual brother of dead person put some money and rice in the free end of sari or dhoti while close relatives keep new clothes on the corpse. The principal mourner, usually the eldest son, husband or any other son or brother touches the head of the deceased before the corpse is carried in a procession. The body is seated and tied to chair on the bier to avoid falling from the chair. The principle mourner holds a new pot containing burning coal in one hand and leads the funeral procession. Another relative carries a new pot filled with water along with corpse. The body is carried to cremation ground by brothers of deceased man, sons or lineage members in odd number say 5 or 7 or 9 but not others. If no lineage members are available other relatives can carry. In some cases the body is carried in lying position on bier. One relative of deceased person carry nine varieties of grains/flowers and few coins in a basket following the chief mourner and showers handful of grains now and then over the corpse. Relatives, friends, men, women join the procession with musical drums and trumpets to the crematorium or grave yard. Except close relatives others are not allowed to touch the corpse. The head of corpse will be on front side of bier (towards the direction of cremation ground) while the legs are towards his / her house. By then people arrange funeral pyre at cremation ground with fire wood. On the way to grave yard / cremation ground the corpse is lowered at a junction of three or four paths and relatives / husband / sons as the case may be call the dead person in the ear by name or by relationship. If he / she do not respond, the people who are carrying the body will exchange their positions. The relative who carried the water pot drops it to break at the junction of paths where body is lowered and returns home without seeing back. From here onwards the legs of corpse are directed to grave yard or cremation ground. After reaching cremation ground, the body is placed on the ground and cut the knots tied to hands and toes and remove the body from the bier and take it round the pyre or grave three times in anti clockwise direction. The new clothes on the corpse are given to sectarian priest or to the musicians but not to any relative. Except the father-in-law or spouse's father, any other person of similar relationship to the deceased can take the rice tied in the free end of *dhoti* or sari, while a male member of deceased family take the money tied in the cloth and hands it over to the chief mourner which is kept for purchasing tobacco to be distributed to relatives on the final purification day. A small piece of cloth is torn out from the free end of dhoti or sari by a relative. Based on the faith followed by the deceased person such as *Vaishnav* or *Saiva* the corpse is cremated or buried. However, the rules / procedures are not strictly followed now as days. In most families dead are cremated. People died due to contagious and epidemic diseases, suicide, drowning, fall from tree, killed by wild animal, etc. used to be cremated at a faraway place from the village on an ant hill or snake mound or

at the place of death, lest such person's soul will become cantankerous or malicious spirit. However, children below 15 years if dead are buried. The father will be the chief mourner to bury dead child.

Cremation:

The corpse is placed on the pyre by the bearers of bier with head of deceased to east and a small piece of gold or silver or copper is put in the mouth of corpse by one of the relatives, another removes waste string of man or *thali* of woman. The chief mourner goes round the pyre three times in anticlockwise direction and lit the pyre first followed by other relatives by throwing twigs on the burning corpse paying respects by joining palms and bowing their head. The bier is also thrown into fire. After the corpse is completely burnt, a thorny bush is cut, placed on the ashes and three stones are kept on it. Any son or husband or brother of deceased or lineage member can lit the pyre and returns home without looking back at the pyre. The people return sorrowfully towards dead person's home after corpse engulfed by fire completely. The relative who broke the pot at junction of paths goes to stream, dips the torn cloth from the end of *dhoti* of dead person in water, returns home and places the cloth where the person died. Then he takes bath and cooks rice and pulses together, divide it into three equal parts and places in three adda leaf cups. He places one leaf cup at the spot where the person died, another at the place where body is washed and third cup at the place where the body is lowered and water pot is broken at the junction of paths. After offering of the food at the above places, he along with all the relatives and friends who made their presence at crematorium take bath either in a stream or at home, while women and children take bath at home. The principle mourner and all family members take head bath. A pitcher of water, some rice and some liquid curry is kept at the spot where the person died along with lighted lamp in the night. Some relatives sleep there along with the members of bereaved family. In case of the death of a married man, the widow's bangles are broken by an old widow by taking her little away from her home outside the village in the direction of cremation ground. If a pregnant woman dies, the husband cuts her womb and removes the foetus; the woman and foetus are cremated separately due to a belief that two dead bodies shall not be burnt on one pyre.

Burial:

After reaching the grave yard, the bearers lower the corpse and hand down to two men standing in the pit who place the body in sitting position, knees drawn upon to the chin and hands clasped in front with face towards east. A piece of gold/silver or copper is inserted in

the mouth of deceased person. The chief mourner goes round the grave three times in anticlockwise direction and throws the first sod of earth into the grave and goes away without looking back. Attending relatives also throw handful of earth on the dead body and all the earth dug up must be filled back and placed on top of the grave. The bier is cut into pieces, placed on the grave, a thorny bush and three stones are placed on it.

Initial obsequies:

On the third day, the principle mourner along with relatives visit cremation place and wet the ashes with water. All bones and ash are collected and a heap of ash and bones is made which are disposed in the nearby bush under a tree. All other rites are similar to the person who is cremated. On the third day, relatives and other people bring pumpkin, few measures of rice, pulses, etc. to the deceased family. All the men of the lineage have to shave their head and anoint their head with oil and turmeric paste. The relative who broke the water pot takes bath, cooks sacred food with rice and pulses and meat of goat or fowl and places food in a leaf plate. All male relatives, first chief mourner carrying the sacred food followed by a person holding a leaf cup consisting of crushed barks of mango and papal tree, turmeric and water, and others go in a line to cremation ground. Then turmeric water is sprinkled on thorny bush and stones on grave and removes them. The chief mourner burn incense and sacred food is offered at that place. The chief mourner keeps some basal leaves or black plum leaves at the spot and prays by folding hands. All others also pay their respects by folding their hands. After taking bath, the family of diseased person serves food cooked with the items brought by relatives to all attending relatives, friends and neighbours along with meat of goat or fowls. The deceased person's wife /husband, sons, brothers, and lineage members are more polluted than consanguineous relatives.

Final obsequies:

The final obsequies are conducted on any odd day between 7th and 21st day after the death or any other auspicious day after one month. Sometimes this final death ceremony is postponed for few months if the family is not in a position to afford but at any case it must be completed well before *Sankranthi* day falling on 13th or 14th of January. On the day of final death ceremony all relatives will try to attend at the diseased family. On the day of final obsequies, the family members and chief mourner takes bath, cleans house by smearing with cow dung and cleans all utensils. The sectarian priest makes rectangular frame with bamboo strips and suspend it from the roof in the south-east corner of the house. Five flower garlands and green banana are suspended to the frame and priest places one measure of rice and few coins on a

banana leaf. The priest places the sectarian object on rice and lit the lamp. He keeps another lamp in the court yard opposite the entrance of house. The close female relatives sit round the lamp and express their sorrow with words according to their personal relationship symbolically inviting the dead ancestor into the house. The priest sacrifices a fowl to the sectarian objects. The family cooks the meat of this fowl and rice separately and serve to the priest first and the relatives later. In some regions simply a fowl is sacrificed and food is offered to the soul of deceased (At Araku region this is relatively a simple function) at the cremation ground. Chicken curry is cooked in a new pot and some rice is also cooked separately in another new pot. The lineage members and family members of deceased person except females offer cooked rice and chicken curry in a leaf plate by placing the food on the way to cremation ground with a belief that soul of dead person will come in the form of a crow or a dog and consume the food. After offering the food, the principle mourner returns home without looking back. The diseased family will host lunch or dinner with goat meat, liquor and vegetables. The next day, the priest selects a male and female relative of the dead through divination whom the deceased liked most. The selected female relative cooks sacred food and male relative carries it to the cremation place. Both of them observe fast on that day. After taking bath, the female relative brings water in a new pot which is spattered with sectarian mark by the priest. She cooks rice in that pot, cuts a fowl and roasts liver and gizzard while the remainder meat is boiled and cooked in normal way. The roasted meat is given to the priest and sacred food and cooked meat is placed in five leaf plates. She keeps one leaf plate near the light at south-east corner, three plates on the ancestral alter and another on the roof above the entrance of the house. Further, she places sacred food and boiled meat in another two leaf plates each with three morsels of rice at south-east corner of the house which is to be carried to the cremation ground by the selected male relative. The relatives give some money to the priest in the name of dead. All relatives place basil leaves or black plum leaves on the sacred food. Then the male relative carry the food to the cremation ground wearing new lion cloth (*gochi*), the food packed in free end of extended lion cloth while female relative carry six cigars, a small pot with liquid food, six leaf cups with sacred food and boiled meat packed in a basket along with the rectangular bamboo frame that was suspended to the roof by the priest. Another relative will hold a leaf cup with turmeric paste, water, crushed bark of papal and mango tree; yet another relative hold a sacred basil plant to which a turmeric rhizome is tied. The selected female relative carrying basket places one leaf plate with ritual food, a cigar and some liquid food at the place where the deceased breath last. Then the selected male and female along with other relatives go to cremation place in a procession accompanied by music and trumpets. At the junction of paths

where pot was dropped/ broken, the female relative places another leaf plate and a cigar. Then procession goes to crematorium by which time two assistants of priest who reached the place of cremation of the deceased in advance will construct a pandal and raise a pial of two feet wide with four clay lamps representing sacred bulls at the place of burial or cremation. Then the priest makes a pit on the pial at the centre and chants sacred hymns. The male relative who carried the food takes one morsel of food in left hand and gives to other two male relatives of deceased person in their left hands one by one. Holding each other, they drop morsels into the pit over the pial, while priest pours water with crushed basil leaves. The female relative keeps four leaf plates with food items at different spots under the pandal. The priest suspends the rectangular bamboo frame under the pandal. The three men who dropped morsels of food in the pit will transplant a basil plant in the pit while priest pours water of crushed basil leaves chanting hymns. Then all relatives pay some money on the name of dead to the sectarian priest. The male relatives who carried the sacred food take a hand full of earth from the place from the pial near the basil plant, return to stream, immerse it in water and return to the bereaved family. Close relatives of a dead person bring new sari to the spouse of deceased.

The dead man's wife is decorated like a bride and all new saris are put on her head. Mean while a man carries priest on his shoulders and escorts him to the dead man's wife. The priest pours water mixed with crushed basil in the mouth of the spouse of deceased, wipes out the vermillion on her fore head, remove marriage badge (*thali*), breaks the glass bangles with the conch and puts sectarian marks on her forehead symbolizing that she is a widow making her forego all the marks of her marital status. In the case of male spouse, the waist string is removed. He is decorated with vermillion on his forehead, sectarian lines with vermillion on cheeks, sandal paste on his chin and new waist string while wearing dhoti and shirt. His close female relatives bring new cloths for him. The priest finally removes both old and new waist strings of male spouse of the deceased woman. However, the rites are not performed if the deceased is unmarried, widower or widow. After the rites are conducted the bereaved family hosts a feast to the relatives, neighbours and friends. The tobacco purchased with the money tied to corpse on the cremation day will be distributed to all the relatives who attended burial or cremation. The sectarian priest is paid for the services by the bereaved family in cash and kind. Bagathas believe that their ancestors will reborn as children of their own descendants. People with higher merit will be born in their own family or in superior tribe, while those with lesser merit are born in another lineage or inferior tribe. Older generation Bagathas used to believe reincarnation of their ancestors and hence used to name their children with the

names of their forefathers or mothers. Sometimes they name their children in a combination of ancestor and deity. Of late, belief of reincarnation is slowly eroding. Bagathas believe in spirits and classify them as temporary and eternal. The temporary spirits include ghosts and disembodied souls that did not settle down in other world. People committed suicide, or killed by animals will roam about temporary duration doing all mischief like threatening, possessing persons, etc. For them the mortuary rites are to be performed early to quit this world and settle peacefully in other world. The eternal spirits include numerous hill, forest and water body spirits which are beauties of nature. A male relative of dead person wear a sari and imitates a woman making all people laugh to make family members relax and come out of sad mood. Thus the soul of the departed is incorporated into ancestral spirits. Till the final death ceremony, it is taboo on the part of family members of deceased to move freely in the village, participate in festivals, visit village deities, etc. The death pollution is totally removed only after final death ceremony is conducted. The death pollution observed by other relatives will cease and end after cleaning of house, utensils and sacred turmeric water is sprinkled all over the premises of house. In case this ceremony is postponed, the family members cannot participate or attend any ceremonies or festivals either in the village or outside the village. It is a taboo to perform marriage or any other life cycle event within the family or sometimes in all the families of that lineage. Bagathas also believe that the soul of a pious man will be reborn as human being and sinner will be born as an inferior animal after suffering many ordeals in the so called hell in the upper world.

CHAPTER-VII

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Concept:

Religion is an inter-woven hard core of social life among all cultures. The religious beliefs are strong and not susceptible to change as easily as food habits or dress pattern. Religion forms vital part of human life. Bagathas too believe that their lives are ordained by supernatural power such as god/ goddess, various wandering sprits and deities of village. Bagatha people have belief in legends, supernaturalism, magic, witchcraft, evil eye, sorcery, luck, myths, ghosts, shapeless phantoms, benevolent and malevolent spirits, etc. They worship nature such as Mother Earth, Sun, Moon, rivers, streams, mountains, animals, birds and plants in the form of totems along with their ancestors. Bagatha believe animism a part of religion with magic as chief element.

