

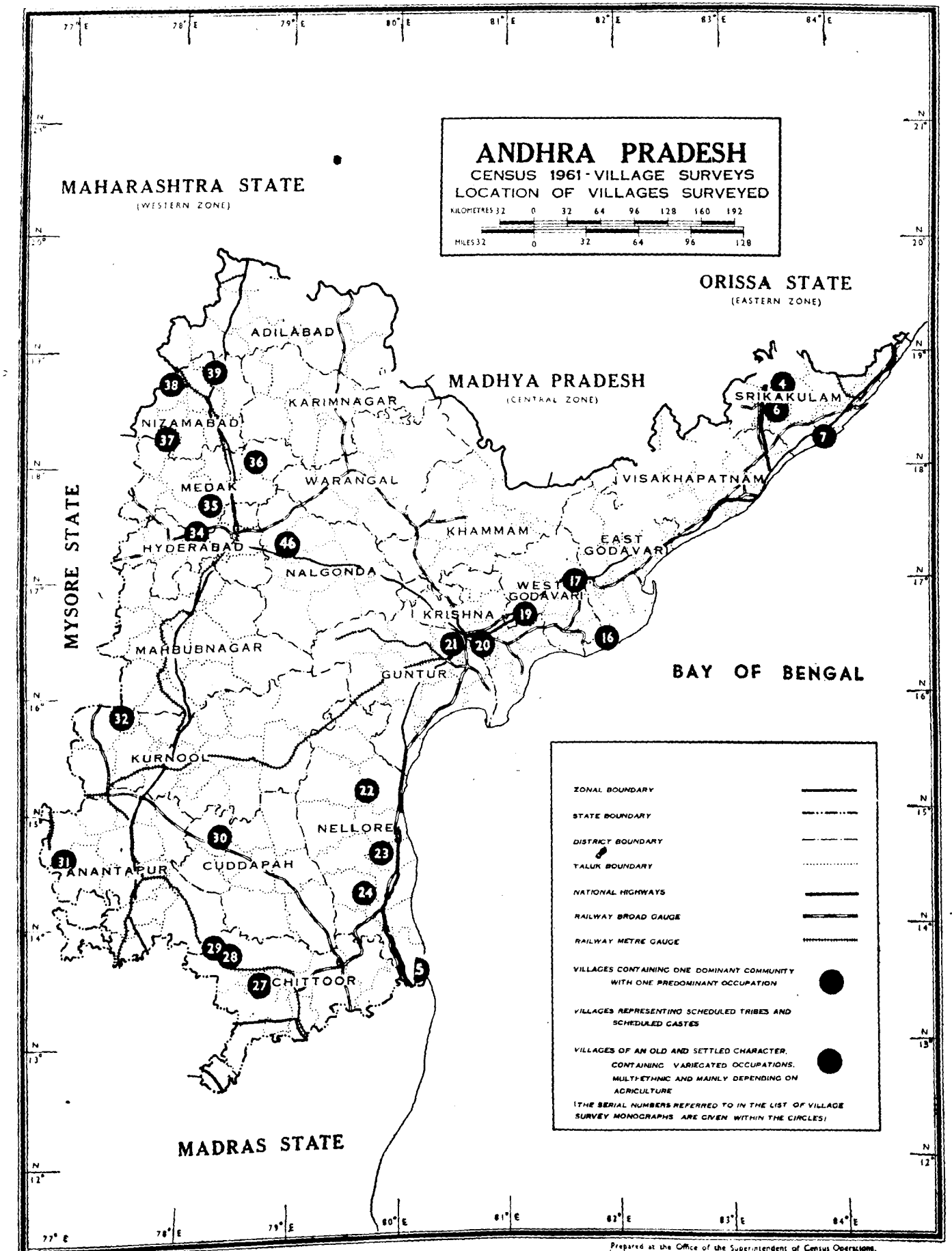
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With the compliments of
The Superintendent of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh
Hyderabad

VII
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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961—VOLUME II—PART VI—LIST OF VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS—ANDHRA PRADESH

NAME OF		SL. NO.	NAME OF VILLAGE	BRIEF DETAILS OF WHAT THE VILLAGE REPRESENTS
DISTRICT	TALUK			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Srikakulam	Pathapatnam Parvathipuram	1	Kallata	Kapu Savaras—A Scheduled Tribe
		2	Kalliti	Savaras—A Scheduled Tribe
		3	Lakkaguda	Jatapus—A Scheduled Tribe
		4	Kannapudoravalasa	A village in jute growing area
		5	Gadabayelasa, hamlet of Gumma	Gadabas—A Scheduled Tribe
Sakshapatnam	Bobbili Srikakulam	6	Karada	A Bobbili Samsthanam village
		7	Mofusbandar	A fishermen's village
		8	Kondiba †	Doms—A Scheduled Caste
		9	Gandha †	Konda Dhoras—A Scheduled Tribe
		10	Lamthampadu ‡	Kondhs—A Scheduled Tribe
East Godavari	Srungavarapukota Paderu	11	Annavaram †	Samanthus—A Tribe
		12	Makavaram	Kammaras alias Ojas—A Scheduled Tribe
		13	Jerrela ‡	Bagatas—A Scheduled Tribe
		14	Kondapalle	Koya Dhoras—A Tribe
		15	Kovilapalem	Konda Reddis—A Scheduled Tribe
West Godavari	Razole Kovvur	16	Pasarlapudilanka	A typical East Godavari delta village
		17	Unagatla* ‡	A dry agricultural village surveyed in 1917 & 1936 by the Department of Economics, University of Madras. A study of the progress made in the life of the people during 1936-62 is done
		18	Puliramudugudem	Koyas—A Scheduled Tribe
		19	Gudivakalanka	A settled village in Kolleru lake bed area
		20	Maredumaka	A settled Krishna delta village
Krishna	Guntur	21	Malkapuram	A typical tobacco growing village
		22	Ayyavaripalle	A sheep and cattle rearing village
		23	Yelamanchipadu	A settled wet agricultural village
		24	Devaravemuru	Several workers in mica industry reside in this village
		25	Rettamala	Noted for boat building industry. It also represents Yenadis, a Scheduled Tribe
Chittoor	Punganur	26	Palyampalle	Lambadis—A Scheduled Tribe
		27	Thettupalle, hamlet of Nellimanda	A village surveyed in 1916 by the Department of Economics, University of Madras. A study of the progress made in the life of the people during 1916-62 is done
		28	Panchalamarri	A village depending on tank and well irrigation
		29	Gangireddipalle	A sheep and cattle rearing village
		30	P. Sugamanchipalle	Noted for Cuddapah slabs
Cuddapah	Jammalamadugu	31	Bhairavanitippa	A dry village changing to wet cultivation under the Bhairavanitippa project
		32	Mantsala	A place of religious importance
		33	(Mantralayam) Byrlutigudem ‡	Chenchus—A Scheduled Tribe
		34	Peddamangalaram	Economy dependant on the supply of vegetables to Hyderabad city
		35	Sivanagar	Tanning industry
Nizamabad	Narsapur Siddipet	36	Habshipur	Handloom industry
		37	Banjepalle	An agricultural village on the bank of Nizam Sagar lake
		38	Pocharam	An agricultural village noted for sugarcane cultivation
		39	Kotha Armur ‡	An agricultural village partly irrigated by Nizam Sagar Canal. A comparative study of the progress made in the life of the people between 1929 & 1962 with reference to the economic investigations made by Shri S. Kesava Iyengar is done
Adilabad	Utnur	40	Bhurnur †	Gonds & Pradhans—Scheduled Tribes
		41	Vemayakunta	Mathuras—A Tribe
		42	Laindiguda	Kolams—A Scheduled Tribe
		43	Melkepalle	Thotis—A Scheduled Tribe
		44	Kishtaraopet	Naikpods—A Scheduled Tribe
Karimnagar	Manthani	45	Mattewada ‡	Koyas—A Scheduled Tribe
		46	Tallasingaram	A toddy tappers' village
Warangal	Narasampet			
Nalgonda	Ramannapet			



*Surveyed by the Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad-A.P. †Present Monograph. ‡Monographs already published.



CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME II

ANDHRA PRADESH

PART VI-VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS
SERIAL No. 40

A MONOGRAPH
ON

BHURNUR

(UTNUR TALUK, ADILABAD DISTRICT)

EDITOR

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR

OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE

Superintendent of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad



Price Rs. 4.40 P. or 10 Sh. 4 d. or \$ 1.59 c.

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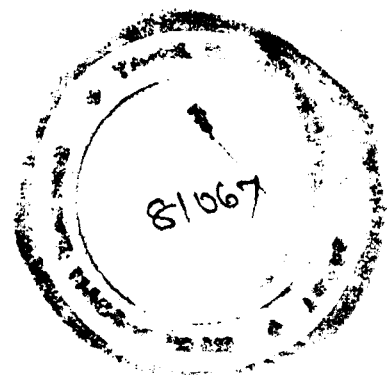
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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life – sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions.' In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralisation on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows :

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, *jhum* cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communications such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communications, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress, ornaments and foot-wear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of village statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. The

was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in Appendix II to Mattewada village monograph (Sl. No. 45).

NEW DELHI
July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

P R E F A C E

In the Foreword, the Registrar General has explained the genesis of the scheme of Village Surveys taken up as one of the ancillary studies to the 1961 Census Operations. The purposive selection of villages for the survey and the scope of the survey have also been explained.

It has been mentioned in the Preface to *A monograph on Kotha Armur*, published first in the Village Survey Monographs Series, that in this State 47 villages were selected for the survey of which 9 villages fell under the category of villages each with one dominant community with one predominant occupation, 22 villages contained numerically predominant Scheduled Tribes (two of the villages have been combined into one monograph) and 16 villages were villages of fair size of an old and well settled character containing variegated occupations and multi-ethnic in composition. Of the 47 villages, 2 villages, viz, Keslapur and Bhurnur were proposed to be covered in this monograph as both of them represented the Gonds and the Pradhans. But subsequently it was considered enough if Bhurnur village was studied in detail incorporating the importance and role of the *jatara* (annual fair) which is held at Keslapur village, in the cultural life of the Gonds and Pradhans. The net result is that Keslapur is omitted from the scope of village survey as such. This makes the total number of villages covered in the State 46 reducing the second category of villages, i.e., from 22 to 21 (17 villages with Scheduled Tribes, 3 villages with tribes not Scheduled viz, Samanthus, Koya Dhoras and Mathuras, and 1 village with a Scheduled Caste, Dombs). The present village of Bhurnur (No. 40 in the State Map before the Inner Title page gives the location of this village) covered by this monograph falls under the second category.

The selection of the villages of the optimum population size of 500 and also satisfying all other criteria, such as to be at a distance of a day's travel from the taluk headquarters and so on, was none too easy. Several villages selected had to be of a much larger size than prescribed as otherwise it was difficult to choose a village to satisfy the main purpose for which the village is selected for survey. Similarly, some interior tribal villages that were selected were necessarily smaller than the optimum population size prescribed. The villages were selected carefully having an eye on regional distribution and ecological variation, but it has not always been possible to select villages so remote as to be a day's journey from important centres of communication or administrative headquarters of a district. With the developed communications and the fast means of transport it was somewhat difficult to locate all villages uninfluenced by developmental activities. There were, of course, some villages, particularly in the Agencies which took not one day but several days to reach from the district headquarters. All the same, it is expected that the villages now selected truly represent a cross-section of the rural population of the State.

In this State, we started off with our Village Surveys under the original scheme of things under which it was expected that one Investigator should be able to cover a village in about a week or 10 days' time. Naturally a very simple skeleton schedule was adopted under which mainly the social and religious customs and habits were studied in a general sort of way. We covered quite a few villages under this old scheme and one such village surveyed is Bhurnur. A set of skeleton schedules used in this village is given as Appendix II to the monograph No. 45, Mattewada village. As explained in the Foreword, the scope of the survey went on expanding and ultimately on the basis of the conclusions arrived at the study camp held in Delhi in December 1961, a very detailed village survey schedule was drawn up. When we started canvassing this formidable schedule, we found that an Investigator was not able to cover more than one household per day! The progress was painfully slow. Even putting extra Investigators, it took several weeks to cover a village completely. As several villages had already been covered under the older scheme by the time the scope of Survey was enlarged, we were able to cover only limited number of villages canvassing this set of larger schedules which is given as Appendix III to Kotha Armur Village (Monograph No. 39). An attempt, however was made to re-survey a good number of villages already covered so as to bring them under the new method. But the limitation of time made it difficult to re-survey all of them as proposed. It will not be possible to say how many villages will ultimately be covered or resurveyed

making use of the revised enlarged schedule. Therefore the village survey monographs presented for this State will show two distinct patterns — one as covered under the old method and the other under the new expanded schedule giving very much more detailed statistical information. We have to be content in studying Bhurnur village under the old method with limited data.

Certain limitations to our efforts to achieve this ambitious task of a comprehensive socio-economic survey of villages may have to be, however, recognised. While the Investigators, who were put on the job of canvassing the schedules, were carefully chosen for their academic qualifications, experience in Community Development Organisation, or their ability and aptitude to move closely with the rural and tribal folk, live with them, gain their confidence and evoke positive response and they did observe things first hand and record their observations truthfully, they were not specialists. They had no special technical training in anthropological, sociological and demographic investigations except the knowledge and fund of experience they acquired after surveying a few villages at the present Census under the informed guidance and direction from the Officers in charge of Village Surveys. Some of their observations may not stand the minute scrutiny of an expert in a particular field but they can certainly claim to have truthfully recorded all the information they gathered first hand, and it is open to the experts to draw their own conclusion on the statistical data presented. The purpose of the present survey will be served if it has helped to give an authentic picture of the life and conditions of the people as is observed now.

The present monograph deals with Bhurnur predominantly inhabited by Gonds, a prominent Scheduled Tribe of Adilabad district which is the home of a large and solid block of aboriginal population of Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. These Gonds also known as Raj Gonds, largely speak Gondi. There has been much change in the observance of their traditional religious customs and in their outlook due to the influencing factors brought in by the plains people as well as by the development activities sponsored by the State and Central Governments.

This village was first surveyed in April 1961 by Sarvasri A. R. K. Murthy and V. D. Chary, Economic Investigators. Again in May 1964 the village was revisited for purposes of consanguineous marriages survey and collecting some more information in the light of the remarks made by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special duty, Office of the Registrar General, India, by Sarvasri V.D. Chary, M. V. S. Rai and Ch. Purnachandra Rao, Economic Investigators. The shaping of the report was attended to by Sri V. Radhakrishna under the supervision and guidance of the Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Sri K. V. N. Gowd. The preparation of tables was supervised by Sri A. Chandrasekhara Reddy. The credit for line drawings, maps etc., goes to Sri M. Krishna Swamy, the Artist. The printing was supervised by Sri P. A. Krupanandam, supervisor.

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Andhra Pradesh

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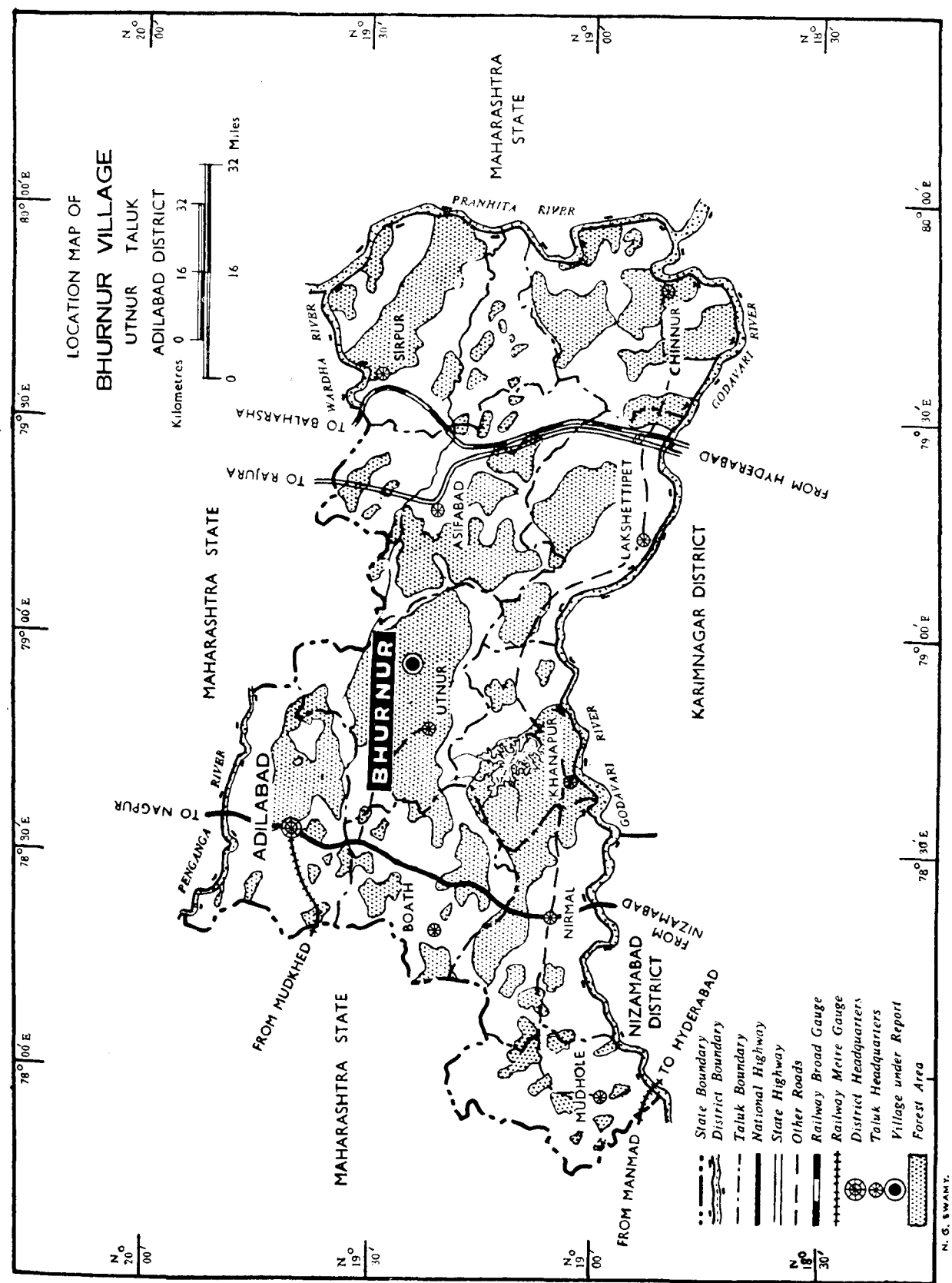
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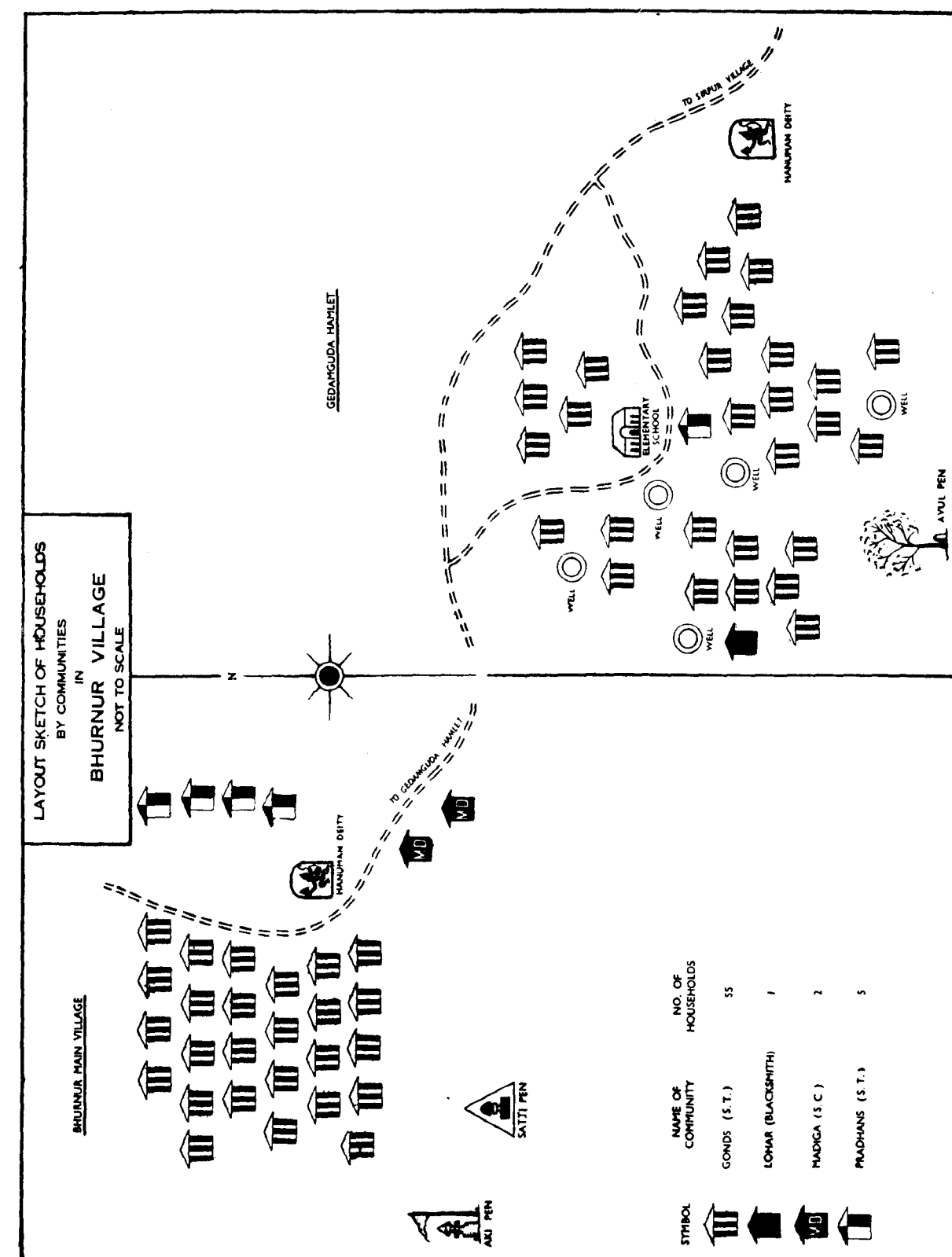
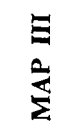
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MAP I





the line drawings in the book, *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad* by
C.V.R. Hammond have been of immense help to the artist.

—Editor

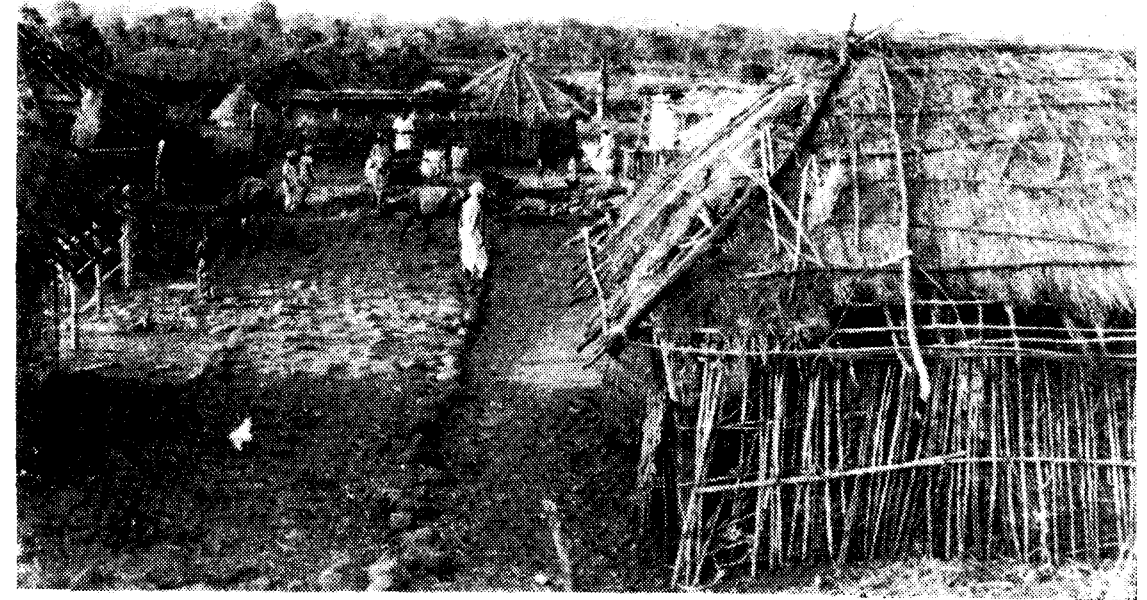


Fig. 1—A close view of the village. (*Chapter I - Para 4*)



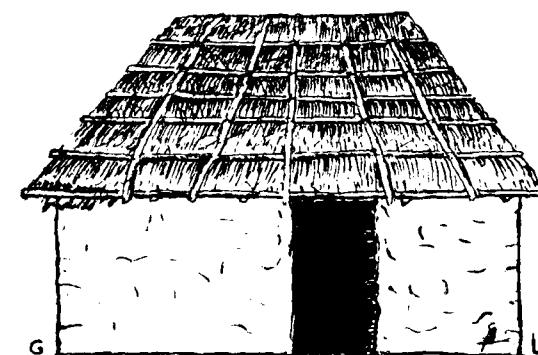
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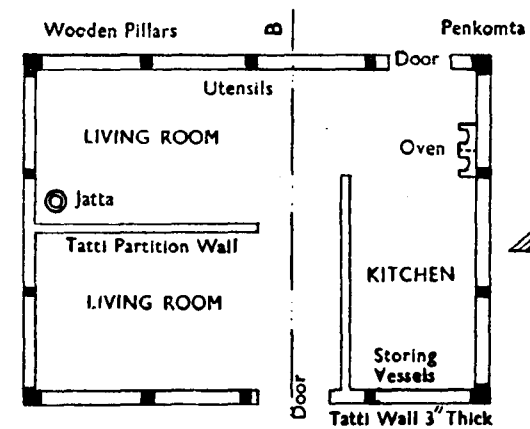
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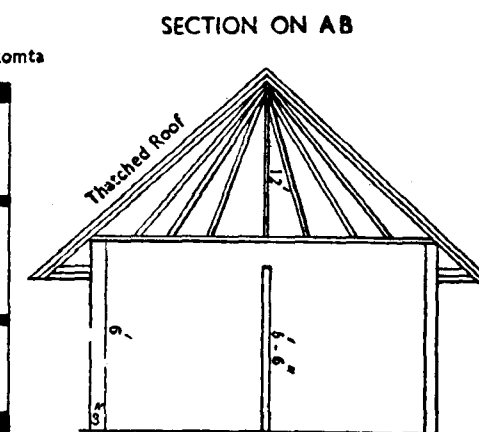
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FRONT ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN



SECTION ON AB

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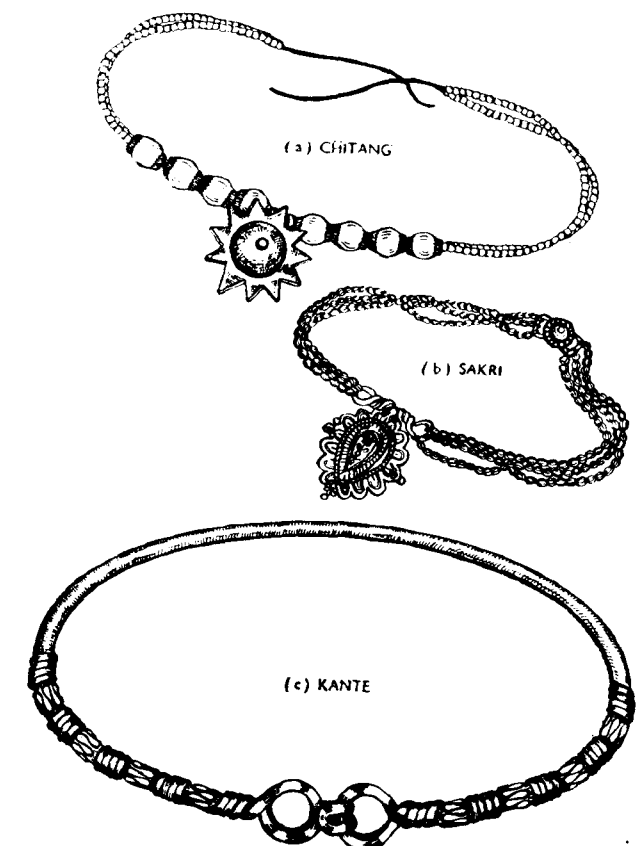


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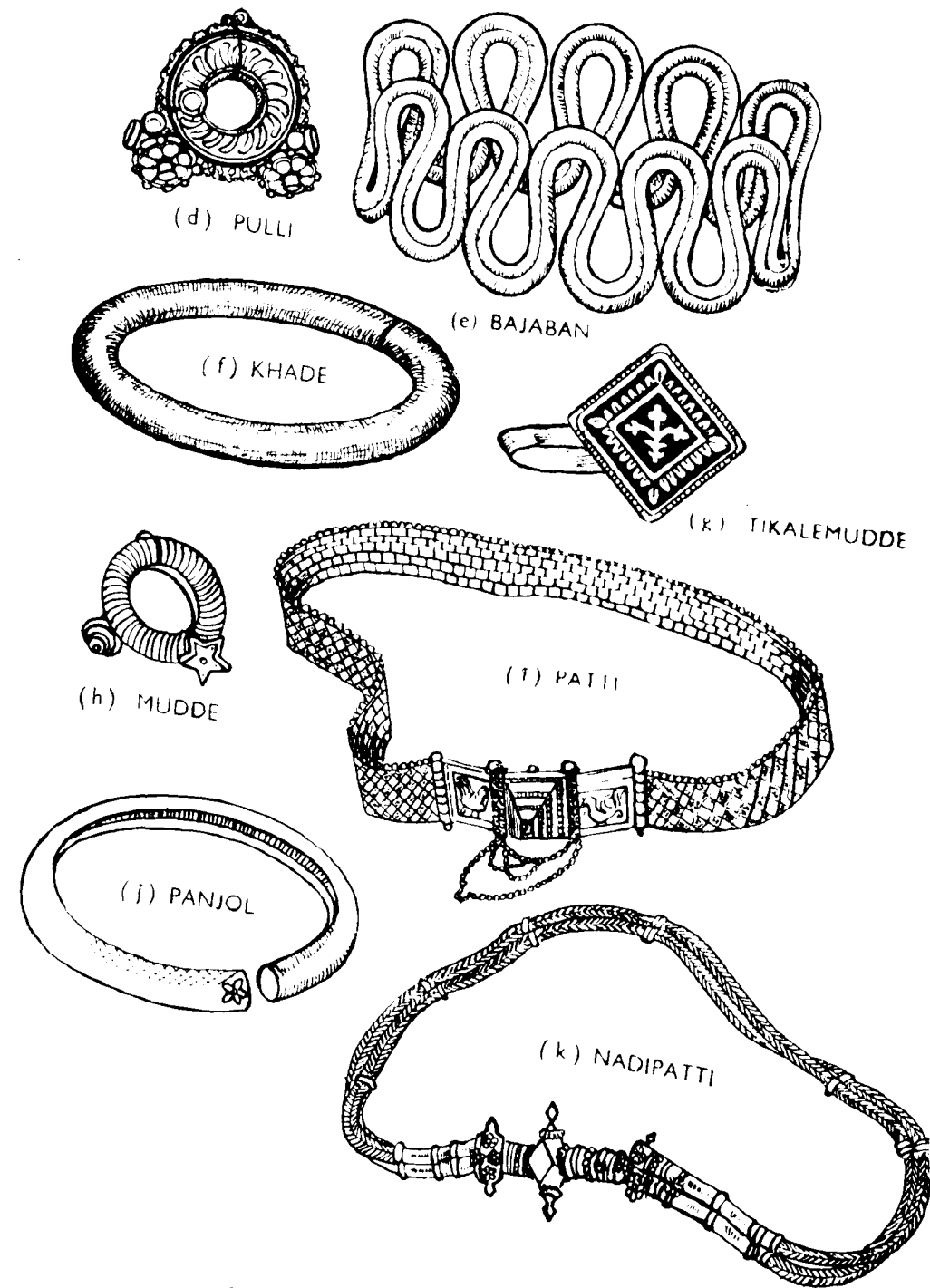