The Bagatha pantheon consists of village deities such as *Sanku Devudu*, *Nishani*, *Pedda Devudu*, *Bheema Devudu*, *Jankara Devatha*, *Nandi devatha*, etc. Local or regional deities such as *Moda kondamma / Modamamba*, *Bhirava*, *Mutyalamma*, *Ammathalli*, etc. and regional gods and goddess of Hindu religion such as *Siva*, *Rama*, *Simhadri Lakshmi*, *Narasimha*, *Annaram Stayanarayana*, *Tirumala Venkateswara*, *Lakshmi*, *Parvathi*, *Durga*, etc. Their pantheon is fused with Hindu pantheon. The older Bagathas believe that supreme God Siva was created by mother (*Adisakthi* or *Peddamma*) who married her own son. They also believe that brothers of Siva namely Brahma created all living beings while Vishnu created a number of deities along with hell and heaven to look after living beings and abodes for these after death respectively. Bagatha worship Hindu gods daily and assign them higher position than village or tribal deities. The older generations Bahathas believe that the inanimate objects like sacred bull, cobra, monkey, fig tree, etc. are the forms assumed by their deities. Majority of festivals are intended for propitiation of village deities although they recount Hindu deities before sacrificing a fowl or offering oblation. Some Bagatha households install and worship trident as a mark of Siva and celebrate *Sivaratri* and visit Hindu temples with idols. Tribes believe that gods and goddesses take abode in forests and hills, and hence conduct festivals in honour of forest goddess. They consider some trees as sacred and keep their deities under the shade of such trees. The village deities are represented as simple stone alignment, anthills near the tree trunk etc. Bagathas worship benevolent deities for serenity and happiness in the form of progeny, health, wealth and prosperity believing that they protect them or else they turn malevolent if neglected and harm them with severe

punishment, disease and death. Usually priest (*Pujari*) conducts rites, rituals and prayers on behalf of village and people in honour of village deity while Bagatha family head worships family deities and ancestors. Generally, flowers, turmeric powder, vermilion, incense, coconut, jaggery, milk, rice etc., are offered as in addition to sacrifice of a fowl, goat, buffalo, pig, etc. as oblation to certain deities. Tribal people do not eat new fruits, flowers, nuts, seeds, etc., either produced are collected from the forest, unless they are ritually offered to god / goddess or ancestral spirit by celebrating a festival. The fruit bearing trees like jack fruit, mango, tamarind, black plum, etc., are commonly found in each village. They invariably offer the first fruits, vegetables, paddy, millet grains, etc. to the supernatural powers and deities to express their gratitude.

Along with nature worship Bagathas observe certain taboos which are negative customs of sacred belief gradually fixed in mind as superstition. When a woman is pregnant she shall not eat mushrooms, eggs, meat of rabbit, certain roots like *nagalidumpa* and *pindidumpa* (verity of potatoes), etc. They believe that skin will worn-out if some roots are eaten, child will be born without hair if eggs are eaten, child suffers fits and snores like a rabbit if rabbit meat is eaten during pregnancy. Similarly their husbands shall not go for hunting, kill snake, touch corpse, renovate house, etc. when wife is pregnant. Ancestral worship is common among Bagatha to appease spirits to avoid their anger and harmful acts.

Superstitions:

In general tribes are superstitious about human reflexes and consider inauspicious and bad omen if someone sneezes while the other is about to go out on an important enterprise / assignment or venture; cat crossing the way; sight of widow, new pots and snake; cry of owl, *Rambi* and *Dumbabirds*; persons coming across with fuel wood or empty pot; etc. However sight of woman carrying water, corpse, etc. is considered as good omen. Of late, the young generation are ignoring these superstitious beliefs. Bagatha consult the Brahmin priest or astrologer (*disari*) for fixing auspicious time and day for celebration of life cycle events, while *pujari* fixes auspicious days for celebrating festivals of village deities or starting agricultural operations, etc. Of late, majority Bagatha's consult plains caste Brahmin priest / *pujari* to ascertain whether the planetary movements at the time of birth of child, girl attaining puberty, etc. are auspicious or not. Several households observe pacification procedures to ward off the evil effects of inauspicious stars. Bagatha believe possession of planet Saturn (*sani*) on some people causing difficulties in life. Such people consult *guru* / astrologer and pray god by offering coconut, nine varieties of flowers, vermilion and turmeric

powder at the junction of three or four paths or roads. Astrologer leaves a calotes, a reptile on the head of the person. If the calotes runs away it is believed that *sani* (evil effect) has gone in that direction. Then a chick is sacrificed to remove evil effect and drive away *sani* from the person. They also believe that slip or mistake in ritual performance may lead to disastrous results. Almost every month they celebrate festivals referred as '*pandaga*' of some deity or the other intended for protection of people, livestock, crops and well being of village. Most of these festivals associated with agricultural activities are celebrated by all tribes in the village. Regional differences in the names of deities and also in observance of various festivals are reported. The dates of festivals vary from one village to other as well as between Araku, Paderu, and Chinthapalle regions where the participation of all the tribes and locally settled castes people is reported.

Religious Functionaries:

Priest (*Pujari*)

The key man in conducting rituals is the priest (*pujari*) who is usually a male. He knows the procedures of worship. Priest propitiates the village and regional deities on specific occasions and festivals. People believe that priest is blessed with special powers and hence admire and adore him in high esteem. Priest cherish special relation with people and free access with headman. Priest lists the requirements for performing rituals / festivals. Headman of village with mutual contribution and cooperation of households in the village, procure items including animals for sacrifice through *Barika* (village servant). The challan / *salan* is another village servant who helps priest during festivals. He carries sacred seeds, food stuff, etc. to be offered to deity. Challan belongs to a higher ranked tribe and never a Valmiki. Usually Bagatha, Kotia and Konda Dora tribesmen are Challans. Priest is considered sacred especially during the performance of ritual and not allowed to be touched by others. He undergoes fasting and takes sacred bath to perform sacrifice of an animal or fowl. Always priest worships the village or regional deity first, and then the headman's turn followed by others. Priest receives head portion of sacrificed animal or fowl. He cooks his food by himself and also enjoys the privilege of eating first in ceremonial feast. In some villages priest wears white / yellow / saffron coloured dhoti during warship. On all other times he dresses up like any ordinary Bagatha man. He engages himself in all agricultural and daily activities or household activities. Priest's wife (*Gurumai*) also receives respect from all the villagers. By tradition, priesthood is hereditary, succeeded by the eldest son, usually from Bagatha tribe in many villages. In few villages, people from other tribes (Konda Dora, Kotia) who know the mode of worship are holding office of priest. The village council may find a suitable person

to perform priest duties in case the priest dies or does not have male children who reached adulthood. Now a day, educated younger generations are not interested or reluctant to take up hereditary priesthood. In addition to village priest some sectarian priests belonging to plains caste men such as *Satani* and *Jangamper* form death and purification ceremonies to *Vaistnavites* and *Saivites* respectively. They sing and praise the dead relatives in a family, by blowing conch, ringing bells and trumping bronze plates respectively. Priest usually wears sacred thread. However, several Bagatha priests without sacred thread are observed in the present study. Priest enjoys more say in rituals and help village council or tribal council in deciding penalties for violation of religious rules, breach of traditions and acts of offence. Priest receives payment in cash or kind in the form of grains, vegetables or gifts from households for his services. The wife of priest (*Gurumai*) also commands respect from people of village and she participates in rituals related to removal of evil effects / evil eye on infant, children and pregnant woman .

Astrologer (*Disari* or *Muhurthagadu*):

Any male person from any tribe who learns and knows about position of stars / planets and calculation of planetary movement can be a *desari* or *muhurthagadu*. He fixes auspicious time and day for performing rituals such as first ploughing, ceremonial hunting, initiation of festivals, social and religious ceremonies, predict time for sacrifice of animal or fowl or offering to deity. *Disari* is also consulted for fixing exact time (*muhurtham*) for engagement and journey to a new place, etc. by people. *Disari* also predicts the evil influence of the position of stars at the time of birth of a child or menarche of a girl and suggests corrective ritual activity to remove evil effects. *Disari* is well respected and consulted on all important occasions. He is paid for the services by his clients in cash or kind and also by the village council. The office of astrologer is not hereditary. Only in few Bagatha villages astrologers are found. People of neighbouring villages consult astrologer in times of need. In some villages *pujari* also performs *disari's* duties

Shaman (*Bhotha Vaidyudu*):

Tribesmen believe that some people usually men have magical power and knowledge to cure diseases, solve problems or troubles arising due to supernatural elements or spirits or natural causes. The specialists usually take training from a proven and experienced *Shaman* who possesses mysterious skills in reciting certain verses to commission or control or drive away evil spirits / devils. It is believed that *Shaman* with his hermetic skills can see and speak to familiar spirits and evil spirits, persuade or destruct them or counteract to ward off the evil

effects of spirits /ghosts/ devils. *Shaman* arranges talisman or armlets, necklets, annulets, etc. to subside spirits/ ghosts to cure the ill effects of spirits and some mental diseases through faith healing. Shaman provides protection to individuals, animals and crops by organising magical fence to guard evil spirits. Another kind of Shaman (*Yejjodu*) has knowledge of herbal medicine, who is considered as herbal doctor. He cures general ailments/ diseases, often consulted by people and enjoys respect and influence in the village. Yet another type of Shaman is an expert in divination and tells the cause of disease, suffering or death when he is in trance condition. Few Shamans predict good and bad omen based on select objects by performing special technical skills and even identify a thief or culprit and place of hidden / stolen articles or animals, etc. Few *Shaman* can conduct sorcery on people, animal or crop and also reverses the effects of sorcery by performing special magic.

It is reported that few women are considered sacred in the tribal region and possess special powers. By the favour of deity or spirit, the mystical or enigmatic knowledge is transmitted to her and the statements of such women when they are possessed by deity are taken granted in diagnosis of disease, cure of disease, prediction of an evil effect or an event, etc. Of late, the faith on the activities of *Shaman* among Bagathas are diluting. Majority Bagatha especially young generation educated people visit hospitals for getting prescriptions for diseases.

Festivals:

Bagatha along with other tribes in the village conduct a number of festivals signifying certain seasons to offer first fruits/ vegetables/ grains / etc. to deities or spirits. Every month there will be one festival or the other. Some festivals are celebrated by individual households to pray ancestral spirits, while some are celebrated collectively by all the people of the village. However, fairs and festivals of certain regional deities are conducted together by few villages, once in three years in grand scale where all tribal and non-tribal people participate. The following festivals are celebrated by all tribes including Bagatha in Paderu, ITDA area.

Chaitra Festival / Itukula Pandaga:

New Year day is celebrated after “*Kotha Amavasya*” (No moonday) day in Chaitra month as per Telugu calendar which falls usually in March or April months indicating the end of winter season. They worship *Nisani* and *Bhairvadevatha* to charm the seeds with blood of sacrificed animals. This is also called *Vithupandaga* meaning sowing seeds. The priest (*pujari*) in consultation with headman of village fixes date. *Barika* (village servant usually a

Valmiki tribal man) passes on message one week ahead of festival and collects contribution / donation from each household of village for purchasing a black goat and red fowl or rooster. In Araku region the Chaitra festival begins on any Tuesday evening of Chaitra month (March-April). *Bees Janthra* represented by an anthill near the trunk of a tree is worshiped. The village headman, *barika*, priest (*pujari*) village elder's council members accompanied by villagers with band of musicians visit *Bees Janthra* deity on Tuesday evening. The *challan / salan* (another village servant) and others carry rice, green banana, jaggery, milk, few measures of seed grains such as *sama*, paddy, *chodi*, maize, etc. The priest cooks food and feeds the red fowl and black goat and sacrifices them while chanting hymns in the name of *Bees Janthra*. The priest sprinkles the sacred blood of sacrificed animals on seed grains, and then thoroughly mixes the seeds and charming grains to enrich the seeds. Only men participate. Women are strictly prohibited while performing charming of seeds. The priest stands on one side and all the villagers stand with their towels spread in their hands on opposite side. The priest throws and hurls the enriched seeds in all directions while the villagers compete with each other to collect sacred seeds which are mixed with other seeds stored in their house for future sowing. The next day i.e. Wednesday meat of sacrificed animal and fowls are distributed to all who have contributed for participation. The priest gets head and legs of goat and fowl. They enjoy family feast on that day. On the third day (Thursday), the Bagatha along with other tribes worship *Nishani* deity who is represented by a crude stone idle encircled by stone enclosure by the side of *saduru* an open space at the centre of village or near headman's house where village meetings are held. On Thursday evening the priest cleans the spot before the *Nishani* idle and gives bath to *Nishani* deity. The *challan / salan* brings milk, *jaggery*, rice, green banana, etc. along with seed grains such as paddy, *jawar*, maize, *chodi*, *sama*, etc. Elders of village take a red fowl and pig along with them for offering to deity. Headman and villagers gather around *Nishani*. The priest cooks food and feeds the fowl and pig, with a little cooked food. The *challan* sacrifices the pig while priest cuts the head of red fowl and the blood is spilled over the seed grains. After mixing the seeds thoroughly with sacred blood, the priest standing on *saduru* stone throws charmed sacred seeds in all directions which are collected into towels spread in their hands. All men take the seeds to their home and mix the sacred charmed seeds with their stored seeds and preserve till sowing day. The pork eating tribes share the sacred meat of pork while flesh of fowl (oblation) is shared by non-pork eating tribes like Bagatha, Kotiya, Konda Kapu, etc.

The next morning that is Friday, the heads of land owning families observe fast and draw a figure of plough on the wall of their house and go to nearby stream carrying plough, spade and few agricultural implements and wash them with water. The cleaned implements are brought and placed on the floor near the figure drawn on the wall. After applying turmeric paste, vermilion to implements they sacrifice a fowl to the agricultural implements and then go to their field with new ploughs, sacrifice chick or fowl in the name of *Bhoomithalli* (goddess earth / mother earth) and make three furrows in their field formally in east-west direction. On the Friday evening a mock ceremonial hunting expedition is under taken to ward off evil eye. On Saturday morning all men gather at *saduru* with their hunting equipment such as spears, bow and arrows, knives, axes, etc. The colourfully dressed women sing folk songs, musicians blow trumpets and beat drums. The atmosphere is charged with gaiety, the men folk march to words forest while women folk chase them to the out skirts of village. All women return and spend swinging in cradles hung from the branches of trees.

If hunting party returns with a big animal by evening they get heroes rousing reception. If they return empty hands or fail to get any animal the women folk heckle and insult men by throwing dung mixed water and hurling abusive words. Same will be repeated till men succeed to hunt an animal. Then men folk in-turn heckle and joke with their women if they succeed in hunting a big animal. All men, women and children without any social distinction or age or sex freely enjoy fun and frolic. The animal brought by hunting party is placed before the *Bhairava Devatha* and worship the deity after sacrificing a goat and a fowl in the name of all hill deities or sprits. Next day, the meat of animal killed by hunting party and sacrificed goat will be shared by all families, and everyone enjoys feast. This is the most important festival where three deities namely *Nishani*, *Bees Janthra* and *Bhairava* are worshiped in Araku area. Now a day, this is popularly celebrated at Paderu and Chinthapalle regions as '*Itukala Pandaga*' where womenfolk after driving away their men folk to forest on hunting expedition gather and collect donations from people passing on the road in motor vehicles or entering their village. Womenfolk pour cow dung water on men who stay in village avoiding hunting expedition and also on people who refuse to donate during *itukala pandaga*.

Pedda Devudu Festival:

This one day festival is celebrated on any Sunday in *Vysakha* month (April-May) for the welfare of village on the eve of hectic ploughing of fields. *Pedda Devudu* represented by a triangular stone inside an anthill under a tree will be worshiped. The priest accompanied by

headman of village along with other tribal headmen and elders of village go to the anthill near the tree trunk on Sunday evening carrying milk and other food stuff in a procession, musicians beating drums and blowing trumpet. The priest cleans the spot, gives bath to the idol, decorates the spot with flour design, cooks rice with milk, *jaggary* and green banana and feeds the *parigipitta* (quail bird), fowl and goat symbolically and sacrifice them chanting hymns. The next day morning that is on Monday the households share the meat of goat (oblation) and two birds.

Bheema Devudu Festival:

This one day festival is celebrated on any Tuesday in *Jesta* month (fall in June) as fixed by the priest. A small hut is erected near a tree trunk where *Bheema* represented as a stone idle embedded in an anthill. On the morning of Tuesday the priest and *challan* visit *Bheema* deity with raw food stuff in separate fig leaf plates, specially green banana and *kandadumpa* (roots and tubers). The priest gives bath to deity, cooks food in a new pot on the spot and offers it to deity after burning incense. In the afternoon village headman, elders of village, the priest and others go in a procession with drums, band and music to the *Bheema* hut. The priest sacrifices a fowl and a goat to the deity. All people propitiate *Bheema* specially to protect their animal stock and villagers from natural calamities, epidemics and diseases.

Korra-Sama Kotha Festival:

Ceremonial first time eating of freshly harvested millets namely *Korra* and *Sama* in that year will be celebrated on the full moon day (*purnima*) in *Sravana* month (falls in August). *Barika* collects participation contribution donation from each family and buy a fowl and a goat. On the morning of full moon day in *Sravana* month the priest after taking head bath, carries milk, jaggery, banana and incense in separate fig leaf cups. The priest cooks food and put small quantity in leaf cups. Then everybody go to the field of either village headman or priest in a procession. On eastern side of field, the priest cleans a spot, draws a design on the floor with *chodi* flour, keeps the cooked food in leaf cups on the design and offers them while chanting hymns to the ancestral spirits. The priest sacrifices a goat and fowl to ancestral spirits and prays them specially to protect their fields, people and animals from pests and diseases. As usual the meat is shared by all families. The speciality of this festival is that all villagers try to remember their departed elders ancestors who are propitiated to avoid the wrath of their ancestral spirits if they feel neglected.

Ballior Jankara Festival:

This twelve day festival is celebrated continuously for three years. Then they give a gap of three years and again start celebrating for another three years. This festival falls in *Badrapada* month (August-September). *Ballior Jankara* deity may not have an idol or temple in some villages but they worship deity for the protection of soil fertility. On a Tuesday evening as fixed by priest, elders of village along with headman goes to the nearby stream carrying twelve new baskets in a procession, fill the baskets with fertile soil from the stream bed, bring to *saduru* and places the baskets on the *saduru* stones. This festival is celebrated by a group of *Mutta* villages together. On Wednesday former *Mutta* headman or president of *Panchayath* identifies ten *Bheemas* from different tribes (men) who visit all the villages of *Mutta* and collect money, vegetables rice and other food stuff from households and store in a hut erected at *saduru*. Elders bring some thorny bushes from hill and prepare a cradle out of them. All the fasting men and women do swing on cradle with thorny seats. Also ten men who collected food stuff from villages, who have observed fast will sit on the thorny seats the whole night while the women perform *dimsa* dance before the *Bheemas*. The thorns will not prick *Bheemas* if they have observed fast properly and propitiation of *Jankara* is sincere.

The *Barika* erects a pandal opposite his house and sacrifices a cow to *Jankara* deity. After skinning the cow, he spreads skin on floor under the pandal and sits on it. The former chief of *Mutta* villages or *Sarpanch* of *Panchayath*, accompanied by elders and tribal headmen, visit *Barika's* house. The *Barika* pours three measures of nine varieties of grains (millets and paddy) formally in the cloth spread by the tribal chief *Mutta* headman and later all the seed grains are poured in the cloth. All the visitors return to *saduru*. Mean while, the priest prepares a figure of *Balli* with soil brought from stream bed and places it in the hut near *saduru*. Two elderly married women other than widows prepare seven plots or seed beds in front of *saduru* stones. Similarly, the chief of *Muttaor* village headman prepare twelve seed beds in soil filled baskets. Then elders and tribal heads sow the nine varieties of seeds in twelve baskets filled with soil and also seven plots / seed beds. Turmeric water is sprinkled on baskets to make them sacred. Either elders or women shall water the seed beds daily during next ten days to allow millets to sprout into seedlings. The seedlings from all the twelve baskets and seven plots are brought on to a cot. The priest scarifies a goat and fowl to the *Jankara* deity and sprinkles blood on seedlings to enrich the seedlings with sacred blood. Then community feast is given with all the vegetables, rice and other food stuff collected by *Bheemas*. After the feast the cot with seedlings will be carried to the stream by the elders and immersed ceremonially in the stream. On the Thursday that is tenth day the elders go to hill,

bring thorn bushes and weave ten seats with thorn bushes to seat *Bheemas*. On the same day in the evening the chief of *Mutta* villages identifies a Banana plant having huge bunch of bananas and ties a cloth flap containing *sesame* seeds to the bunch. The bunch is later cut from the plant, brought to the *chaduru / saduru* hut and hung to the roof. The chief and elders sit under the bunch of banana with towels spread in their hands. The bunch is pushed to different sides to swing like cradle. Even though *sesame* seeds are tied a variety of other seeds fall from the flap of the bag which is believed that Gods are kind and blessed the tribesmen with all varieties of seeds which will be stored for sowing during the season, this is only a belief.

Metta Danyam Kotha:

This festival is celebrated on Monday or Thursday before Dasara (October) during *Aswayuja* month to offer freshly harvested dry paddy to the ancestral spirits. This is celebrated by individual families by offering a morsel of cooked rice to the departed souls in the family / ancestral spirits. Some families sacrifice a chick and offer cooked food to ancestors.

Dyadi Amas or Deepavali:

The festival is celebrated to propitiate ancestral spirits. Generally *Deepavali* is celebrated in plains areas during no moon day falling in October / November but tribes celebrate festival on a day fixed by pujari or headman. The priest serves oil to households at *Chaduru / Sadhuru* and every household light a lamp with cloth wick, oil in a earthen plate and keeps near the entrance of house in the name of ancestral spirit.

After *Deepavali* winter sets in. During December / January wet paddy, chikkudu (country beans) and several varieties of pulses will be harvested and festivals are celebrated to eat freshly harvested beans.

Chikkudu Kotha:

This festival is celebrated by individual families of all tribes for offering freshly harvested country beans *chikkudu* vegetable to the ancestral spirits during *pushya* month (December / January). On any Tuesday as fixed by Pujari (priest), tribes cook rice with freshly harvested country beans in a new pot and a morsel of food is offered to ancestral spirits, by remembering departed family members by name. Generally this one day festival is observed by individual families at their home.

Mukma Devi Festival:

Mukma Devi is believed to be wife of *Ganga Devudu*, a village deity. This festival is celebrated for eight days simultaneously in continuation of *Chikkudu Kotha*. The Goddess is a stone idol located under a tree. On Monday night prior to *Chikkudu Kotha* festival, the priest along with village elders visit *Mukma Devi* and clean the spot, gives bath to deity, smear the idle with vermilion and turmeric, cooks food and offers to deity. He sacrifices the goat and fowl, and lifts the idle and carries it home. Next day morning that is on *Chikkudu Kotha* festival day, meat is distributed to all families in the village. The deity is kept in priests home till next Tuesday. The priest and village elders carry the idle through the streets in a procession on Tuesday evening to all houses in the village. The households offer coconut, and then the idol is taken back to its place under the tree. The priest sacrifices chicken and all the people return home. Eating of freshly harvested pulses is a taboo till *Mukma Devi* is propitiated.

Ganga Devudu Festival:

This is a 15 days festival, performed by a group of village together. *Ganga Devudu* believed to be the husband of *Mukma Devi* is represented as an iron chain kept in a pot placed under small hut. On a Tuesday about 15 days before *Sankranthi (pongal)* in January, the priest and village elders bring the deity after sacrificing a chick and take it in a procession to pujari's house and then to barika's house. The barika washes the feet of priest with water from one pot and gives bath to iron chain with water from other pot. Then iron chain is transferred in to the pot. Oil is poured on the deity along with a measure of rice. Villagers offer food grains such as *Sama, Chodi, Paddy*, etc. Then deity is taken through streets, and brought back to priest's house. All the two weeks similar exercise will be conducted. On the second Tuesday, the barika ties a long *Bentha* cane stick to two poles near Sadhuru. On the third Tuesday a tug of war will be conducted between villagers by pulling the *Bentha* stick by respective villagers until it is broken. The *Ganga Devudu* deity is taken back to its abode then a fowl is sacrificed and offer rice cooked with meat of chick. Then the deity is restored to its original place. On Bhogi day the villagers perform *Dimsa* dance, while buffoons play amusing comic to make people laugh, musicians play music. All people enjoy the fun of the fair in a joyous mood.

Nandi Devudu Festival:

Nandi Devudu is not represented by any idol. The spirit is present in an anthill under a tree on one side of the out skirts of village. On an evening of one Friday in the month of February

(*Magha*) as decided by priest, the priest and *salan / challan* pours some liquor on anthill making soil wet. With the wet soil he makes a figure of bull (*nandi*) and places it in the new bamboo basket. The priest sacrifices a chick or fowl and pours sacred blood on the clay figure of *Nandi* (Bull). The *challan/ salan* carries the *Nandi* and places it in the house of priest. On the next day that is Saturday morning, *Nandi* figure is carried through streets in the village in a procession during which time households offer grains and cash. In the evening the clay figure is taken back to anthill and left there after sacrificing a fowl. They cook food on the spot and eat there only. Tribes also go fishing on this day. This festival is celebrated to appease spirits to protect their houses from fire and natural calamities. After propitiating *Nandi*, the tribes start renovation of their house, roofing of their houses, etc.

Phagun Kalchuta (Burning Phagun):

This festival is celebrated with bona fire on full moon day of *Palguna* month usually falling in February or March. The villagers construct a wooden structure on the outskirts of village. Villagers clean and decorate their houses. The headman hoists the white flag on the wooden structure and kindles fire on eastern side of wooden structure. The flames rise high burning the pole and flag, the pole falls on to one direction. Tribes believe that there will be good crops in the fields on that direction.

Mamidi Kotha:

This one day family festival is observed on Monday as fixed by priest in March / April during mango season to offer fresh mangoes to ancestral spirits. On a Monday raw mangoes are collected, sweet is made with cut pieces of mango mixed with milk and jaggery which is offered to ancestors. Till then eating mango is a taboo. On the same day, the households also worship agriculture implements by keeping them at one corner of the house. Some older Bagatha people change and wear sacred threads on their shoulders with Tulasi beads similar to Hindu priests on this day. There is a slight variation in the names of the festivals observed and celebrated by Bagatha from Koyyuru mandal. Instead of Itukula pandaga, Bagathas of Koyyuru mandal celebrate Gangamma pandaga also referred to Gangadevi pandaga for seven days. This festival is to enrich the seeds. On Thursday in the month of May, they start this festival. The Headman of the village identifies a young girl, preferably below 10 years who has to carry the water pot considered as Gangamma. During these days people decorate themselves in different costumes to appease Gangamma and also make merry and fun. On 6th day i.e. Tuesday, they sacrifice a chick and the blood is mixed with a measure of seeds collected from each house and placed in front of Gangamma. The elderly Bagatha man in-

charge of festival throw or hurl the charmed sacred seeds in all directions to enable men to catch few seeds in the towels spread in their hands. On the last day i.e. on Wednesday the young girl carry pot full of water through streets in a procession. At each house women and men pour water on her feet and offer coconut considering her as Ganga Devetha (Godess of water) and pray for good rains. After reaching Ganga Devi hut, the girl is seated in a swing and people formally push the swing. On that day a goat is sacrificed on behalf of village, purchased with money contributed by all the households. The meat is shared by all while head and legs are the share of the person officiating the event there are no formal priests pujari in these villages but there is *Guruvu*, who performs death rites and removes pollution.