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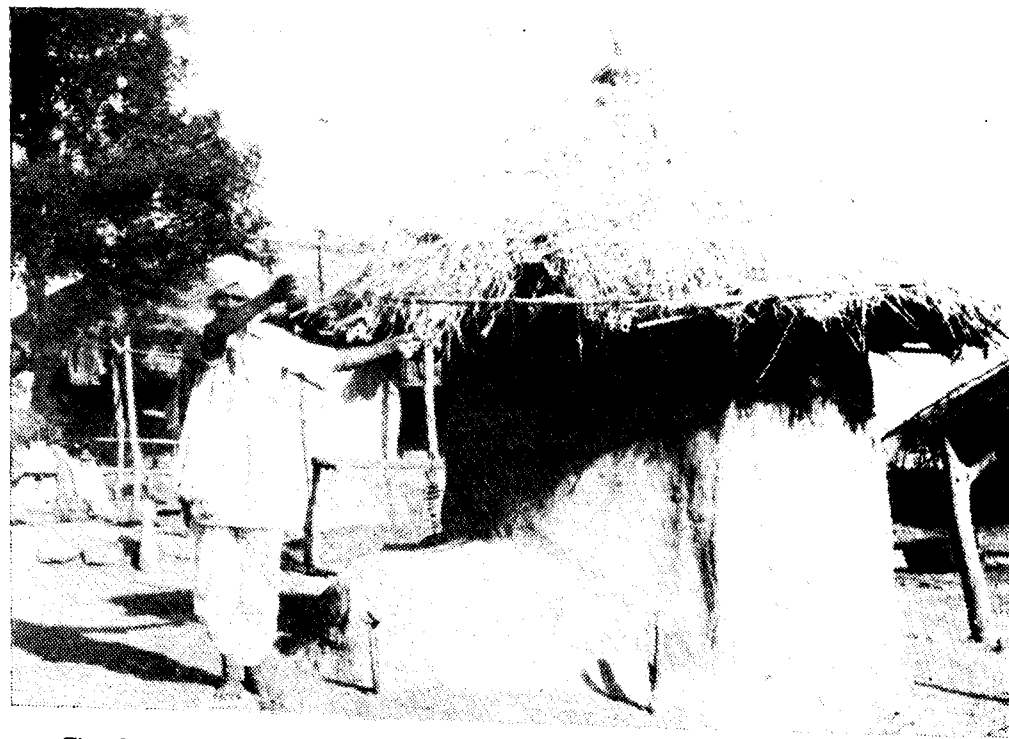


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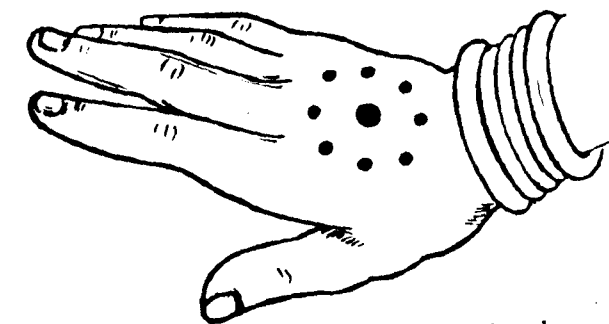


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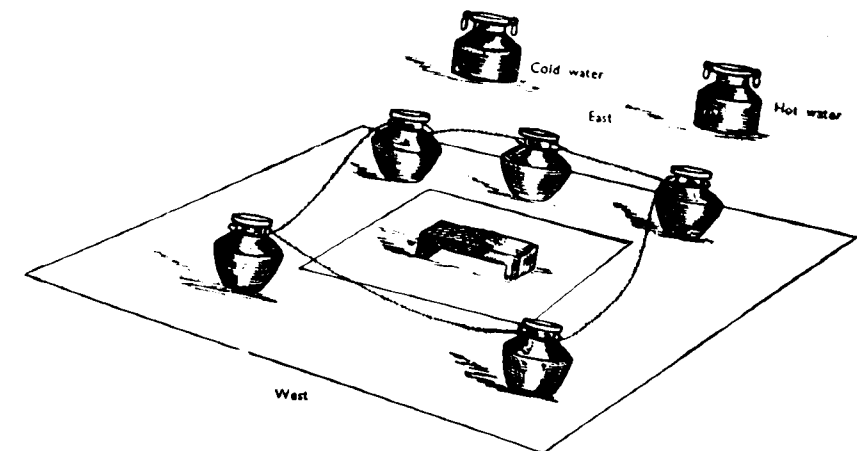


Fig. 23—Arrangement for the first ceremonial bathing of the groom.
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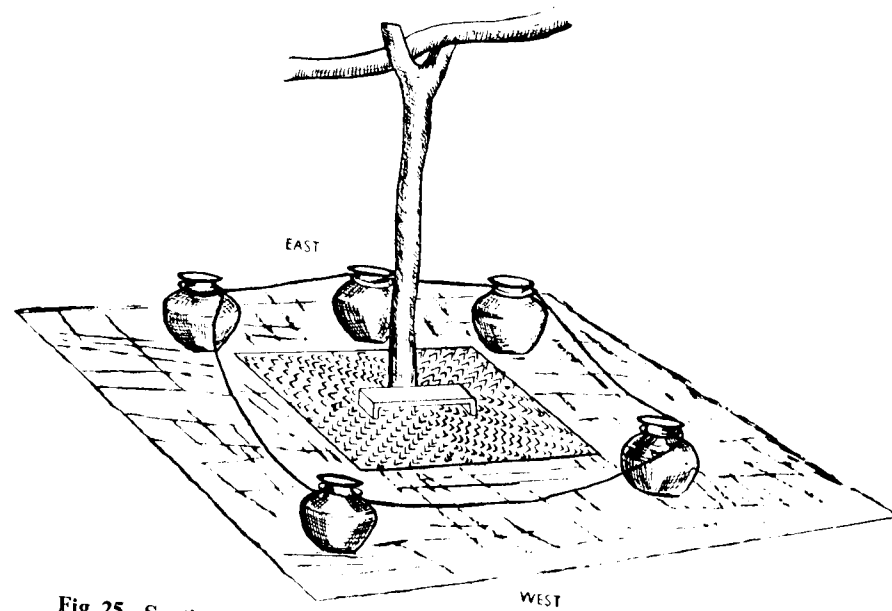


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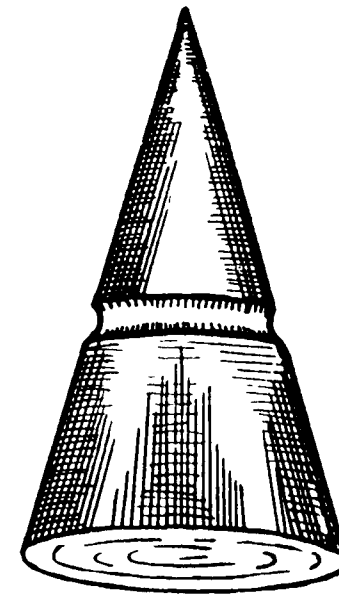


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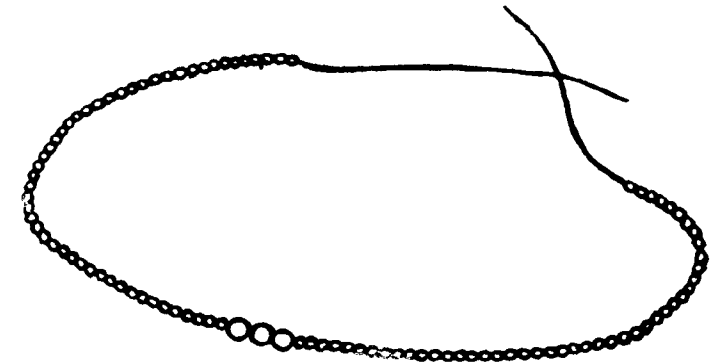


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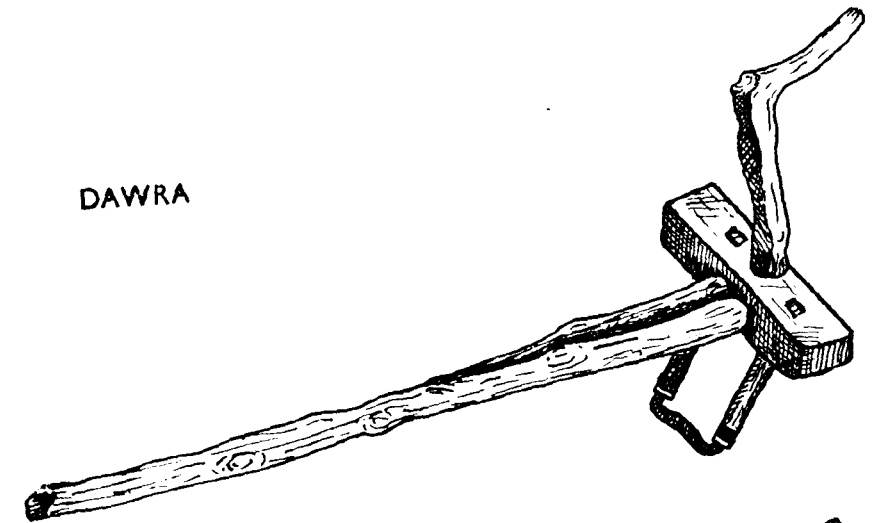


Fig. 28—Gond woman selling grain in the shandy. (Chapter IV – Para 18)



Fig. 29—*Rengi* – The local bullock cart, the only means of transport both for men and material.
(Chapter IV – Para 18)

DAWRA



WAKUR

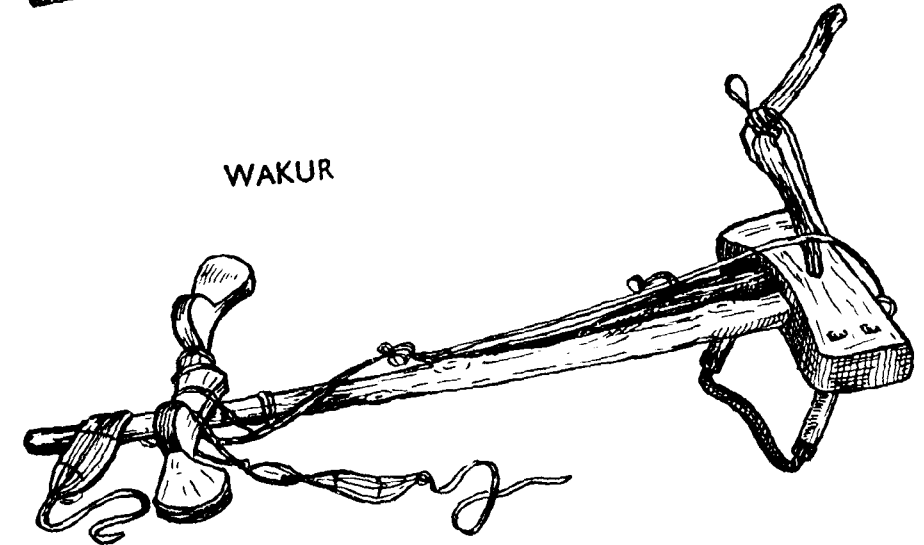
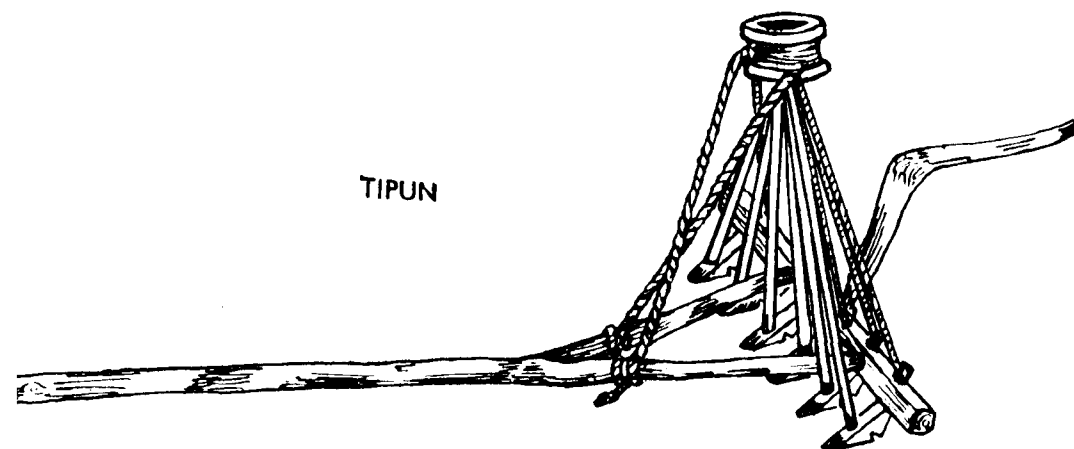
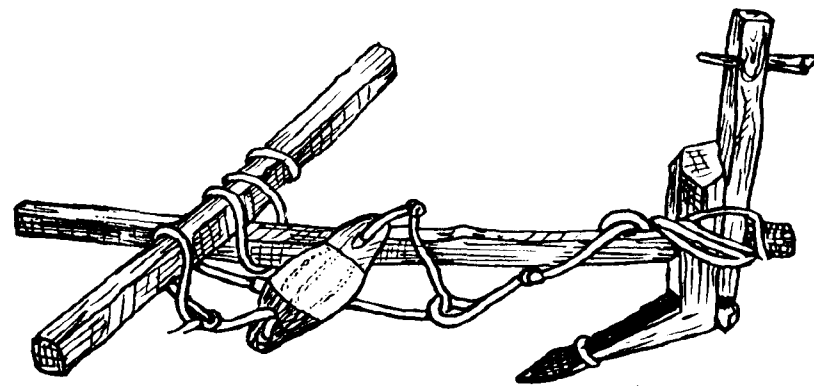


Fig. 30—Agricultural implements. (Chapter IV – Para 19)



TIPUN



SER

Fig. 31—Agricultural implements. (Chapter IV—Para 19)



Fig. 32—The blacksmith at work. (Chapter IV—Para 20)

Fig. 33—Gond Patel by the side of Aki Pen.
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Fig. 34—Hanuman deity in Gedamguda. (Chapter V - Para 13)



Fig. 36—Ceremonial cooking. (Chapter V - Para 39)

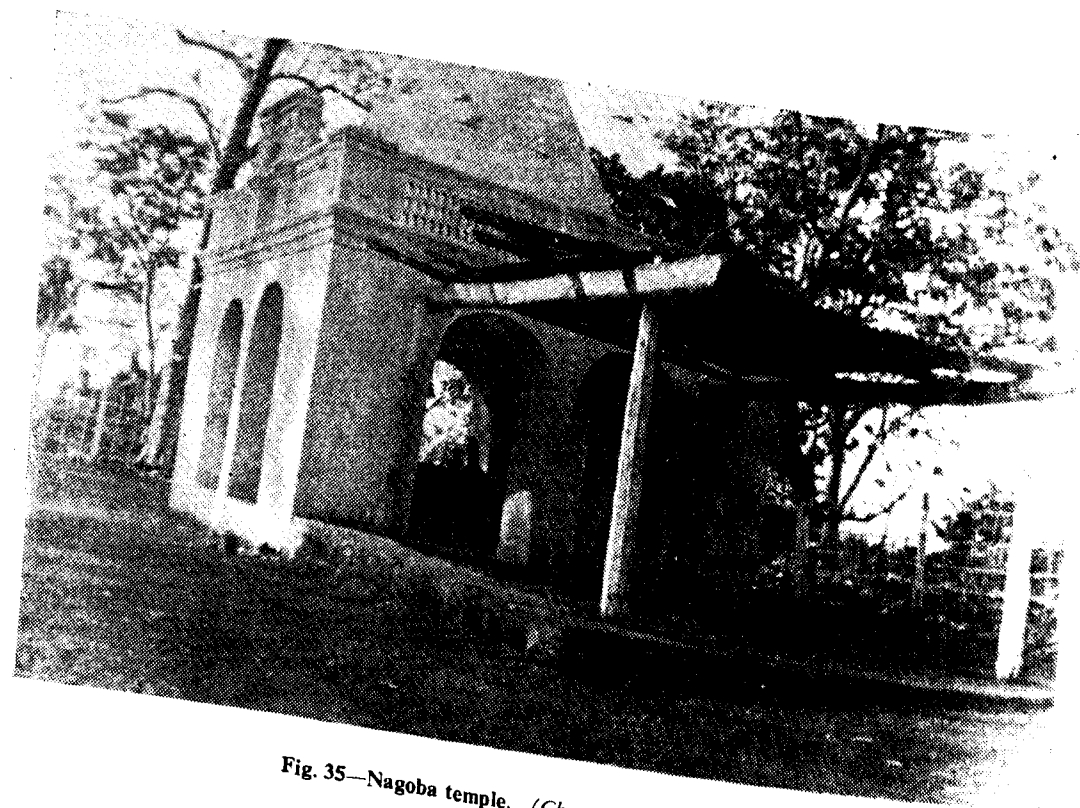


Fig. 35—Nagoba temple. (Chapter V - Para 39)



Fig. 37—Nagara - A musical instrument. (Chapter V - Para 51)

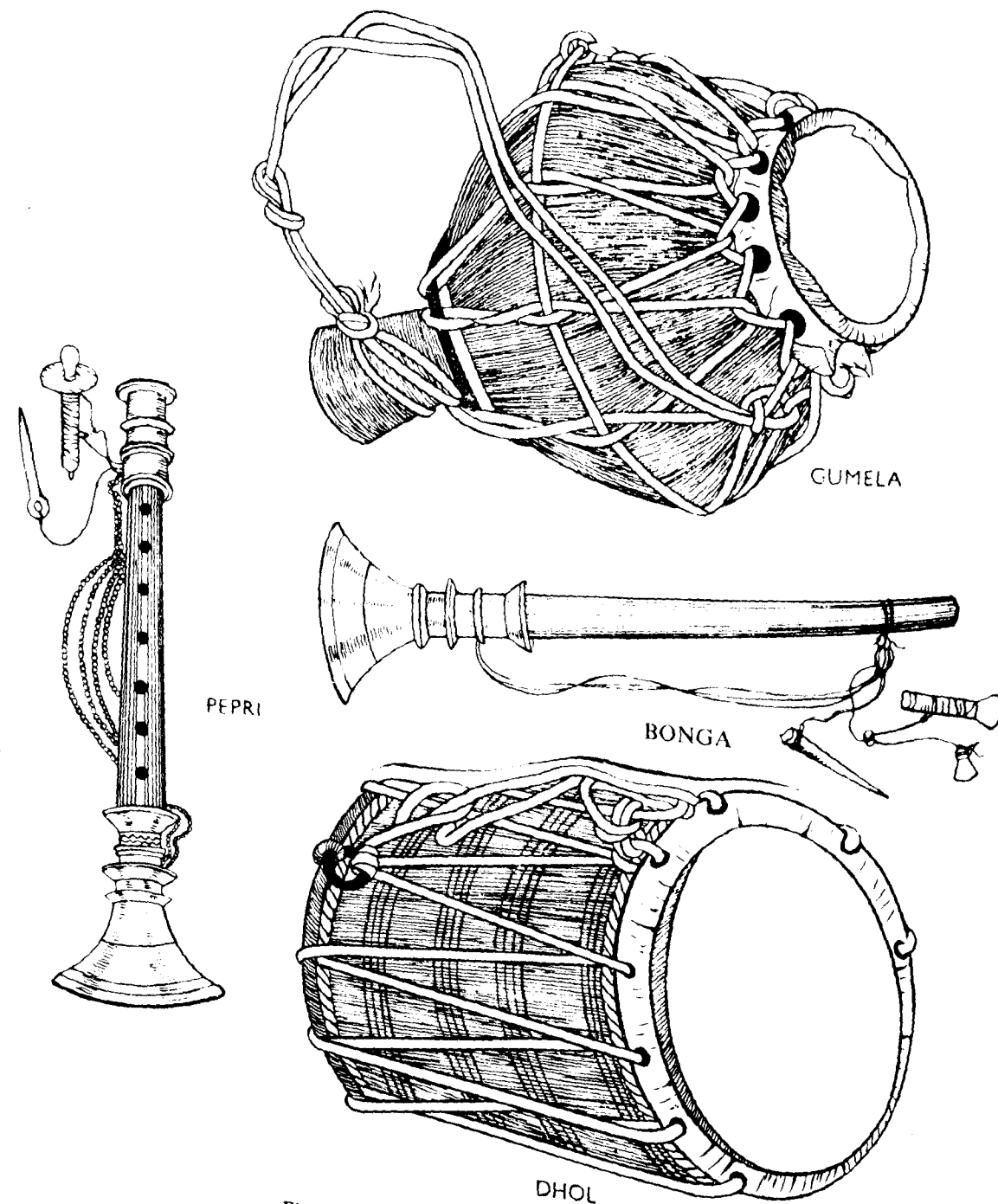


Fig. 38—Musical instruments. (Chapter V - Para 51)

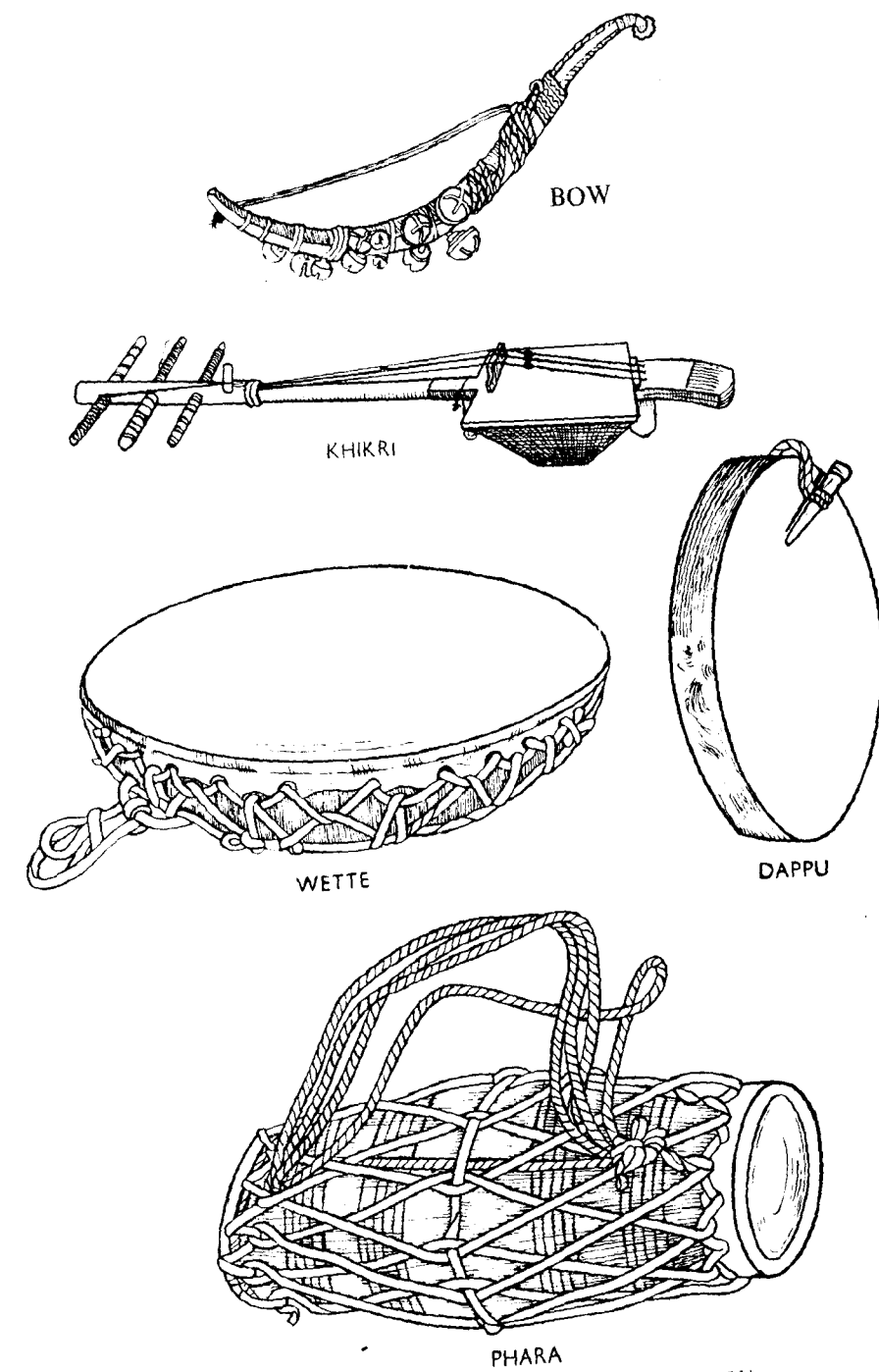


Fig. 39—Musical instruments. (Chapter V - Para 51)

Chapter I

THE VILLAGE



Fig. 40—Ghusari—The clown passing through the streets. (Chapter V—Para 56)

Village Bhurnur is in the heart of the tribal nur Taluk of Adilabad District which is covered by thick forests and forest-clad Utnur Taluk with its vast extent of thick hills and valleys had been and still continues to be the main abode of many a tribal, viz, Gonds, Thotis and Kolams, etc. The Gonds pre-

The village Bhurnur is selected under the villages representing Scheduled Tribes or Castes for the study of the socio-economic conditions of Gonds and Pradhans in particular and other castes in general. There is a popular notion segregating the Gonds of Adilabad into two viz, Gonds and Rajgonds. Strictly speaking, the Gonds of Adilabad, except for an insignificant number of Dhurve Gonds who too had migrated to the neighbouring State of Maharashtra consider themselves as Rajgonds. And for this there seems to be a historical background. Prior to the advent of British rule in Deccan, the Gonds appear to have held a kingdom of their own, extending from the District to Chanda in Madhya Pradesh and beyond, accounts as to why the Gonds call themselves as Rajgonds.

The village was first surveyed with limited facilities in the year 1961. This village has again been surveyed in the month of May 1964 in the light of the suggestions made by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Special Duty (Handicrafts and Social Welfare) Registrar General's Office, New Delhi to make the report comprehensive.

4. This village lies on 19°-20'-49" north latitude and 78°-55'-46" east longitude in the midst of hills and a thick jungle. Fig. 1 shows a close view of the village. It is situated at a distance of 18 miles to the east of the taluk headquarters connected by a meandering cart track and about 30 miles by a circuitous way but served by a road under construction upto Jainur village. The district headquarters, Adilabad, which is the terminus of the Railway line Hyderabad-Mudkhed-Adilabad of the Central Railway is about 40 miles to the north-west of the village (Map I).

No regular bus route connects this village directly. One has to first touch the taluk headquarters of Utnur to reach the village. As explained above, it can be reached by two routes. The first, though difficult, is the nearest and is to be covered only by walk or by riding the peculiar small-wheeled low bullock cart of the region known as *rengi* and one has to pass through dense forest. This route being infested with wild animals is not generally favoured by those who are not familiar with the tract. The second route, though circuitous is considered safer. After alighting at Gadihatnur on the Hyderabad-Nagpur National Highway in which Deluxe buses regularly ply from Hyderabad to Adilabad, one has to proceed to Utnur by one of the State operated buses. All the buses going to Utnur either from Nirmal - another taluk headquarters, or from Adilabad, pass through Gadihatnur. The metalled road to Utnur branches off from the Hyderabad-Nagpur National Highway at 170th milestone. A road to Asifabad branching off from the Utnur-Gadihatnur road at about the 4th milestone from Utnur is under construction. Hasnapur at a distance of 12 miles and Jainur 18 miles away are two of the villages on this route under formation though at present State-operated buses ply from Utnur only upto Hasnapur. After alighting at Hasnapur, one has to cover a distance of 6 miles by walk or cart to reach Jainur from where Bhurnur is another 6 miles away. From Jainur to Sirpur is a recently laid by the Panchayat Samithi, Utnur, an approach road which passes through Bhurnur and which is jeepable during fair weather. The village is bounded by the villages Pavurguda and Polas in the north, Peddakohinur in the south, Sirpur in the east, and Raghapur and Marlavai in the west (Map II).

5. The entire taluk of Utnur is covered by the Utnur Panchayat Samithi Block. It falls in the Marlavai Revenue Firka. The headquarters of the Village Level Worker is also Marlavai who however seldom stays there. This village comes under the Marlavai group of Panchayats. The nearest hospital and post office are at Utnur and the nearest railway station at Adilabad which is the terminus of the railway line that branches off at Mudkhed Junction from Hyderabad-Manmad metre gauge section of the Central Railway. There are no telegraphic facilities even at taluk headquarters and the people of this

taluk have to necessarily depend upon Adilabad for these facilities. Now-a-days the Postal authorities at Utnur are accepting telegrams which are sent by post to Adilabad. The mobile Medical Unit attached to Panchayat Samithi, Utnur, render medical assistance to the tribals now and then. The Primary Health Centre buildings are under construction at Jainur and in a couple of months the dispensary will be located here. In that case this will be the nearest place for medical assistance to the tribals living in the interior parts of this taluk. Except a Primary School being run by the Social Welfare Department there are no other public institutions. The village has neither industrial base nor commercial importance. There are no private or public cultural organisations.

Physical aspects

6. The soil of this region is black cotton. The village Bhurnur is divided into two distinct habitation areas. The main village which is on a slightly elevated land just near the slope of the small hillock is known as Bhurnur. The hamlet by name Gedamguda which is nearly half a mile from the main village and which is mostly inhabited by the immigrants of recent decades is comparatively on a plain land. The inhabitants of this hamlet who are all Gonds were said to have originally settled in the main village Bhurnur and to have shifted to this present habitation a decade back due to the proximity of their fields and the presence of a convenient water source. Added to this, there is a social factor behind this. Most of the inhabitants of this hamlet are from Kinwat Taluk which was prior to reorganisation in Adilabad District, but now in Maharashtra State and are related in one way to those of Bhurnur main village who too had originally migrated from the neighbouring Asifabad main Taluk. And those from Kinwat Taluk could not live together with those of Asifabad Taluk because of certain differences in their customs. On enquiry the inhabitants of Gedamguda said that as they did not like a few customs of the inhabitants of Bhurnur viz, sacrificing goats, drinking at the time of marriages, etc., and therefore had shifted themselves to the present place about 10 years ago. They consider themselves more civilised than those at Bhurnur.

Flora and fauna

7. As already said in the beginning, the entire Utnur Taluk is forest-clad. Various kinds of trees, most important being teak, are found in this forest.

Some of the commonly found varieties are given below:

- (1) Teak (*tectona grandis*)
- (2) *Ippa* (*bassia latifolia*)
- (3) *Nalla maddi* (*terminalia tomentosa*)
- (4) *Tella maddi* (*terminalia arjuna*)

8. Numerous are the birds and wild animals such as cheetah, tiger, wild boar, bear, peacock, sambar, deer, that are found in the forests of this area.

9. Adilabad in general and Utnur in particular suffer from bad climatic conditions; with all seasons in the extreme, the monsoon sets in the first week of June. It is not uncommon for the crops getting damaged due to excessive rains. Malaria which used to be once rampant is not now so serious a menace due to the various measures of eradication adopted by the Government.

Size

10. In April 1961, when the survey was conducted, there were 63 households with a total population of 344. The average size of the household is about 5. Of the 63 households, only one household is having one member. Among the remaining 62 households 16 households have each 2 to 3 members, with a total strength of 47 persons (21 males and 26 females); 29 households have 4 to 6 members each representing 145 persons or 42.15% of the total population; 13 households have 7 to 9 members each, with a total of 101 persons comprising 58 males and 43 females whereas there are only 4 households with 10 or more members each. The total area of the village is 1,265 acres 42 cents. Thus the density of population is about 174 persons per square mile (Tables 1 & 2).

Residential pattern

11. In the Gedamguda hamlet, the residential pattern is neither regular nor planned, the houses being on either side of the main road. The houses are not clustered based on either sect or kinship relationship. In the main village, Bhurnur, the houses are however constructed in a planned way with tiled roofs under the Rural Housing Scheme (Map II). All the Gond households in this village have received grants-in-aid of Rs. 500 per household for construction of houses.