After Gangadevi pandaga, the Bagatha from Koyyuru celebrate Korra Kotha pandaga to start eating fresh millets / raw tamarind and other leafy vegetables in August followed by *Vinayaka Chavithi*, a Hindu festival to pray Lord *Ganesh* in September, Dasara to pray Durga and Deepavali to pray Lakshmi in the months of October / November. In November / December the Bagatha from Koyyuru celebrate *Marinithalli* festival to appease village deity and start collecting and eating adda fruits and honey. In January the Bagathas celebrate three days *Sankranthi* festival to remember and offer clothes and food to ancestors and also to appreciate the services of live stock similar to the caste populations from plains area. In few villages the Bagathas celebrate specific village deity festival such as *Nallagondamma* festival in February and *Mahasivaratri* in March and Ugadhi, the New Year. All these festivals are celebrated collectively, together with all other tribes of the village such as Konda Dora and Koya Dora in Koyyuru region. A calendar of festivals is provided in Table VII-1

Table VII 1 Calendar of Festivals in ITDA Paderu area

Sl. No	Name of Local Festival	Deity or Spirits Worshipped	Implication/purpose	Month and Duration
1	Sankranthi	Ancestors	Health & welfare of Livestock	January, Three-Four days
2	Kothamasa (Chaitra)	Nisahani, Bhairava	Ceremonial hunting/ ploughing	First March April Twelve days
3	Pedda Devudu Pandaga	Ansestral spirits, Pedda Devudu (Pothu Raju)	Peoples welfare, eating food in the fields	April to May, One day
4	Bheema Devudu Pandaga	Bheema	Welfare of Cattle	July August, One day
5	Korra-Sama Kotha	Ancestral Spirits	Eating of first Cereals / Millets	August to Septmber Twelve days
6	Balli or Gyamma Pandaga	Jankara	Protection of fertility of Soil and Seeds	September - October, One day
7	Depavali	Ancestral Spirits	Eating of Beans and	October November,

	/ Dyadi Amas		vegetables	Four days
8	Chikkudu Kotha/ Ganga Devudu Pandaga	Ganga	Welfare of People, Livestock and Crops	October November, Twelve days
9	Nandi Devatha Pandaga	Nandi	General welfare, Repairs house/cattle shed	January to February One day
10	Phagunkalchuta		Harvest of Bumper crops	February March One day

CHAPTER- VIII

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Social Control, Prestige and Leadership:

A typical village consists of 40 -60 households belonging to different ethnic groups (tribes and few non-tribal households) living in either homogenous exclusive hamlet for a tribe, or heterogeneous villages with a cluster of houses of each tribe demarcated in few alleys or lanes. More than one tribe and occasionally few caste groups such as Kapu, Sondi, Satani, Kamsali, Kummari, Jangam, etc reside in Bagatha tribal villages.

Traditionally, political power in hill clad Araku and Paderu tribal area was in the hands of 'Muttadars' during British India rule. To realise land revenue from tribal farmers residing in inaccessible hill tracts villages, the *Zamindars* / Estate owners of Pachipenta / Golugonda / Madugula by orders of Maharaja of Jaipur under British India government have appointed few Bagatha tribesmen who are said to be warriors, as 'Muttadars'. A group of 20-30 contiguous villages / hamlets together were formed as a 'Mutta' (group of villages) led by Muttadar, who enjoyed patronage of rulers and enjoyed part of land revenue he collected along with large extent of rent free lands. The *Muttadar* used to help *Zamindar* / Maharaja of Jaipur and British Govt. not only in collecting revenue but also in maintaining law and order, social control, harmonious community relations, and passing on vital secret intelligence information about revolts (*Pituri*) against British Govt. by few tribal activists as and when occurred. However, in Koyyuru area Konda Dora were appointed as Muttadaris probably due to their higher population concentration. The services of *Muttadars* were recognised by British Govt. by way awarding a decree and certificate to that extent to several *Muttadars* in Paderu, Araku, G.Madugula and Chinthapalle regions of this extended tribal area in the beginning of twentieth century prior to India's Independence.

The position of *Muttadar* used to be hereditary by succession through the eldest son. The Bagatha *Muttadars* of this region due to their proximity with their Bagatha tribesmen have identified able bodied Bagatha men in many villages and appointed them headmen of Bagatha tribe and also headmen of villages in Paderu agency. Further, wherever Bagatha tribesmen do not inhabit in villages, able bodied men from other predominant tribe such as Konda Dora, Nooka Dora, etc were appointed as village headman who in turn fixed headman for each tribe in the village. The village headman in consultation with *Muttadar* identified few elders from different tribes in each village / hamlet and appointed them as members of village elder's council (*Peddalu*) along with headman of each tribe representing their own

tribe in the village council. Since then the concept of traditional village headman, tribal headman and village elder's council have gained importance as village political power centres.

The position of village headman, tribal headman, members of village elder's council are hereditary by succession through the eldest son as office bearer. The village elder's council assists village headman in resolving inter-tribal or inter-community disputes, illegal sexual relations between different tribes people, elopement, divorce, to maintain harmonious inter-community relations, celebration of common festivals, religious rituals to village deities, etc. Similarly the headman of each tribe with the assistance of few elders belonging to his tribe in the village settle and solve intra-tribe disputes, family quarrels, maladjustment of couples, elopement, irregular and illegal unions, separation of couple or divorce, etc., in addition to representing his tribe in the deliberations of village elder's council. The village headman represents his village in resolving inter-village, or regional disputes, mainly problems arising in sharing common grazing lands, theft or missing animals, elopement cases or major tribal clashes. If the unrest is between different villages or between different communities on a major issue involving several villages, the *Muttadar* used to preside over the meeting. Generally, the decision over the dispute is arrived by a majority concurrence although *Muttadar* delivers the judgement. Sometimes *Muttadar* used to overrule majority; his decision is binding on all parties, like present day court judgments. Similarly village headman and village elder's council presided by headman of village deals with issues within its village jurisdiction.

After India's Independence, estate abolition act was passed in 1948 and accordingly the Pachipenta / Madugula / Jaipur estates were abolished in 1955. As such the powers of *Muttadari* system ceased to exist although *Muttadhar* families commanded power, respect and perseverance of tribal people later on for two decades as traditional feudal setup till early nineteen seventies due to little political awareness among tribes. As per 5th schedule of constitution of India, tribes were recognised as special vulnerable groups that need focus and attention. Accordingly, the scheduled areas were notified in 1952 (agency area) and National extension service blocks at Paderu, Araku and Chinthapalle (where Bagatha are mainly concentrated) were formed in 1956 which were named as Tribal development Blocks in 1962. Of course these were renamed as multipurpose projects later.

The Govt. of India has introduced Panchyat Raj System for democratic decentralization and local self governance towards speedy rural and tribal development. Under this political

system (extension of scheduled areas), a group of 5-8 moderate sized contiguous tribal villages along with hamlets together are formed as village *panchayat*, which will be led by an elected (by adult voters) president (*sarpanch*), vice president (*upa-sarpanch*) and about a dozen ward members to indulge in development activities in general. However, village headman and village elder's council will control continuance of traditional customs and norms of tribal society. The disputes in the village are referred to headman of village through *Barika* or elders for arbitration. Also all decisions and arrangements for fixing dates, starting village deity festivals, rituals, celebrating common village festivals, etc. rests with the traditional village headman. The headman is recognised and addressed as *Naidu* in many villages.

The Government thought of an integrated approach for speedy delivery of its developmental programmes and schemes and registered a society namely Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) at Paderu, Visakhapatnam district, as its head quarters on 20-2-1975 which is subsequently started functioning from 4-12-1975 for overall planning and execution of programmes / projects aiming at social and economic development of tribal households in the tribal sub-plan area in Visakha agency.

The Paderu ITDA is headed by project officer (PO), an administrator who is appointed by state Govt. During late nineteen eighties the erstwhile division of Visakhapatnam district into different Taluks was replaced by smaller MandalPrajaParishads. As such ITDA Paderu area is divided in to 11 mandals namely Paderu, Pedabayalu, Munchingput, Hukumpet, Dumbriguda, Araku, Ananthagiri, G.Madugula, G.K.Veedhi, Chinthapalle and Koyyuru consisting of 3521 villages. Each Mandal Praja Parishad is headed by a directly elected president (MPP), deputy president and several members (MPTC) from each group of contiguous villages based on the size of population. Simultaneously the adult voters of ITDA Paderu elect two legislators (MLA) exclusively reserved for tribes, to the state assembly representing Araku and Paderu assembly constituencies. Similarly, an elected tribal person represents Araku Parliamentary constituency (MP) which extends into contiguous tribal area of neighbouring Vizianagaram district also. As such four independent elected political bodies / representatives exist within Paderu ITDA in the following order without any authority on the other body:

1. M.P: Member of Parliament representing tribes and other communities of Araku constituency in Parliament
2. MLA: There are two Members of Legislative Assembly representing Araku and Paderu assembly constituencies.

3. MPP: Eleven presidents of Mandal Praja Parishads, along with several members of Mandal Praja Parishad Territorial Constituency (MPTC) represent to government from this area. In addition several members of Zilla Parishad Territorial Constituency (ZPTC) exclusively belonging to tribes represent at district level.
4. *Sarpanch* (Panchayat President), *Upa-Sarpanch* (Vice President) and members of wards represent villages and hamlets exclusively reserved for tribes.

Each statutory *panchayat* constituting several villages/ hamlets is divided in to several wards depending on the size of village. The ward members are also elected. All these elected bodies are responsible for proper governance, maintaining general order and providing amenities and introducing development activities at their domain level in the area of their jurisdiction although do not engage in daily or day to day activities unless requested. The state government has appointed 1. Village Revenue Officer (VRO), 2. Village Revenue Assistant (VRA), 3. Auxiliary Nurse Mid-Wife (ANM), 4. Field Assistant for village development, 5. Field Assistant for MGNREGS, 6. Mandal Parishad Extension Officer for agriculture, 7. Mandal Parishad Field Officer for advising on agriculture, 8. Forest guard / Watcher, 9. Gopal Mitra for animal husbandry and, 10. Line man for electricity supply in each *panchayat* to assist president of *panchayat*. Elected *panchayat* president and ward members on one side and traditional village headman and village elder's council on other side are two parallel power structures in the village. However, major conflicts in the authority do not arise in villages because most the headmen of villages or tribal headmen are in-turn elected for various statutory positions and hence perform dual role as headman and also statutory authority. Further the duties and authority of traditional headman are clearly defined such as safeguarding traditional customs and norms, organising and celebrating common village festivals / rituals of deity and resolving smaller disputes and issues. They do not have any authority on decisions of statutory authorities. The headman usually consults, invite and involve *panchayat* president / MPP/MPTC or ZPTC members if there are any, living in the village along with village elder's council members for taking decisions on issues of major impact. As such serious differences do not arise in villages. However, due to recently increased political awareness, political activity, influence of different political parties and authority of elected statutory members in the village, few challenges in the form of violation of customs are encountered by the traditional headman. Of late, the authority of headman is slowly marginalized. Solving disputes in the villages are referred to police by the *panchayat* president / headman. Now a day, the concerned people directly give complaint to police. Some people approach courts to seek justice. Police have legal authority to maintain law and order in villages. Hence, traditional authority of headman is eroding.

Traditional headman of village along with elder's council is assisted by village functionaries namely '*Barika, Challan / Salan* (village servants) and *Pujari*'. Usually '*Barika*' a Valmiki tribesman communicates the message of village headman to all villagers and arranges a meeting at the centre of village called '*Saduru*' which is usually situated near a deities place or in-front of village headman's house. The place is either a platform or open ground with stone seats on sides where village council members sit during meetings while people sit on the floor in the *midde* of the '*Saduru*' listening or communicating with village headman and elder members of village council. Another village functionary is *Challan / Salan* who assists *Pujari* in making arrangements for rituals of village deities and celebration of festivals. Usually *Barika* of village belongs to Valmiki which is considered to be the lowest ranked tribe. While *Challan / Salan* may be from a Bagatha or any other tribe such as Kotia, Nuka Dora, Konda Dora, but not from beef and pork eating tribes such as Kondh, Samanta, Valmiki, etc. since he has to carry sacred food items like milk, rice, jaggery, fowl, vegetables, etc. for offering to village deity. *Pujari* is a respected functionary who performs prayers, sacrifice (oblation) to village deities on behalf of villagers for their welfare.

The *Pujari* receives honour and respect from all people. Generally, most *Pujaries* are Bagathas in Bagatha dominated villages. The office of *Barika, Challan* and *Pujari* are also hereditary and succession is by the eldest son. If the traditional functionary does not have sons, his younger brother or his sons or his lineage members will succeed. Of late, due to higher education and migration for employment and other reasons, some sons (younger generation) of traditional functionaries exhibit reluctance or indifference for their traditional duty. In such case, the headman of village in consultation with others finds a suitable person to fill their place. Of late, *Pujari* is replaced by plains caste Brahmin priest (*Purohit*) in some villages. It is obligatory of all village households to pay in kind such as grains, produce, vegetables, etc., after harvest or cash annually for the services of *Barika, Challan* and *Pujari*. After introduction of PESA (*Panchyat* Extension of Scheduled Areas) Act in 1996, the Govt. has made it mandatory to discuss several important issues in traditional *Gram Sabha* for ensuring self governance. Approval of *Grama Sabha* for under taking any development activity is a must. Similarly the scheduled tribes and other traditional forest dwellers act (Recognition of Forest Right Act, 2006), enacted by parliament of India has also mandated approval of *Gram Sabha* to protect rights of tribes by assigning forest lands cultivated by tribes prior to 13th December, 2005. Also common areas such as grazing lands, temple lands, community lands, etc. belong to the village community are to be managed jointly. As such importance of the role of traditional headman, elders of village and *panchayat* authorities are

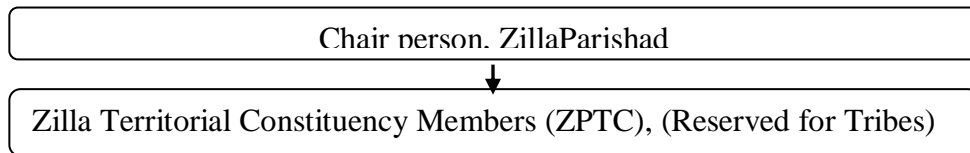
well recognised in grievances of land alienation, developmental programmes, housing schemes, etc. However, meetings of the *Grama Sabha* which are supposed to be held in villages are being held at faraway *panchayat* headquarters or Mandal head quarters for the convenience of Govt officials and forest department officials without any notice to people in the village or traditional heads.

In some villages there are some wise men with knowledge about planetary movements (astrologer) and movement of stars who is referred to *Disari*, also called ‘*Guru* or *Guruvu*’ who fixes auspicious time and date for various life cycle events and rituals such as puberty, naming, marriage, death ceremony, etc. and conduct prayers and rituals. *Guruvu* is also called *Muhurthagadu* or *Desari*. Now a day, Brahmin *purohit* from plain areas are also consulted for officiating marriage by several well to do Bagathas. *Guruvu* or Astrologer may belong to any tribe whose office is not hereditary. Those interested may take training and practice the profession as part time job. In addition, traditional healers in some villages (*Yejjodu*) provide herbal medicines and heal few health problems by chanting hymes by tieing amulets, talismans, etc. These people have traditional knowledge of various ethno-medicinal plants and preparation of formulations from leaves, bark and root of plants. Also faith healer (*Shaman*) exists in few villages who assume powers to drive away malevolent sprits/ ghosts from a person suffering mental sickness, who is referred to *BhoothaVydyudu*. They are also called ‘*Mantragadu*’. Tribes recognise and believe the authority of traditional functionaries such as *Guru*, *Yejjodu*, *Mantragadu*, etc and seek their services. *Guruvu*, *Yejjodu* and *Mantragadu* may belong to different tribes whose office is not hereditary.

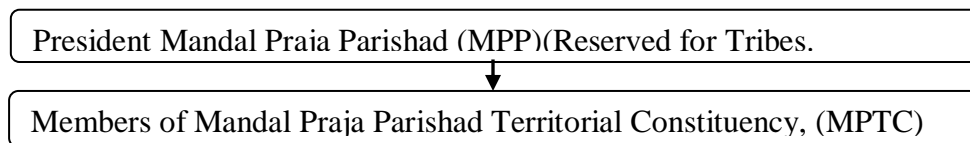
Now a day, due to improved communication, plains caste Brahmin is slowly replacing traditional *Guruvu*. Auxiliary Nurse Mid-wife (ANM), village health assistant/ Doctor in primary health centre are consulted for major ailments. Still tribes seek the services of *Yejjodu*, the herbal medicine man and *Mantragadu* in many remote areas although the numbers of men extending such traditional services have diminished due to indifferent attitude towards the traditional knowledge by the younger generations. Soon the traditional knowledge and practices may vanish altogether if not documented by videograph of procedures from existing practitioners.

The political structure and leadership among Bagatha and other tribes of this region:

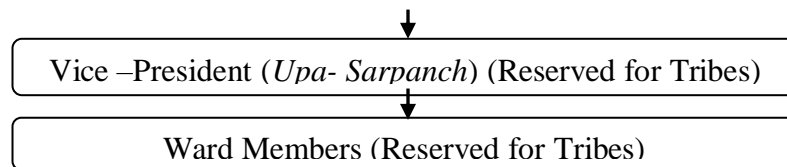
1. One elected member of Araku parliamentary Constituency (M.P), independently represents the tribes of the region at National level (Reserved exclusively for tribes).
2. Two elected members of Legislative Assembly (MLA), independently represent tribal people at state level(Reserved exclusively for tribes).
3. Several elected members of ZillaParished Territorial Constituency (ZPTC) represent tribes at district level



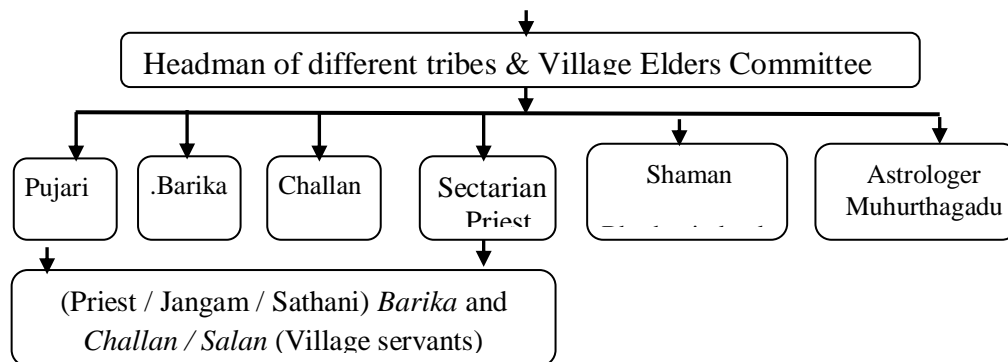
4. Eleven elected Mandal Praja Parishad Presidents (MPP) and several members of Mandal Praja Parishad Territorial Constituency (MPTC) represent at mandal level.



5. Elected *Panchyat* President (*Sarpanch*)(Reserved for Tribes)



6. Simultaneously, age old traditional hereditary leadership at village level exists. Traditional Village Headman (*Naidu*)



Grama Sabha Members: *Panchayat* President (*Sarpanch*), Traditional village Headman, Village elders and Headmen of different tribes, Forest official, Revenue official, adult members of Village will form the Grama Sabha.

CHAPTER-IX

LEISURE, RECREATION, CHILD PLAY; INTER COMMUNITY REALTIONS AND SOCIAL REFORMS

Leisure, Recreation and Child Play:

Adult Bagathas are engaged in agricultural activities like ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting, procuring fodder to cattle, fire wood for fuel, collection of minor forest produce, visiting weekly shandy, etc. Women are hard working, who are engaged in sweeping floor, cleaning utensils, cooking, cleaning of house and cattle shed, caring of the children and participating in agricultural activities during the day. Literally women do not find leisure time except during pregnancy, that too at seventh - eight month period. Some women attend to repair of baskets, prepare brooms / adda leaf plates, etc. Only after supper women find some leisure time. However, men are busy only during ploughing, sowing and harvesting seasons. In other seasons men stay at home, while their women are engaged in agriculture activities. Relatively men enjoy more leisure time than women. During leisure time men repair or prepare musical instruments, toys to children or gather at *Saduru* or common place and spend time smoking cigar, chatting with friends for time pass. They also discuss general issues. During February- March, Bagatha men and women get leisure time and attend to the minor repairs to house and cattle sheds. Men go to festive hunting, while women engage in swinging on ropes tied to branches of trees during *itukala pandaga*. During evening hours men, women and children participate in *Dimsa* dance. Most Bagatha men consume alcoholic drinks and sleep at home. Playing cards or other gambling games are not found among Bagatha. However, they play solo musical instrument flute made of bamboo locally called *Bavsi* and *Ramgunta*. Women spend time grooming their hair, washing clothes, dusting and cleaning, smearing floor, etc. Young children learn initial steps of *Dimsa* dance from experienced people and dance during night before going to bed. Men and women also engage themselves in singing during their leisure time. Usually young boys and girls sing songs together along with light music and dance to the tune of music. Some boys visit their kin's families in the neighbouring villages to enjoy leisure. Many go to nearby forest to practice hunting or hunt some birds or animals during their leisure. All the children above 5 years age go to primary school where they participate running, jumping and other games after class hour. Usually children below 10 – 12 years play hide and seek, thief and police, mom and dad, *kabadi*, *coco*, tug of war, *raja rani*, *thokkudubilla*, different types of *ludo*, etc. Boys specially play *gotibilla*, *kappaganthulu*, gully sport, spinning top, hitting round marbles (*goli*), climbing tree branches, swinging, playing with cycle tyre, etc. The children between 3-

5 years age go to pre- school(Anganawadi) where variety of outdoor games such as sliding, swinging, rotating, etc. are available to play. Children also play with variety of indoor toys.

Inter- Community Relations:

Bagathas invite all communities in the village for marriage celebrations in their house. Plains caste Kapus also participate in the community feast. Goldsmith /Black smith communities, potters (*Kamsali* and *Kammari*) who serve Bagatha are given raw food to be cooked in their house. Of late, all communities are participating in community feast. The potter (*Kumarri*) supplies new earthen pots for cooking and decoration at marriage pandal who is paid in cash for pots supplied or in kind (grains) annually. The Valmiki tribe people serve as musicians during the marriage or funeral ceremony. Now a day, musical band party from plain areas are brought for playing music during marriage ceremony. The Valimiki music party will be presented with cash and new clothes during marriage, death ceremony and village festivals. The Valmiki musicians, *barika* and *challan*, the village servants are paid annually in kind in the form of food grains. Cooked food is served separately for Valmikis during ceremonies. The tribesmen present some measures of food grains, vegetables, etc. to the host during life cycle ceremonies. The communities who accept cooked food will attend the feast during ceremonies and those who do not accept cooked food are given raw food grains and vegetables to be cooked by them at their respective homes. In case of death in the village all the villagers irrespective of community status condole the bereaved family. The bearers of bier belong to lineage members or that specific tribesmen of deceased only. The bereaved family will be provided assistance in the form of food grains and vegetables. However, social distance is practiced in all social customs by set limits. Usually Valmikis and Ghasis who are considered inferior communities are not allowed into house by other tribes and are expected to stay outside the host's house. However, during festivals all the community people participate in *dimsa* dance together. Valmikis are not allowed to touch the village deities, food intended for offering to deities and cooked food intended for serving to superior status tribes. *Barika* is not allowed to carry the ceremonial offerings to deity. Only *challan* will carry offerings to deity. Even in the traditional political set up Valmiki have their own headman who is not part of village council and even the cattle herder to tend cattle is separate for Valmiki households. Other tribes used to be less intimate with Valmikis in the past. Self imposed restrictions and traditional customs followed by Valmikis seems to have contributed to limited intimate social interaction between Valmiki and other tribes. Of late, Valmikis due to numerical dominance and better education status are getting elected to positions of statutory Panchayat, Mandal Praja Parishad, Zila Praja Parishad and members of legislative

assembly (MLA) which changed the traditional political system. In villages with Goudu population who serve as cattle herder for all communities except Valmiki receive grains annually for their service. For the service and mutual help by the neighbours or villagers in agricultural operations, a feast will be arranged by beneficiary to all who helped the family. No one can survive in tribal/agency area as an individual independent of other's help. For long standing uninterrupted mutual help, the communities have developed certain ritual mechanisms intended to sanctify friendship between families.

Bond friendship (*nestham*) is one such sacred mechanism. During *Balii panduga* the heads of two *nestham* families exchange the immersed saplings ceremonially in the name of god. Bond relationship cuts across all caste or tribal barriers and nurtures harmonious inter-community relations by exchanging or presenting goat, vegetables, grains, etc. during festivals and ceremonies. Tribes in the past used to excommunicate individuals or families if they violate traditional marriage rules and impose penalty or fine. By paying fine (*kulathapu*), family may get re-admission into their tribe. Community status holds sway in the social set up although weakening gradually during the 21st century due to social, political, economic and educational awareness. Usually, Bagatha man is the headman of the village who takes all decisions in consultation with headmen of other tribes to settle inter-tribal disputes amicably. Usually after hearing complaints of both parties at *Sadaru* of village, the village elder's committee chaired by the Bagatha headman or village headman will award a judgement which is binding on all. The penalty is paid in kind or cash to the aggrieved party or to the village council depending on the dispute. In the past, village council decisions used to be unquestionable and should be complied with. Of late, if the aggrieved or accused party is not satisfied with the judgement they may seek justice in the court of law. The Bagathas being a superior tribe receive respect from all other tribesmen. All the tribal groups inhabiting a village, mutually help each other in times of need and work hand in hand in all agricultural operations without any distinction. They lend bullocks, agriculture implements and seeds to fellow tribal households. The blacksmith (*kamasali*) supplies agricultural implements and also attends to repairs, sharpening of knives, and implements who is customarily paid in kind such as paddy, corn, etc. annually during harvesting season depending on the land holdings or volume of work done by the blacksmith.