Places of worship

12. Aki Pen, Avul Pen, Masoba and Satti Pen are the deities located outside the habitation area and are worshipped.

Hanuman deity is found in the main village as also in the hamlet. There are no historical monuments either in the village or anywhere in the vicinity.

Crematorium

13. Cremation or burial of those that breathe their last in Gedamguda takes place on the banks of the hill stream flowing by the eastern border of the hamlet irrespective of ethnic groups. But in the case of Bhurnur, the main village, burial ground or crematorium is in the nearby forest towards the north of the village. But Pradhans and Madigas of the village generally bury their dead in the same area but in a separate place.

Source of water

14. In Bhurnur main village, the people get water from the nearby hill stream that flows by the southern side of the village. Last year an irrigation well was sunk by one Gond household. This well also partly meets the potable water requirements of the village. The Pradhan households are not allowed to draw water from this well. The hill stream however continues to be the main source of drinking water for villagers.

15. In this respect the hamlet Gedamguda is very fortunate. There are five wells in the hamlet dug by the villagers themselves. Fig. 2 shows a drinking water well. Water is available during all the seasons in plenty. During summer season the people from Bhurnur main village also get water now and then from this hamlet.

Markets

16. There are no markets of commercial importance nearby. Once in a year after harvest, the villagers visit Adilabad, the nearest marketing place for marketing cotton which they grow. They get most of their domestic requirements from the weekly *shandy* held on every Friday at Sirpur village one mile away from Bhurnur, and from the weekly *shandy* held on every Saturday at Jainur towards the west of Bhurnur village at a distance of 12 miles. Sirpur village also is commonly visited by the inhabitants of Bhurnur. They also sell jowar in Sirpur village, though in small quantities.

History of the village

17. No one in the village could say why the village is named 'Bhurnur'. All the inhabitants of the village are migrants to this area. According to them the present area of the village was some three decades

ago a Reserve Forest. When Professor Haimendorf took up the welfare programmes for the tribals, a part of the land was dereserved and these people were induced to settle down in the area now called Bhurnur. In the first instance, 14 families of Gonds and 3 families of Pradhans came down from Tejapur, a village in Asifabad Taluk at a distance of 40 miles and got lands. Later, 12 Gond families from Kherda and Budhwarpet villages of Kinwat Taluk came and settled. In the initial stages these migrant families from both the places stayed in the main village itself. As the days rolled on, the people who had come in the beginning invited their relatives too to this place. In this way the number of families increased gradually.

Migration

18. All the households who thus migrated and originally lived together in Bhurnur village soon formed themselves into two groups and parted away, some shifting to another area named Gedamguda hamlet. Added to this, there were no proper water facilities in Bhurnur village. In the beginning one household belonging to *Gedam* clan of Gonds shifted to the present habitation area of the hamlet followed later on, by all the migrant families who came from Kinwat, Adilabad and Boath Taluks. All the migrant families of the above mentioned taluks are thus found today in Gedamguda hamlet whereas those who came from Asifabad area and also from the neighbouring villages are living in Bhurnur village. As the first settler is Sri Gedam Motiram who is still living in this new habitation area, it is named after his clan as Gedamguda.

19. Similarly, one Pradhan family and one Lohar caste family who are also migrants from Kinwat Taluk are staying in Gedamguda. The other four Pradhan families who had migrated from the neighbouring villages have settled in Bhurnur. The three Scheduled Caste families who have migrated from Lakshettipet are staying in the main village of Bhurnur.

20. Of the 63 households present at the time of survey during 1961, 36 households reported that they had migrated to this place during the present generation and the remaining 27 households reported that they had settled here more than three generations ago. Since the inhabitants of this village came to settle down here as migrants as a result of the rehabilitation schemes started 30 years ago, when the head of a present household reported that they came gener-

Gods in that abnormal strength seems to be fictitious but yet one has to accept the faith of these people.

9. She left all of them mercilessly and approached in hunger her grandfather, who having become blind because of her lack of chastity burnt her into ashes by pushing forcibly a piece of glowing charcoal in her throat.

10. One day Shembhu Mahadev with his wife Girjal Parvathi left on a tour of the earth on Nandi's back. On the way she went to relieve herself and heard the crooning of the forsaken Gods and took them all home. She suckled the Gond Gods at her right breast and all others at her left. Slowly, the right breast dried up and Mahadev having realised her mistake in feeding the insatiable Gond Gods with milk abused her and cooked solid food in ghee and served them but the Gond Gods were not satisfied as the liquor was not served. On knowing this Shembhu created a *mohuwa* tree and liquor was distilled out of its flowers and served. Having intoxicated themselves on liquor they then grumbled for meat.

11. Shembhu Mahadev to satisfy their demand, created a squirrel out of the dirt of his thigh and left it amidst them. Gonds while chasing it entered a cave. Shembhu Mahadev following them stealthily closed the entrance of the cave with a big boulder and created a banian tree beside the cave and left Ranisurval, a bird, to guard it. Shembhu Mahadev on return fed the Telugu and Maratha Gods with the food prepared for Gond Gods and cursed the Gond Gods to eat jowar only.

The coming of Pahandi Kupa Lingal

12. Pahandi Kupa Lingal, a foundling discovered by Sonkharstar Guru was the son of King Jalakdev and Hira Devi. He was born with *lings** all over the body and for that reason he was left in the forest to his fate; as he grew up he learnt of the imprisonment of Gond Gods through his Guru and was searching for them in the forests.

13. One day Lingal went to see his rice field which he had broadcast on unploughed land and found that much of the crop was eaten away by wild animals. He looked round and found two samburs and shot one of them and started for home. But hardly after going a few steps a nymph appeared

* *Ling* is synonymous with *lingam*, the sacred phallus of Siva.

before him. Lingal recognised her divine nature, and enquired the purpose of her coming.

14. She was Jangu Bai, who on the advice of Shembhu Mahadev was searching for Lingal. She enlightened him that he was to be the priest (Katoda) of all the Gond Gods and must search for them. Further she requested him to give her a kin group but he declined. Jangu Bai disappeared saying the following words, "When you find them, think of me and I will lend you my help."

15. He roamed the whole world playing his *jattoor* (guitar) and finally approached Shembhu Mahadev for help.

16. Lord Shembhu feigned ignorance but his younger wife showed him the way. Lingal crossing the thick forest reached the banyan tree near the cave and relaxed there playing on *jattoor*. The Gond Gods inside the cave hearing the melodious sound, began to croon and dance. The gigantic bird Ranisurval was still there guarding. At this juncture he remembered the word given by Jangu Bai and thought of her and immediately she appeared and suggested a plan to release the Gond Gods, by killing the infant birds while their parent birds were away. Lingal tried to climb the tree but could not do so as the trunk of the tree was smooth. Jangu Bai helped him by leaning against the tree. While climbing up, he placed his feet on her hips and then on her shoulders. Seeing Lingal, thus climbing, the young ones shrieked so loudly that the world trembled and darkness enveloped. In great fear Lingal climbed down putting his feet on her breasts and slid down between her and the tree, brushing against her abdomen. In her anger she said that they both cannot remain in one kin group since he climbed up as brother and climbed down as a man.

17. Hearing the shrieks of their young ones, the parent birds hastened back. Jangu Bai saved Lingal from the clutches of the savage birds by killing them. Then the great boulder was lifted from the entrance of the cave and all the Gond Gods, namely, five-wen, six-wen, seven-wen and lastly the four-wen brothers came out. Lingal led them to Poropatar Dhanegaon. The problem of establishing the kin-groups cropped up. Lingal was in a dilemma and rushed again to Lord Shembhu for his advice leaving the Gond Gods on the way. But Lord Shembhu expressing his inability advised him to seek the counsel of Bharat Raja. Accordingly, Lingal met Bharat Raja who readily agreed. On seeing these

people coming, the Gond Gods fell upon the King and his family and devoured them to satisfy their hunger. Pahandi Kupa Lingal quickly drew a circle round himself and sat down in the middle and played on his *jattoor* to charm the Gond Gods.

18. The Pahandi Kupa Lingal then gave them rice which he had grown in the valley of Son-Kuruwa and asked them to cook it after taking bath in the nearby river.

19. Accordingly, they went to the river, took bath, crossed the stream and cooked rice on the far bank. The seven, six and five brothers cooked their rice in water. After finishing their meals they went away to Poropatar Dhanegaon without waiting for four brothers. But the four brothers were cooking their rice in ghee which took much time. After taking food the four brothers also hastened to cross the river, but the flood water rose and swept them away. They were saved by a *chisti kova*, a monkey. In gratitude they promised the monkey to have a clan by that name in their phratry. Even to this day there is a clan by name *kova* (monkey) in the phratry and the people belonging to this clan do not kill monkeys.

20. The seven, six and five brothers having already reached Dhanegaon were trying to build houses. The seven brothers put up seven posts, six brothers six posts and five brothers five posts, but none could succeed in putting up a house. At last the four brothers came and successfully constructed a house with four posts. Then the other three groups begged the four brothers to teach them the building of a house. But they refused because they were deserted. They repented for their folly and held the four brothers phratry in high esteem, and even now the people of the four brothers phratry are respected by the rest and their word in all the religious functions, etc., is given greater weight.

Institution of Persa Pen and Sagas

21. There is no differentiation in the social hierarchical order among the remaining three kin-groups (Sagas) and are treated equally.

22. At last all the Gond Gods were established at Poropatar Dhanegaon, but Lingal was not satisfied. '*Penk sorji monk authank*' - the Gond Gods were no more Gods and hence they turned into men. As the intention of Lingal was the retention of Gonds progeny, he wanted to create kin-groups and

great God (Persa Pen), in the absence of which the marriage or worship among Gonds men may not be in order. He, therefore, established kin-groups (Sagas) and Persa Pen (great God) for each Saga. Lingal divided the Gond Gods into four kin-groups (Sagas) and formed the following Sagas (phratrics or kin-groups).

1. Edwen Saga (Seven Gods phratry)
2. Sarwen Saga (Six Gods phratry)
3. Sewen Saga (Five Gods phratry)
4. Nalwen Saga (Four Gods phratry)

Each Saga (phratry) has got a number of clans (*paris*) a description of which is given in the later pages.

23. Lingal got *chauwur*, (*chauwur* is a large whisk made of yak's hair resembling the ceremonial fly-whisks belonging to the insignia of Rajas and used in ritual of worship of Hindu deities) of both white and black, and bamboo shafts having seven, six, five and four nodes, white and red cloth pieces, small jingling bells, for establishing the Persa Pen (great God).

24. Then at Lingal's command, the Gond Gods bound *chauwur* to the bamboo shafts, and the white ones to the shafts of the seven and four nodes, and the black ones to those of six and five nodes; to these bells were tied, to each as many bells as it had nodes, cloth was wrapped round, white clothes to white *chauwur* and red cloth to black *chauwur* and the *sale* (spear-head) tied to the bamboo under the cloth. When all was completed, four leaf-shelters were erected and one figure created above was put in each one of them. All the Gond Gods stood in front with folded hands and worshipped saying, 'You are our Persa Pen'. Even to-day the Gonds of this area worship their great God with great reverence annually. The ritual ceremony of the festival of this great God is dealt elsewhere in this monograph.

25. Then the puja was to be performed to the Persa Pen. Lingal asked one of the Gond Gods to play on *jattoor* and another to perform the ritual. But none of them agreed. Immediately, Lingal went to Brahmadeva and Lord Shembhu Mahadev and got one man from each who are Devadyani (Katoda, the priest) and Devagyani (Patadi - Pradhan). Then Lingal asked Pradhan (the latter) to play on *jattoor* while the Katoda performed the rituals. The four sons of Prabhu Guru or Patadi-Pradhan were assign-

ed to each kin-group to assist the Gond in all their religious festivals etc. The functions of the Katoda and Patadi are dealt in detail in Chapter V of this monograph.

26. In the end, the culture hero Pahandi Kupa Lingal performed marriages of the kin-heads and settled them in the villages mentioned below advising them not to forget him.

Statement II

DETAILS OF SAGAS

Name of the Saga	Village
(1)	(2)
Edwen Saga	Bhoormachuva
Sarwen Saga (Pandaven Saga)	Jamethokoorvelki
Sewen Saga	Soyanoor patera
Nalwen Saga	Remtek

Clan system

27. As already said each Saga is divided into number of clans (*paris*). All the four Sagas are not having either the same clans or the same number of clans. The number of clans in each Saga given below is not quite exhaustive but is limited by the degree of information that could be elicited during the survey.

Statement III

DETAILS OF CLANS

Edwen Saga (Seven Gods phratry)

The names of the seven brothers are :

(1) Dhanavai	(5) Chikta Raja
(2) Dhaulkor	(6) Bhandasara
(3) Piduejunga	(7) Bhuighotia
(4) Paemuder	

And the number of clans (*Paris*) in this Saga are :

(1) Medavi	(6) Vedama
(2) Mesram	(7) Pusnak
(3) Dhurva	(8) Marsukula
(4) Soyam	(9) Purka
(5) Jugnaka	(10) Kursing

Sarwen Saga (Six Gods phratry)

The names of the six brothers are:

(1) Aheudal	(4) Tepaiuadal
(2) Mahendal	(5) Bandakusurudal
(3) Apaiudal	(6) Undaval

Clans (*Paris*)

(1) Atram	(6) Kotnaka
(2) Gedam	(7) Yerma
(3) Thodasam	(8) Kudmetha
(4) Pendoor	(9) Katlam
(5) Urvetha	(10) Velandhi

Sewen Saga (Five Gods phratry)

The names of the five brothers are :

(1) Aherahud	(4) Simlahud
(2) Maherahud	(5) Dhundyalrahud
(3) Pekarahud	

Clans (*Paris*)

(1) Godem	(5) Kinaka
(2) Kurma	(6) Sayam
(3) Kanaka	(7) Jugnag
(4) Kursinga	(8) Poyam

Nalwen Saga (Four Gods phratry)

The names of the four brothers are :

(1) Sirmala	(3) Sirkala
(2) Sirpala	(4) Sirlala

Clans (*Paris*)

(1) Posam	(6) Madpachi
(2) Kusram	(7) Pusram
(3) Netti	(8) Doram
(4) Puchaki	(9) Kove
(5) Talanda	

28. In the main village Bhurnur, Gonds and Pradhans of 4th, 5th and 6th Sagas are found but not those of 7th Saga. However, there are only Gond households of 5th, 6th and 7th Sagas in the hamlet of Gedamguda with not even a single household of 4th Saga. The solitary Pradhan household of this hamlet falls under 6th Saga. Following are the names of the clans to which the people of this hamlet belong who fall in the above three Sagas.

Sewen Saga (5th God)

(1) Kanaka	(2) Godam	(3) Kurma
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Sarwen Saga (6th God)

(1) Gedam	(2) Kudmetha
(3) Pendoor	(4) Atram

Edwen Saga (7th God)

(1) Mesram	(2) Medari	(3) Purka
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29. Similarly, the Gonds and Pradhans of 4th, 5th and 6th Sagas of Bhurnur main village are divided into the following clans.

Sewen Saga (5th God)

(1) Kanaka	(2) Kursings	(3) Kurma
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Sarwen Saga (6th God)

(1) Atram	(2) Thodasam	(3) Pendoor
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Nalwen Saga (4th God)

(1) Posam

30. As already said in the previous pages each Saga has its own Persa Pen. The people belonging to different clans in a particular Saga worship that particular Persa Pen only. People falling within the same Saga are considered to be of the line of brothers and sisters and the marital alliances are therefore contracted only outside their Saga. Except the worship of Persa Pen, all the other festivals, etc., are collectively observed irrespective of Saga and clan. Saga (phratry) is not a bar for the participation in social functions.

Pradhans

31. Pradhans also trace the history of their origin from the Gond mythology. For playing on guitar at the time of Persa Pen ritual, Lingal, the cultural hero of Gonds brought from Lord Shembhu, one Prabhu Guru who came along with his four sons who were allotted to each phratry for being the bards and musicians and that is why perhaps they still continue to be the bards of Gonds. No story or information other than this version is given by the Pradhans about the origin of their caste.

32. Before considering the Pradhans as the original bards to Gonds, it may be worthwhile to make a passing reference to another tribe of Thotis who are also known as Birdugonds and who claim to be the original bards of the Gonds. The continuance of some Thoti families to be the bards and advisers to certain clans of Gond families make one believe that they were originally associated with Gonds in this capacity. The version of the Thotis is that their ancestor helped Lingal in getting the *sale* (spear-head) which was therefore named as Birdar Sale after the name of their caste viz, Birdugonds. Even to-day this spear-head of the Persa Pen deity is known after that name. It seems, Lingal gave the guitar at the time of establishing the Persa Pen and advised their ancestor to be a Patadi, the ritual beggar to the Gonds. This guitar is even now in the possession of Thotis but not in that of Pradhans who also claim to be the bards for Gonds. More details about this tribe of Thotis or Birdugonds are given in the Malkepalle* village survey monograph.

33. As the word Pradhan implies it may also be inferred that they were associated with Gonds as ministers (Pradhans) when the Gonds were rulers and because of this association with Gonds during

the past they might have acquired a knowledge of the cultural and social life of the Gonds and that after the fall of the Gond Kingdom, the Pradhans still continued the same relationship and became bards of Gonds. The Gonds also might have found it convenient to reciprocate this relationship with Pradhans who were once their political advisers.

34. Mr. Setu Madhava Rao, in his booklet, *Among the Gonds of Adilabad* observes:

“...the Pradhans came into contact with and allied themselves to the Gonds late in the day. Originally, they seem to have been professional bards of the Rajput Kings and chiefs of the Central Provinces. With the decline of these chiefs the bards must have lost their means of subsistence and with it their social state. With the rise of the Gond Chiefs, who must have been, looked down upon by the Rajput families, the Pradhans found it economically advantageous to themselves to seek service with the Gonds. But mixing with beef eating Gonds must have meant their excommunication and thus in course of time the Pradhans lost all status among the caste people and became a part of the Gond institutions”¹

35. Whatever might be the affinity of the Pradhans to-day culturally, they belong, no doubt, to the aboriginal group, but their racial roots seem to be elsewhere. Even at a glance most Pradhans are easily distinguishable from Gonds.

36. The language of Pradhans is Marathi, but they are equally familiar with Gondli. Indeed the Gondli is the language of epics and hymns which they sing at feasts and for entertaining the Gond audience. The Pradhan is a humorist and his jokes are greatly enjoyed by the Gonds whose sympathy the Pradhans seek and from whom they accept alms.

37. The same Gond system of exogamous phratry and clan exist among Pradhans. All the households of the Gonds of a particular clan have a Pradhan Rota Patadi of the same clan to play at their social functions and in return give him certain gifts and presents. This is a traditional custom. A detailed discussion about the Patadi is made in the succeeding Chapters. The Gonds and Pradhans have the same religious practices. They observe the same festivals. In ceremonies connected with marriage, death or other social functions, the Gond pattern is followed in every detail by the Pradhans. However, their songs are in Marathi. The Pradhans worship the same deities as the Gonds and attend most of their religious ceremonies.

¹ Setu Madhava Rao, *Among the Gonds of Adilabad*, (Hyderabad : 1949), p. 56

* A Monograph on Malkepalle, Census of India, Vol. II, Andhra Pradesh, Part VI—Serial No. 43

38. Though closely connected with Gonds' social organisation, Pradhans are not accorded equal social status. Gonds do not allow Pradhans to enter their houses or dine with them; instead they treat them as untouchables. In a Gond habitation, the houses of Pradhans will always be a bit aloof. Gonds do not tolerate Pradhans occupying a chair or cot while they stand nor they allow him to sit with them. A Pradhan is expected to greet the Gond first when both meet. But now-a-days the outlook of Pradhans and Gonds has undergone much change. The Gonds are not now-a-days paying much importance to the Pradhans as they used to. The Pradhans on their part are also beginning to feel that it is below their dignity to play on *kingri*, a string instrument and beat drums and play on other musical instruments in the marriages and other religious functions of Gonds. The Pradhans have also started to compete with their masters in all walks of life. Most of the Pradhans have now taken to agriculture and other avocations. Examples are not lacking to show that the Pradhans also are working as teachers and as Sarpanchs (Presidents) of Village Panchayats in the democratic institutions. The Gonds are forced to accept this change under the present day circumstances, though with contempt and reluctance.

39. There are five Pradhan households in the village, four in the main village Bhurnur and one in Gedamguda hamlet. They have also migrated from the various places to eke out livelihood just like the Gonds.

Lohar

40. There is one Lohar (blacksmith) caste household that has migrated to this place some eight years back from Budhuvarpet, Kinwat Taluk of Maharashtra State on the initiation of Gonds of Gedamguda who also hail from the same village. Brought here to attend to the needs of the agricultural families he has gradually acquired lands also. Fig. 3 shows a Lohar couple.

Madiga

41. The heads of two Madiga (Scheduled Caste) households that had migrated from Lakshettipet, a plains village, some twelve years back in search of land have been appointed as village servants. They are treated as untouchables. Fig. 4 shows a Madiga couple.

Social status

42. Gonds occupy a high place in the social hierarchy of this village. Their status is higher than

that of Pradhans. Whereas Pradhans eat at the hands of Gonds, the latter do not take food at the hands of former. Gonds and Pradhans once beef eaters have given it up a decade back perhaps due to the factors induced through the various developmental programmes and also due to their contacts with the plains people. The Lohar enjoys equal social status with the Gonds. Pradhans are superior to Madigas, the only beef eaters in this village.

Population by age and sex

43. The sex ratio roughly works out to 104 females for every 100 males. The age group of 0-14 which may be taken as the school going age group accounts for 148 persons equally divided among males and females, of the total population. The age groups 15-24 and 25-59 which may be construed as the working force, represent 81 males and 93 females, i. e., 174 persons of the total population of 344. There are only 22 persons viz, 14 males and 8 females of 60 years and above. The communitywise distribution is that Gonds form approximately 85% or 292 of the total of 344 persons. Next in order come the Pradhans, another tribe with a strength of 37 persons. The remaining 16 persons are distributed among the two castes, i. e., Lohar (6 persons) and Madiga (10 persons) [Table 3].

Marital status

44. Table 4 gives the details of the marital status of the population, communitywise. Half the number of the Gond men and women are married whereas only 4 men and 6 women out of 36 Pradhans are married. Among the Gonds, there are 125 persons who are never married and of them 69 are men and 56 are women. Of these 125 persons, excepting 11 persons, the rest are all children of below 14 years of age. There are 70 men and 79 women in the category of 'married'. 15 are (3 men and 12 women) widowed while there are 3 persons (men) who have divorced. Child marriages are not common among the Gonds. There are 15 widowed persons among Gonds and only 3 of them are men and the rest are women. Among the 3 widowers two are in the age group of 25-59 years and one is in the age group of 60 years and above. the incidence of widowhood is found more among the women. All the 3 divorced are men.

45. Of the 36 Pradhans, 22 are never married and are mostly young children. There is only one male in the age group of 25-59 who is not

married. Only 10 persons—4 males and 6 females are married and all of them are above the age of twenty years. With no married person below the age of 20 years it can safely be concluded that the child marriages are uncommon among this tribe too. There are a widow and a widower in the age group of 25-59. Similarly, there are one male and one female who have divorced.

46. Out of 10 persons among Madigas, five are never married, four married and one widowed. Of the four married persons, two are males and two are females who fall in the age group of 25-59 years. Of the 6 persons among the Lohar caste two are never married, two are married and two are widowed (Table 4).

47. The above analysis makes it clear that the child marriages are not common among all the communities of this village. The incidence of divorce and separation are also not very much.

48. Table 5 gives the details of population by age, sex and education. The extent of literacy is negligible in the village. Despite various efforts adopted by the Government the progress in literacy is not encouraging. This fact is evident from the figures that out of 292 persons among the Gonds, only 20 are literates. Again of the 20 literates, 8 persons—all are males—are without any educational standard, 11 are having Primary standard and only one male seems to have studied upto Matriculation. Of the eleven persons who are having education upto Primary standard, 7 are males and four are females and they are all mostly of school going age. The one person who has studied upto Matriculation is a Government teacher in the village.

49. The literacy standard among the Pradhans is much more deplorable when compared to Gonds. Of the 36 persons, only 2 males are literate. One of them, only a literate without educational standard, is in the age group of 25-59 years and the other literate who is in the age group of 0-14 years is attending the local Primary School.

50. None of the Madigas is literate. One member in the Lohar (blacksmith) household is literate without any educational standard who is in the age group of 25-59 years. Though the school is functioning since a decade, the standard of literacy is very poor which shows the lack of the parents in their children's education.

51. Table 6 gives the details of age, sex and literacy of the household heads. Of the 55 household heads among the Gonds, 54 are males and one is a female. Again of these 55 heads of households, 10 are literate and 45 are illiterate. Similarly, all the 5 household heads among Pradhans are males and of this only one is a literate. The 2 Madiga household heads are illiterate males. The one household head of Lohar caste is a literate.

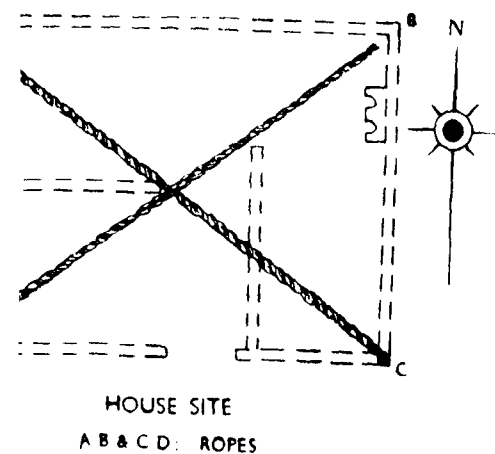
House types

52. Generally, the houses of Gonds, Pradhans and other caste people living in the village do not vary much from one another except in size. Fig. 5 shows a house under construction and Fig. 6 gives its plan. All the people irrespective of caste and tribe construct their dwellings with the locally available forest material. They do not have either foundations or platforms for their houses. All the houses are not equal in size which mostly depends upon the size of the family and also the economic condition of the particular household. Those who can afford, do have in their houses more than one room. The type of house itself to some extent throws light on the economy of the household. For the last five to six years, changes are being seen in the construction of houses both due to the assistance of Government as well as due to their personal inclination. Desire for tin and tiled roofed houses is becoming more among the tribals of this area. It is said that roofing grass is not available in abundance and that one has to go far into the interior of the forests, even if it is available. Probably, this may also be one of the reasons for the tribals aspiring for pucca houses. In Gedamguda hamlet are eight tin roofed houses of which one belongs to the Lohar caste household the remaining seven being those of Gond households. The other households in this hamlet have thatched houses. In the main village Bhurnur, the 16 Gond families have constructed tiled roofed houses under the Rural Housing Scheme sponsored by the Panchayat Samithi, Utnur. Each household is given an outright grant of Rs. 500 for the construction of the house. All the Pradhans are however having only thatched houses. The tiled and thatched houses are four sloped while the tin roofed houses are with one slope only. These changes in their housing introduced through various developmental programmes are quite welcome to the people.

Selection of house site

53. No elaborate ceremony is conducted for the selection of house site by the Gonds, Pradhans and

people living in the village. After selection of land by a particular household two equal length are taken and are placed in shape as shown in the sketch. In case the north-eastern side is found less it is auspicious and *vice versa*.



caste people, i.e., Madiga and Lohar, as they do not observe any ceremony for selection of house site.

Friday, Monday, Wednesday and Friday are considered auspicious for any social or religious actions by all the communities living in the village.

Selection of house site is also done on the above said days and the construction is completed on the same day. Ordinarily, the inhabitants construct thatched houses resting on wooden pillars. The wooden pillars are erected according to the size of the house. The required material for the house construction is brought from the forest free of cost. The villagers especially tribal families pay annually Re. 1 to the Forest Guard for the fuel and the timber used for the construction of implements. In case the timber is brought from the Forest Guard, the terms will be Rs. 30 are paid to the Forest Guard.

Sometimes he may demand even more. The amount thus collected is apparently for the official concerned.

At the Penkomta (the God's pillar) in the south-eastern corner after offering a sacrifice of a fowl. The minimum number of wooden pillars used in constructing an ordinary house. Beams known as *dulalu* are rested

lengthwise on the wooden pillars locally called *mundelu*. *Kada pattilu* (rafters) are placed on the beams. On the two central beams a 'V' shaped frame known as *sepay* is fixed and on this a *patti* (rafter) is placed. Wooden rafters called *khonia patta* are placed on four corners and then the other rafters are arranged on all the sides at an interval of 6 inches. The one end of the rafter rests on the *patti* which is placed on *sepay* and the other end on the *pattis* placed lengthwise. Then the roof is thatched with the locally available roofing grass. On this a few big logs are placed so as to prevent the grass from being blown off by strong winds and gales. Tribals are allowed to get the roofing grass free of cost but others have to pay Rs. 2.50 P. per cart load of grass to the concerned Forest Contractor. The side openings are covered with bamboo woven tatties or wooden rafters and plastered with mud and dung to form the walls of the hut. Even for the tin and tiled roofed houses, the same type of tatty walls are used. The tatties are manufactured by the villagers themselves. But the finer variety of tatties are purchased from the Kolams—a tribe—at seven and a half square feet per rupee. No skilled labour is engaged for such type of houses. The carpentry work is done by the villagers themselves.

56. The spirit of community help is still present among the tribals. Irrespective of phratry or clan all the people lend a helping hand in house construction. Those who so assist are not paid but are fed on the days of work. Generally, the construction is completed within two days. But, for the construction of the basement of a newly erected tiled house, skilled labour is brought from Adilabad, who are paid Rs. 4 daily.

57. A small partition inside the house is made to serve as kitchen. The main door is kept facing either east or north. A few households who have back yard have two doors also. No windows are kept. No separate portion is kept apart to provide secrecy to women when taking bath. The women during the pollution period sit in one corner of the house, the same apartment being made use of at the time of delivery too. No practice of decorating the walls with colour or lime exists.

House-warming ceremony

58. No elaborate house-warming ceremony is observed by the inhabitants of the village. After

the completion of the house, either on Friday or on Wednesday, the owner of the house and his wife in the early hours of the day enter the house, newly completed, holding a pot in which food is cooked. Ordinary jowar food is prepared and five small children are fed irrespective of clan or phratry on this day. Those who are economically well off however invite their relatives and entertain them to a feast. The Madigas report that they have not observed among them house-warming ceremony. The detailed description of a typical house of a Gond household narrated below will give the various arrangements inside the house.

59. Generally, the plinth area of an average house in the village is about 18' × 16'. There are houses too whose plinth area is double that of the average house. Though the plinth area may be small, the homestead area may be much more. For instance, of the 7 households intensively surveyed, 3 households have each a homestead area of 5.1 to 10 cents, another 3 households have a homestead area of 10.1 to 15 cents each, with only one household having a homestead area of more than 15 cents (Table 31). The eaves of the house are kept projected to the extent of 3' in the front side where a small mud platform is raised which is known as *vota* used for sitting and chit-chatting. *Rolu* (a grinding stone) and a *jatha* (mortar) are also found in the same room. In other words, there is only one room meant for all purposes. During the night it is used as bedding room for both young and old. No separate apartments are found for men and women. During menstruation period the women sit in the same room in one corner. There is no provision to let out the smoke from the kitchen. There is no provision for proper lighting and ventilation in other parts of the house. Except the Madigas, all others in the village maintain their houses neat and clean and it is more so in the case of Gonds.

Dress

60. The dress pattern of men of this village irrespective of caste or tribe is common, the difference being found only in its cost, the more prosperous obviously being able to afford better material.