Social Reforms:

In the past, tribes were not aware of birth control measures through artificial methods. Bagathas used to consider stopping pregnancy sin. They use to have at least four to six

children. Now women undergo tubectomy after two deliveries. In the past, child marriages used to exist but not frequent among Bagathas. After the restrictive influence of child marriage act, girls are married after puberty and most boys and girls get married after attaining at least eighteen / twenty years. In the past, payment of bride price (*voli*) was in vogue. Now *voli* is symbolically paid as a traditional custom in many educated Bagatha families, while *dowry* (bride groom price) has slowly infiltrated among Bagatha. Extremist *Mavoist* movement used to be in full swing in Koyyuru, Chinthapalle, Araku and Munchaingput areas. Even in recent times a serving MLA and Minister for Tribal welfare, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh and another former MLA were killed by extremists in Dubmriguda mandal during September 2018 indicating their presence and hold in Paderu ITDA, especially in Munchingiput mandal.

CHAPTER X

DEVELOPMENT, CHANGE, TRANSFORMATION, PAST AND PRESENT

Development and Change:

The author has observed a clear transformation among tribes which is also perceived by older generations specially in the life style of Bagatha tribe. The intervention of ITDA and Tribal Welfare Department has changed the infrastructure in the villages by connecting the rural areas with good road network, electricity and mobile communication. Due to opening of market facilities, the tribes came into contact with non-tribes people from plains area and absorbed or imitating alien culture specially dressing pattern, hairstyle, ornaments, modern electronic appliances, etc. The mobile / smart phone and television provided the video / audio images of all the cultures to the tribesmen. There is a sea change in the dress styles of young boys and girls. Social rules, taboos and restrictions on tribe endogamy is diluting slowly. Dowry system has cropped into Bagatha society in the place of 'oli' although formal traditional symbolically 'oli' exists. Women do not tolerate polygyny any more among Bagatha. Joint family system has weakend. Commensal relations with other hierarchically lower ranked tribes are tolerated. Consumption of milk has increased. The supply of rice at a relatively *cheaper* price through the PDS has brought a phenominal change in diet pattern. Slowly the millet consumption is decreasing while rice has become the staple food of Bagathas now. The establishments of PHC, health worker, ANM have brought health awareness among tribes and hence all most all births are occurring in the hospital only. The tribes either visit PHC or health worker visits tribe families for treatment of diseases. The Bagathas also consult private qualified specialist doctors for serious diseases, although use of herbal extracts for minor ailments exists even now. The intervention of ITDA / Agriculture department has changed the tribal economy. The Bagatha of Koyyuru mandal are showing interest in horticulture and a majority Bagatha own cashew plantations on the foot hills in Koyyuru mandal. They are also cultivating commercial crops like cotton vaiginia tobacco, while Bagatha from Paderu / Araku and Chinthapalle region cultivate cash crops such as coffee, pepper, spices, ginger, turmeric, sweet corn, etc. replacing millets and traditional pulses. Now tribes depend on agriculture department for seeds and fertilisers bringing them from traditional self sufficiency to modern dependency. The tribes used to be independent and maintain / manage their own stock of seeds for next season / year and prepare organic manure on their own. The development, change and transformation among Bagatha is presented point by point in the following table under past and present headings.

Sl. No	In the past	Sl. No	At present
1	There was no road connectivity to most villages except foot trails to reach villages	1	Black top road or katcha road is laid to many villages
2	All the houses used to be thatched with mud or wattle walls.	2	Most houses are tile or asbestos sheet roofed and a few RCC structures.
3	<i>Oil lamps (Buddi</i> or lantrine) were used for lighting in the house	3	All houses have electrical connection and electric bulbs are used for lighting
4	There were no street lights in the village	4	Most villages have electricity and LED street lights
5	There was no transportation facility to villages. Only by walk people reach villages.	5	Bus and private transport vehicles ply to villages regularly for transporting people and agricultural produce.
6	Only stream / spring or dug well was the source of drinking water	6	Common bore well, tube well, or tap water are sources of drinking water in many villages
7	There was no communication equipment like phone or mobile or network connectivity	7	People own mobile phones in many villages and mobile network is available in several villages.
8	Moon light activities like playing, singing, acting, dance, puppet shows, imitation, comedy, music, magic, etc. were traditional entertainment.	8	Now many households have television and are busy watching movies, serials or other programmes. Hence interest is not shown to traditional entertainment.
9	There were no electrical appliances owned by the households.	9	Several households own appliances like Fan, TV, Mixer, Grinder, Music Players.
10	Only crude traditional agricultural implements were used.	10	Mini-Tractors, tillers, mini ploughs, improved ploughs, etc. are also used.
11	There was no special nutrition supplement for children and pregnant women	11	Special nutritious food to children and pregnant women is available through ICDS Anganwadi programme.
12	Deliveries used to be conducted at home by elderly woman or <i>boddu buddi</i> .	12	Deliveries are conducted at PHC or hospital by trained nurse or doctor.
13	Umbilical cord used to be cut with knife or sickle or sharp bamboo strip.	13	Umbilical cord is cut with surgical blade in the PHC / hospital.
14	Apply castor or gingily oil on cord after cutting for healing.	14	Apply antiseptic ointments or lotion on cord after cutting at hospital or home.
15	Cord and lochia fluid used to be disposed within the compound in a pot	15	Cord and lochia fluid are disposed as hospital bio-waste.

	or dug pit.		
16	Tribes not aware of birth control measures and consider stopping pregnancy, a sin	16	Women adopt tubectomy and do not consider it a sin
17	Midwife used to feed few drops of castor oil to the newborn infant.	17	Feed colostrums to newborn infant in hospital or as suggested by health worker.
18	There were no village health workers available. Traditional <i>Yejjodu/Shaman</i> used to be consulted.	18	Village health worker is available to counsel sick people.
19	Faith healing by <i>Shaman</i> who provide <i>talismans and</i> armlets was prevalent and <i>Yejjodu</i> used to provide herbal medicines.	19	Bagathas consult doctor and use tablets, modern medicine and injections.
20	Indigenous tribal Astrologer/ <i>Desari</i> used to judge planetary movement based on the time of birth, and puberty. Priest / <i>Disari</i> used to fix auspicious time.	20	Brahmin <i>purohit</i> or professional astrologer is consulted to find planetary movements and fix auspicious time and day for various events.
21	Strict tribe endogamy was the norm	21	Tribe exogamy is tolerated
22	Child marriages were prevalent	22	Most marriages are adult marriages
23	Bride price was compulsory	23	Bride price is symbolic and dowry is demanded by educated and employed boys
24	Payment of compensation (Traditional <i>maganali</i>) in case of remarriage of divorcee / separated woman or widow was in vogue	24	Widow is permitted to marry without pressing for compensation from current husband
25	Polygyny was frequent	25	Most marriages are monogamous type
26	Joint families used to exist	26	Most families are nuclear
27	Marriage by capture and exchange were existing	27	Marriage by capture are not reported
28	Bagatha do not accept cooked food from other tribes which was followed strictly.	28	Bagatha accept cooked food from Konda Kapu and educated Bagatha people eat in houses of friends from other tribes.
29	More restrictions and rules in inter-dining among tribes.	29	Inter - dining restrictions are frequently violated.
30	Millets used to be the staple food	30	Rice is slowly replacing millets
31	Used to follow strict norms in commensal	31	Slightly diluted commensal rules are observed
32	There was no habit of drinking milk	32	Now tribes drink milk with tea/ coffee.
33	Women wear traditional dress, a sari up to knees and the free ends tied by knot on shoulder without blouse (<i>Addukattu</i>)	33	Girls wear modern plains dress, while women wear sari similar to plains style
34	Traditional hair style with bun (packed) on occiput was prevalent among women.	34	Modern plait or hair tucked with hairpin by women is observed
35	Traditional rice beer/palm sap (toddy) caryota sap (<i>jeelugukallu</i>) alcoholic drinks used to be consumed	35	Bottled alcoholic drinks have replaced rice beer.
36	Smoking cigar by men, women and	36	Smoking tobacco has declined

	children was common sight		
37	Zamindari / Muttadari system existed	37	Zamindari / Muttadari system abolished
38	Authority of headman was strong	38	Authority of head man is diluting slowly
39	Cooking gas was not available. Firewood was only source of fuel.	39	Cooking gas is used by some households along with firewood
40	Settlements used to be clustered with demarcated streets for each tribe	40	Govt. housing scheme provided houses without any demarcation of tribal status
41	Strong oral tradition existed to pass on origin, history, traditions, customs, etc. to next generation	41	People are not aware of their origin, history although many traditions and customs are followed with modifications.
42	Strong traditional knowledge on ethno-medicine existed in the form of <i>Yejjodu</i>	42	Importance of <i>Yejjodu</i> has declined due to health worker / doctors. Traditional knowledge is slowly vanishing
43	Frequent social and public gatherings used to be conducted at <i>Saduru</i> in villages.	43	Social / public gatherings have become occasional except during festivals.
44	Use of traditional musical instruments was frequent	44	Modern musical instruments are replacing traditional musical instruments.
45	Use of earthen pots or aluminium utensils was prevalent.	45	Earthen pots, Steel, brass, aluminium and plastic utensils are used
46	Tattooing was common among tribes.	46	Tattooing is relatively rare
47	Traditional <i>doki, dippa</i> made of dried shells of gourds were used by most households	47	Usage of <i>doki, dippa</i> , is replaced by tumbler or plastic mugs
48	Wild boars, cheetahs, peacocks, <i>kondagorre, kanusu</i> and wild birds used to move in the forest	48	Mostly monkeys are observed in the forest. Wild animal population has dwindled
49	Knowledge in self made natural domestic articles existed with sustainable technology	49	Dependency on manufactured modern domestic articles is increasing.
50	Used to grow millets, paddy, pulses and oil seeds for self consumption.	50	Commercial crops like ginger, turmeric, sweet corn, coffee, black pepper, etc. are cultivated in addition to millets, paddy and pulses.
51	Tribal boys and girls were engaged only in traditional agricultural operations.	51	Boys and girls are acquiring knowledge and skills from school and college.
52	Very few men used to be employed outside their village	52	Relatively more men and women are employed as teachers, GCC workers, police and forest officers.
53	Very few non-tribe households used to live in the road side villages	53	Relatively more non-tribal families are found in road side villages
54	There were no religious conversions.	54	PVTGs are converting to Christianity
55	There were no churches in villages.	55	Churches are found in many villages

CHAPETR-XI

SUMMARY

Bagatha are a Telugu speaking scheduled tribe population inhabiting hill tracts of Eastern Ghats in Visakhapatnam district. They are also called as Bagata, Bogatha, Bhagatha, Bhaktha or Bakta. As per Thurston (1909), Bagathas are hill cultivators in the agency tracts accounting their name by the tradition that they served with great devotion (*bakti*) the former rulers of Golugonda and Madugole, who made grants of land to them in 'Mokhasa' tenure. Bagathas consider themselves to take the rank of soldiery. In appreciation of the military services, the chieftains appointed Bagathas as local chiefs, 'Muttadhars' of hill tracts, who claimed themselves as warrior tribe and acquired supremacy in the tribal area over a time span from the late 17th century to the late 20th century (Reddy, AM, 1972).

The traditional headman of many tribal villages in Paderu ITDA area is Bagathas. They used to suffix a title after their first name such as *Padal, Naidu, Raju, Dora, or Patrudu*. They eke out their livelihood as cultivators of flat lands and hill slopes locally known as 'garuvu' and 'kondapodu' respectively. However, several Bagathas living in valley or by the side of streams or springs cultivate paddy, oil seeds, turmeric, sweet corn, etc. in wetlands or terrace lands.

Although Reddy, A.M (1971) mentioned that there were two sub-groups namely Raja Bagatha (*PeddaBagatha*) and Redi Bagatha (*Chitti Bagatha*) in the past, Bagathas now claim to belong to only one Bagatha group without any divisions. However, a slightly elevated social status is given to village 'Pethandar' or former 'muttadhar' families who are politically, educationally and authoritatively superior in some villages, although inter-dining, inter- marriage and participation in rituals with other Bagatha families is common. The neighbouring tribes such as Valamiki, Gadaba, Porja, Konda Dora, Goudu, Konda Kapu, etc. also perceive Bagatha as land owning ryths or Kapus, who are numerically, politically and educationally dominant and also most superior tribe to all other tribes inhabiting Paderu agency. The Bagaths are perceived as Kapus, (a plains caste population) who have been appointed as revenue collectors or people who have migrated to agency from the neighbouring plain areas of the then Viziagapatam district during 18th century. In Koyyuru area even today Konda Reddies refer Bagatha settlements as Kapu dhoddi considering them as Kapus / ryths.

Bagatha are currently distributed mainly in Paderu ITDA area in Visakhapatnam district specially, Paderu, Chinthapalle, G.KVeedhi, G.Madugula, Hukumpet, Dumbriguda, Peddabayalu and Arakumandals, sparsely in Mucnhigiput and Koyyuru mandals and few border villages in East Godavari and Vijayanagaram districts. As per Census of India, 1961 there were 55,156 Bagaths (male-28,223; female-26,933) with a literacy rate of 5.98% (male - 10.70%; female-1.03%) and a sex ratio of 954 females per 1000 males. The census of India, 2011 report a total population size of 1,32,577 Bagathas (male-64,884, female-67,693) with a sex ratio of 1043 females per 1000 males. There are 1,29,722 Bagaths in Visakhapatnam district alone. Bagatha recorded a decadal growth rate of 21.65% during 1991-2001 period. The decadal growth rate, during 2001-2011, shows negative trend (-0.08%) due to decreased population size. Bagathas are the second dominant hill tribe constituting 5% of scheduled tribe population of Andhra Pradesh and 20% of scheduled tribe population of Visakhapatnam district. Excluding plains tribes such as Yerukala, Yanadi, and Sugali, the Bagatha with a population size of 1,32,577 are next to Savara who register a population size of 1,37,613 in Andhra Pradesh.