61. The men wear dhoti of white cotton cloth, 4 yards long, usually girded above the knees, a shirt and a white coloured turban. Fig. 7 shows the usual dress of a man and woman. A small piece

of cloth is used as upper cloth which is loosely thrown over their shoulder. Fig. 8 shows an old Gond couple. Poor people wear a banian of white cloth in place of the shirt. Coats and costly silk *patkas* (turbans) are also used by the well-to-do men. While working in the field they tuck their dhoti in the shape of *longhoti* and remove the shirt (Fig. 9). Generally the men when going out put on neatly washed dress. Pants, shirts, shorts etc., are also commonly used by the younger generation of the day. Men generally have a pair of dhotis, a shirt, a banian, turban and an upper cloth though the moneyed people have more than a pair. The minimum cost of dress is about Rs. 25 per annum. A pair of dhoti costs about Rs. 12 to 13 which is purchased in the *shandy* of Sirpur village from the cloth merchants. Sometimes they also purchase from the itinerant merchants who are popularly known as *madrasis*. These people visit the villages in the slack season and give them clothes on credit at abnormal prices and collect the same at the time of harvest. Some people purchase ready-made shirts in the *shandy* and a few get them stitched by the tailor at Sirpur village. The stitching charges for a shirt are about 75 Paise.

62. The mode of dressing of the Gond women differs somewhat from that of women of other ethnic groups of this area (Fig. 10). The elderly women of this tribe do not use the *choli* (blouse) though its use is not a taboo. *Cholis* are worn by Gond women at the time of Dhandari dance. Nowadays wearing *choli* among the young women is becoming very popular. Most of the women in Gedamguda are found wearing *cholis*. The old fashion of wearing the saree is also slowly changing. They use sarees of 9 yards length. The poor people cut it into two equal parts and use it in which case the wearing is quite typical. The one end of the saree is firmly tied round the hips leaving a portion below, which is drawn between the legs and tucked in at the back while the other end is thrown over the left shoulder, its fold covering the abdomen and chest, shoulders; the greater part of the back as well as the arms are left uncovered. Fig. 11 shows two women, one following the old typical way of dressing and the other having adopted the more modern method with a *choli* also added. The arms, chest and the back are generally adorned with elaborate tattoo marks (See Fig. 15). They wear gaudy dresses of different colours on ceremonial occasions and apply oil to their hair profusely.

63. Other women including the Pradhans wear saree and *choli* (bodice) and the same ornaments as Gonds' women but they wear the saree in Maharashtrian fashion, i. e., tucking several folds in the front and taking a corner tightly in between the two legs as in Fig. 11. The present day Gond women are taking to this mode of dress. Fig. 12 shows a typical Pradhan couple.

64. Both men and women purchase their clothes at Sirpur *shandy* (Fig. 13). Ordinarily the dress of a Gond woman costs about Rs. 13 in case they do not have *choli* and otherwise it will cost Rs. 15 as in the case of other woman. The *choli* wearing among the Gond women is popular since the last one decade. There is no difference in the dress of a married, unmarried or widowed in the village among all the communities.

Footwear

65. Footwear is used by all the communities in the village. No religious taboo is attached to this. Generally, those who are well-off go in for *chappals* (leather footwear). In this village nearly 40 men and 20 women are using *chappals* which are purchased at Sirpur *shandy*. The local Madigas also sell them now and then. A pair of *chappals* costs about Rs. 3. The Gonds do not enter the house with *chappals* nor do they take them inside and others also have to observe this custom rigidly.

Hair style

66. The hair style of the women of the village is very simple. They comb their hair, bring it back and tie it in a knot at the nape of the neck. The men have either clean shaven head or modern crop. The modern cosmetics have not yet become popular with the villagers.

Ornaments

67. There is not much difference in the ornaments worn by the Gonds and Pradhans. The

other caste people also more or less use the same type of ornaments. All the ornaments described here are not necessarily possessed by every woman as possession of the ornaments depends upon the economic condition of the households. The ornaments worn are (a) *chitang*, a narrow gold ornament worn round the neck, (b) *sakri*, a silver chain with a heart shaped pendant hanging over the chest, (c) *kante*, a silver ornament, and other silver chains, (d) *pulli*, a gold ear-ring worn in the ear, (e) *bajaban*, an artistically bent silver elbow ornament, (f) *khade*, a plain silver wrist ornament, (g) *tikalemudde*, and (h) *mudde*, the silver finger rings with or without coins of various denominations fixed to them (the *mudde* which is worn by men is however generally made of gold), (i) *patti*, the silver belt, the most valuable possession of the women-folk worn on the waist over the saree, (j) *panjol* or *thode*, the silver anklet, (k) *nadipatti*, a silver waist belt worn by men (Fig. 14). *Jodu*, toe rings and *pusti*, the black beaded necklace are worn only by women in married status. Fig. 15 shows a Gond belle bedecked with some ornaments. The unmarried and widows are not allowed to wear the last two ornaments. Of course, if a widow is remarried she can have them again. Besides these ornaments they wear necklace of coins and other silver chains.

68. The material that is used for these ornaments may not always be pure silver. Generally the well-to-do use pure silver and get their ornaments prepared by the goldsmith at Adilabad and a few get them made at Asifabad also. Ornaments are also purchased at Keslapur fair but these are made of some silver alloy known as *kandiyendi*. The ornaments possessed by the poorer section of the people are mostly made of *kandiyendi* and are invariably purchased at Keslapur fair (Fig. 16). The price of each ornament and the making charges are given on page 15.

Statement IV

COST OF METAL AND MAKING CHARGES FOR ORNAMENTS

Name of ornament (1)	Cost of			Making charges (5)
	Gold (2) Rs.	Silver (3) Rs.	Kandiyendi (4) Rs.	
(a) <i>Chitang</i>	80 to 100	...	...	12.00 per ornament
(b) <i>Sakri</i>	...	30 to 40	...	0.13 per tola of silver
(c) <i>Kante or sari</i>	...	30 to 40	12 to 14	0.13 per tola of silver
(d) <i>Pulli</i>	100 per pair	...	...	5.00 per pair
(e) <i>Bajaban</i>	...	30 to 40 per pair	8 to 10 per pair	0.25 per tola of silver
(f) <i>Khade</i>	...	25 per pair	4 per pair	0.13 per tola of silver
(g) <i>Tikalemudde</i>	...	4 to 5	...	1.00 per ornament
(h) <i>Mudde</i>	40 to 50	4 to 5	...	5.00 for gold or 1.00 for silver
(i) <i>Patti</i>	...	60 to 100	25	0.25 per tola of silver
(j) <i>Panjol or thoda</i>	...	40 to 60 per pair	12 per pair	0.25 per tola of silver
(k) <i>Nadipatti</i>	...	60 to 100	25	0.25 per tola of silver
(l) <i>Jodu</i>	...	4 to 5 per pair	1 to 2 per pair	1.00 per silver pair

The Madigas in the village do not possess any costly ornaments. The itinerary merchants bring rolled gold ornaments for sale in this area and young women of all communities are attracted towards them and the desire for the possession of such type of ornament is found more among Pradhan women.

Household goods

69. Brass and aluminium utensils are used both for cooking and eating. Cooking in earthen pots is not common among the Gonds, Pradhans and Lohar. People of these three communities use the earthen pots of both small and big size, for preserving water and other condiments. The Madigas use earthen vessels for cooking also. The earthen pots are purchased at Sirpur *shandy*. Small size pot costs about 0.50 P. while the bigger one costs Rs. 1.50 P. The medium size pot known as *thoditha budde* costs about 0.75 P. which is used for fetching water. Except Madigas, all the other community people in the village possess sufficient number of brass and aluminium utensils, and it is more among the Gonds. All these utensils are purchased at Keslapur fair though now and then they are also obtained from the itinerary merchants. Fig. 17 shows some of the utensils. The

names of different utensils, the material used and their cost are given below :

Statement V

DETAILS OF UTENSILS

S. No. (1)	Name of utensil and usage (2)	Material (3)	Cost (4) Rs. P.
1	<i>Pithdi dhade</i> , a big plate of brass used to mix jowar or wheat flour for preparing bread	Brass	12.00
2	<i>Kanchu dhade</i> —Plates used for eating	Bronze	4.00
3	<i>Thavva</i> —A frying pan	Iron	2.00
4	<i>Kachkud</i> —A frying pan of small size	Iron	0.75
5	<i>Pithdi</i> —Tumbler used for drinking	Brass	3.00
6	<i>Gilas</i> —Ordinary tumbler	Brass	1.25
7	<i>Kasala</i> —Vessel used for cooking (for small size vessel they call <i>chudoor kasala</i>)	Aluminium	2.50
8	<i>Ganju</i> —Vessel used for preserving water and also for cooking at the time of social functions	Brass	20.00 to 25.00
9	<i>Pithlighagra</i> —Vessel used for fetching or preserving water	Brass	10.00
10	<i>Pohara</i> —Bucket used to draw water from the well	Tin	4.00

70. Among other household goods they possess are bamboo woven baskets (big and small size) which are purchased from the Kolams—a tribe of a neighbouring village and these baskets are used for storing grain. The basket is plastered over with mud. The big size basket is known as *gummi* which costs about Rs. 2 to 3 (Fig. 18). The small size baskets cost from 0.25 P. to Re. 1. Most of the households preserve their clothes in bamboo baskets only though a few well-to-do possess trunk boxes. Except cots, there is no furniture possessed by the people. Even the poorest man will have a cot. Only eight Gond households are having wooden chairs which are purchased at Adilabad. The cots are prepared by the villagers themselves and only coir is purchased at Adilabad or at Sirpur *shandy* which costs Rs. 2. People are very poorly equipped with beddings though the well-to-do are having cotton blankets. The torn pieces of old clothes are stitched together known as *bontha* (quilt) by a few who use them for spreading on the cot. Most of the agricultural households possess *gone*, manufactured either from cotton or jute and which are purchased at Adilabad. These *gonelu* are used in the carts at the time of transporting cotton during the harvesting season and also used as bedding material in other seasons. Often spare sarces and dhotis are used for bedding purposes during the night. In the winter season they keep the big wooden logs burning inside the home for warmth. Whenever a guest visits a Gond's house the latter will spread his cot so that the guest can rest a while comfortably.

Food

71. As a rule people belonging to all ethnic groups in the village are non-vegetarians. The people of the village irrespective of caste or tribe eat the meat of goat, fowl, rabbit, cheetah, deer, sambur, etc. The flesh of pig also is taken by all excepting the Lohar household. Madigas eat beef.

72. The staple food of the villagers is jowar irrespective of caste/tribe (Table 26). Jowar grain is either taken boiled or its flour prepared into bread. All the people in the village eat jowar for eight months and rice for the other four months. They also substitute jungle roots as well as *gulmohuwa* flower for food grains at times. They use *gulmohuwa* flower in the month of April when it is copiously available. Fig. 19 shows two women returning with head loads of *gulmohuwa*. A few households collect and preserve it also. Redgram dal and all other pulses are used.

Wheat is consumed on festive occasions. Milk and milk products are also used. Once or twice in a week they take meat. The Gonds, once beef eaters, have now given it up. None in the village except Madigas take beef now-a-days. Usually, the poorer sections of the people do not use oil regularly for preparing the curries. Those who can afford use for their daily use ground-nut oil which they get from the weekly *shandy* at Sirpur. Only on festive occasions people use ghee for preparing tasty dishes. Of the 7 households surveyed intensively 4 households i.e., 3 of Gonds and one of Pradhans take breakfast, midday meal and supper with coffee or tea alone at one time while 2 Gond households take breakfast, mid-day meal and supper only. Only one household has not specified its dietary habits (Table 25).

73. Vegetables are not commonly used. A few, however, use potatoes, brinjals, tomatoes which they get from the weekly *shandy*. Daily food of the people consists of cooked jowar or bread, dal with raw onion or raw chilli as a side dish. For preparing the food, jowar is first ground, put in boiling water and cooked. Bread is prepared on the hands very artistically by the women and is fried on the pan.

74. As said above certain poor families among the Gonds and Pradhans in the village live on jungle roots. There are about eight Gond households who do not take the roots. These roots which are available in the nearby forest are collected by the women-folk in the respective seasons and preserve them in sufficient quantity and eat them daily once. The following are the roots eaten by the Gonds and Pradhans.

- (1) *Nursamati*: Black in colour with delicate root hairs over it, it is locally called 'appagadda'. It is boiled with ash till it is palpable. Ash is added to remove its bitterness.
- (2) *Thondramati*: White in colour and six inches in length, it is eaten in raw form or fried. They are preserved in pots or closed baskets.
- (3) *Duddemati*: Black in colour and bulky in shape, it is eaten after frying.
- (4) *Khakhamati*: White in colour and bulky in shape, raw root is not eaten. It is boiled, the skin is then peeled off and cut into

slices. Then the slices are boiled seven times to remove its poisonous content before eating.

- (5) *Madkanjimati*: White in colour and lengthy in shape, it is eaten raw.
- (6) *Thebremati*: White in colour and looks like lady's fingers. It is eaten raw.
- (7) *Palchamati* is bulky, round and white in colour. It is boiled and the skin is peeled off. It tastes like sweet potato.

75. On festive occasions, wheat and rice are consumed. Sweetmeats like *poornam poori* is commonly prepared at the time of festivals. This dish is prepared out of Bengalgram dal and jaggery and wheat flour. The dal is first cooked and in it jaggery is mixed and ground. Using this with wheat flour, it is prepared just like *chapathi* and is fried on pan putting the groundnut oil or the ghee. Another dish called *chittiki* is prepared out of blackgram dal. *Garelu*, a savoury dish is prepared out of greengram dal. Mutton is also prepared during some festivals.

Drink

76. Drinking of liquor is permitted among all communities in the village. As a matter of fact, there are certain functions among the Gonds and Pradhans in which offering of drink is considered essential. In the days past, the tribals used to distil liquor freely from the *gulmohuwa* flower. But now-a-days it is to a certain extent stopped due to the frequent inspections by the excise officials. They now drink country liquor and toddy which is available at Sirpur village. People do not take it regularly. Government liquor shops are the source of supply. Only men who can afford drink daily and the number of such people in the village is very insignificant. The poorer people drink occasionally. It is interesting to note that the tribals of the hamlet, Gedamguda do not offer liquor or toddy during the marriage or death ceremonies because of the oath they had taken two decades ago before their migration to this place. Probably, they might have taken this step due to the influence of the neighbouring people of their original place. Since then all of them are strictly adhering to this. If any one defies this, he is socially ostracized and fine is imposed. No such incident has so far occurred in the village. This is perhaps an important reason why the people of the main village do not generally participate in the social functions of this hamlet.

Of course on other occasions they take liquor and also entertain the host with liquor. The Gedamguda people started offering *panakam* i.e., jaggery water as a substitute at their religious ceremonies. On the whole the incidence of liquor consumption is very little while it is totally absent among the women. The habit of taking tea among the villagers is very common. Roughly about 50% of the people are addicted to tea and take regularly. Of course others also take it but not daily because of their poverty. If they do not have milk specially in summer season they take only decoction.

Smoking

77. The tribals in the village smoke *beedi* and pipes of green leaves. On meeting one another after greeting with the words of 'Ram Ram', they offer *beedi* or tobacco. This is one of the easiest way of gaining acquaintance with these people. Raw tobacco is taken mixing it with lime. The tobacco and the *beedis* are purchased from Sirpur *shandy*. They offer *beedi* to their young boys out of their affection and that ultimately becomes a habit. This is one of the reasons why the children of very young age also are found smoking *beedis*.

Tattooing

78. Tattooing is a must among the Gonds and Pradhans for the women. Men also have tattooing marks but it is not obligatory. Specially, women have elaborate tattooing marks on their body. Elaborate tattooing marks are found on the arms, chest and back. The Thoti tribal women who are experts in this art, come from Tosham, a village in the same taluk, or sometimes from Asifabad Taluk, tattoo the Gonds and other caste people also if they are interested. They are paid 0-25 P. if tattooed on arms only and in case more tattooings on chest, etc., they are paid a little more; there are no regular rates. Food is also served to them over and above the payment. It is believed that after death though all the belongings are removed and buried, the only thing a dead person takes along with him to the other world is tattoo marks! No Gond woman is allowed to keep her hand in the cooking pot till she is tattooed. Tattoo marks on the back of the palm and the forehead between the eye brows is a must with all Gond women and it can be seen in Figures 20 & 21. The girls have to be tattooed, invariably before they are married, and that is why generally among the Gonds tattoo marks are found on girls of very young age.

Other habits

79. The villagers generally take bath daily. There are a few Gond households who worship *tulasi* (*ocimum sanctum*) [Fig. 22.] This habit of taking daily bath is found more among the inhabitants of the Gedamguda. Lohar household takes bath daily. Generally, the womenfolk take bath on alternate days. The married women, if they had sexual intercourse inevitably take bath the next morning before attending to their household duties. Once in a week women have head-bath and apply turmeric to their faces. Clothes are neatly washed. Now-a-days they are using washing soaps. The front yards are daily swept but are not sprinkled with water. Once in a week, on either Saturday or Friday or Monday, the floor of the house is smeared with dung and clay. The hearth is daily cleaned. The Gonds, Pradhans and Lohars invariably clean their houses and bedaub with dung. Utensils are neatly cleaned and nicely arranged on a wooden stand. As they chew tobacco the habit of spitting indiscriminately is also observed.

Daily routine

80. The daily routine of the inhabitants is simple and naive. They are clean in their habits.

The men and women get up at cock's crow. After attending to the nature's call, the man attends to the cleaning of cattle shed, heaps the dung, unties the cattle and takes bath. All the activities of the people in the village outside their homes invariably start after breakfast consisting of the left over food of the last night, and this is known as *nihari*. The man proceeds to the field along with his wife, if there are any other women members to attend to kitchen. Otherwise, the wife goes later to the field with lunch which consists of either *sari* (bread) or jowar food and dal and eaten there. The house is left to the care of the grown up children. The man and woman return by sunset from the fields and take meals and go to bed very early. The menu of the night meal is the same as in the case of lunch. Both gingelly and kerosene oil are used for lighting. They put off their lights very soon. During the off-season men attend to such works as preparing ropes, making the field ready for the next season and repairing their agricultural implements etc. The women keep themselves busy in collecting jungle roots and *chironji*. They sell it in *shandy* at a very cheap price. During the moonlit nights, they congregate in front of Patel's house now and then and dance. In this way these people living in the hilly forests lead a contented life.

Chapter III

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Birth

The birth of a child is regarded as an occasion of joy in the family. Stoppage of menses, commencement of vomittings and a feeling of uneasiness are considered to be the signs of pregnancy in the prospective mother. Generally, no functions are arranged among all the castes of the village till the woman is delivered of the child. The same food that is normally taken is served to the pregnant woman. In case the pregnant woman desires to have any particular kind of food then it is served to her. It is neither a social custom nor an obligation for the parents of the girl to take their daughter to their home in some month during her pregnancy on first conception. The parents who can afford do, however, take their daughters in seventh month and send her back to her husband after delivery in the fourth month. It is reported that co-habitation from sixth month is stopped till such time as the new born stops suckling. Except this, there are no rituals or observances till the delivery takes place.

2. It is extraordinary to see how calmly and naturally even a young woman about to have her first baby faces the ordeal without anxiety and even in the absence of any kind of normal medical assistance. Preparations for delivery are unheard of. They are unable to calculate properly the expected time of delivery. They have a theory to state that a female child is born in the ninth month and a male child in the tenth month. A midwife locally called Sonivothad of Pradhan tribe attends on the deliveries in Gedamguda hamlet both for Gonds' households and Lohar caste household. In Bhurnur, the main village, a Gond woman attends on the deliveries only for Gonds and Pradhans. Besides the midwife, the elderly and experienced woman take leading part in conducting delivery. This midwife is paid Rs. 2 and four *seers* (a local measure) of jowar irrespective of male or female issue. She attends on the mother and the new born baby for five days and daily gives bath to both the mother and the baby. Among Madigas, an elderly woman attends on the delivery of the younger ones. Nothing is paid to her.

3. When the labour pains start, other woman take into the house the expectant mother who is

made to lie down over a straw bed arranged in a corner. She is kept solaced by other woman by cutting jokes and massaging her loins with groundnut oil etc. Soon after the delivery, the umbilical cord is cut with a knife by the midwife. The placenta and the cord are kept in an old pot and are buried in a pit dug for giving bath to the mother and baby. No belief is connected with this. The mother and the baby are given oil bath soon after. The water is not allowed to flow in the street and is made to flow into a pit that is dug in the back yard of the house. Wooden planks are kept over this pit for sitting and then bath is given so that the water drains off into the pit. She is kept under pollution for five days. There is no restriction on food. Generally, the food which can keep the body warm is served. Upto five days she is given one or two balls prepared out of the following articles.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 <i>Miryalu</i> (pepper) | All these are ground together into powder, mixed in |
| 2 <i>Khopra</i> (copra) | groundnut or gingelly oil |
| 3 <i>Gasagasalu</i> (poppy) | and balls are prepared |
| 4 <i>Dalcheeni</i> | |
| 5 <i>Lavang</i> (clove) | |

This is given during the period of lactation which is known as *vechhalu*. The other caste people also give this to the mother.

4. On the third day *til* (gingelly) and jaggery ground together are given to her. No ritual is observed on this day. This is given to her to keep her body warm. Daily she is given bath. The final bath is given on the sixth day and in the evening she goes to a nearby well or stream and fetches water in a pot in the company of other women. On this day, *til* and jaggery are distributed to all women members who also are treated to a vegetarian meals. From this day she resumes her normal household duties. Payment to the midwife is made on this day. No restrictions or taboos are observed by the other family members or the husband during the pollution or the pregnancy period. None in the village have so far gone to the hospital for delivery. The new born is named and tonsured on this day or after one or two months. No special function as such is observed among these tribes. On the birth of a child the Gonds and Pradhans believe that some ancestor has taken a re-birth.

Naming

5. If in the face of new born any resemblance of their ancestor is seen his / her name is given to the child. A few typical names of men and women are given below.

Motiram	Laxhman
Bhujang Rao	Jaivanth Rao
Bojju	Yeshwanthi
Yeshwanth Rao	Parwarthi
Mahadu	Yeshoda
	Lachhi

6. Barrenness is always attributed to ill luck and they pray their Persa Pen to bless them with a child. A few people also believe in the efficacy of some roots for begetting children. One Sri Motiram a Gond who had no children through his first wife married again and she too does not bear children. He also used some roots, etc., given by a Gond of neighbouring village and even then he did not have children. Similarly, there is another man in Bhurnur who also falls in the same category. For stopping the suckling of the baby the women apply the juice of neem leaves to their mammas.

Puberty

7. No special functions are performed till the girl grows up to the marriageable age. The Madiga and Lohar caste households celebrate the occasion just as other caste Hindus of this area. These tribes do not, however, celebrate any special function on the attainment of puberty by girls. On the other hand it is almost kept as secret. She is made to sit in a corner of the house or a separate shed is erected in the back yard of the house till the pollution period is over. Whenever she goes out she covers herself with a blanket and is always accompanied by a woman. She is given final bath on the twelfth day. Woman in routine monthly course are kept under pollution for three days or till the menses stops.

Marriage

8. A casual visitor to Gonds' village is not likely to realise how completely the people are united and economically inter-dependent until he sees them at a marriage or a funeral ceremony. And indeed at the time of marriage the whole village comes forward to assist the man performing the marriage irrespective of phratry or clan. Some women help the grinding of turmeric, some in preparing the groom, the young men and boys go willingly to cut wood for erecting marriage booth. Everybody

bustles round the place, excited and united. In all the marriage functions the women as usual take prominent part.

9. There are two kinds of marriages among Gonds and Pradhans, viz,

1. *Khajekhobra* (marriage by negotiation)
and
2. *Peshiwatwal* (marriage by capture)

There are no differences in observing the main rites of the function. Only in the initial stages they differ much. Except one marriage which is by capture, all the remaining are by negotiation. Marriage by negotiation is the only practice prevailing among the other two castes.

10. Marriages within the same clan or phratry are not permitted and considered as a religious taboo. People who dare to commit such a mistake are excommunicated. There is no such incident in the village. Polygyny prevails and in theory there is no limit to the number of wives a man may have. Generally, the Gond Patel has more than one wife. In this village three cases of polygynous marriages are reported of which two relate to Gonds and one to Pradhan. Generally, the people marry more than once due to barrenness of the first wife. As such polygyny has nothing to do with economic or social status of a person. Fornication is indignantly treated. If a girl becomes pregnant before her marriage she is called upon to disclose the name of her lover and he is forced to accept her as his wife. But sexual intercourse with a man of another community is considered a religious taboo and the concerned are expelled from the tribe. Such disputes are brought to the notice of the Caste Panchayat which gives its decision. The child born by that man is also disowned by the tribe. She has to either marry that man or lead a miserable life. They, however, allow her to stay on in their habitation. She is, however, strictly forbidden from attending any of their social and religious functions. No such incident has ever occurred in this village. Divorce and widow marriages are permitted. Partners are chosen both within and outside the blood group.

Permissible partners

11. Marrying father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter are permitted among all the communities living in the village but not own sister's daughter. Elder brother's widow can be taken in marriage by the younger brother. She cannot as

a matter of fact go and marry another man until it is ascertained that she is not acceptable to the younger brother of her deceased husband. Marrying the younger brother's widow is prohibited. There are, however, no instances of marrying elder brother's widow. The function will be similar to that of widow re-marriage. Neither a ritual nor a time limit as such is fixed. Generally, the union takes place in less than a year after she becomes a widow. Similarly, sororate marriages are also prevalent among these tribes. The man has the right to take the younger unmarried sister of his deceased wife.

Consanguineous marriages

12. The consanguineous marriages survey conducted in May 1964 revealed that out of 111 marriages, 77 are within the consanguineous relationship, the remaining 34 falling outside the blood relationship. Again, of these 111 marriages, 104 are monogamous and three are polygynous. It is thus evident that the polygynous marriages are common in the village (Table 28). Of the 77 consanguineous marriages 27 are with father's own sister's daughter and 50 are with mother's own brother's daughter (Table 27).

Spatial distribution

13. While 35 marriages are contracted within the village, 33 marriages are outside the village but within the same taluk. Eighteen marriages are contracted outside the taluk but within the district. Only 25 marriages are contracted outside the state (Table 29).

14. The Gonds and Pradhans marry their children both before and after puberty. Child marriages are, however, not common. The main functions of the marriage last for three days though the arrangements start well in advance. Fridays and Wednesdays are considered auspicious. The elderly and experienced persons used to fix up the day of marriage after seeing the stars. This practice has come to a stop since last one decade or more. It is said that an elderly man who used to fix up the auspicious day after seeing the stars died a decade ago. Neither a Brahmin is consulted nor the horoscopes of the bridal pair are compared. The marriage invariably takes place in groom's house. Payment of bride price, i.e., *paring* amounting to Rs. 12 is prevalent among both the tribes. In case of marriage by capture also the same amount is paid at anytime to the parents.

Marriage by negotiation

15. The conventional form necessitates the consent of the parents of both parties. The marriage thus fixed up by negotiations is called *khajekhobra*. In such marriages initiative will always be from groom's side. It is reported that the Pradhans formerly used to take prominent part in marriage negotiations. The Pradhans started demanding more money and are also not so loyal as they were and Gonds stopped them.

16. In the preliminary stages of negotiations the guardian or the father of the boy formally visits the bride's village to know the opinion of the other party. They approach the Patel (tribal elder) and the Mahajan (the elected religious head) of the village and through them they ascertain the willingness of the bride's parents in the second visit. While returning to their house, they fix either Friday or Wednesday for the next visit to complete the negotiations. The news brought by them is conveyed to the Mahajan, Patel, Karobari (an assistant to Mahajan) and other village elders of the groom's village.

17. On the appointed day the groom's party along with the Panch (local elders) of their village repair to bride's village. While starting, if they come across a widow, cat, people carrying empty pots, or if any body sneezes, the programme will be postponed since they are considered as bad omens. If every thing goes well they proceed with the following articles of nominal quantity of each accompanied by Patadi (ritual beggar) and the Katoda (the tribal priest).

- (1) Sugar
- (2) *Kumkum* (vermilion)
- (3) Five betel nuts
- (4) *Qulal* (red powder)
- (5) Five *khajoor* (*ucholi*—dried dates)
- (6) One sari
- (7) Necessary commodities to feed the villagers

18. On reaching the bride's village, first they go to the Patel's house and the bride's parents are informed of their arrival. The guests are then accommodated in a house called *jonesoron* which generally belongs to the same phratry people as the bridegroom's. In case there are none of their clan people in the village a separate booth is arranged in front

of a house belonging to a girl of their phratry or clan where groom's party takes rest for a while. Then the bride's party comes and greets with their customary words 'Ram Ram' and invite them to their house. They do not eat or drink in bride's house till the negotiations are finalised. All sit together and over a formal talk the issue is raised by the Panch. The details of Saga, *padi* are narrated by the concerned Patadi. After this, the host's people put *bottu* (vermilion mark on the forehead) first to the heads of both villages and then to all the rest. The girl is then brought before them and a saree, five betel nuts, and five *khajoor* (dried date fruit) are presented to her. She goes inside and wearing the new saree. A bit of sugar is put in her mouth by the head of the groom's village and then parents of the bridal pair put a bit in each other's mouth. Finally, the *gulal* (red powder) is sprinkled on all those that are assembled as a mark of happiness. After this, all the male members either go to a liquor shop or bring the liquor to the house and solemnize the betrothal with a drink offered by the bridegroom's father. Custom requires every man before drinking the liquor to say 'Ram Ram', an omission of which involves social disgrace. Now-a-days some people have discarded the offering of drinks by replacing it with feasts. The groom does not accompany the party. The marriage day is fixed on a day agreeable to both the parties.

19. But certain people, as decided by the Panch, pay the amount (*i.e.*, one or two hundred rupees as the case may be which is called *hundi*) and get the girl a day before the marriage day. Only the parents who are poor resort to such a method but not by people enjoying higher economic status. In such cases, girl's relatives do not participate in the marriage. They are entertained at bride's village with the amount received. The usual bride price is twelve and half or fifteen rupees and five sarees. This is given during the course of marriage. Generally, the *hundi* is paid if the bride is brought from a far of village or if the bride's parents are poor.

20. The Investigators were fortunate to be present at Bhurnur village when a Gond wedding took place and they would wish to record here exactly what they witnessed. The boy is of Mesram clan of 7 Gods phratry and the girl is from Atram clan of 6 Gods phratry. Bhurnur is the bride-

groom's village. Since the bride's village is far off from the groom's village the party to fetch the girl had left in advance.

21. Preliminary functions of marriages started from Tuesday evening. The Pradhans of their clan had already arrived with their drums and trumpets. At about 4 O'clock, all the women of the village accompanied by drums and trumpets started to propitiate the village deities. First they went to Pochamma (the female village deity). The Devari (village priest) who is also from their community irrespective of clan or phratry washed the shrines with fresh water brought from the well and the women with the fresh neem leaves in their hands stood in reverence. Vermilion and turmeric marks were applied to the deity and then the Devari smeared a bit of land with cow-dung in front of the deity as well as near the trunk of the neem tree which is just in front of this deity. Vertical and horizontal lines were drawn with dry turmeric powder on the dung plastered place and a small quantity of curd, cooked rice and sweet bread were offered uttering some *manthralu* (chantings). Some jowar grains were placed in front of the deity and a chicken was left there to ascertain the willingness of the deity. The chicken immediately picked up the grains. This was considered a sign of good luck and as consent of the deity. Then all the women place the neem leaves over the deity and left the place leaving the small chicken to its fate.

22. After finishing the propitiation of this deity, they visited all the village deities, like Samatradevi, Aki Pen, Satti Pen whom they worshipped in the same manner except the chicken test. The women sang songs in praise of deities and prayed to bless the would-be couple with happiness and prosperity. With this the first day's ceremony ended.

23. The second day's ceremony started with the propitiation of Bheemdev. All went to the shrine of the deity accompanied by drums and trumpets. The Devari offered cooked rice, curds, and sweet bread and a pair of new dhotis to the deity. The young unmarried women offered their salutations with an offering of turmeric paste. From there again, they visited all the deities of the village and returned. This ceremony ended at about 4 O'clock in the evening.

24. Then the arrangements for ceremonial bathing of the bridegroom were made by placing three brass vessels on the east and two on the west duly applied with vermilion paste and a thread was wound five times around these vessels and a wooden seat was placed in the middle (Fig. 23). Cold and hot water was brought and kept in separate vessels on the eastern side. A woman of same phratry or clan accompanying the groom called *thangen* brought the groom holding his hand who, after touching the feet of the elderly women and men occupied the wooden seat. The drums and trumpets were being played. The women applied turmeric paste to the groom which is called *uttedasokmad* and then gave him *bagh*. Throughout this operation the women were singing songs. The thread woven around the tumbler was then taken out and a dry turmeric root, two *thora* green leaves and two paise were tied with it and the same was tied to the right wrist of the groom. This ceremony was called *kakandhohat*. Then an elderly woman danced taking the groom in her arms and took him into the house. Again in the evening he was given bath in the ordinary manner.

25. At about 8 O'clock in the night the bride's party arrived. On arrival, they were welcomed by the groom's party on the outskirts of the village. As a mark of greeting, gruels and onions were exchanged by both parties. The whole company in a procession entered the village. The bride's party was accommodated in their own clan people's house which was called *jonesoron*. Necessary arrangements for the feeding of the guests were made. The Karobari and the Patel were busy in making the arrangements. When the bride's people settled comfortably, erection of pillars for marriage booth was started simultaneously in front of both the houses. And with this the second day's functions ended. Figure 24 shows the marriage booth and the seating arrangements in the booth are shown in Figure 25.

26. The third day's function started with the ceremonial bath to the groom again. The same was repeated to the bride. Then the groom was taken by the villagers to their houses and at each house on arrival a pot full of water was poured over him. After feeding him cash gifts were also given. The house-to-house visit by the bridegroom is called '*Ron-roke ekdosle vontho*'. The poor groom returned to his house shivering after the ordeal. The same process was repeated to the bride. This function was completed by about 2 O'clock in the afternoon. Relatives from the surrounding villages started

coming in and a vegetarian meal was served to all the guests and villagers.

27. Some people had already gone to the jungle for getting *porka*, the green leaves for erecting a marriage pandal. The cart carrying the leaves was greeted by the women on arrival on the outskirts of the village. Vermilion marks were made on the foreheads of bullocks and the cart man; a new cloth was spread over the cart full of green leaves and then it entered the village accompanied by drums and trumpets. The roof of the marriage booths was covered with these leaves. This ceremony is called *khodimanda*. In erecting the marriage booth the central pole called *munda* is first fixed on which a wooden pole called *khodi* rests. This *khodi* is a must in all the marriage booths. The significance of this is not known to them. Then the Devari and some elderly persons accompanied by two children of the different clans (*i.e.*, one boy of groom's clan and the other of bride's clan) went near the deity Bheemdev. There the Devari prepared a small peg with a node on the top and wrapped it in a new cloth. This peg symbolising Bheemdev was carried by the two children each holding one corner. They came and stood outside the village. The news of their arrival was made known and a procession of women accompanied by drums arrived to receive them. The feet of the boys were washed and were taken in a procession to the groom's house. After reaching there, the men and women danced around *munda* post and fixed that peg (symbolising Bheemdev) near the *munda*. Fig. 26 shows the Bheemdev. With this all the preliminary ceremonies of marriage concluded.

28. The final day's proceedings started with *kumikuma* ceremony. This was similar to that of *arivenikundalu* among caste Hindus. Five small earthenwares and one of medium size with their concave lids had already been brought and were kept in the maternal uncle's house. The basket contains five small earthen pots called *karekopen* and one medium size pot filled with water known as *pane duvve buddi*. They do not know the significance of this ceremony. A husband and wife, neatly dressed, started under a saree canopy, carried the pots in a basket to the marriage booth. The relationship of these people who carry this will be either maternal uncle or paternal aunt and in their absence any classificatory uncle or aunt. No special role is played by the Katoda in marriage. The women accompanying sang songs. By the time this party reached the marriage booth, the place around the *munda* post

was plastered with cow-dung and artistic lines of turmeric and vermilion were drawn on it. The basket thus brought was placed near the *munda* and the medium sized earthen jars was given to a bachelor who after filling it with water, brought and kept it covered by green leaves at a place where cattle gather on the outskirts of the village. The small earthen-ware were then carried to that place under a saree canopy by the same couple accompanied by drums and trumpets and placed three pots in eastern direction and two in western side around the big pot. All these functions were being directed by the Karobari and Patel of the village. After placing these pots, thread was wound round by the couple for five times. Then Devari propitiated these pots by offering a small quantity of cooked jowar and sweet bread. He poured water in all the five small ones taking it from the big pot. The thread was then taken out and tied to the couple's wrist. The five small pots were given to five women in married status to carry and these women were insisted upon to tell out the names of their husbands. (Normally the women feel shy to utter the names of their husbands). The procession then started for the marriage booth.

29. The small earthen pots brought were then placed on the heap of jowar around the *munda* post. Oil wicks were lighted in the concave lids of these pots. Then thread was wound round these pots for five times. After completing this ceremony, the bridegroom dressed in yellow dyed cotton clothes armed with a small dagger was brought by being carried by some elderly men, accompanied by music to the same place where the *kumikamal* ceremony was done. Leaving the boy under a saree canopy, they went and brought the bride in the same manner. The same dhoti which was offered to Bheemdev at the initial ceremonies was then cut into two pieces; one was worn by the groom and the other by the bride. All the promised ornaments were then given to her. Toe rings, saree, elbow ornaments and silver bangles were considered essential. The bridal pair stood opposite each other, the groom facing the east and the bride west holding a curtain between them. Sacred rice (rice mixed with turmeric) was distributed to all who assembled. The bridegroom put one betal nut, two paise, two bits of coconut, in the hand of bride for five times. The procedure was then repeated by the bride. Having completed this the groom placed his right foot over that of the bride for five times and the same was repeated by the bride. The curtain was then removed and the bride was made to stand to

the left side of the groom. The feet of the bridal pair were then washed in a brass plate and again the couple stood facing each other. The pair was brought a bit closer and they poured sacred rice over each other's head. All the assembled showered the sacred rice over the heads of the couple with their blessings. The bridal pair was then led to the marriage booth under a saree canopy. The guests and relatives were comfortably seated under the booth. Then two women one leading and the other at the back keeping the bridal pair in the midst took five rounds around *munda* post pouring water in the small earthen pots. Then two wooden seats were placed in the enclosure in eastern direction and a white cloth dyed in turmeric was spread over the seats. The groom offering his salutations to the *munda* post occupied the seat extending his right leg, facing east and then the bride sat to his left in the same manner. Some women came and anointed the couple with turmeric paste and were then given bath together. Considerable fun was made of the bride by the women of the groom's side. Again the bridal pair came and occupied their seats in the enclosure after changing their clothes.

30. Then the thread wound round the small earthen pots was removed and tied to the *khodi* resting on the *munda* post. The small earthenware were then removed and kept inside the house. The bride's people sitting separately till then were given water to wash their feet and then they sat there together with groom's people. *Bottu* was applied to the foreheads of all the assembled which was followed by the distribution of sacred rice. A string of black beads with three small golden balls in the centre, after showing to all the assembled, was handed over to the groom who tied it around the neck of the bride and thus completed the tying of sacred marriage locket (Fig. 27). All the people present showered the sacred rice over the couple with their blessings. After this the bridegroom paid Rs. 70 and one saree and one upper cloth to the parents of the bride. This was the *hundi* marriage and hence the amount paid was Rs. 170 as decided at the time of betrothal ceremony. Rupees 100 were paid while fetching the girl and the rest was paid during the marriage. But on the same day there was another marriage in which Rs. 15-50 and 6 sarees were given to the bride's parents towards the bride price called *paring*.

31. After this, presents in cash were given by friends and relatives after applying *bottu* to the

bridal pair. This ceremony over, some men in fancy dress burst into the marriage booth and lifted the groom and the bride on their shoulders and danced the Dhemsa around the *munda* post. Thus ended the main function of the marriage. After this, the guests and relatives were entertained to a vegetarian feast. The relatives who came from other villages began to leave after bidding good-bye with the customary words 'Ram Ram'.

32. The evening proceedings started with *kohda-kukda* ceremony. All these ceremonies which are now being described were almost dominated by woman; two young boys having a stick on their shoulders, hung a basket with a chicken in it, arrived on the outskirts of the village. The bridal pair and other woman accompanied by drums and trumpets came and washed the feet of these boys. Considerable fun exchanged by the woman of both the sides by pricking each other and sprinkling water, etc. Then all returned to the marriage booth. The significance of this ceremony could not be explained by the tribals. When they reached the booth, some women in two rows facing each other sat before the entrance. A heap of cow-dung was kept there and the same had to be brought by the bride for five times crossing them and heap in the north-eastern corner for performing the Devadevi *pooja*. They did not give way easily to the poor bride and teased her with their funny songs. At last she brought the cow-dung five times, facing the ordeal and heaped it in the north-eastern corner. Then started the Devadevi *pooja*. The bridal pair were seated facing the cow-dung heap. Devari (priest) plastered a bit of ground with cow-dung, offered incense and drew seven lines with vermilion as the groom was from seven Gods phratry. These lines were drawn according to the phratry of the groom. Then the bride holding the wrist of the groom placed seven small heaps of sacred rice on that place in a row. The bridal pair then offered their salutations. Then the meals were served to them in the company of two other woman in married status who sat on either side. The night was spent in dancing and merry making.

33. The following morning, all the bride's people were given oil bath. After this started the *korathe dosmal* ceremony, i.e., handing over the bride to all the relatives of the groom. The concluding ceremony called *thokkudu garka* started. Seven people from groom's side and six from the bride's side sat facing each other according to their clan. The bride sat in the midst of these people while the groom was handing

over *panakam* (jaggery water) in green leaf cups to the bride who in turn gave to the people of the groom's side first and then to people of her side. After this they exchanged the blankets on which they were sitting. Lastly, the bride's father was decorated with a garland of cow-dung cakes, stripes of cloth, with a sheep's leg as a pendant in the centre. With this the long-drawn proceedings of marriage ceremony ended. A non-vegetarian feast was served only after the completion of all these functions.

Marriage by capture

34. This type of marriage locally called *pisiwat-wal* is generally resorted to by those Gonds and Pradhans who are too poor to pay the *paring* (bride price) or to bear the subsequent expenses. This custom was in force among the Gonds in the by-gone days but now-a-days it is fading away.

35. Capturing of a girl and boy are permitted and such marriages are really very interesting. Those who intend to perform such marriages, first select the girl or the boy as the case may be and watch her/his movements secretly with the help of the villagers. Then the parents or the guardians of the boy or the girl visit the village of the girl or of the boy and inform their plan to the Patel of that village after paying his customary fee of Rs. 4 who generally gives his consent and also promises to send the girl or the boy to the forest on some pretext or the other. Capturing the boy is not so frequent as that of a girl.

36. On the day fixed, the parents of the boy feed some people of their village and send them to the girl's village who hide themselves in the nearby forest. The information about the arrival of this party is secretly conveyed to the Patel who under some pretext sends the chosen girl in the company of some other women to that spot where the groom's people are hiding. Soon after the girl appears, the people that are in hiding rush and pounce upon her, lift her on their shoulders and leave for their village. Great resistance to this capture is often offered by the women present and the men are chastised in right earnest. Stones and other missiles close at hand are freely hurled to set the girl free from the clutches of these people. The men should not touch other women though the latter may hurt them but try to run away with the girl. On such occasions they throw Rs. 2 towards the customary fee of these women and manage to get away with the girl who in her full tears is brought to the boy's house.

37. Immediately, after bringing the girl the marriage proceedings start without waiting for the auspicious day and even before the arrival of the bride's parents. The proceedings of this marriage are also performed in the same manner as regular marriage. Parents of the bride arrive sooner or later and show their unwillingness which usually subsides with the consoling words of the village elders; the bride price is paid and they are entertained. The bride price must be paid to the parents of the bride failing which due to social disgrace the marriages of their children would be affected. This *paring* or the bride price is a must in their social organisation and the non-payment of this is considered to be a religious taboo. The same procedure is adopted even when the boy is captured.

Consummation

38. There is no special function for nuptial ceremony among these tribes. It is left to the will and pleasure of the spouse. Under any circumstances sexual intercourse is not permitted during the course of marriage. In case of lack of initiation, the elderly women induce the bride. This happens, it seems, in case the husband is found impotent and such cases are also brought to the notice of Caste Panchayat for decision. The wife need not hesitate in telling the weakness of her husband before the Caste Panchayat. In such families, the general harmony is disturbed which ultimately results in divorce.

Sex morals

39. Illicit contacts on the part of women are not tolerated by the husbands. The culprits are brought to the notice of the Caste Panchayat and are suitably fined. The fine thus collected is spent on entertaining the caste people. The women thus accepted by their husbands will not be looked down upon by the tribe. Sexual intercourse with women during the period of menses is considered a taboo.

Significant differences in marriage ceremonies

40. There are significant differences in the marriage proceedings of the other caste people. The head of the Lohar household who has not performed any marriage so far in his family could not give details of marriage ceremonies excepting that there is no custom of payment of bride price. Among Madigas generally, the *peddamadiga* (eldest among Madigas) officiates at marriages. But in this village there is no *peddamadiga* as such and hence

they themselves manage the marriage ceremony. The marriage proceedings are very simple. Only vegetarian feast is given and marriage locket is tied in the assembly of elderly people. Divorce and the widow re-marriage are permitted among other castes of the village. The proceedings of re-marriage are very simple. On the appointed day a feast is given to their caste people and the couple wear the new clothes which solemnises the marriage.

Widow re-marriage

41. Widow re-marriage called *nika* or *pat* is permitted among the Gonds and Pradhans. Generally, the widow is required to marry her husband's younger brother, if alive, but refusal on either side gives her liberty to marry any outsider. In the latter case, she has to leave the offspring born through her departed husband with her in-laws; she will not have any right on her late husband's property; all the ornaments including the marriage locket are taken out and she will go out with her worn saree; baby at breast is allowed to be taken with her and has to be returned later. The ritual on widow's re-marriage is simple. The widow and her new partner are given bath together and new clothes are worn. He ties a string of black beads around her neck and gives all other ornaments promised by him. A non-vegetarian feast is then given to the caste people and this terminates the proceedings. Such women are not allowed to take part in the religious ceremonies. In such case there is no payment of *paring* or bride price.

Divorce

42. Divorce is common and permitted among both the tribes. Both the husband and wife have equal rights. A woman who dislikes her husband generally elopes with man of her choice and such elopements are also considered as divorce. Disputes of divorce are dealt in the Caste Panchayat. The women generally divorce their husbands on getting interested in other men and in such cases, the paramour has to pay the bride price and the other expenses of the marriage, as decided by the panchayat, to her first husband. All her ornaments including the marriage locket are taken by her first husband and only the baby at breast is allowed to be taken with her. In case the initiative comes from the husband, nothing need be paid to her nor her belongings like ornaments, etc., are taken away. She is at liberty to marry any person of her choice within the tribe. The marriage of divorced women called

nika or *pat* is performed by the same ritual as followed in widow re-marriage.

Death

43. Both cremation and burial are allowed among both the tribes and other castes. Unmarried persons and persons who die of smallpox and cholera are buried. The men or women who die in normal course are either buried or cremated depending upon one's economy. Cremation involves more expenses than the burial. In case of cremation, the corpse cannot be disposed of till all the relatives of the deceased arrive and the *pithrang* obsequies are to be performed on the next day. In case of burial they need not wait for the arrival of the relatives and the obsequies can be postponed to a later date to be performed conveniently within a year.

44. On the death of a member of the tribe, his relatives and the villagers assemble at his house and console the members of the family. The patient is allowed to die where he is sleeping. They do not remove the patient either outside or to another place. The Pradhan is summoned as the corpse cannot be disposed off without his presence. This custom is not being followed rigidly by the Gonds since one decade or so. As the custom demands that a Gond should give a cow or bull to the Pradhan on that occasion, the Gonds have to a little extent given up that habit. Further more, the Pradhans also are exhibiting a lack of interest in participating in the rituals. Of course, even now a few well-to-do Gonds invite the Pradhan and give him the alms, etc. The dead body is carefully brought outside the house, bathed in hot water and dressed in a new white cloth provided by the household itself. Where the household is poor and cannot afford to purchase the new cloth, any person belonging to the clan gives it. A rupee or one paisa coin is put in the mouth of the deceased. All the nearest relatives of the dead pour a bit of water in the mouth of the deceased and put a paisa on the left side of the corpse. All this money is collected by a Pradhan. The corpse is then placed on a bamboo bier or on the cot itself or on the hands and carried by four men irrespective of phratry or clan to the cremation ground. The chief mourner, invariably the son in the case of a dead parent, leads the procession bearing in one hand a string of robe in which an earthen concave plate with burning fire is placed and in other hand an axe for cremation. For a burial the axe is not carried by the chief mourner. If the deceased

has no sons, any one belonging to the clan leads the mourning procession. The drums and trumpets are played by themselves while taking the corpse to the burial ground. The corpse is rested on the floor for a while on the outskirts of the village and a small quantity of jowar or rice is put near the head of the deceased by the people belonging to that clan. When they reach the place, the corpse is laid on the funeral pyre keeping the head towards the south and the chief mourner kindles it. In a burial the corpse is placed in the grave carefully with the head to the south and the chief mourner first puts a small quantity of earth on it and the rest follow him. Here the Pradhan receives Rs. 1.25 P. After the oblations of cooked rice, they wash their hands and face and return. The persons who carried the corpse including others irrespective of Saga and clan and the chief mourner take bath. The wife of the deceased follows the corpse and removes her marriage locket and the bangles. Soon after they return to the house they see the lighted wick already kept at the last resting place of the departed soul. The traditional custom demands offering of tobacco to all the assembled. Tea is offered to all the persons assembled and then they all disperse which is a later feature adopted by the well-to-do. A decade back they used to serve liquor also.

45. Period of mourning is 3 days irrespective of kinship relation or the age provided they decide to observe the *pithrang* (obsequies) immediately and if not only one day. In case of postponement, which is generally done by the poor people, they sacrifice one fowl and a little quantity of rice is cooked. The sacrificed fowl is cooked there only. Oblations are offered and a bit of curry is kept in a leaf and the remaining is eaten by the people who followed.

Obsequies

46. On the day of obsequies all the nearest relatives and the villagers are entertained to a non-vegetarian feast at the house of the deceased. Considerable liquor is consumed on this day and one or two goats are decapitated in the memory of the departed soul and the meat is consumed by all. On this day also oblations are made to the departed soul. None sleeps on this night and the Pradhan narrates the past history playing on his *kingri*, a stringed instrument, and receives something out of the belongings left by the deceased. On this day during the night on a heap of jowar flour a brass tumbler is placed inside the house. A candle is lighted in the lid. In the morning they see the heap.

If any imprints of either human beings or the animals are found on the heap, they consider that the dead is again born in the world in the same form. Gonds give calves, gold, grain, etc., to the Pradhan on this occasion according to their economic conditions.

47. It is not binding on the part of a widow to wait till the obsequies are completed to get *nika*.

48. No periodical ceremonies are performed for the propitiation of the departed souls, but dead are held in great reverence. The conception of life after death among this tribe is that all dead will again take birth either in human form or as animals. Once in a year people belonging to a particular age collectively observe *pithrang* in the memory of the departed soul. On this day the households belonging to a particular Saga (phratry) decapitate a goat and eat. This ceremony is done in the month of *Karteeka* (October-November) of every year. Well-to-do people construct tombs over the burial or cremated place of the departed to perpetuate their memory.

Superstitious beliefs

49. The Gonds are so superstitious in their beliefs that if any member of the family falls sick or some misfortune occurs in the house of the deceased they leave the house for good and erect an alternative house in some other place or leave the village itself. They do not even hesitate to leave their immovable property like lands, etc. But such instances are rare.

50. The tribals and other caste people living in the village also believe in omens. To see a man or woman coming after attending calls of nature with an empty vessel is considered a bad omen while a person coming across with a vessel filled with water is considered a good omen. While going on some work if they come across a widow, it is considered inauspicious. Similarly, while discussing about some good thing or starting for some place on some work, if a pot gets broken they stop going as it is considered bad omen. If one comes across a cat while going out or to anybody's house in the village, the idea is abandoned for a while. Sneezing at front or rear is considered lucky. Barking of a dog, seeing a fox or a woman carrying food are considered auspicious.

51. The tribals also believe in the adverse effects of an evil eye. Raw chillies and the salt are taken round the person who are supposed to have been affected by the evil eye, and are thrown in the hearth. If no pungent odour emanates it is considered that the person is not under the spell of evil eye and if there is smell it is considered that the effect of the evil eye is warded off. Mascots, etc., are also used for begetting good luck or avoiding the evil ones. There is one Sri Motiram who gives some roots which are tied on the arm.

52. Wednesday, Monday and Friday are considered auspicious and any good work is started on these days. They have their hair cut on any day but generally the *shandy* day is preferred because the barber is available on that day at Sirpur.

General

It is difficult to trace the economic activity of Gonds in the days by-gone. The Gonds themselves do not know when they took to plough cultivation. Their economic and social lives are closely knit. They were in the past at liberty to shift about any where they like, being the lords of the jungles moving at will and enjoying perfect freedom in selecting land for cultivation and making new clearances. But to-day the position is different. They have now become settled agriculturists. The modern means of communications have played an important role in their economy by opening up the hitherto secluded areas for settlement by outsiders from the plains who practised settled agriculture who may thus be considered to have brought about the change in others from shifting cultivation. Almost all the inhabitants in the village are agriculturists. There are no industries in the village as such.

Land

2. The total area of the village is 1,265 acres and 17 guntas and is classified as below as per the revenue records.

Statement VI				
AREA PARTICULARS				
Category			Extent	
			Ac. Gun- tas	
(1)			(2)	
1	Patta land	.	.	521.38
2	<i>Kharij khata</i> (cultivable waste)	.	.	388.16
3	Poramboke	.	.	205.31
4	<i>Gairan</i> (grazing)	.	.	118.12
5	<i>Pot karab</i> (hills etc.)	.	.	11. 3
6	<i>Gawtam</i> (village site)	.	.	8.16
7	Streams	.	.	6.14
8	Tanks	.	.	5.07
				1,265.17

3. There are 61 households in the village as recorded during the revisit. According to the particulars given by the Village Karnam, there are as many as 57 households who are in possession of the land either of the Patta or of the Government waste lands. The remaining four households who do not

Chapter IV
ECONOMY

own any land eke out their livelihood by cultivating the lands of others. Of the 57 households who are possessing the lands, only 30 households are having Patta rights. Again, of these 30 Pattadars, only three are of other castes (one Mathura and two Baniyas) and the remaining 27 Pattadars are tribals. All the three non-tribal Pattadars are absentee landlords. Those lands are under the possession of the tribals since a decade or so and the tribals are paying the Land Revenue. The remaining 31 households including the Madiga and Lohar castes are cultivating the Government waste land. A few Pattadars had also the possession of Government lands besides their own lands. Based on the information collected from the Revenue records the households in the village are classified according to the size of holdings irrespective of the occupancy rights either of Patta land or Government land.

Statement VII				
SIZE OF HOLDINGS				
Size of holdings (in acres)	Households having			Total
	Patta lands	Non-patta lands		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Below 3	.	.	1	1
3 to 5	.	.	8	10
6 to 8	.	.	...	...
9 to 10	.	.	3	4
12 to 14	.	.	3	7
15 to 17	.	.	5	14
18 to 20	.	.	4	6
21 to 30	.	.	2	10
31 to 40	.	.	1	4
41 to 50	.	.	...	1

4. It is evident from the above Statement that 30 out of 57 households are having Patta lands while the remaining 27 households are having non-Patta lands. Only one household has got less than three acres of land. Ten households are having less than 5 acres but more than 3 acres of land each. The holdings of as many as 30 out of 87 households are in the range of 15 to 30 acres. A further split-up shows that the maximum number of 14 households are having 15 to 17 acres of land each. 10 households are having 21 to 30 acres each while the remaining 6 households have each of them 18 to 20 acres of

land. Five households have got more than 30 acres of land each and one among them is having more than 41 and less than 50 acres of land. Due to non-availability of sufficient irrigational facilities the land potentialities are not properly exploited either by the developmental agencies or by the owners of the land. All the non-Pattadars are cultivating either cultivable waste, poramboke or the *gairan* (grazing) land.

5. During 1963-64 of the total area of 1,265.17 acres, 767 acres of land were under cultivation. Out of the Patta land of 521 acres and 38 guntas distributed among the 30 households only 407 acres have been brought under cultivation during the last agricultural year and the remaining land being kept fallow due to some unknown reason. Similarly of the 388 acres 16 guntas of cultivable waste 299 acres and 10 guntas of land is possessed by the 23 households since the last decade or more. Again of these 23 households 18 are not having Patta lands and the remaining five own Patta lands. Still, 90 acres of land is available under the category of Patta land for cultivation. Nine households are cultivating 40 acres and 20 guntas of the total poramboke land of 205 acres and 31 guntas. Of the 118 acres 12 guntas of grazing land locally known as *gairan* about 19 acres of land is being cultivated by three households. On the whole there are still about 200 acres of land available for cultivation but the bottleneck is lack of irrigational facilities.

6. The cultivators are all dependent on rain for cultivation of their lands. Two households in Gedamguda however are growing onions, vegetables, bananas etc., through well water. Another household at Bhurnur dug a well with the help of a loan advanced by the Panchayat Samithi, but it has not got sufficient water.

Factors influencing the economic life of the tribe

7. The generous policy of the Government has considerably changed the economy of this tribe. Many ameliorative measures have been adopted to better the economic conditions of this tribe. As already mentioned, special rules and regulations have been formulated and a separate department was created to look after the interests of this tribe. Under the Tribal Areas Regulation Rules and Relevant Orders (No. III of 1359 Fasli) most of the tribals of this area have acquired Patta rights over the lands they were cultivating. The possession of lands by the Gonds has also been regularised.

Certain lands have been taken from the reserve forests and were also allotted to the tribals. Further a few tribals from the neighbouring areas where the land is scarce have also been brought and settled here. Almost all the inhabitants of the village are migrants from the neighbouring taluks. In spite of the restrictions imposed upon the non-tribals in acquiring lands many have managed to acquire lands in this area and among them Muslims predominate. But all these non-tribals have not acquired permanent Pattas. To clear of certain heavy debts the Gonds give up their rights temporarily in favour of the non-tribals who cultivate and return the lands to Gonds as soon as the debt is cleared off. In the initial stages, financial assistance as well as free supply of bullocks to carry on agricultural operations was given to them by the Rural Credit Co-operative Societies. But they are now almost defunct. This assistance in the initial stages has brought both good and evil effects among the tribes. The new life has created fresh desires in them but their limited resources could not meet their demands. Consequently they are drawn into the clutches of the money lender.

8. With the introduction of the Community Development Programmes and with the opening up of the Tribal Development Block (Multi-purpose Project) in 1957 to cover the entire Utnur Taluk, the general economic condition of the tribals in this area has improved considerably and the same is evident in several road side villages. But the improvements in the interior and inaccessible places are not quite encouraging.

9. None in the village knows about the various legislations enacted by the State in the agrarian sector. They however know the Land Assignment Scheme as almost all the inhabitants are benefited by it. Lands were assigned and are still being assigned to the tribals under Special Loan Rules. Almost all the households have been benefited by this scheme.

Livestock

10. The livestock of the village comprises of 84 pairs of bullocks, 200 cows, 41 goats and 25 buffaloes and all are not of any improved variety, but of the local breed. The bullocks and he-buffaloes form the draught force of the village used in ploughing, cart pulling etc. Most of the livestock is possessed by Gonds. Grazing facilities are available in the near-by forest. Milk and milk products are not locally

consumed. The cattle are not properly reared. The use of oil cakes, salt etc., as feed to the cattle is almost unknown to them. Adilabad is the nearest centre where these tribals purchase and sell cattle in the cattle fair held on every Sunday. Animal diseases are treated locally.

Traditional occupation

11. Table 7 gives the details of the traditional occupation of Gonds and Pradhans. Of the 55 Gond households, 50 households reported agriculture as their traditional occupation while 5 households had agricultural labour as their traditional occupation. The 5 Pradhan households reported that their traditional occupation consists of agriculture (one household) and ritual begging (4 households). The one Lohar household reported blacksmithy as his traditional occupation. Among the two Madiga households, occupation of one household is agriculture and of another is cobblery. Agriculture is combined with their traditional occupation of ritual begging during the recent years by the Pradhans, who appear to be in the process of economic transformation. There is no change in the traditional occupation of the Gonds because lack of other opportunities and the total absence of any industry. In the past, the Pradhans used to depend completely upon the Gonds for their livelihood by way of begging which is socially sanctioned according to mythology. After the introduction of various developmental programmes among the tribal folk during the last two decades, there has been a considerable change in their social outlook specially among the younger generation. Though the Pradhans are considered low in the social status in the Gonds society no such discrimination is made in implementation of the welfare programmes by the State among them. Lands were allotted to the Pradhans on par with other tribals. Naturally with this the Pradhans have now secured some economic stability and they have abandoned the idea that they should be dependent upon the Gonds as they used to be. The younger generation among Pradhans to a greater extent lessened their contacts with Gonds and have begun to feel that it was below their dignity to play on their stringed instrument and collect alms. This sort of attitude and independent outlook that has developed among the Pradhans because of their economic stability is not relished by the Gonds and consequently they too stopped showing any patronage towards the Pradhans. The Gonds have stopped giving customary payments as liberally as before. Moreover whereas the presence of a

Pradhan in the past was considered a must in the social functions, it is not so rigid at present.

Main occupation

12. Nearly 80% of the households in the village are following agriculture as main occupation while the remaining 20% are following other occupations like agricultural labour, attached agricultural labour, cobblery and *patadi* (ritual begging). The occupationwise distribution of the households among the communities shows that 46 out of 55 Gond households are engaged in agriculture, 8 households in attached agricultural labour and one in agricultural labour as main occupation. Of the 5 Pradhan households, 3 report agriculture and 2 ritual begging as their main occupation. One Madiga and one Lohar household are engaged in agriculture and the remaining one household of Madiga is found engaged in cobblery (Table 9).

Occupational change over

13. There is not much change over among Gonds from their traditional occupation of cultivation. Of the 55 Gond households only five households have changed to contemporary occupation of attached agricultural labour. The cause of changing over to this occupation is not because of lack of land but due to lack of bullocks and agricultural implements. Among the Gonds the change over is generally from agriculture to agricultural labour or *vice versa* in these areas. Similarly, out of the four Pradhan households whose traditional occupation was ritual begging, 2 have changed over to agriculture. The only Lohar household with blacksmithy as traditional occupation has changed over to agriculture (Table 8).

Combination of occupations

14. It is evident from Table 10 that among the 16 households with agriculture as main occupation one each of five households has taken up subsidiary occupation like teacher, village official, village servant, havildar and blacksmithy; 2 households have taken up *patadi* (ritual begging); 2 households have taken to attached agricultural labour whilst 7 households have taken up agricultural labour as subsidiary occupation. All the 3 households which have attached agricultural labour as main occupation have taken up agricultural labour as subsidiary occupation while two households with main occupation of *patadi* (ritual begging) have also combined agricultural labour as subsidiary occupation. From the

above analysis it is quite evident that the tendency of following more than one occupation among the inhabitants of this village seems to be on the increase. If at all they combine their main occupation it is mostly either with agriculture or agricultural labour.

Mobility of occupation

15. The mobility of occupation is almost nil among the people under study. The place of occupation for all the people except the Pradhans is within the village. The Pradhans who are following ritual begging visit the surrounding villages. For lack of aspiration they usually do not go to some other place to earn something more even in the slack season, since their entire economic activity is centred round agriculture and that too within the village.