A sample household survey of Bagatha tribe conducted in November- December, 2018 reveal that about 14.67% of Bagathas are in the age group 21-25 years followed by 12.97% in the age group 26-30 years and 11.27% in age group 16-20 years. About 19% Bagathas are children below 15 years of age. Only 1.91% of Bagathas are old people aged above 60 years. About 46.42% are married out of which 7.88% are widows or widowers. A relatively higher proportion of widows (11.3%) than widowers (4.4%) are reported. The average family size is 4.06 persons. The mean number of surviving children per couple is 2 which indicate that the Bagatha population is currently at the bare replacing level. However, the positive note is that a relatively higher proportion of female children and youth who are currently under 20 years age with a sex ratio of 1314 females per 1000 males, will be prospective mothers that can contribute to future population growth rather than stagnant or depleting Bagatha population.

Bagatha people are dark brown to brown in skin colour with straight to wavy black hair, black iris, oval face, straight and medium nose, medium to wider nostrils, short to medium stature (mean height: men-158cm, women- 149cm), lighter body weight (mean body weight : men-50kg, women 42 kg), relatively broader shoulders (mean-37cm), medium pelvis and waist ; and thinner skin folds (mean -5mm). Compared to neighbouring tribes, Bagathas are relatively taller, heavier and fairer than other tribes of this region, although the anthropometric measures are slightly on lower side when compared to plains caste populations studied by

Naidu.J.M and Nani Babu, M (2011). Further the demography of Bagatha reveal that 91% are nuclear families, while 9% are vertically extended. Majority of Bagatha households (96%) have electricity connection, avail drinking water from tap (65%) or bore well (27%) and have separate toilet room (62%). Bagathas use fire wood as fuel although 7.3% families also use gas supplied in cylinders. They cook on hearth either in the open(41%) or varandah (55%) or inside the house. They live in rectangular, individual houses with one or two rooms and a front varandah. The roof of majority houses is tiled (84%), followed by asbestos sheets (13%) and a few (3%) RCC structures. Thatched roof houses are not observed in the villages surveyed during present study at Paderu ITDA.

The household survey also shows that 37.04% are illiterate (male-32.27%, female – 43.51%). Among literates 9.82% have completed higher secondary level of schoolings, 8.36% have bachelors degree, 1.09% have post graduate degree and 7.39% have professional diploma including nursing course opted by girls. The data on employment status shows that 93.1% of adults are engaged in agriculture sector, while 6.4% are employees with a slightly higher proportion of men (9.3%) than women (4.2%).

About 16.75% Bagathas do not have wet lands, while 71.92% are not cultivating *Podu* lands. Majority Bagatha have wet land along with flat dry land (74.39%). Majority of Bagatha have at least one acre of wet land and two acres of dry land. They are self sufficient sustaining on their agriculture produce for lively hood. Majority of Bagatha (55.66%) do not have debts, while 28.57% have debts ranging from Rs 1000-20,000 who have borrowed cash to purchase domestic / home appliances like TV, motor bike, etc.

Bagathas also cultivate commercial crops such as coffee, black pepper, turmeric, ginger, groundnut, sweet corn, cashew, etc. along with traditional crops such as millets (*Chodi, Sama, Gantlu*) pulses, paddy, maize, etc. They practice wet, terrace, dry and *podu* cultivation. The commercial crops have changed the economy and life style of many land owning Bagatha families. Bagatha are non-vegetarians without beef and pork. Bagatha, specially women do not accept cooked food from any other tribe. However, traditional inter-dining rules are weakening due to social and educational awareness. Several educated Bagatha men and women are employed as teachers, village revenue officers, office assistants in GCC, police, forest and other Govt. Departments. However, unemployment rate is high among educated Bagatha youth.

Literacy levels are higher than other neighbouring tribes. Educated youth are not showing interest in their traditional agriculture. Most young generation boys and girls wear modern dress and imitate styles of caste people due to the influence of culture contact with plains people, traders at shandy, in addition to television, cinema, cell phone and communication network, etc. Bagathas have established supremacy in many spheres as village level leaders, mandal level leaders and assumed the highest political positions such as Members of Legislative Assembly (MLA), etc.

There are more than 125 lineages and 20 clans among Bagathas of Paderu ITDA. They follow tribe endogamy and lineage exogamy. However, marriage pattern revealed that they strictly follow lineage exogamy but not strictly following clan exogamy like plain castes. They celebrate life cycle events such as child birth, naming, cradle ceremony, first hair removal, ear and nose piercing, puberty, marriage and death. They observe five to nine days pollution for child birth, puberty and death. They practice marriage by negotiation and marriage by elopement. However, marriage by capture is not encouraged or approved now. The procedures for most of these life cycle events are mostly similar to plains caste populations. Divorce and remarriage are permitted.

The staple food of Bagatha used to be millets of different varieties which is replaced by rice now. However, they consume gruel made of finger millet flour in the morning and rice with curries in the afternoon and night. They eat meat of goat, sheep, chicken, several wild birds and animals moving in the forest but abstain from eating beef and pork. They collect wild leaves, flowers, roots and tubers from forest and eat either cooked or raw. Forest provides supplementary food and secondary occupation through collection of non timber forest produce apart from agriculture, animal rearing and poultry.

Bagathas believe in supernaturalism, magic, witchcraft, evil eye, sorcery, luck, ghosts, shapeless phantoms, benevolent and malevolent spirits, etc. They worship nature such as mother earth, moon, sun, rivers, mountains, animals and plants in the form of totems and clans. Bagatha believe animism, a part of religion with magic as chief element. The Bagatha pantheon consists of village deities such as *Sankudevudu*, *Nishani*, *Pedda Devudu*, *Bhema Deveudu*, *Jankara Devatha*, *Nadi Devatha*, etc. along with regional gods and goddesses of Hindu religion such as *Modakondamma*, *Bhirava*, *Mutyamma*, *Siva*, *Rama*, *Lakshminarasimha*, *Satyanarayana*, *Venkatewara*, *Parvathi*, *Durga*, etc. They assign higher position to Hindu gods / goddesses than village or tribal deities. The festivals are to propitiate

village deities for the welfare of people, livestock, bumper crops and general well being although they recount Hindu deities before sacrificing a fowl (oblation) or offering any food. They invariably remember and offer sacrifice to appease ancestral spirits during certain festivals.

Bagathas observe certain taboos which are negative customs of sacred belief which are fixed in mind as superstition. The pregnant women do not eat mushrooms, eggs, meat of rabbit and peacock, etc. which are some of the beliefs. Bagathas have superstitions about human reflexes and consider inauspicious and bad omen if someone sneezes while the other is about to go on an important enterprise; cat crossing the way; sight of widow, new pots and snake; cry of owl, *Rambi* and *Dumba* birds; person coming across with fire wood or empathy pot; etc.

The astrologer / *Muhurthagadu (Disari)* fixes auspicious time and day for performing rituals, festivals, social and religious ceremonies. The *Shaman (Bhutha vydhudu)* with magical power cures disease, solve problems and troubles arising due to supernatural elements or spirits. The *Yejjudu* provides herbal medicines to cure general ailments and diseases. The Priest conducts village deity festivals namely *Chitra* festival, *Pedda Devudu* festival, *Bheema Devududu* festival, *Korra-Samakotha* festival, *Balli* or *Jankara* festival, *Nandi Pandaga*, etc.

Traditional tribal headman solves intra-family and intra - tribal disputes, village headman resolves inter-tribal issues, dishonouring or violation of traditional customs, etc. Now a day, serious cases such as murder, theft unlawful activities are referred to elected panchayat, police and courts to resolve. Indigenous native customs and traditions are slowly diluting which are replaced by alien cultural practices and life styles. Age at marriage of both boys and girls is relatively higher among Bagatha due to educational awareness. Although diluted and modified, majority of traditional customs, rituals, festivals, etc. continue to persist.

Bagathas established linkages with all other tribes and non-tribes for smooth functioning of village activities. In the past, tribes were consuming fermented rice beer and palm sap and addicted to intoxicating drinks while their precious time. The caryota palm (*jeelugu*) trees were literally cut or removed from villages and forest to bring tribes out of addiction to alcoholism. But, now the bottled alcoholic drinks have replaced traditional rice beer (*Maddikallu*) and caryota sap (*Jeelugukallu*). Smoking tobacco is on decline among Bagathas. Mobile network is accessible to several villages. Several Bagatha families own

television, electrical and electronic devices. Majority of Bagatha youth also own motor bikes for easy transportation. Oral traditions such as folk lore, tribal lore, songs, story telling, narrations on their origin, history, culture, ritual practices, indigenous knowledge on herbs and healing and health are slowly vanishing. Regular social gatherings at village centre 'Saduru' become occasional and traditional moon light night activities of entertainment such as playing traditional instruments, drums, magic, dance, comedy, imitation, mime, mono-action, singing, etc. are declining / weaning because people are otherwise engaged in watching TV, movies / videos on cell phone, etc. Bagatha speak their mother tongue Telugu and few people at Araku area in border villages Odissa state can also converse in *Adivasi Oriya*. Thus, Bagathas are a self sustaining hill tribe of Paderu ITDA, Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh.

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ANNEXURE –I

List of villages visited in ITDA Paderu and Key Bagatha informants for Ethnographic Study (2018-2019)

Sl. No	Name of the persons interviewed	Sex	Age	Name of the Village/ Mandal
1	Sagina Krishna Padal (Headman)	M	58	Bailukunchingi Chinthapalle
2.	Sagina Veeranna Padal	M	55	
3.	Sagina Dharmana Padal	M	40	
4.	Sagina Krishnaveni	F	32	
5.	Kedam Chinnalu Dora (Pojarari)	M	50	
6.	Kedam Jogirao	M	45	
7.	Sagina Krishna Padal	M	30	
8.	S. Anusara (House wife)	F	25	
9.	Sagina Pushapavathi	F	22	
1	Sagina Veerna Padal (Headman)	M	55	Vamugadda Chinthapalle
2.	Sagina Raman Padal	M	25	
3.	Dongabanti Mangamma	F	44	
4.	Setti Krupa Rani	F	25	
5.	Setti Lakshman Padal	M	28	
6.	Sagina Chinnammi	F	60	
7.	P Akkamma, (Anganwadi Teacher)	F	45	
8.	Thaggi Rambabu	M	26	
1.	Sagina Simhachalam Padal (Headman)	M	40	Pasuvula Bandha Chinthapalle
2.	Pasupulati Balayya Padal	M	40	
3	Gaduthuri Pothuraju	M	42	
4	Gaduthri Bojjibabu	M	35	
5	Sagina Satyavathi	F	50	
6	Sagina Chanti Padal	M	48	
7	Sagia Krishna Padal	M	32	
1.	Velama Rajarao	M	45	Jeerla G.K.Veedhi
2.	Velama Prasad	M	30	
3	Konthalangi Kondababu	M	40	
4	Adapa Bojjibabu	M	44	
5	Sagina Rajulamma	F	70	
6	Vodalam Appalamma	F	40	
7	Sagina Padam	F	38	
8	Thaggi Rajulamma	F	38	
9	Jartha Narayan	M	60	
10	Kakari Lakshmarao	M	40	
11	Jantharangi Nookaraju	M	50	
1.	Lakaa Ratnabai Giriputrika Mahilsamithi	F	60	Lagisipalli Paderu
2.	Lakea Krishna Patrudu	M	55	

Sl. No	Name of the persons interviewed	Sex	Age	Name of the Village/ Mandal	
3.	Vonugu Chittithalli	F	50		
4.	Seerikari Gunu Dora (Teacher)	M	40		
5.	Krishna Priya, Student	F	18		
1	Thamrbha Simhachalam	F	50	Patha Paderu Paderu	
2	Giddi Appala Naidu	M	60		
1.	Gujala Madhu Naidu (Headman)	M	60	Chompi Araku	
2.	Kodangi Lalitha Kumari (Anganwadi teacher)	F	25		
3.	Samba Gurumurthy	M	60		
4.	Gujala Lakshmi	F	35		
5.	Gamela Sujatha	F	22		
6.	Gamela Sundram	F	28		
7.	Kodangi Appalaraju(Ex-Army)	M	50		
8.	Kodangi Pushpavani	F	22		
9.	Kodangi Aswani	F	19		
10.	Boyi Pandu	M	50		
1	Bakuru Venkataramana Raju Ex-Sarpanch & (Headman)	M	45	Bakuru Hukumpet	
2	Bakuru Veerabadra Raju (Pujari)	M	46		
3	Bakuru Thodumu Raju	M	65		
4	Bakuru Pentamma	F	60		
5	Majji Ratnalamma (Ex Serpanch)	F	48		
6	Bakuru Jogiraju (Pujari)	M	48		
7	Golluri Eramma	F	49		
8	Golluri Apparao	M	55		
9	Bakuru Kusumamma	F	40		
10	Balija Savitramma	F	35		
1	Paradhani Laximipathi	M	55		Sukuru Hukumpet
2	Gathuni Venkatarao	M	36		
3	Paradhani Laximi	F	55		
4	Paradhani Vasudevudu ((Pujari))	M	55		
5	Dhanumsetti Eswara Naidu	M	35		
6	Paradhani Nelakanteswararao	M	27		
1	Matchyarasi Eswararao	M	36	Neruduvalasa G.Madugula	
2	Matchayarasi RamaRaju	M	35		
3	Matchayarasi Lalitha kumari	F	30		
4	Matchyarasi Sanyasi Raju	M	40		
1	Luvvabu Karri Dora	M	58	Sangam G.Madugula	
2	Luvvabu Appalamma	F	70		
3	Luvvabu Mathyamma	F	50		
4	Luvvabu Chandrayya	M	55		
5	Munchangi Nagaraju	M	45		