Description of different occupations

16. Agriculture is the main occupation for majority of the households in the village. Nearly 76% of the people eke out their livelihood from agriculture only. The technique, methods of cultivation and also the implements used by them are antiquated. The Community Development Programme has done little in the interior parts of this area in the field of agriculture. Improved seeds and fertilisers are yet unknown to them. A little quantity of each produce is preserved as seed for the next year's sowing. No land improvement programmes are introduced. Three Gond households are found applying organic manures in their fields. One household seems to have adopted improved methods of cultivation also (Table 12). The land of this village is black cotton and is considered to be fertile but the farmers do not try to improve the fertility by putting the manures etc. The average yield per acre in the village is about 2 to 4 maunds of jowar and $1\frac{1}{4}$ palla to one palla (local measure) in case of cotton which are the main crops. The other pulses which are raised in the village are used for household consumption only. Only the agriculturists who are having bigger holdings engage the casual labourers occasionally. Hence the organisation of man power is not a problem in the village. Following are the crops raised in the village during the last agricultural year. There are two crop seasons viz. first, Kharif starts from June and ends by November and second, Rabi starts in December and ends by March.

Statement VIII
PARTICULARS OF KHARIF AND RABI CROPS

Name of the crop (1)	Area sown Ac. G. (2)	Average yield in annas (3)
<i>Kharif crops</i>		
1 Paddy . . .	78. 9	8
2 Jowar . . .	192.32	8
3 Maize . . .	24.13	8
4 Sama . . .	2.30	6
5 Redgram . . .	2 20	6
6 Greengram . . .	18.00	6
7 Blackgram . . .	39.25	6
8 Chillies . . .	0.21	6
9 Cotton . . .	19.25	6
10 Til . . .	8.25	6
11 Jute . . .	2.00	6
Total	389.10	
<i>Rabi crops</i>		
1 Jowar . . .	60.15	8
2 Wheat . . .	15.10	8
3 Bengal gram . . .	50.10	8
4 Other miscellaneous crops . . .	15.15	8
Total	141.25	

17. It is evident from the above crop pattern that cotton is the only cash crop for them. Except cotton and Bengalgram and wheat no other produce is generally marketed by the agricultural households. The crop calendar given below shows the sowing and harvesting seasons of the different crops.

Statement IX
CROP CALENDAR

Name of the crop (1)	Sowing season (2)	Harvesting season (3)
<i>Kharif crops</i>		
1 Maize . . .	June	September
2 Jowar . . .	June	September-December
3 Cotton . . .	June	December
4 Paddy . . .	June	September
5 Blackgram . . .	June	August
6 Greengram . . .	June	August
<i>Rabi crops</i>		
1 Bengalgram . . .	December	March-April
2 Jowar . . .	December	April
3 Wheat . . .	December	April
4 Cowgram . . .	December	April

Jute, greengram etc., are mixed with jowar in the Kharif crop. The inter-cultural operations are conducted only for Kharif crop in the month of July or August mostly by the household labour. Harvesting is also done by the household labour. The land is ploughed in the month of May. Soon after the fall of first rain by the end of May or beginning of June the sowing operations start. Most of the agricultural operations are attended to by the tribals themselves except in a few cases where due to large holdings the respective households engage hired labour and meet the expenditure either from their own resources or borrowed from the money lenders.

Marketing

18. Only, cotton, Bengalgram and wheat are commonly sold by the villagers at Adilabad market. People who are having small quantity generally sell to petty traders at Sirpur on any *shandy* day (Fig. 28). Adilabad is the only nearest marketing centre for these people. The common transport to the market is bullock cart (Fig. 29). They sell directly to the merchants without the interference of any middleman. The merchants at Adilabad now and then advance money if required to the ryots during the slack season on the promise that the latter will sell their produce to the former in the harvesting season. In such cases a nominal interest of $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ is charged. There are one or two households who got loans from the merchants of Adilabad on those terms. The following produce is marketed at Adilabad by the agriculturists of this village during the year 1963.

Statement X
PARTICULARS OF MARKETING PRODUCE

Name of the produce (1)	Quantity of the produce marketed (in pallas) (2)	Rate at which marketed (in Rupees per palla) (3)	Total value (in Rs.) (4)
Bengalgram . . .	30	152	4,560
Cotton . . .	40	120	4,800
Wheat . . .	20	150	3,000
Total	90		12,360

1 Palla = 1 Quintal

A little quantity of wheat and Bengalgram is retained for household consumption.

Agricultural implements

19. The following are the agricultural implements used in this village and all are antiquated

(Figs. 30 & 31). *Ser*, the narrow sharp plough is used for opening the earth in a furrow for sowing the seeds. *Dawra* is a harrow used for weeding. The *dawra* resembles *wakur* another type of harrow, but its horizontal weeding blade is shorter i.e., only 8" to 10" long, thus it slides easily between the row of plants of jowar, cotton or pulses without damaging the young plants while the bullocks walk in the adjoining rows. This is used for uprooting the weeds that would otherwise sap the fertility of the soil. *Wakur* is a type of harrow with a horizontal blade curved at the ends which is fixed in the centre of a wooden board. Before sowing, this is used to clean the surface of the field by uprooting both stubble of the last year's crop and the grass. On this wooden board the ploughman stands so as to increase the pressure. *Tipun* is a seed drill with three or more coulters. For sowing on heavy soil some people use the *tipun* with three coulters and the sower stands on the coulters board and drops the seeds into a large funnel from which three bamboo tubes lead off to the coulters.

20. Over and above these implements, sundry articles like axe, sickle and the carts are also possessed by the agriculturists. All the agricultural implements are prepared by themselves. The timber required for the agricultural implements is procured from the local forest and each agriculturist pays Re. 1 to the Forest Guard towards his customary fee locally known as *authpatti*. The blacksmith in Gedamguda, since his migration, has been attending to the manufacturing of agricultural implements required by the ryots of this village who requisition his services. Fig. 32 shows the blacksmith at work. Prior to his coming, the agricultural households themselves used to prepare all the required implements. Now an agricultural household who can afford the services of the blacksmith is paying him 8 *paili* (16 seers) of jowar or equivalent in money once a year. He also attends to the needs of the tribals of Mahagaon, Pamulawada, Bhurnur and Netnur villages, all within a radius of six miles. Sometimes, they come to him and sometimes he visits the villages. In this village 25 households have engaged the services of the blacksmith and he is attending to the work requirements of about 125 families and gets annually jowar worth Rs. 1,250.

Casual and agricultural labour

21. As recorded in 1961, six households are reported to have been following the agricultural

labour as main occupation. They are generally engaged at the time of intercultural operations and harvesting seasons by the well-to-do agricultural families. The wages paid at the time of intercultural operations is 50 P. per woman and 75 P. per man. Re. 1 is paid per day if one is engaged for ploughing in addition to one time meal. At the time of harvesting, the wages are paid in kind. 50 to 60 ear heads are given if they go to cut the maize and two small baskets load of jowar heads, for cutting jowar crop. Similarly if they are engaged in picking cotton they are paid in two baskets full of cotton. The wage rate of the labourers is very poor in this area.

Attached agricultural labour

22. There are 8 households which have reported attached agricultural labour as their main occupation. The wage rate to them is Rs. 60 cash and 25 maunds of jowar annually, which comes to nearly Rs. 310. The working conditions of these labourers are deplorably bad. He has to attend agricultural as well as household work all round the clock.

Ritual begging

23. The three Pradhan households who have reported ritual begging as their main occupation visit the Gond households during the harvesting seasons of this area to beg. They also go to most interior places in the forest. In addition to this they also visit their patrons at the time of social and religious functions and get alms.

Main occupation and per capita annual household income

24. Agriculture is the main occupation for 51 out of 63 households. These 51 households comprise 25 Simple, 5 Intermediate, 15 Joint and 6 Other type of families distributed over all the income groups. The income-wise distribution is that there are 15 Simple, 3 Intermediate, 7 Joint and one Other type of families in the income group of less than Rs. 51 per annum. In the income group Rs. 51 to 100 there are 6 Simple, 2 Intermediate, 6 Joint and one Other type of families. In the next income group of Rs. 101-200 there are two households each of Simple and Joint, and one of Other type whereas there is only one Other type of family in the highest income group of Rs. 201 and above. Four households viz, 2 Simple and 2 Other types could not specify their income (Table 11).

25. *Agricultural labour*: This is the main occupation for only one household which is of Simple type and found in the income group of Rs. 51-100 per annum.

26. *Attached agricultural labour*: Eight households comprising 5 Simple, one Intermediate and 2 Joint type report this as their main occupation. Among these 8 households 4 Simple, one Intermediate and one Joint type of families are in the income group of Rs. 1-50 per annum. Among the remaining two households one Joint type of family is in the income group of Rs. 51-100 while the other Simple type of family could not specify its income.

27. *Cobbler*: It is the main occupation for one Simple type of family which is in the income group of Rs. 1-50 per annum.

28. *Patadi*: *Patadi* or ritual begging is the main occupation for one Joint and one Simple type of families which are in the income groups of Rs. 1-50 and Rs. 51-100 respectively (Table 11).

Annual household income

29. Table 17 gives the particulars of the annual household income by main occupation and source of income. Of the 63 households, 51 follow agriculture as main occupation. Again of these 51 households, 48 households derived through agriculture a total income of Rs. 12,801 (85.49%). Again, out of these 48 households as many as 33 households whose contribution has come to Rs. 5,383 fall within the annual income range of Rs. 300 and less. Ten households in the annual income range of Rs. 301-600 have contributed Rs. 3,673 while 3 households in the annual income range of Rs. 601-900 have contributed Rs. 2,240. There are only two households in the annual income group of Rs. 901-1,200 who have contributed Rs. 1,505. Thus the average income from agriculture in the lowest total income group of Rs. 300 and less is only Rs. 163 while the average income in the highest income group of Rs. 901-1,200 is the maximum in the village i.e., Rs. 753 per annum. Similarly the average annual income from agriculture of the households who fall in the income group of Rs. 301-600 is Rs. 367 per household while the average annual income of the households in the income group of Rs. 601-900 is Rs. 747. About 14 households whose main occupation is agriculture derive income from other sources too viz, 8 households derived Rs. 761 from agricultural labour, one household each has earned an income of Rs. 140,

Rs. 721, Rs. 150, Rs. 50, Rs. 200 and Rs. 150 through the subsidiary occupations like attached agricultural labour, teacher, village officer, havildar, Patadi and village servant respectively.

30. One household, reported to have been following agricultural labour as main occupation, has earned Rs. 180 through main occupation and Rs. 90 through casual labour, the subsidiary occupation. Attached agricultural labour is the main occupation for 8 households. Seven of them have earned Rs. 894 through the main occupation. Three of these 7 households have also earned a further income of Rs. 270 through agricultural labour, the subsidiary occupation. Except one household which is in the income group of Rs. 301-600 the remaining are in the income group of Rs. 300 and below. The solitary household with cobbler as main occupation has earned Rs. 190 through main occupation and is in the income group of Rs. 300 and below. The two households of *patadi* or ritual begging as main occupation have earned Rs. 200 through the main occupation and Rs. 240 through agricultural labour, the only subsidiary occupation. Both of them are in the income group of Rs. 300 and below. The incomes of 3 households of cultivation and one household of attached agricultural labour as main occupation have not been reported (Table 17).

Annual household expenditure

31. Table 19 gives the expenditure pattern of the seven households surveyed intensively. The expenditure pattern among the inhabitants is very simple and is limited to the primary needs. The main items of the expenditure of the six households having agriculture as main occupation are food, clothing, fuel and lighting, and toilets etc. Of the total expenditure 62.11% is spent on food, 30.17% on clothing, 2.57% on fuel and lighting, and 0.35% on soaps. Only one household spent Rs. 100 (3.20%) on marriage. Of the 6 households two in the income group of Rs. 300 and below have spent Rs. 210, three in the group of Rs. 301-600 have spent Rs. 406.67 P. and one in the income group of Rs. 901-1,200 has spent Rs. 300 on food. The same trend of expenditure on other items like clothing and soaps is found among these households. The expenditure pattern of the one Pradhan household depending on attached agricultural labour does not differ much from the above pattern. Equal percentage of amount is spent on clothing by this household. An amount of Rs. 50 has been spent on the education of a boy (Table 18).

Indebtedness

32. The intensive economic survey conducted among the seven households in the village reveals that 3 of them are having debts amounting to Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,500. One household each in the income groups Rs. 300 and less, Rs. 301-600 and Rs. 901-1,200 have raised a loan of Rs. 100, Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,500 respectively (Table 21).

33. The causes for raising loan may vary from household to household and from occasion to occasion in the same household itself. Among the three households in debt, 2 households have each incurred a debt of Rs. 1,000 for meeting ordinary wants, and for meeting expenses of household cultivation. An amount of Rs. 100 and Rs. 1,000 have been borrowed by one household each for marriage and cultivation respectively (Table 22).

Credit agency

34. Usually the private money lender of Asifabad has been fulfilling the usurious needs of the tribals of this village for quite a long time. With the opening up of Community Development Programmes in these areas, tribals started to take advantage of the credit facilities provided by this organisation. All the three households raised a total amount of Rs. 1,200 from the private money lender at an interest of 25%. One among them has also taken a loan of Rs. 1,000 from the Government agency at 4 to 6 percent interest. Added to this the itinerant merchants who are known as *madrasis* from Nellore District are also giving loans and clothes to the tribals and collect the amounts at the time of harvest. These money lenders are operating in this area for the last one decade. They stay at some village and visit the tribal habitations now and then. Though many development schemes are introduced, this problem of finding easy credit facilities for the tribals is still unsolved (Table 23).

Family budget

35. Table 20 gives the overall household budget position of these households. Of the six Gond families, three households who come in the income range of Rs. 300 and below are in deficit and of the remaining three households one in the income range of Rs. 301 to Rs. 600 is having surplus and another in the same income group is having deficit budget whereas one household could not specify its bud-

getary position. The one Pradhan household falling in the income group of Rs. 901-1,200 is in deficit budget.

Capital formation

36. Among the 7 households surveyed intensively 4 have invested in capital goods during 1959-60. Except one household of Pradhan the remaining are

all Gonds. Among the Gonds two households have invested in gold and silver to a tune of Rs. 26 to 50 and Rs. 51 to 75 respectively while one has purchased Savings Bonds worth about Rs. 6 to 25. The only Pradhan household has invested more than Rs. 6 and less than Rs. 26 on house construction during the same period (Table 16).

Chapter V

CULTURAL LIFE AND VILLAGE ORGANISATION

Language

The Gonds who refer to themselves as “Koitur” have their own language called Gondi which has no script. It is however spoken with a mixture of Marathi words in Adilabad, Utnur and Boath Taluks as the language of the neighbouring area is Marathi; similarly the Gonds inhabiting the taluks of Asifabad, Sirpur, Chinnur and Lakshettipet commonly mix Telugu in their Gondi dialect, as the dominant language of the people living in these taluks is Telugu. The 1961 Census Table ST I. (Part V-A-Volume II) shows that in Adilabad District, the Gonds have returned the following languages or dialects as their mother tongue.

Statement XI

SPEAKERS BY MOTHER TONGUE AND SEX

Mother tongue (1)	Total speakers	
	Males (2)	Females (3)
1 Bhole	...	2
2 Gondi	37,051	34,761
3 Hindi	65	37
4 Kannada	...	2
5 Kolami	22	23
6 Koya	172	506
7 Manne	2	1
8 Marathi	148	121
9 Mathuri	52	3
10 Telugu	9,576	10,788

2. The influence of the other languages over the Gonds is thus apparent. Usually males speak all the languages of the neighbourhood due to their constant contact with others whereas women speak only in Gondi with all the influxes resulting from the influence of regional languages. The other community people who are in minority living in Gond habitation areas generally speak in Gondi with the Gonds. When the question of starting the schools arose in the tribal areas Devanagari script was adopted for this language, on the initiation of Professor Haimendorf, the eminent anthropologist, by the then Social Service Department of the erstwhile Hyderabad State Government and the Primary Readers were published in this script for use in the Departmental schools. They were prepared by Sri S. B. Jogelkar, Social Service Officer of the erstwhile Hyderabad Government and were introduced

in all the tribal schools of Adilabad District. After the reorganisation of States, Telugu and Hindi have been introduced. A glossary of a few Gondi words and sentences with their meaning in English is given below.

Statement XII

GLOSSARY OF A FEW GONDI WORDS AND SENTENCES

Gondi (1)	English (2)
Khandecr	Children
Pedal	Boy
Pedi	Girl
Manial	Men
Vailo	Women
Baika	Wife
Madso	Husband
Ghato	Food
Yer	Water
Perak	Rice
Ron	House
Nar	Village
Khedda	Forest
Gumpa	Temple
Moora	Cow
Ermi	Buffalo
Konda	Bullock
Kove	Monkey
Kakad	Crow
Dagoor	Big
Chudoor	Small
Phorol	Name
Wara	Come
Ikkewara	Come here
Uda	Sit
Nila	Stand
Baskay	When
Baga	Where
Bhan	How
Nimbor	Whom
Bari	Why
Borandur	Who
Bachalay	How much
Roppo	In
Sille	No and Nil
Chowkatmantheet	O.K.
Chowkat	Good
Meeva badnar	Wherefrom do you hail?
Meeva porol bathal	What is your name?
Meerat samdeer chowkatmantheet	Are you doing well?
Mari miyad samdecr chowkatmantheet	My children and all are O. K.
Sare thinhiki sille	Did you have your meal?
Thinmad sille	Not taken
Nimmed bhaga danthi	Where are you going?
Nanna dautom	I am going

3. The mother tongue of the Pradhans — the ritual beggars — is Marathi but they are equally familiar with Gondi. While talking with Gonds and narrating the myth *etc.*, they use Gondi. The women of this tribe also know Gondi. Among themselves they invariably talk in Marathi.

4. The language of Lohar is Marathi and he also speaks Gondi. Madigas talk Telugu among themselves and in Gondi with Gonds. These other community people living in the village are quite familiar with Gondi. Urdu is more or less spoken by the male members of all communities in the village. This is because Urdu was the official language in the erstwhile Hyderabad State and it was the media for conversing with the ruling class — the Muslims.

Family Type

5. The joint family system is slowly breaking up even among these hill folk. The incidence of such break-up is more after they have taken up settled agriculture. The tendency now-a-days is for the youth to live away from their parents and other family members after the marriage. The land reforms to a certain extent are also responsible for the disintegration of the joint family system. While assigning the land, the head of the household is taken into consideration. Every head of the household, in his desire to see that his sons possess more land, encourages his sons to set up a separate family. Out of the 55 Gond households, 29 are Simple type of families consisting of wife and husband and unmarried children, 5 are Intermediate *i.e.*, married couple, unmarried brother, sister and one of the parents, 17 are Joint families *i.e.*, married couple with married sons / daughters or with married brothers / sisters and 4 are 'Others' *i.e.*, which do not fall in any one of the above. Three out of the five Pradhan households are of Simple type and among the remaining two, one is an Intermediate type and the Other is other type. The two households of Madiga are having one Simple type and one Intermediate type of family. The only Lohar household comes under Other type of family (Table 24).

Leisure

6. There are no specific leisure months and days as such for these people. During the agricultural season both men and women keep themselves busy from dawn to dusk. Generally during the months of April and May when it is off season, these

people have lot of leisure. In these months, visits to relatives' houses take place. When they get time all congregate in front of the Patel's house and over a tobacco pipe they chit-chat. The grown up children play *khabadi gilli danda* (country cricket) and so on. Sometimes they also play Dhensa dance in moon-lit nights. Except this there are no recreational activities in the village.

Religion and worship of deities

7. All the inhabitants in the village including the tribals are considered to be Hindus. The principal deity of Gonds and Pradhans is Persa Pen (great God) who is acknowledged to be their supreme God, and who is worshipped with great veneration and awe. Every rite is strictly performed according to their customs. The one Lohar household worships Hanuman deity. There are no separate village deities for the other caste people. There are no temples *etc.*, in the village nor are there any constructions to house the village deities.

8. Certain village deities are worshipped at the appropriate occasion by the people collectively as described in the following paragraphs. In this village the people of two habitation areas, *viz.* Bhurnur and Gedamguda do not worship together. The day and time of worship of the deities is decided by the Patel of the concerned habitation in consultation with a few elderly people and subscriptions are raised for the same. Devari — the village priest of their community irrespective of Saga (phratry or clan) attends the worship of the deity. The clan Katoda — the priest, does not officiate in the worship of the village deities as his duties are restricted only to the worship of Persa Pen (great God). The village deities mentioned here are found in both the main village and the hamlet. All the deities are outside the habitation area.

Aki Pen

9. The guarding deity of the village is called Aki Pen who is worshipped at the time of first sowing. The idols of the deity consist of two small wooden poles fixed to a big pole with a white flag. While erecting the idols of this deity, some kind of leaves are kept beneath it which they do not disclose to others. A day is chosen in consultation with the village elders to perform the ceremonial rites of this deity for the successful germination of the seeds. A fowl or a goat, as decided by villagers is sacrificed

and prayers are offered to this deity for blessing them with bumper crops. Generally, the ceremony concludes by midday and they sow seeds immediately. At the time of Dasara festival, a new flag is unfurled with the sacrifice of a goat. Figure 33 shows the Gond Patel on the side of Aki Pen.

Avul Pen

10. In the months of *Chaitra* (March–April) and *Pora* (July–August) this deity of epidemics, locally known as Pochamma, is propitiated collectively by all the villagers and a goat is sacrificed to protect their habitation from epidemics. The meat of the sacrificed goat is equally divided among all the households in the village. The other caste people living in the village also participate. This deity is specially worshipped by the newly married couple and any one who had a special vow. They fulfil their vows immediately on getting relieved from their worries *etc.*

Masoba

11. On the occasion of Dasara festival the boundary deity called Masoba is worshipped by sacrificing a goat, the meat of which is divided among all. The idols of this deity consist of a triangular shaped stone fixed in the earth on the outskirts of the village.

Satti Pen

12. Soon after the harvest, the Gonds observe Satti *pooja* in the month of November. The idols of this deity are kept on the outskirts of the village, in a small hut. A day is fixed for observing this *pooja* and all the villagers place a few grains of their new crops in front of the idols and invoke the deity to bless them with prosperity. After completing this *pooja* only they cook and eat. Though this deity is not there in Gedamguda village they too worship after the harvest in the name of the deity. The idols of this deity are found in Bhurnur village only.

Hanuman

13. In addition to their own deities, now-a-days the Gonds are regularly worshipping the Hanuman. There are idols of Hanuman both in Gedamguda and Bhurnur. In Gedamguda the stone idol of Hanuman is fixed on a raised stone platform (Fig. 34) whereas in Bhurnur it is simply fixed in the earth. The deity is not worshipped daily. But on every Monday a few villagers gather, light a candle and offer a coconut. The Patel of Gedamguda bears the expenses on

this day. But at Bhurnur the practice is different. Anybody who likes visits the deity and lights a wick.

14. It is not the custom among the people of the village to have their clan or family deity in their houses. As a matter of fact they do not have family or household deity as such except the *penkonta* pillar in the north-eastern corner of the house. On every festival a little quantity of all the dishes prepared is served in a leaf and is kept in the corner as an offering before they are eaten.

Festivals

15. Generally in every month some festival or the other is observed by the Gonds and Pradhans. There are certain occasions when they dance, sing songs and be merry. A description of festivals is given in the following paragraphs. Following is the list of twelve months with their equivalent words in Telugu and English.

Statement XIII
GONDI CALENDAR OF MONTHS

Gondi (1)	Telugu (2)	English (3)
1 Chaita	Chaitra	March–April
2 Bhave	Vaisakha	April–May
3 Bhud Bhave	Jaishta	May–June
4 Akhadi	Ashadha	June–July
5 Pora	Sravana	July–August
6 Aukarpoku	Bhadrapada	August–September
7 Devadi	Asvinyu	September–October
8 Karthi	Kartheeka	October–November
9 Satti	Margasira	November–December
10 Push	Pushya	December–January
11 Mahe	Magha	January–February
12 Denadi	Phalguna	February–March

16. Their calendar year begins with *Chaita* (March–April). On the full moon day all the villagers collectively purchase a goat and decapitate it in the name of the jungle deity. The meat of the sacrificed goat is distributed among all the households who cook and enjoy.

Bheemdev festival

17. Festival of Bheemdev is observed in the month of *Bhave* (April–May). The day is decided upon after consulting the elderly people of their community. It is not collectively performed. On this day only vegetarian dishes are prepared by the households depending upon their economic condition and a little quantity of all the dishes prepared are

offered to the deity. The image of the deity which is in the shape of a stone is under the neem tree in the western direction of the habitation area. After the offering is over, they eat and enjoy. On the following day the image of the deity is taken to a nearby hill stream for washing, which is locally known as *Ganga*.

Persa Pen festival

18. Next to this, Persa Pen festival is observed in this month on new moon day by all the Gonds of different phratries and clans separately. This festival is of great importance to the Gonds, and is celebrated with great pomp and show. The same symbols of Persa Pen given to the Gonds by their cultural hero Pahandi Kupar Lingal, are still followed to this day and every year the people belonging to different clans perform this festival in great reverence especially when they get bumper harvest. The place of the deity for each clan will be at different places and all belonging to a particular clan go to that place on the appointed day which is informed to them by the Katoda, the priest through the Pradhan. There is no difference in the worship of clan deities of the different clan people. A detailed account of Persa Pen rites is given in the following paragraphs as observed by the Investigators during their visit to the village Tosham, a tribal village of Utnur Taluk which is at a distance of about 30 miles from Bhurnur village.

19. It was April 29th, 1960 in the Gond habitation of Tosham village. The stillness of the night was pierced by the roar of drums, the wail of Thotis' trumpets at the first crow of the cock. The men of Sedamaki clan of that village and few other villagers had already assembled in front of the Patel's house by that time. The clan Katoda (priest) who lives in another village had also arrived the previous night. Green leaf shelters were erected in front of the Patel's house as well as on the outskirts.

20. Then the procession accompanied by drums and trumpets started to a *gulumohwa* tree on which the Persa Pen pot containing the shrines was kept hidden. After reaching the tree the Katoda propitiated the trunk of the tree by applying marks of vermilion and turmeric powder and a cocoanut was offered. Then the Katoda along with two other Gonds climbed up the tree while others stood in a semi-circular form with folded hands. The Katoda, with the help of ropes, brought down the great pot containing the ritual objects. They danced holding

the pot. The pot containing the ritual objects was lifted by a Gond on his shoulder and brought to a pandal of green leaves erected on the outskirts of the village accompanied by drums and trumpets in a procession. It was then placed over a blanket. Fresh water had already been brought in brass vessels and kept ready for giving bath.

21. The Katoda then opened the pot with great veneration and took out the sacred white *chauwur* (whisk), the *sale* (spear-head), a set of four bells, a bamboo shaft having four nodes, white cloth pieces and several other objects. He first washed the whisk. Four small brass vessels filled with water, cow's urine, cow's milk, and oil were brought. The Katoda and others poured water each in turn, over the whisk, and then combed with their fingers, rubbed it energetically till it dried up; lastly oil was brought in a leaf-cup and applied carefully to the hair and then all the remaining ritual objects of Persa Pen washed.

22. The Katoda and the men of Sedamaki Saga then took out the other sacred objects from the pot. A small piece of white cloth and a lengthy twine were tied round to the head of the bamboo shafts of four nodes. The brass bells were tied tightly to the head of the bamboo and then the Katoda picked up the sacred spear-head.

23. The shrine was then ready for the ceremonies. Katoda planted the bamboo firmly in the ground while men and boys quickly grouped themselves into a semi-circle. The two large heavy headed spears were brought from Patel's house and erected besides the Persa Pen idol. Then Thotis started beating the drums and trumpets. All the rites were completed at about 12 O'clock. People of Sedamaki clan from other villages poured in to offer respects to Persa Pen. The women were busy from the morning in cleaning the houses and preparing food. Arrangements for the stay of outsiders were made.

24. The Katoda then went up to the idol and with a single movement picked up the bamboo from the ground while two others shouldered the large spear-heads and other objects were picked up by some others. The people who gathered there stood quickly in a semi-circle greeting each other with the words 'Ram Ram'. The Katoda solemnly moved from man to man and softly shook the idol so that the brass bells jingled incessantly and they saluted with folding hands and some also bowed down and

ouched the feet of Katoda. Thereafter the procession started for the village. Young men and boys lanced before the idol at intervals while the drums and the trumpets were being continuously sounded. Fig. 35 shows the Katoda passing through the streets followed by *dappu*, local musical instrument.

25. At last the Persa Pen entered the village and visited all the village deities, i.e., Aki Pen, Avul Pen, Satti Pen and other minor deities. The idol was then taken round the cattle sheds, where the owners waited with water and *atukulu* (beaten rice). From here the procession went to the stream where cattle usually drink water and the drinking water wells of their habitation, etc., and ultimately it reached the Patel's house. Here the Persa Pen was planted on the ground and the large spear-heads were set up on either side of the idol.

26. Sedamaki clan women dressed in their best in brightly coloured sarrees and bedecked with all their sparkling silver ornaments and their hair *shampooed*, oiled and nicely done up awaited the arrival of Persa Pen. The courtyard was packed to its capacity with the men and women of Sedamaki clan. The other clan people who were the spectators sat separately. The Katoda cleared a bit of ground before the idol and he marked parallel cross lines with turmeric powder and offered a cocoanut. Katoda's wife then came to the idol and poured water from a small brass vessel over the base of the idols, and the handles of spears and offered prayers. All the women present offered salutations and sang songs in memory of Persa Pen and their culture hero Pahandi Kupar Lingal. Women-folk came one by one and poured water near the base of idol and bowed down touching the ground with their foreheads. The newly married women of Sedamaki clan specially offered their salutations. While leaving the place every worshipper paid a coin according to his status to the Thoti Patadi (ritual beggar). After finishing this, the idol was taken into the house of the Patel where a new pot full of freshly made millet gruel was kept ready in the corner of the kitchen. The Katoda dipped the ends of *chauwur* allowing the liquid to drip into the fold of Patel's upper cloth who bowed with folded hands and prayed Persa Pen for success and wealth. Similarly one member from each house, men or women in turn held up the end of the dhoti or saree and received the gruel and prayed the Persa Pen for their prosperity. On return to their houses they smeared

it on all their grain and store baskets, etc. Food was also offered to the idol by some worshippers. Some men and women danced the *dhemsa* for a while. All these ceremonies were completed by sunset and the people dispersed to have their meal.

27. Throughout the night they were busy in dancing and merry making. At about 4 O'clock in the morning, the Persa Pen was taken in a procession to a nearby stream in the forest where it washed and brought back by 8 O'clock in the morning. The idol was installed in the green leaves' shed erected outside the village for sacrificial ceremony.

28. Before the main rites of the day began the Katoda propitiated the God by sacrificing a chicken brought by himself and cut into half. One portion was retained by himself and the other was given to the ritual beggar, the Patadi. Irrespective of clan and phratry, offerings of some rice, jowar, flour were handed to the Katoda. Chickens were also sacrificed. Katoda applied *bottu* or mark on the foreheads of the goats brought for sacrifice. He sprinkled water on them to shake their bodies before they were considered acceptable to the deity. With the sprinkling of water they naturally shivered and were then sacrificed. The severed heads were kept before the idols of Persa Pen and the remaining portion of the body was taken away. All these offerings thus received were cooked and eaten by the members gathered. As the women were not allowed to participate in this ceremony they gathered at Satti shrine and sacrificed one goat and cooked it separately.

29. Then followed the evening ceremony. After the feast, while all the people stood in a semi-circle, the Katoda took the idol to each who embraced it, paid homages and prayed for prosperity. Then all the symbols were separated and kept in the pot and tied in the same manner as they were brought and preserved on the same *gulumohwa* tree. They returned to the village and spent the entire night in merry making. On the third day all the people who came from other villages started returning paying something to Thotis according to their status. Thus ended the Persa Pen rites of Sedamaki clan of Nalwen Saga.

30. The women in menses including the other members of her house are prohibited to take part in the rites of this great festival.

Bhud Bhave

31. In the month of *Bhud Bhave* (May-June) the villagers pray the rain God. On the new moon day all the inhabitants prepare a vegetarian feast separately in their houses according to their status. In the night two children holding on their shoulders a pestle to which a frog is hung, and accompanied by other children go round each household who would pour water on this frog. It is said that by doing so they get the rains in time during the year.