Sl. No	Name of the persons interviewed	Sex	Age	Name of the Village/ Mandal
1	Vanabangi Matya lingam	M	60	Matyapuram G.Madugula
2	Vanabangi Gouramma	F	55	
1	Segge Parameswara Rao	M	30	BandhaVeedhi G.Madugula
1	Padi Ramayamma	F	60	Ramanapalli
2	Salabam Nooka Ratnam	F	45	Koyyuru
3	Jampa Pentaiah	M	29	Ramanapalli
1	Palli Apparao	M	53	Nallagunda
2	Bachhala Jagadeshwari	F	50	Koyyuru
3	Marri Arjun	M	40	Nallagunda
4	Kanakam Ramayamma	F	56	Kuyyuru

Total : 86 Informants : (Male: 51, Female: 35)

Annexure –II List of some Brotherly lineages & Affinal lineages among Bagatha

Brotherly Lineages	Gotram	Affinal Lineages	Gotram
Sagina	Hanumanthu	Kankipati	Hanumanthu
Boru bojji	Hanumanthu	Devaraju	Hanumanthu
Kotagulli	Cow	Muttadam	Hanumanthu
Gubbaungi	Hanumanthu	Thaggi	Hanumanthu
Bonagi	Hanumanthu	Madapala	Hanumanthu
Machala	Hanumanthu	Kedam	Surabhi
Gaduthuri	Hanumanthu	Arada	Cow
Bapana	Naga	Talubu	Hanumanthu
Pothuri	Hanumanthu	Pophana	Hanumanthu
Valusuri	Hanumanthu	Gemmeli	Naga
Giddi	Hanumanthu	Mallaraju	Hanumanthu
Vanagula	Hanumanthu	Murala	Reddi
Chetti	Baliya	Konthalinge	Surya
Lalam	Naga	Vundalam	Hanumanthu
Lakea	Hanumanthu	Killo	Tiger
Bakuru	Hanumanthu	Vonugu	Elugu
Kottaguli	Hanumanthu	Tamraba	Hanumanthu
Seerikari	Hanumanthu	Adapa	Elugu
Korabu	Hanumanthu	Mattamu	Hanumanthu
Jantharangi	Surya	Palasa	Elugu
Kakari	Surabhi	Kuda	Hanumanthu
Lutha	Surya	Golluru	Hanumanthu
Salabam	Hanumanthu	Kovadam	Surabhi
Vallangi	Hanumanthu	Dongubanti	Hanumanthu
Bonangi	Hanumanthu	Kinche	Hanumanthu

PHOTOGRAPHS



Figure 1 Village entrance view of Jerrela , G.K.VeedhiMandal



Figure 2 Village view of Vamugedda, ChinthapalleMandal



Figure 3 Village view of Sukuru, HukumpetMandal



Figure 4 Village view of PathaPaderu, PaderuMandal



Figure 5 View of a village, Munchingiput Mandal



Figure 6 View of Adaparaigondhi, G.K.Veedhi Mandal



Figure 7 Asbestos sheet roofed house at Bailukunchingi, Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 8 A tiles roofed house at Vamugedda, Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 9 A tiles roofed house built with mud walls at Adaparai Goundhi, G.K.VeedhiMandal



Figure 10 RCC house of Bagatha family (live Vegetation fence) Bakuru, HukumpetMandal



Figure 11 A tiles roofed house with bath room asbestos sheets enclosed by asbestos sheets at Bakuru village, HukumpetMandal



Figure 12 asbestos sheet roofed house. Drying (*KondaKandulu*) wild peacock house, at Vamugeddavillage, ChinthapalleMandal



Figure 13 A RCC House at Bakuru village, HukumpetMandal



Figure 14 A RCC House Under construction at Bakuru Village, HukumpetMandal



Figure 15 An old Bagatha man with traditional under garment (*Gochi*) and sweat shirt





Figure 16 Facial profile of Bagatha man

Figure 17 Facial profile of Bagatha man (side view)



Figure 18 Facial profile of Bagatha woman (side view)



Figure 19 Older Bagatha Couple from Vamugedda village



Figure 20 Middle Aged Bagatha couple from Bailukunchingi village



Figure 21 Young Bagatha couple



Figure 22 Young Bagatha woman carrying her son in a sling hanging to shoulder (Araku)



Figure 23 Young Bagatha Couple from Jerrela



Figure 24 Young Bagathagirls wearing modern dress and Ornaments to ankles



Figure 25 Young Bagatha Girls wearing modern dress



Figure 26 Young Bagatha Girls wearing modern dress



Figure 27 Young Bagatha Govt. School Teachers



Figure 28 Bagatha school Children from Vamugedda



Figure 29 Bagatha woman sieving flour in Varandah of her house



Figure 30 Drying corn cobs in the Varandah. Corn seeds to be used for sowing during next season



Figure 31 Kitchen room with modern stove and gas cylinder along with utensils



Figure 32 Traditional kitchen with stove using fire wood; utensils, vessel filled with water and attic for storing agricultural / household implements



Figure 33 A Room showing bed, TV, table fan, almirah, other households articles in Bagatha house



Figure 34 A room showing bed, TV, decorative Showcase in the house



Figure 35 Worship / prayer (*Pooja*) room with photographs of Hindu gods / goddesses in the house



Figure 36 Idles of Hindu gods / goddesses



Figure 37 Woman holding pounding rod (*Kolu/Rokali*) in a stone mortar embeded on the floor



Figure 38 A woman pounding finger millets (*chollu*) with pounding rod (*kolu*)



Figure 39 Open bathing platform and utensil cleaning place



Figure 40 A kitchen garden fenced with bamboo rafters



Figure 41 A bottle guard creeper growing on pandal (with twelve polls erected at groom's house for marriage ceremony but not removed after marriage)



Figure 42 A Bagatha woman giving bath to her child at Vamugedda village, ChinthapalleMandal



Figure 43 Make shift bathing place by enclosing with used sarees and bed sheets at a Bagatha house



Figure 44 Bath room made with asbestos sheets outside the house



Figure 45 Bath and toilet rooms outside the house in Bakuru village, Hukumpet Mandal



Figure 46 A goat pen by the side of a Bagatha house



Figure 47 A Cattle shed by the side of a Bagatha house



Figure 48 Cattle shed cum open storage of fodder at Bakuru village, Hukumpet



Figure 49 Bagatha women carrying fire wood for fuel



Figure 50 A young Bagatha woman carrying fire wood for fuel



Figure 51 Storage of fire wood for fuel



Figure 52 Protected tap water at common place, PathaPaderu village, PaderuMandal



Figure 53 Protected drinking water tank in Chittampadu village, HukumpetMandal



Figure 54 A young Bagtha woman wearing modern dress, filling vessel with water from tap point, Bakuru village, HukumpetMandal



Figure 55 A Bagatha woman filling vessels with protected water from common tap at Sangam village, G.MadugulaMandal



Figure 56 A Bagatha woman filling vessels with bore water at Neruduvalasa village, G.MadugulaMandal



Figure 57 Protected drinking water at PathaPaderu village, Paderu Mandal



Figure 58 Drawing drinking water using hand pump from bore well and also cleaning utensils





Figure 59 Drawing drinking water from an open well and also washing cloths



Figure 60 Fetching drinking water from a spring point and also washing clothes at the same place



Figure 61 Washing and drying clothes at spring point

Figure 62 Traditional grinder (*Samajatha*) to de-husk *sama* millets



Figure 63 Verity of household and agriculture implements



Figure 64 Traditional Arrows used for hunting



Figure 65 An Axe used for hunting



Figure 66 Hanging Basket for hatching eggs by hen



Figure 67 Woman plastering wattle wall with mud



Figure 68 A flat Grinding stone to make paste



Figure 69 A traditional bottle guard shell (*Doky*) for drawing water from vessel



Figure 70 Earthen pot for cooking curries or gruel



Figure 71 Earthen pot for storing drinking water (also broom leaning on the entrance door frame)



Figure 72 Pots and sickles used by Bagatha



Figure 73 Traditional knives (*Baku*) used by Bagatha for fighting during war time (Bakuru, HukumpetMandal)



Figure 74 Winnowing fans, a small and big baskets woven with bamboo strips



Figure 75 Stone grinding mill at a corner of house



Figure 76 Pounding mill embedded in the floor



Figure 77 Modern musical instruments in Bakuru village, Hukumpet, Mandal



Figure 78 Musical instrument *Dappu* in different sizes and *Tammuck* in red colour used during *dimsa* dance/ village festivals



Figure 79 Traditional musical instruments (*Dolu*)



Figure 80 Traditional Dimsa dance at Bailukunchingi , Chinthaplle Mandal



Figure 81 Beating drums at Jerrela village of G.K.Veedhi



Figure 82 Traditional Dimsa dance at Bailukunchingi , Chinthaplle Mandal



Figure 83 Bagatha women from Chompi performing professional Dimsa dance at ArakuValley



Figure 84 A Bagatha man showing a musical instrument



Figure 85 An Old Bagatha widow wearing traditional anklets and rubber bangles



Figure 86 A Bagatha Widow wearing nasal rings, necklace with beads from Sangam village, G.K.Veedhi Mandal



Figure 87 A middle aged Bagatha woman wearing anklets (carrying grandson) from Sangam, G.Madugula Mandal.



Figure 88 A middle aged Bagatha woman wearing several rings & pins to ear rim and stud hanging on ear lobe



Figure 89 Woman wearing *muthukammi* to the nasal septum and rings to nasal wings



Figure 90 Woman wearing nose rings and ear rings



Figure 91 A Bagatha old woman wearing triple rings to nose, silver rings to the fingers, synthetic bangles, necklace with beads



Figure 92 Bagatha woman wearing traditional armaments



Figure 93 Bagatha woman wearing traditional armaments



Figure 94 Bagatha woman wearing traditional anklets



Figure 95 Bagatha woman wearing traditional armaments



Figure 96 Govt Primary School: Class Room



Figure 97 Smart Class Room with Computers



Figure 98 Smart Class Room with Projector and screen at Vamugedda, Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 99 Mid Day Meal programme at school



Figure 100 A Bagatha man wearing traditional dress, smoking country cigar with spade(*Oluvu*) on his shoulder, on his way to podu filed, Vamugedda, Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 101 Jungle clearing for Podu cultivation



Figure 102 Burning dried leaves and branches to make Podu plot



Figure 103 Podu plot ready for showing



Figure 104 Terrace plots for cultivation



Figure 105 Podu and terrace plots at foot hill



Figure 106 Traditional method of Ploughing dry land using cattle



Figure 107 Levelling of wet land for transplanting paddy



Figure 108 Transplanting paddy in wet land



Figure 109 Cultivation of Turmeric (commercial crop)



Figure 110 Cultivation of coffee and pepper (commercial crops)



Figure 111 Weeding in a paddy field



Figure 112 Ripe finger millet (*Chodi / Ragi*)



Figure 113 Picking sweet corn from the field



Figure 114 Women participating in cutting paddy crop / harvesting atChompi village



Figure 115 Drying paddy and ground nuts on village road



Figure 116 Drying coffee fruits, Adaparaigondhi, G.K.VeedhiMandal



Figure 117 Drying black pepper, Chompi, Araku Valley Mandal



Figure 118 Drying harvested pigeon peas fruits (KondaKandulu) at Vamugedda village, ChinthapalleMandal



Figure 119 Drying raw cashew nuts



Figure 120 Drying turmeric



Figure 121 Storing paddy in bamboo basket, Vamugedda village, ChinthapalleMandal



Figure 122 Storing pluses(*KondaKandulu*) in bamboo basket, Vamugedda village, ChinthapalleMandal



Figure 123 NishaniDevatha (Deity) under the tree at the outskirts of village



Figure 124 Village deity *Sankudevudu* at Bailukunchingi, Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 125 Village deity *GangammaThalli* at *Bailukunchingi*, Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 125 Village deity *Nisaani Devatha* at the entrance of village



Figure 126 Village deity, *Nisahani Devatha* at the outskirts of the village



Figure 127 *Sankudevudu* in the middle of Bakuru village, Hukumpet Mandal



Figure 128 A Hindu (*Shiva*) temple at Patha Paderu village, Paderu Mandal



Figure 129 *Modakondamma* Shrine at Modapalle near Minumuluru



Figure 130 *Modhakondamma* deity at Modapalle near Minumuluru



Figure 131 Spraying Malathion to drive away Mosquitoes and insets at a house



Figure 132 Private health practitioner providing medicine at home, Bailukunchingi village, Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 133 Telecommunication network tower at Bakuru village, HukumpetMandal



Figure 134 Anganwadi centre at Vamugedda village, Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 135 Primary school in Chittampadu village (Un used hand pump also in the picture), Hukumpet Mandal



Figure 136 Tapping sap (Alcoholic beverage from caryota palm in to a vessel



Figure 137 Children playing by hanging and climbing branches with the support of rope



Figure 138 Child play: climbing with the support of rope



Figure 139 Children learning steps of *Dimsa* dance from Elders



Figure 140 Domestic requirements depot maintained by Girijan Cooperative Corporation at Bakuru village



Figure 141 Modern personal transport motor bikes owned by Bagatha youth at Sukuru village



Figure 142 Traditional decoration of marriage pandal with pots



Figure 143 Decoration of marriage pandal



Figure 144 A group of Bagatha men from Vamugedda village , Chinthapalle Mandal



Figure 145 Group of Bagatha women from Vamugedda village, Chanthapalle Mandal



Figure 146 Burial place with Tombs erected for the dead