Rajula

32. Rajula festival is observed by the Gonds and Pradhans on the full moon day of *Akhadi* (June-July). All the male members including children with their cattle go to a nearby forest and sacrifice a goat to Rajula deity. There *kheer* (sweet cooked rice) is prepared and a little bit is given to all the cattle and the rest is enjoyed by the members present. Afterwards a straight line of twenty or thirty yards is drawn with turmeric powder and cattle are made to cross over it and driven away into the forest without any guard and brought back the following day. As the males perform puja, women look after the preparation of the feast. A non-vegetarian feast along with *kheer*, is performed and enjoyed. A goat is sacrificed collectively by the villagers and the meat is distributed among all. Till they observe this festival, they do not touch the leaf of teak tree. The belief in observing this festival, as told by the Gonds, is that on that day if any cattle, that are driven away to the forest is killed by the tiger, it will be presumed that throughout the year they face the same menace of tiger. This festival is observed in honour of Polam Raju or Nagoba deity, a god holding sway over the hills and forests, who is supposed to protect the cattle and the herdsman. The *dandari* dance begins on this day and lasts upto the end of Divali.

Pora

33. On the day of *Sravana Amavasya* (August) *pora* festival is observed. Meat eating is strictly prohibited on this day. The bullocks decorated with *jhols* (embroidered saddle like thing) are taken out in a procession in the village after being taken round the idol of Hanuman. The herd boys are fed on this day.

Dasara and Divali

34. Dasara and Divali festivals are also observed by the people in the month of *Devadi* (September-

October). After the 10th day of the first moon day, Dasara festival is observed. On this day a goat is decapitated and its meat equally distributed among the inhabitants. Sumptuous dishes according to their status are prepared and enjoyed. On the day of Divali, in the early hours, after decorating their bullocks by applying turmeric marks on their forehead they set them free. In the evening they feed the cattle with the dishes they have prepared and wash the feet of the cattle. In the night they dance and will be merry.

Pithru

35. *Pithru*, the festival of departed souls is observed by all in the month of *Karthi* (October-November) on the new moon day. People belonging to different Sagas gather together separately and perform this festival collectively. Sweets or vegetarian meals are offered to the departed and then consumed.

36. In the month of *Satti* (November - December) they exchange the food prepared from new crops. There is no ritual as such on this day. They visit the Keslapur fair in the month of *Push* (December - January). There are no festivals during the remaining two months as they would be busy in harvesting their crops. Most of the festivals except Divali and Dasara are observed by the Gonds and Pradhans of this region.

Keslapur fair

37. Excepting the Keslapur fair, there are no other important fairs in this taluk. Originally, a decade or two ago, this fair was held on a very small scale and was not known to the outside world as it was exclusively attended by people of a particular clan of the Gond tribe. It is however said that other tribes living in this tract were attending the fair for the purchase of articles etc., from the merchants who used to visit Keslapur on that occasion. But later, as the days rolled on, many changes occurred in this fair. People of other communities also living in this region started visiting though not for worship but for sight seeing and enjoying themselves. This place to-day, once a year, becomes a big marketing centre of this area where all the people purchase their requirements.

38. Keslapur village is located in Utnur Taluk of Adilabad District. It is at a distance of 2½ miles from the village Mutnur which is on the main road of Utnur to Gudihatnur, the latter being on the

Grand Trunk Road leading from Hyderabad to Nagpur via Adilabad. Utnur, the taluk headquarters and Adilabad, the district headquarters are situated at a distance of 16½ and 22½ miles on south-east and north-west respectively of the village. The village falls in the Revenue Firka of Indervelly which is also the headquarters of the Village Level Worker of the Multipurpose Project, Utnur.

39. At Keslapur is held the Nagoba fair, an important annual fair of the tribals of Adilabad. The Mesram clan people of Edwen Saga of this district every year on the day of *Pushya Amavasya* (last week of January) worship Seshnag (the Serpent-God) with great pomp. Figures 35 and 36 show the Nagoba temple and the ceremonial cooking. It has got an interesting myth of seven brothers. The mythical background of this *jatara* was narrated by the Katoda, the priest of the Mesram clan.

40. According to the version of Mesram Chitru, a Gond of Keslapur, the legend (though lacking continuity) runs thus — Bourmachwa, identified with the present Keslapur was probably named after a *daman* tree. *Kesla* is a Gondi word meaning the handle of an axe and this is generally made of *daman* wood. Thus the word Keslapur might have come into vogue. There lived a Raja of Jajkial with his wife Rukdevi and their son, Wordev, and daughter-in-law, Sondevi. The latter couple were blessed with seven sons and their state was prosperous. When they were in childhood a great disease ravaged the land and all the inhabitants except these seven small children were killed. They decided to leave the deserted village to eke out their livelihood. So they set out and reached the seven cattle sheds of a village late in the evening. As it was growing dark they took shelter in one of the cattle sheds. There was one tigress which was every night breaking into one of the cattle sheds and killing the bulls and cows. But on that night nothing happened and all the cattle were safe. The owners of the cattle sheds were pleased and adopted these children. They lived there for twelve years learning to herd the cattle. These seven brothers then returned to Bourmachwa along with herds of cattle to settle once again in their motherland.

41. The elder brother married the daughter of Shakati Raja who was their mother's brother. After living happily for some years, she determined to take revenge by killing all of them for the

disrespect they were said to have shown to her father. One day she asked her husband to take her to her father. When they both reached the midst of the forest, all of a sudden she turned into a tigress and devoured him. After a few days, she alone returned to the six brothers and told them that her husband was staying with her father. As the days passed and the elder one failed to return, the next brother went in search, followed by her. In the forest she again turned into a tigress and killed him and so it was continued until the youngest brother was left. The youngest one who also went out in search of the elder ones, accompanied by her found out the truth. He prayed the Seshnag who gave him shelter in the earth before the tigress could kill. There sprout up one mango plant which grew rapidly and bore fruits. In one of the fruits there was life of this boy. That fruit was picked up by a crow and was thrown into a tank and was swallowed by a fish. At that time a poor woman went for fishing and got that particular fish. When she cut it a boy came out who grew up as rapidly as she became rich.

42. Meanwhile the so called sister-in-law married one Raja Soyam. Coming to know of the birth of this boy in a poor fisher-woman's house, she planned to kill him but in vain. At last the boy disclosed all about her former mis-deeds to her former husband who banished her from his kingdom. Then he returned to his native village, Bourmachwa and lived there. He was blessed with plenty and married two daughters of different Rajas and lived happily.

43. Once he invited all of his relatives and all went to the sea to worship Raja Shesh (Serpent-God). He went to the great house of Raja Shesh to bring the God. The God was absent. He entered the shrine against the will of the guard and saw golden pan-leaves hanging from the throne of the Sheshnag and plucked seven of them and came out. Then all of them returned to Bourmachwa throwing the cooked food in the sea taken by them since they could not worship the Sheshnag.

44. The Raja Shesh returned and became angry at his uncivilised behaviour and started in the form of an enormous cobra with the intention of killing him and destroying all his people. He came to the boundaries of Bourmachwa (the present Keslapur) and opened his mouth widely to swallow all the people. When this was known, all the people came

with milk, curds and delicious dishes and poured them in the mouth of the Serpent-God and worshipped. The God was much pleased and became sympathetic. Then this boy told the Serpent-God that they all came to the Sea to worship him. The present place of worship at Keslapur is considered to be the same place where the Serpent-God was first worshipped on the *Pushya Amavashya* (December-January). Then the God advised them all to worship him there alone on every *Pushya Amavashya* (December-January). Even to this day, the Mesram clan people of Edwen Saga of Adilabad district gather on *Pushya Amavashya* and worship the Serpent-God (Sheshnag) and offer milk, curds, etc.

45. Pooja is performed at the midnight of *Pushya Amavashya* each year. A day before the main pooja, all the Mesram clan people gather under a huge banyan tree near the shrine and will not enter their houses till the pooja is completed. Next day they prepare sweets and offer milk and curds to the deity. All these offerings are kept near a small hole, still existing, which is considered to be the entrance of the Cobra God and covered with a white cloth. Sacred rice is distributed by the Katoda to all the assembled. He recites some *manthras* (sacred verses) and takes back the rice. When the cloth shakes they believe that the Serpent-God comes and touches their offerings. It is said by a few elderly people that for the last two years the Serpent-God is not coming as they have constructed the present structure. The women who married the men of Mesram clan worship the deity specially and are ritually united with the clan on this day. They all gather in separate places near the temple and sacrifice goats, etc., cook food and enjoy. Marketing is done only after finishing this pooja.

46. Prof. Haimendorf, the adviser on tribal welfare to the erstwhile Hyderabad State Government, during the course of his study of Gonds in Adilabad having seen the huge gathering of these tribals at Keslapur thought of this tribal festival as the best occasion for establishing direct contact between the aboriginals and Government officers. So he organised a Darbar where all the tribals gathered on the next morning of pooja to represent their difficulties to the officers. Even to this day the same tradition is followed with some more additions. In this way this once clan festival has been transformed into a general tribal fair and an occasion for the Government also to participate and come into closer contact with the tribals. All the district

officers gather and some important personality is invited to preside over the meeting. The Darbar place will be beautifully decorated and proceedings are conducted by the Social Welfare Officer. The tribals are informed about the welfare programmes initiated for their development by the Government. The representations made by the tribals are then and there answered by the departmental heads concerned. In a word, the proceedings of the Darbar are full of topical interest. The chief guest generally distributes *putta* certificates. In the evening tribal dances and dramas are organised. Departmental stalls showing progress of work done for the development of the district and the tribals in particular are exhibited. Film shows and other cultural programmes are arranged. The *jatara* ends after three days of hectic activity. Generally most of the tribals do shopping in the *jatara*. Husbands duly respond to the demands of their wives by purchasing all the desired ornaments. Good lot of amount is spent on this occasion.

47. This fair might have been purely a religious one in the days past but to-day it greatly influences the social as well as the economic life of the tribals. With regard to the social aspect, it is important to one sect of the Gond community but in respect of the economic aspect it is important to all the communities of this region. Proximity to the modern communications, its convenient location, the cultural shows and the exhibition of different tribal dances and the opportunity of getting into touch with the visiting top officials of the State and the District at the time of *jatara* (fair) have attracted people of different castes and communities from various parts of the district. This occasion is fully exploited by the business community of the District as well. Shopkeepers from far and near erect their stalls where the people who come purchase various articles like clothes, ornaments, utensils and other eatables etc. This place also becomes a centre of earning for the dancing girls of Adilabad during those three days. Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment Department of the State also gets the income from the shopkeepers to whom they give plots on some payment. Drinking water facilities etc., are provided by the Endowment Department. The present structure of the shrine is constructed out of the funds provided by the Endowment Department. In these three days the businessmen sell some thousands of rupees worth of goods. Clothes, utensils, ornaments etc., find large sale. The turnover would be more in

those years when the people are blessed with bumper crops.

Impact of the fair

48. The fair at Keslapur has played an important role in bringing about change in the outlook of the tribals of this area. Strictly speaking the changes are only felt but cannot be measured. So long as Professor Haimendorf associated himself with this fair in the capacity of Advisor to the Tribes of the erstwhile Hyderabad State, the Darbar, which he established was a platform where the grievances of the tribals were placed before the officials attending the fair for immediate redressal. But to-day this Darbar, as said by the tribals, has remained so only in name and failed to bring out immediate redressal of their various grievances. The fear complex among the tribals has no doubt to a great extent lessened. Considerable change in their way of dressing and other habits can be seen due to culture contact made possible through this fair over the years. The tribal-folk are appraised of the various developmental activities in the district as well as in the country in general by exhibiting pictures etc., through the departmental stalls. Film shows are also displayed by the Government putting the tribals in the picture about the changes that are taking place in the various parts of the country in and around their own places of abode. In this way once in a year, these people feel that they are not isolated and are one among the other people living in the country.

Tribal dances

49. Community dancing plays an important part in the life of the tribals. The Gonds treat their dances as also the variety of musical instruments with sanctity. The dances are often associated with certain seasons or festivals. There are two types of dances practised by the Gonds viz, the *dhandari* and *dhemsa*.

Dhandari dance

50. The *dhandari* dance is never exhibited except in the month of *Akhadi* (June-July). The musical instruments called *akara* drums are generally possessed by an influential and well-to-do Gond, as he has to feed the *dhandari* dancers who come from other villages.

51. The following musical instruments called *akara* drums are played during the course of this dance. These are shown in Figs. 37, 38 and 39.

Statement XIV

DETAILS OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1	<i>Nagara</i>	• •	Iron kettle-drum with hide membrane
2	<i>Pepri</i>	• •	<i>Shahanai</i>
3	<i>Ghumela</i>	• •	A flat shaped body of potter's clay and a membrane of goat's head
4	<i>Dhol</i>	• •	Wooden cylindrical drum with hide membrane
5	<i>Wette</i>	• •	Saucer shaped single membrane drum
6	<i>Phara</i>	• •	A hollow wooden instrument with two side slopes and a bulge in the middle of a thick membrane beaten with two hands
7	<i>Dappu</i>	• •	A shallow drum with a circular wooden frame and leather membrane
8	<i>Kingri</i>	• •	A stringed instrument played by the Pradhans
9	<i>Khalikhom</i>	• •	A semi-circular brass musical instrument blown by the mouth for producing a sound

52. All these instruments are placed on a white cloth spread out on the place used for dancing by the possessor of them. In this village these instruments are possessed by the Patel. The drums are kept behind a screen and the owner performs the starting ceremony. He brings a chicken, some food and the usual requisites of offerings. He sprinkles the water and vermilion and turmeric powder on the drums. Then those present stand up in a semi-circle, and while distributing grain, invoke the deity of Dhandari and dance Gods, praying that the drums should sound well and no harm should befall on any of the dancers.

53. The chicken is then put to the grain test. Some jowar grains are placed in front of the instruments and the fowl is addressed in Gondi language as follows:

Gondi version

"*Maku munne chwkati sallagamandana matteka kotta. Make munne vaival matheka thlumu*".

English version

"If you want us to be prosperous, Oh, fowl! touch the grain and if there is any misfortune in store for us, do not touch."

If the fowl, even after being invoked in the above manner, does not touch the grain, it is interpreted that some evil would befall that person who would be replaced by another. The same process is repeated until the chicken touches the grain when the person, functioning as priest, sacrifices it and sprinkles the blood on the drums. Then the screen is removed. The liver is roasted and offered together with some cooked grain to the drums. After this the sacrificed fowl is cooked and distributed to all. After completion of this ceremony alone, the drums are first beaten and some people dance symbolically a few steps. The drums are then taken to the owner's house and are fetched, whenever they are required. The *dhandari* dance is played generally every night upto the end of Divali. With the beating of the *nagara*, people emerge out of their huts and flock round the drummers and burst into rhythmic dance with their traditional dancing sticks. The dancers stand in a circular form and move anti-clockwise, striking each other's sticks and while it is in progress, relevant songs to the tune of *ghumelas* are sung. This dance is also called *ghumela*. The dress of the dance is quite attractive. They wear dhotis, lengthy shirts, called *kurtha*, turbans and scarfs wrapped around their faces and taken to the top of their heads tucked in such a way that only the eyes and nose appear prominent.

54. The Gond women also participate in *dhandari* dance. While dancing they cover their body between waist and neck with a piece of cloth. They form a circle rubbing each other's shoulders with their hands and take a round with their changing steps to the rhythm of the drum. Sometimes the dance is also accompanied by the clapping and singing. Generally the songs are very funny and humorous. One of them is—

Gondi version

1. "Kalukun Junikin Lag Thang-e-Baiye
Egeture Bagatere Sonaral-e-Baiye
Bathanga Arivare Vathoor-e-Baiye
Panjolke Harilare Vathoor-e-Baiye
Kalukun (repeat)

2. Kalukun-Junikin Lag Thang-e-Baiye
Egeture Bageture Vojal-e-Baiye
Bathange Arivare Vathoor-e-Baiye
Jodiningu Harivare Vathoor-e-Baiye".

English version

"The man with jingling bells to his ankles is going. He might be from this or that village, but why had he come here? Probably he has brought anklets".

This song is not in the true sense, pointing to goldsmith. Here in this song, *dhandari* dancer with jingling bells on his anklets moving here and there and the girl looking at him sings the song with a pretext of making a reference to a goldsmith.

55. The real ecstasy of the expressive Gondi song cannot be brought out fully in the translated verse. But even without knowing the meaning, one can enjoy those songs since they are full of rhythm with the incessant use of same phrases in every line.

56. A week before Divali, the *dhandari* dancers of one village visit another village where they are welcomed and respected. When the dance, is in progress two or three persons called *ghusari* or clowns with huge exaggerated steps take round with the dancers. Huge head wear of peacock feathers lends them superhuman height and bushy beards and mustaches conceal their features. Their eyes are ringed with white paint and their naked bodies but for a narrow *langhoti* (a strip of cloth used to cover the nakedness) are painted with black and white colours and multiple strings of shells, cowries, and various dried wild roots are tied to their necks. They have a belt of bells to their waist and a medium size cylindrical stick called *rokal dhanda* (Fig. 40). They move round the dancers jokingly to the rhythm of the drum. The *ghusari* is usually very intelligent and shrewd and plays an important role in *dhandari* dance, specially when they visit other villages by guarding them from all evils that are supposed to be created by the people of the visiting village. So the *dhandari* dancers do not move out of their village, and even while going to other village also the *ghusari* will lead the party accompanied by the drums and musical instruments – *khalikhom* and *pepri*. As soon as the party reaches the outskirts of the village, the *ghusari* keeps an egg in a heap of clay and runs some distance, returns and then picks it up. If it is cooked completely by that time, it will be considered as a good omen for the party to return safely. If it is otherwise it will be considered as bad omen.

57. Many people have a wrong notion that *ghusari* is a separate dance, but it is only a part and parcel of the *dhandari* dance. No Gond agrees to display the dance on other occasions except in *Akhadi* (June-July). Now-a-days the Gonds are visiting seasonally other villages for giving dance performance to other people and insisting upon payments which according to some of them is not

sacred. With the incessant visits of the tourists and other officials, who come on odd occasions and witness the dances on payment demanded by the tribals, this dance, once considered to be a sacred one, has now become commercialised. Apart from this, they are also exhibiting the dances on occasions like Independence and Republic Day celebrations at District headquarters and State capital.

Dhensa dance

58. This is exhibited at any time without restriction or any special occasion. Specially at the time of marriages and death ceremonies, Gonds perform this dance throughout the night, accompanied by the musical instruments like *dhhol* and *pepri* which are played only by Pradhans. Any number of people may participate in this. The sounds of the drum and *Pepris* are so sweet and exciting that the spectators also feel like joining them. They change their steps according to the rhythm of the drum.

Witchcraft

59. The Gonds and Pradhans believe in witchcraft. Both men and women indulge in this activity. Witch finders are employed to detect the miscreants and are brought to the Tribal Panchayat. Fines are imposed along with beatings. Men or women who are adamant in practising the witchcraft against the decisions of Panchayat are outcasted.

Social institutions

60. The general social status of the Gonds cannot be clearly defined. The Gonds, though once beef eaters do not take beef now-a-days. They occupy a higher status than Pradhans. Whereas the Pradhans eat at the hands of Gonds, the latter do not take food at the hands of anybody else including Brahmins. But to-day, the Gonds are not so rigid. They are accepting food from higher caste people of the plains and are taking meals etc., in the hotels. The Gonds have their own tribal organisations since times immemorial. A study of the existing social set up of the tribe and its function is presented in the following paragraphs. The Pradhans who are not having any separate organisation of their own are also governed by the same institutions.

Mokasi

61. He is the religious head and his duties resemble those of a Kazi among Muslims. It is a hereditary post. He is held in great regard by the

Gonds. Each Mokasi will have his own Patti consisting of several villages. (Each Patti consists of minimum of eight villages while there is no limit for maximum). Formerly, Mokasis used to visit their Pattis regularly and decide the social disputes like divorces, etc., and perform marriages. Now this Mokasi system in this area has become almost extinct since a decade. None in the village could throw light on how the Pattis were formed. The factors responsible for bringing the change in their traditional organisations is discussed in the succeeding paras.

Mahajan

62. He is the elected religious head of the village. Generally an elderly person of good character is elected by the inhabitants in the early days of the settlement of the village. The post is honorary and hereditary but he can be replaced if a majority of the people dislike him. He is greatly respected. He presides over the village council in hearing petty disputes and decides in consultation with the Patel and other elderly tribals. He is authorised to impose a fine upto Rs. 10 and the fine thus collected is spent on a collective feast. He assists in the marriages and will be the first recipient of *bottu* or mark of vermilion on the forehead, as a mark of respect. He enjoys position as long as he retains the confidence of the people.

Patel

63. The person who first came and settled in the habitation is called Patel. It is a hereditary one irrespective of one's economic condition. But generally the Patel will be a well-to-do man. He plays an important role in the Gonds social organisation and commands great respect. He arranges all the religious festivals and seasonal rites in time and his presence is inevitable in settling the marriages and all other functions. There is another Patel appointed by the Government in the village for collecting revenue. But generally the same Patels are also appointed to function as Government Patels to discharge the duties of Government i.e., collection of land revenue, etc. For example, the hereditary Patel of Bhurnur, the main village is discharging both the duties, i.e., social as well as Governmental. The non-tribal or tribal Government Patel has no right to participate in their social functions. These hereditary religious Patels are eligible for certain *mamools* (customary payments) at the time of marriages, etc. Details have been dealt with in an earlier Chapter on "Social Customs". There is a

CHAPTER V

separate Patel for Gedamguda whose functions are only social while the Government Patel is one to both the hamlets.

Karohari

64. He is appointed by the villagers to assist the Patel and Mahajan. It is an honorary post, but not hereditary. He receives the complaints and arranges the meeting of the Panchayat.

Katoda

65. Each phratry and clan has got its own hereditary Katoda (priest) who may or may not stay in the same village of that particular clan but is uniformly respected. He conducts the annual rites of their Persa Pen. The seasonal rites of clan deities are conducted. It is a hereditary post. He fixes the date of annual functions and informs all his clan men through the Patadi. There is difference between Katoda and Devari; the latter is the clan priest while the former is a village priest who propitiates the village deities and attends the functions like marriages, deaths, etc. Besides, the post of Devari is not hereditary and it can be held by any clan man and is common to all clan people. The functions of the Katoda are restricted to a particular clan and he has to necessarily belong to the same clan.

Patadi

66. This post is held both by the Pradhans and the Thotis as well. Each clan has got its own Patadi (ritual beggar) who assists the Katoda in all the religious functions and also acts as negotiator in the Gond marriages. The presence of Patadi in all the religious functions, marriages and deaths is considered essential in the Gonds' social system. These Patadis preserved the past history of Gonds in a poetic form and narrate it on certain occasions. In short the Patadi is indispensable in the Gonds' social life.

Factors responsible for the change in social institution

67. The State Government had initiated several measures of uplifting the tribal population economically as well as socially.

68. The name of Professor Haimendorf will always be remembered whenever a discussion of re-habilitation of this tribe is raised. The Professor during the course of his anthropological studies lived with the Gonds for years and suggested

methods to the then Government of Hyderabad for taking up rehabilitation work among the tribal people of this area. Various suggestions for the development of economic, social and educational standards were also given by him and the implementation of the same under his own guidance resulted in the birth of a separate Department called Department of Social Service under the then Hyderabad Government.

Social welfare programmes

69. Special Regulation called *The Tribal Areas Regulation* was formulated and the areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals were notified under this Act. The areas thus notified were kept under the special officers with necessary field staff for intensive development of the tribal population. These officers were vested with wide powers by designating them as Assistant Agents to Government, the District Collectors being the Agents. Under this Regulation, lands were allotted to these tribes and loans advanced through the Agricultural Credit Co-operative Societies which are now defunct, and drought bullocks supplied free of cost.

70. In order to safeguard the interests of the tribals and prevent exploitation from outsiders and to make the administration of justice easily accessible to the tribals, areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals were notified under *The Tribal Areas Regulation 1359 Fasli (No. III of 1359 F.)** of the erstwhile Hyderabad Government which undertook the administration of criminal, civil and revenue jurisdiction through an Agent (District Collector) and an Assistant Agent (District Social Welfare Officer) and Tribal Panchayats. As a result of this all the cases in their areas were and are being decided according to the prevalent customs, without undue delay and expense to the parties. The formation of Tribal Panchayats under the Act in tribal areas in no way affected their age-old traditions of deciding their disputes. They are given full freedom to decide all their religious and other disputes according to their own customs. These Panchayats are vested with the powers of dealing with petty civil and criminal cases and fining up to Rs. 50. Aggrieved parties have a right of appeal to the Assistant Agent or the Agent, who after examining the decision given by the Panchayat may either confirm or revoke it. In case of doubt, the cases are referred to arbitration. All the proceedings of the Tribal Panchayats are verbal.

71. In forming these Panchayats some of the villages are grouped and the members are nominated by the Government. The members nominated are mostly Mahajans, religious Patels and other elderly persons. The other members of this community also have full voice to give their suggestions during the Panchayat sittings. In case any member misuses his power, he will be removed from the panel and any other person acceptable to all is nominated.

72. The entire Utnur Taluk is a notified area and covered by three Tribal Panchayats. Keslapur is the centre of one of these Tribal Panchayats for 45 villages. Bhurnur falls under Marlavai Tribal Panchayat. There are 25 Panchs for the Keslapur Tribal Panchayat representing different tribes residing in that area. Sri Chitrapatel Gond is the Sarpanch (President) and Sri Bheemjipatel of Keslapur is the Secretary. Following is the list of members representing their communities in the Panchayat.

Statement XV

TRIBAL PANCHAYAT MEMBERS

Name of the tribe	No. of members
(1)	(2)
1 Gond	15
2 Andh	4
3 Thoti	2
4 Pradhan	3
5 Kolam	1
Total	25

Even after the introduction of their Tribal Panchayats their age old social institutions have not perished. Generally, the petty religious disputes are decided by the Mahajan, Patel etc., of the village. In case of disobedience the parties concerned approach the Sarpanch (President) who fixes the date of Panchayat's sitting intimating all the members and the parties concerned. The decision is then given with the approval of the majority. These Panchayats have been very helpful to these tribals as they are free from the litigation charges. The District Social Welfare Officer (Assistant Agent) at Utnur on enquiry states that the Tribal Panchayats are in no way affected by the formation of new Panchayats under the Panchayati Raj. The new Panchayats are more political and administrative

bodies and have no judicial powers except looking after the sanitation and other developmental activities of the village. The other communities living in the village also come under the jurisdiction of the Panchayats. From January 1964, Government have abolished the Tribal Panchayats formed under the Tribal Areas Regulation, 1359 Fasli as the new Panchayats under the general scheme Panchayati Raj have been formed. These are some of the factors responsible for bringing the changes in the age old tribal organisations viz, *mokasi* system, etc.

Village organisation

73. The administration of land revenue is looked after by the Village Karnam who is also a Gond and stays in Lakettipet, another village. He is appointed by the Government on the nomination of the Vathandar (the hereditary owner) while the Patel looks after the law and order in the village. The Patel of this village is also a Gond and stays in in the village.

Formation of new panchayats

74. Under the scheme of Democratic Decentralisation (Panchayati Raj), the new Panchayats have been formed in this area also, as in the case of other parts of the State. The village Bhurnur falls in the Marlavai group of Panchayats which is constituted in January, 1959. Marlavai, Raghapoor, Dubbaguda, Bhurnur, Sirpur are the five villages which form one Panchayat and all these villages are within a radius of 5 to 6 miles. All the members of this Panchayat are Gonds. Following is the list of members.

1. Sri Atram Lingu, Gond, age 26 years, from Sirpur village, President
2. Sri Atram Sonu, Gond, age 40 years, from Marlavai, Vice-President
3. Sri Kanaka Lingu, Gond, age 26 years, from Bhurnur main village, Member
4. Sri Gedam Motiram, Gond, age 45 years, from Gedamguda, o. Bhurnur, Member
5. Sri Pendur Gangaram, Gond, age 30 years, from Dubbaguda, Member
6. Sri Pendur Maru, Gond, age 40 years from Raghapur, Member

* For detailed study of the regulations refer Tribal Areas Regulation and Rules reproduced in Appendix II

All the members have been selected unanimously. No appreciable work is done by the Panchyat in the villages except laying of a street road of 100 yards of length in Gedamguda at a cost of Rs. 200. In addition to this, a community radio set and a petromax light were purchased during 1960 and given to Sirpur village. One spray pump was purchased at a cost of Rs. 123.85 P. for the Panchayat to be supplied to the agriculturists for spraying pesticides like endrine in the fields. It is kept in the Panchayat centre and is given to the farmers on requisition. None in the village has used this so far.

75. Following are the sources of income to the Panchayat.

House tax: The rate of tax varies from 12 P. to 1.50 P.

Type of house	Rate of tax
	Rs. P.
Tin roofed house with mud walls	1.50
Thatched house with quality wood	1.00
Thatched house	0.75
Ordinary thatched house	0.50
Small huts	0.12 to 0.25

Statement XVI

PARTICULARS OF TAX COLLECTIONS

Year	Total amount collected	Tax collections from the village Bhurnur
(1)	(2)	(3)
	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
1960-61	61.62	61.62
1961-62	152.25	65.75
1962-63	167.62	61.62
1963-64	168.12	61.62
Total	549.61	250.61

76. The Panchayat collects the bazar tax at Sirpur shandy. It is auctioned and the highest bidder is authorized to collect the taxes for the place occupied by the shop keepers on the shandy day for one year. The rate of tax varies from 5 paise to 75 paise depending upon the space occupied by the particular shop keeper. The income from this source during the years 1961-62, 1962-63, 1963-64 is Rs. 300, Rs. 505 and Rs. 410 respectively.

77. Tax is also levied on the sale of bullocks at the rate of Rs. 2 per every hundred rupees value of animals, which is known as *rahadari chit*. No income has accrued so far to the Panchayat from this source.

78. Tax is levied on the cattle that are brought to the cattle pound locally known as *khondwada*. The rates of the tax varies from animal to animal which are given below.

	Rs. P.
Per bull	2.00
Per buffalo	2.50
Per sheep/goat	1.00
Per horse	3.00
Per pig	3.00

During the last three years only Rs. 25 had been received by the Panchayat from this source.

79. The fruit bearing trees which are in the village site, not occupied by the people are considered to be the property of the village Panchayat and the usufruct of all such trees, are auctioned and the amount realised. There are a few tamarind trees in village Sirpur the usufruct of which is annually auctioned by the Panchyat. During last four years Rs. 200 are received from this source.

80. In addition to the above local taxes, Government pays the land cess from the Land Revenue on the basis of the Revenue. Rs. 150 are paid towards the cess annually by the Government to this Panchayat.

81. The Panchayat maintains limited paid staff to collect the taxes and also for the upkeep of the accounts. For this Panchayat there is one Karobari (clerk) who is paid Rs. 15 per month, one Kamati (peon) on the monthly salary of Rs. 10 and one sweeper who is being paid Rs. 6 per month. The annual expenditure of the Panchayat is Rs. 372.

82. It is reported that the taxes levied by the Panchayat are ungrudgingly paid by the villagers, every financial year. So far no cases of disputes were brought to Panchayat for settlement. It is said by the villagers that generally petty disputes are decided in the village by the tribal elders.

Most of the villagers are aware of the newly constituted Panchayat though they do not know its aims and objects.

83. As already said this village falls in the Panchayat Samithi Block, Utnur. This block started functioning from June, 1957. The budget of this block is Rs. 27 lakhs to be spent in five years for the all round development of this tribal belt. No restrictions are imposed on the tribals unlike in the other Blocks. The general programme of this Block is to improve agricultural practices, propagation of education, improvement of communications and co-operatives. Much of its activities are concentrated in the accessible areas while the interior parts are largely neglected. Except a Rural Housing Colony for 15 Gond families and the sanction of loan for two irrigation wells in Bhurnur main village, no other work is done by the Block. A good majority of the households are aware of the Block headquarters. Much improvement could have been done in the agricultural side by the Block officials by introducing improved seeds and fertilisers. Though the Village Level Worker's headquarters is at Marlavai, he seldom visits this village.

Voluntary organisations

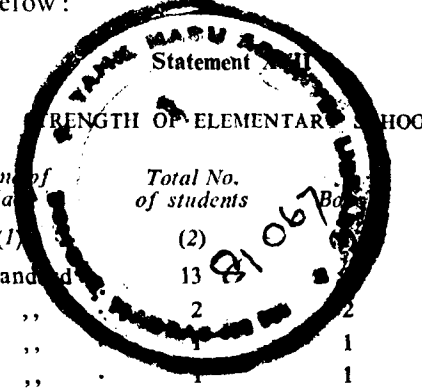
84. There are no voluntary organisations in the village. One primary school is run by Social Welfare Department is located in Gedamguda, the hamlet, in a well-built hut constructed by the villagers. No student from Bhurnur main village attends this due to the distance. So, another school at Bhurnur is opened by the Panchayat Samithi some six months back. After its opening, this school functioned for only one day and then the teacher went away. Since then this school is almost defunct.

Education

85. The problem of spreading education among the Tribalfolk of this tract was taken by Professor Haimendorf. Two Training Centres were opened to train the Tribal youth in the district. The Devanagari script was adopted to educate them in initial stages in Gondi language. Other regional languages like Urdu and Marathi were also taught. The candidates then trained were appointed as Teachers, Village Karnams etc., in the tribal villages. The school materials like books and slates etc. were given free of cost to all the students. First, second and third readers were published by the Social Service Department in Gondi language adopting Devanagari

script. Besides this all the students irrespective of their financial status were given Rs. 2 per head per month by way of scholarship to meet their sundry expenses which is still continued. In this way the education scheme has expanded keeping Marlavai as headquarters. Even to this day the same system of training the Tribals is followed with minor changes in curriculum. Now Telugu is being introduced in the tribal schools. Facilities for the higher education for these tribal youth are provided by establishing hostels etc., in the district and other taluk headquarters. There is one tribal hostel being run by the Panchayat Samithi, Utnur, where free boarding and lodging facilities are provided free of cost to all the tribals. In spite of all these efforts the improvement in literacy of the tribal folk is not quite encouraging.

86. The total number of students on the roll is 17 and out of them 13 are boys and 4 are girls. Except one boy of the Lohar caste all belong to Gond tribe. The class-wise strength of the pupils is given below:



Name of class	Total No. of students	Boys	Girls
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
I Standard	13	13	4
II	2	2	...
III	1	1	...
IV	1	1	...
Total	17	13	4

All the students are supplied with the school materials free of cost by the Government and are sanctioned scholarships at Rs. 2 per head per month.

Inter-caste relationship

87. The inter-caste relationship in the village is quite cordial. The Gonds freely mix with other caste people and do not hesitate to come to their rescue in times of distress. There is a spirit of tolerance among all communities in the village. Each respects the other's traditions and customs. Though the Gonds are dominating both socially and economically they do not force their traditions on the minority castes. Mutual help irrespective of caste and community is almost natural. In a word, the tribals of this area are quite accommodative and hospitable.

Inter-hamlet relationship

88. Though the two habitation areas are quite distinct, the relations are very friendly. Each hamlet has got its own tribal organisation as discussed in the preceding pages. They do not depend on each other for traditional services like that of

Devari, Patel, Mahajan. Similarly, each has its own institutions and yet they do not clash. Economically also both have equal status. Worship of village deities and other festivals are separately observed by the people of each of the habitation areas. People of both the areas visit each other at the time of social functions.

Chapter VI**CONCLUSION**

Considerable progress in the economic sphere of this tribe has no doubt been achieved. But the tribals are still steeped in ignorance and superstition and fall easy victims to exploitation. The tribals in general know little beyond what does immediately concern them. None in the village has knowledge of various social legislations enacted. There is a considerable laxity in their traditional practices. Due to the implementation of various developmental activities and free mixing with the people of other cultures, there is a trend of transformation in their economic, social and cultural outlook. In a word the detribalisation is in rapid progress, in this area. The absence of institutions providing finances on easy terms coupled with their illiteracy and ignorance throw them into the clutches of the money lender. It was also brought to the notice of the Investigators that payment of age long customary fee to the petty forest and revenue officials has not been abandoned even to this day. It seems an official of Revenue Department who is deputed for the allotment of lands to the landless tribals demanded twenty rupees from each family. Similarly, the Patwaris also collect more

revenue than actually required and pass receipts only to the extent of the amount that is legally due. To test the validity of the fact, the Investigators verified the receipts issued by the Patwari and found their allegations correct. The concerned Patwari has also agreed and in support he gave an evasive explanation throwing the blame on his superiors. Now-a-days the itinerant merchants from Nellore, locally called Madrasis have also started exploiting the tribals. They visit the villages during the off season, give clothes, cash and collect fifty percent more after the harvest season. Several such cases are observed.

2. All these evils can very well be eradicated by intensive propaganda by the officials of Development Departments and the establishment of a Tribal Development Corporation which will serve the tribals as a means of marketing and source of credit. Some positive action in this direction by the State will no doubt improve the lot of the tribals. Though much has been done by the Government for the development of this tribe, much more yet remains to be done.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TABLES

The Tables presented herein are based on the data collected in respect of 63 households inhabiting Bhurnur village in April 1961. Seven households viz, 6 households of Gonds and 1 household of Pradhans were selected for intensive socio-economic survey and some of the Tables cover these seven households only. In May 1964, when the consanguineous marriages survey was done, the total number of households in village was 61 and Tables 27, 28 and 29 cover these 61 households.

TABLE 1
Area, Houses and Population

Year	Name of village	Area		Density per sq. mile	No. of houses	No. of house- holds	Population		
		Acre	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
**1961 March	Bhurnur	*	*	*	65	65	348	172	176
1961 April	Bhurnur	1265.42†	512.31†	174	63	63	344	169	175

**Source : Primary Census Abstract.

*Figures not available.

†Figures furnished from Village Revenue records during May 1964.

TABLE 2
Size and Composition of Households

Caste/Tribe	Total No. of house- holds	Single member			Two or three members			Four to six members			Seven to nine members			Ten members & over		
		No. of house- holds	M	F	No. of house- holds	M	F	No. of house- holds	M	F	No. of house- holds	M	F	No. of house- holds	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
1 Gond (S.T.)	55	1	1	...	13	16	18	27	61	74	12	54	40	2	13	15
2 Lohar (Kam- mara)	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Madiga (S.C.)	2	...	...	...	2	4	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Pradhan (S.T.)	5	...	...	...	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	4	3	2	10	12
Total	63	1	1	...	16	21	26	29	66	79	13	58	43	4	23	27

M: Males. F: Females. S. C. = Scheduled Caste. S. T. = Scheduled Tribe.

TABLE 3
Population by Age Group and Sex

Caste/Tribe	Age group (in years)								Total of all ages		
	0 - 14		15 - 24		25 - 59		60 & over				
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Gond	.	61	60	16	23	54	57	14	7	145	147
2 Lohar	.	1	1	...	...	1	2	...	1	2	4
3 Madiga	.	2	3	...	...	2	3	...	...	4	6
4 Pradhan	.	10	10	1	2	7	6	...	...	18	18
Total	.	74	74	17	25	64	68	14	8	169	175

TABLE 4

Population by Age Group and Martial Status

Caste/Tribe	Age group (in years)	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1 Gond	0-14	121	61	60	60	54	1	6	...	...	...	...
	15-24	39	16	23	9	2	7	21	...	...	...	...
	25-59	111	54	57	...	...	51	49	1	8	2	...
	60 & over	21	14	7	...	...	11	3	2	4	1	...
	Total	292	145	147	69	56	70	79	3	12	3	...
2 Lohar	0-14	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-59	3	1	2	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...
	60 & over	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
	Total	6	2	4	1	1	1	1	...	2	...	...
3 Madiga	0-14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-59	5	2	3	...	...	2	2	...	1	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	10	4	6	2	3	2	2	...	1	...	...
4 Pradhan	0-14	20	10	10	10	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-24	3	1	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
	25-59	13	7	6	1	...	4	5	1	1	1	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	36	18	18	12	10	4	6	1	1	1	1
Grand.Total		344	169	175	84	70	77	88	4	16	4	1

TABLE 5

Population by Age Group Sex, Education and Caste/Tribe

Caste/Tribe	Age group (in years)	Total			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation or higher secondary	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1 Gond	0-14	121	61	60	55	56	...	...	6	4	...	...
	15-24	39	16	23	15	23	...	...	1	...	...	...
	25-59	111	54	57	45	57	8	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	21	14	7	14	7	...	...	...	...	1	...
	Total	292	145	147	129	143	8	...	7	4	1	...
2 Lohar	0-14	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-59	3	1	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	6	2	4	1	4	1	...	...	...	...	...
3 Madiga	0-14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-59	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	10	4	6	4	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Pradhan	0-14	20	10	10	9	10	...	...	1	...	...	...
	15-24	3	1	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-59	13	7	6	6	6	1	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	36	18	18	16	18	1	...	1	...	...	...
Grand Total		344	169	175	150	171	10	...	8	4	1	...

TABLE 6

Household Heads by Caste/Tribe, Age Group, Sex and Literacy

Caste/Tribe	Literate								Illiterate			
	Males Age group (in years)				Females Age group (in years)				Males Age group (in years)			
	0-14	15-24	25-59	60 & over	0-14	15-24	25-59	60 & over	0-14	15-24	25-59	60 & over
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
(1)												
1 Gond	...	3	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	34	9
2 Lohar	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Madiga	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
4 Pradhan	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
Total	...	3	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	39	10

TABLE 6—(Concl'd.)

Household Heads by Caste/Tribe, Age Group, Sex and Literacy

Caste/Tribe	Illiterate				Total							
	Females Age group (in years)				Males Age group (in years)				Females Age group (in years)			
	0-14	15-24	25-59	60 & over	0-14	15-24	25-59	60 & over	0-14	15-24	25-59	60 & over
	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
(1)												
1 Gond	...	...	1	...	...	4	41	9	...	...	1	...
2 Lohar	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
3 Madiga	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
4 Pradhan	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	1	...	...	4	48	10	...	...	1	...

TABLE 7

Traditional Occupation by Caste/Tribe and Households

Name of traditional occupation	Caste/Tribe				
	Gond	Lohar	Madiga	Pradhan	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS					
1 Cultivator	50	...	1	1	52
2 Agricultural labourer	5	...	...	...	5
3 Cobbler	...	...	1	...	1
4 Blacksmith	...	1	...	...	1
5 Patadi (ritual begger)	...	...	...	4	4
Total	55	1	2	5	63

TABLE 8

Occupational Mobility and Cause of Change by Caste/Tribe

Caste/Tribe (1)	From traditional occupation (2)	No of households changing over (3)	To contemporary main occupation (4)	No. of households changing traditional occupation		
				Voluntarily		
				(5)	(6)	(7)
1 Gond	Cultivator	5	Attached agricultural labourer	...	...	5
	Agricultural labourer	4	Cultivator	...	...	1
			Attached agricultural labourer	...	...	3
2 Lohar	Blacksmith	1	Cultivator	...	...	1
3 Pradhan	Patadi	2	Cultivator	...	...	2

TABLE 9

Distribution of Households by Main Occupation and Caste/Tribe

Main occupation (1)	Total No. of households (2)	Number of households in each caste/tribe			
		Gond (3)	Lohar (4)	Madiga (5)	Pradhan (6)
1 Cultivator	51	46	1	1	3
2 Agricultural labourer	1	1	...	...	...
3 Attached agricultural labourer	8	8	...	...	...
4 Cobbler	1	...	...	1	...
5 Patadi (ritual beggar)	2	...	...	...	2
Total	63	55	1	2	5

TABLE 10

Combination of Occupations

Main occupation (1)	Total No. of house- holds (2)	Subsidiary occupation							
		Teacher (3)	Village official (4)	Village servant (5)	Havildar (6)	Agricul- tural labourer (7)	Attached agricul- tural labourer (8)	Blacksmith (9)	Patadi (10)
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1 Cultivator	16	1	1	1	1	7	2	1	2
2 Attached agricul- tural labourer	3	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
3 Patadi	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Total	21	1	1	1	1	12	2	1	2

TABLE 11

Main Occupation, per capita Annual Household Income and Family Type

Main occupation (1)		Per capita annual household income range (in Rupees)																					Total (22)
		1-50				51-100				101-200				201 & over				Unspecified					
		S	I	J	O	S	I	J	O	S	I	J	O	S	I	J	O	S	I	J	O		
		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)		
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS																							
1	Cultivator . . .	15	3	7	1	6	2	6	1	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	2	51	
2	Agricultural labourer . . .	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
3	Attached agricultural labourer . . .	4	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	8	
4	Cobbler . . .	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
5	Patadi . . .	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	
Total . . .		20	5	8	1	8	2	7	1	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	2	63	

S—Simple family (husband, wife and unmarried children)

I—Intermediate family (married couple and unmarried brother/sister and one of the parents)

J—Joint family (married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters)

O—Other types of families

TABLE 12

Reciprocal Aid and Improvement in Agricultural Practices

Tribe (1)	Gross annual household income (in Rs.) (2)	Number of agricultural households			
		Using manures		Adopting improved methods of cultivation	Having contact with Village Level Worker
		Organic (3)	Chemical fertilisers (4)	(5)	(6)
Gond	300 & below	1	...	...	1
	301-600	...	...	...	...
	601-900	1	...	1	...
	901-1200	1	...	...	...
	1201 & over	...	...	...	...

TABLE 13

Area under Cultivation by Tribe and Households

Extent (in acres) (1)	Number of households among	
	Gond (2)	Pradhan (3)
	(2)	(3)
Below 3	...	...
3.1 to 5	...	...
5.1 to 8	1	...
8.1 to 11	...	...
11.1 to 14	1	...
14.1 to 17	...	...
17.1 to 20	1	...
20.1 to 30	...	...
30.1 to 40	...	...
40.1 to 50	...	1
Total	4	1

TABLE 14

Possession of Livestock and Poultry by Tribe

Kind of livestock (1)	Gond	
	No. of households (2)	Total No. of heads of livestock (3)
Milch cattle		
Cow	2	8
Draught cattle		
Bullock	4	12
Poultry		
Fowl	4	11

TABLE 15

Material Culture — Possession and Use of Furniture and Consumer Goods and Services by Tribe and Households

Particulars (1)	No. of households consuming/having among	
	Gond (2)	Pradhan (3)
I. Fuel and lighting		
Forest fuel	6	1
Kerosene	5	1
II. Furniture		
Cots and carpets	...	1
III. Other consumer goods and services		
Hurricane lantern	...	1
Toilet soap	1	1
Torchlight	1	...
Bicycle	1	...

TABLE 16

Capital Formation by Tribe and Households, 1959-60

Tribe (1)	Nature of capital formation (2)	Number of households holding the capital valued in rupees		
		6-25 (3)	26-50 (4)	51-75 (5)
1 Gond	Savings bonds, Shares, Treasury bonds etc.	1	...	...
	Gold and silver	...	1	1
2 Pradhan	House	1	...	...
	Total	2	1	1

TABLE 17

Annual Household Income by Main Occupation and Source of Income

Main occupation (1)	No. of house- holds (2)	Source of income (3)	No. of house- holds (4)	All households		Households with annual income (in Rs.) of	
				Amount	Percent	300 & below	No. of
				Rs. P.	(6)	Amount (7)	households (8)
1 Cultivator	51	Cultivator	48	12,801.00	85.49	5,383.00	33
		Agricultural labourer	8	761.00	5.08	761.00	8
		Attached agricultural labourer	1	140.00	0.94	...	...
		Teacher	1	721.00	4.82	...	...
		Village Officer	1	150.00	1.00	...	...
		Havildar	1	50.00	0.33	50.00	1
		Patadi	1	200.00	1.34	...	...
		Village servant	1	150.00	1.00	150.00	1
2 Agricultural labourer	1	Agricultural labourer	1	180.00	66.67	180.00	1
		Casual labourer	1	90.00	33.33	90.00	1
3 Attached agricultural labourer	8	Attached agricultural labourer	7	894.00	76.80	584.00	6
		Agricultural labourer	3	270.00	23.20	270.00	3
4 Cobbler	1	Cobbler	1	190.00	100.00	190.00	1
Patadi	2	Patadi	2	200.00	45.45	200.00	2
		Agricultural labourer	2	240.00	54.55	240.00	2

TABLE 17—(Concl.)

Annual Household Income by Main Occupation and Source of Income

Main occupation (1)	No. of house- holds (2)	Source of income (3)	Households with annual income (in Rs.) of							
			301-600		601-900		901-1200		1201 & over	
			Amount (9)	No. of house- holds (10)	Amount (11)	No. of house- holds (12)	Amount (13)	No. of house- holds (14)	Amount (15)	No. of house- holds (16)
1 Cultivator	51	Cultivator	3,673.00	10	2,240.00	3	1,505.00	2	...	...
		Agricultural labourer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Attached agricultural labourer	140.00	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Teacher	...	...	...	...	721.00	1	...	...
		Village Officer	150.00	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Havildar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Patadi	200.00	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Village servant	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Agricultural labourer	1	Agricultural labourer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Casual labourer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Attached agricultural labourer	8	Attached agricultural labourer	310.00	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Agricultural labourer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Cobbler	1	Cobbler	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Patadi	2	Patadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Agricultural labourer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

N B:—The incomes of 3 households engaged as cultivators and 1 household engaged as attached agricultural labourer have not been given by the informants.

TABLE 18

Annual Expenditure on Education by Tribe and Households

Tribe (1)	Number of households spending annually (in Rupees) of		
	Below 25	25-50	51-100
	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pradhan	...	1	...

TABLE 19

Average Annual Expenditure per Household by Income Groups and Occupation

Occupation (1)	No. of house- holds (2)	Items of expenditure (3)	All households			Households with an annual income (in Rs.) of			
			No. of house- holds (4)	Expendi- ture per household (5)	Percent- age to total ex- penditure (6)	300 & below		301 & 600	
						No. of house- holds (7)	Average expendi- ture (8)	No. of house- holds (9)	Average expendi- ture (10)
			(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Cultivator	6	Food	6	Rs. P. 323.33	62.11				
		Clothing	6	157.08	30.17	2	210.00	3	406.67
		Education	1	50.00	1.60	2	51.25	3	180.00
		Marriage	1	100.00	3.20	...	...	1	50.00
		Fuel & lighting	5	16.03	2.57	1	100.00	...	...
		Washing & toilet soap	5	8.20	0.35	1	4.66	3	19.83
Attached agricultural labourer	1								
		Food	1	120.00	68.57	1	5.00	3	7.00
		Clothing	1	52.50	30.00	...	...	...	...
		Fuel & lighting	1	2.50	1.43	...	...	...	...

TABLE 19—(Concl'd.)

Average Annual Expenditure per Household by Income Groups and Occupation

Occupation (1)	No. of households (2)	Items of expenditure (3)	Households with an annual income (in Rs.) of							
			601-900		901-1,200		1,201 & over		Unspecified	
			No. of households (11)	Average expenditure (12)	No. of households (13)	Average expenditure (14)	No. of households (15)	Average expenditure (16)	No. of households (17)	Average expenditure (18)
Cultivator	6	Food	...	Rs. P. ...	1	300.00	...	...	...	...
		Clothing	...	...	1	300.00	...	...	...	...
		Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Marriage	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Fuel & lighting	...	...	1	16.00	...	...	...	...
		Washing & toilet soap	...	...	1	15.00	...	...	...	...
Attached agricultural labourer	1	Food	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	120.00
		Clothing	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	52.50
		Fuel & lighting	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2.50

TABLE 20

Overall Household Income and Expenditure Position by Tribe and Households

Tribe (1)	Number of households with annual income (in Rs.) of								
	300 & below			301-600			601-900		
	Balanced account (2)	Surplus account (3)	Deficit account (4)	Balanced account (5)	Surplus account (6)	Deficit account (7)	Balanced account (8)	Surplus account (9)	Deficit account (10)
Gond	...	...	3	...	1	1	...	...	...
Pradhan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	3	...	1	1	...	...	...

TABLE 20—(Cont'd.)

Overall Household Income and Expenditure Position by Tribe and Households

Tribe (1)	Number of households with annual income (in Rs.) of									
	901-1,200			1,201 & over			All households			
	Balanced account (11)	Surplus account (12)	Deficit account (13)	Balanced account (14)	Surplus account (15)	Deficit account (16)	Balanced account (17)	Surplus account (18)	Deficit account (19)	Total (20)
Gond	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	5
Pradhan	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Total	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	5	6

TABLE 20—(Concl'd.)

Overall Household Income and Expenditure Position by Tribe and Households

Tribe (1)	Number of households with surplus account (in Rs.) of								Number of households with deficit account (in Rs.) of							
	Below Rs. 5 (21)	5-10 (22)	11-25 (23)	26-50 (24)	51-100 (25)	101-200 (26)	201-500 (27)	501 & over (28)	Below Rs. 5 (29)	5-10 (30)	11-25 (31)	26-50 (32)	51-100 (33)	101-200 (34)	201-500 (35)	501 & over (36)
	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)
Gond	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	1
Pradhan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	2

N.B.:—The income is not available for one household.

TABLE 21

Indebtedness by Annual Household Income and Households

Income group	Total No. of house- holds	Number of households in debt and total amount of debt		Percentage of Col. (3) to Col. (2)	Average indebtedness for household in debt (in Rs.)
		Number of households	Total amount of debt (in Rs.)		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rs. 300 & below	3	1	100	33.33	100
301—600	1	1	500	100.00	500
601—900	1	...	...	...	...
901—1,200	1	1	1,500	100.00	1,500
1,201 & over	...	...	...	...	...
Total	6	3	2,100	50.00	2,100

N. B.:—Income particulars are not available for one household.

APPENDIX 1

TABLE 22

Indebtedness by Causes, Amount and Households

Cause (1)	Indebtedness by cause of debt		
	Amount of debt (2) Rs.	No. of households in debt (3)	Percentage of debt to the total amount of debt (4)
Marriages	100	1	4.76
Ordinary wants	1,000	2	47.62
Household cultivation	1,000	1	47.62
Total	2,100	...	100.00

TABLE 23

Credit Agency and Rate of Interest by Number of Households and Amount

Agency (1)	Rate of interest			
	4-6%		25%	
	Number of households (2)	Amount (3) Rs. P.	Number of households (4)	Amount (5) Rs. P.
1 Private money lender	...	...	3	1,100.00
2 Block development (Government)	1	1,000.00	...	...
Total	1	1,000.00	3	1,100.00

TABLE 24

Caste/Tribe and Nature of Family

Caste/Tribe (1)	Total No. of households (2)	Types of families living in the village			
		Simple (3)	Intermediate (4)	Joint (5)	Others (6)
1 Gond	55	29	5	17	4
2 Lohar	1	...	...	...	1
3 Madiga	2	1	1	...	...
4 Pradhan	5	3	1	...	1
Total	63	33	7	17	6

Note:—SIMPLE : Husband, wife and unmarried children
 INTERMEDIATE : Married couple and unmarried brother/sister, and one of the parents
 JOINT : Married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters
 OTHERS : Other types of families

TABLE 25

Dietary Habits by Households and Tribe

Tribe (1)	Total No. of households (2)	Households taking						Unspecified (9)
		Two time meals (3)	Breakfast, midday meals and supper, tea, coffee with light dishes between midday meal and supper and tea or coffee at any other time (4)	Breakfast, midday meal and supper with coffee or tea with light dishes between noon meal and supper (5)	Breakfast, midday meal and supper with coffee or tea alone at one time (6)	Breakfast, midday meal and supper (7)	Two time meals with coffee or tea at any time or times (8)	
1 Gond	6	...	...	...	3	2	...	1
2 Pradhan	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total	7	...	...	...	4	2	...	1

TABLE 26

Staple Food and Dietary Habits by Tribe and Households

Tribe (1)	Number of households taking				Total No. of households (6)
	Rice (2)	Wheat (3)	Coarser grain like bajra or jowar or maize (4)	Roots (5)	
1 Gond	...	...	6	...	6
2 Pradhan	...	...	1	...	1
Total	...	...	7	...	7

TABLE 27

Marriages by Consanguinity and Caste/Tribe

Caste/Tribe (1)	Number of marriages with	
	Mother's own brother's daughter (menarikam) (2)	Father's own sister's daughter (eduru menarikam) (3)
1 Gond	45	23
2 Lohar	1	...
3 Madiga	1	1
4 Pradhan	3	3
Total	50	27

APPENDIX I

TABLE 28

Types of Marriages by Caste/Tribe

Caste/Tribe (1)	Total number of households (2)	Total number of marriages (3)	Consanguineous		Non-Consanguineous		Monogamous		Polygynous	
			Number of households (4)	Number of marriages (5)	Number of households (6)	Number of marriages (7)	Number of households (8)	Number of marriages (9)	Number of households (10)	Number of marriages (11)
1 Gond	52	101	45	68	29	33	50	94	3	3
2 Lohar	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...
3 Madiga	3	3	2	2	1	1	3	3	...	...
4 Pradhan	5	6	5	6	...	...	5	6	...	...
Total	61	111	53	77	30	34	59	104	3	3

TABLE 29

Marriages by Spatial Distribution and Caste / Tribe

Caste/Tribe (1)	Number of marriages contracted within the village (2)	Number of marriages contracted outside the village and within the taluk				Number of marriages contracted outside the taluk and within the district			
		10 miles and below (3)	11-25 miles (4)	26-100 miles (5)	101 miles and above (6)	10 miles and below (7)	11-25 miles (8)	26-100 miles (9)	101 miles and above (10)
1 Gond	28	22	7	3	...	7	6	3	...
2 Lohar	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Madiga	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...
4 Pradhan	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Total	35	22	7	3	1	7	6	5	...

TABLE 29—(Concl'd.)

Marriages by Spatial Distribution and Caste / Tribe

Caste/Tribe (1)	Number of marriages contracted outside the district and within the state				Number of marriages contracted outside the State			
	10 miles and below (11)	11-25 miles (12)	26-100 miles (13)	101 miles and above (14)	10 miles and below (15)	11-25 miles (16)	26-100 miles (17)	101 miles and above (18)
1 Gond	...	...	...	...	9	6	10	...
2 Lohar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Madiga	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Pradhan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	9	6	10	...

TABLE 30

Settlement History of Households by Caste/Tribe

Caste/Tribe (1)	Total No. of households (2)	Number of households settled				Present generation (7)
		More than 5 generations (3)	Between 3-4 generations (4)	Between 2-3 generations (5)	One generation ago (6)	
1 Gond	55	...	23	...	...	32
2 Lohar	1	...	...	...	...	1
3 Madiga	2	...	4	...	...	2
4 Pradhan	5	...	...	...	...	1
Total	63	...	27	...	...	36

TABLE 31

Area of Homestead by Caste/Tribe and Households

Tribe (1)	Total No. of households (2)	Extent of homestead (in cents)				
		Less than 1 (3)	1-5 (4)	5-10 (5)	10-15 (6)	15-1 & over (7)
1 Gond	6	...	...	3	1	...
2 Pradhan	1	...	...	3	3	1
Total	7	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 32

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by Households and Population

Name of Scheduled Caste/ Scheduled Tribe (1)	Total No. of households (2)	Persons (3)	Males (4)	Females (5)
Scheduled Caste Madiga	2	10	4	6
Scheduled Tribes Gond	55	292	145	147
Pradhan	5	36	18	18
Total (Scheduled Tribes)	60	328	163	165
Grand Total	62	338	167	171

APPENDIX—II
THE TRIBAL AREAS REGULATION, 1359 FASLI
(No. III of 1359 F.)

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for the better administration of the tribal areas in the Hyderabad State ;

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the authority vested in me for the administration of the Hyderabad State and of all other powers enabling me in this behalf I hereby make the following Regulation :—

Short title and commencement

1. (1) This Regulation may be called the Tribal Areas Regulation, 1359 Fasli.

(2) This section shall come into force at once and the remaining provisions of this Regulation shall come into force in such areas and from such dates as Government may by notification in the Jarida direct.

Definitions

2. In this Regulation unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(a) “Agent” means the person appointed by Government to be the Agent for a notified tribal area or where no person is so appointed the Taluqdar of the district in which such area is situate ;

(b) “Assistant Agent” means the person appointed by Government to be the Assistant Agent for a notified tribal area or any part thereof or where no person is so appointed the Second Taluqdar of the division in which such area or part is situate ;

(c) “notified tribal area” means an area in which this Regulation is for the time being in force ;

(d) “prescribed” means prescribed by or under rules made under this Regulation ;

(e) “tribal” when used as a noun means a member of a tribe in a notified tribal area, and “non-tribal” means a person who is not a tribal ;

(f) “tribe” means Bhils, Chenchus, Gonds, Hill Reddis, Kolams, Koyas, Naikpods, Pardhans, Totis, and includes all subdivisions of these tribes and in relation to any notified tribal area includes also any other tribe which Government may by notification in the Jarida declare to be a tribe for the purposes of this Regulation in that area ;

(g) an expression defined in Section 2 of the Land Revenue Act (VIII of 1317 F.) shall have the meaning assigned to it in the said section.

Power to exclude or modify application of laws to notified tribal areas

3. Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the time being in force Government may, by notification in the Jarida, direct that any Act, Regulation, or Rule for the time being in force in the Hyderabad State shall not apply to any notified tribal areas specified in the notification or shall apply thereto with such omissions and modifications as may be so specified.

Power to make rules

4. (1) Government may, by notification in the Jarida, make such rules as appear to them to be necessary or expedient for the better administration of any notified tribal area in respect of tribals and of their relations with non-tribals.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely—

(a) barring the jurisdiction of courts of law or revenue authorities in any dispute relating to lands, houses or house sites occupied, claimed, rented or possessed by any tribal, or from which any tribal may have been evicted, whether by process of law or otherwise, within such period preceding the notification bringing this Regulation into force in the area concerned as may be specified in the rules ;

(b) the transfer to the Agent of all suits or proceedings pending before any court of law or revenue authority for the eviction of any tribal from lands cultivated by him or from a house or house site occupied by him in any notified tribal area and the manner in which the Agent shall deal with such suits or proceedings ;

(c) the cancellation of any decrees or orders which were passed by a court of law or revenue authority within such period preceding the notification bringing this Regulation into force in the area concerned as may be

specified in the rules and which adversely affect the rights of a tribal in any land or house or house site and, if any such decree or order has already been executed, the procedure, according to which the Agent shall restore the position obtaining before such execution;

(d) the vesting in the Agent or Assistant Agent of all civil and revenue jurisdiction in cases involving the rights of any tribal in any land, house or house site situate in any notified tribal area, the powers to be exercised by the Agent and Assistant Agent for this purpose (which may include the power of any revenue or forest officer in revenue and forest matters and of any court subordinate to the High Court in civil matters) and the summary or other procedure in accordance with which such powers shall be exercised;

(e) authorising the Agent or Assistant Agent of a notified tribal area to try any criminal offence in which a tribal is involved as a party not being an offence punishable with death or imprisonment for life or for a period extending to 10 years, and prohibiting legal practitioners from appearing in any such trial without the permission of the Agent or Assistant Agent;

(f) prohibiting the grant of patta right over any land in any notified tribal area to a non-tribal and empowering the Agent to cancel or revise any title in land granted to a non-tribal in any notified tribal area during a specified period preceding the coming into force of this Regulation therein, or to order exchange of lands by way of compensation or settlement, and to eject any person from any land or to place any person in possession of any land in accordance with this decision;

(g) prohibiting the sale in execution of any decree or order of a civil or revenue court whether made before or after the coming into force of this Regulation in the area concerned of land for the time being cultivated by a tribal or in respect of which a tribal claims that he has a right to hold it, the cancellation of all such sales not finally confirmed before the coming into force of this Regulation in the area concerned and the manner in which all such cases shall be disposed of by the Agent;

(h) authorising the agent—

(i) after consulting the Director of Forests to recommend to Government the revision or cancellation of any forest settlement made under the Hyderabad Forest Act, 1355 Fasli; and

(ii) to exclude land from a reserved forest without reference to Government if the area to be excluded does not exceed a prescribed limit and the Divisional Forest Officer concurs in the exclusion;

(i) authorising the agent to dismiss summarily any official of any Government department working in a notified tribal area and drawing a salary not exceeding such limit as may be prescribed if he is satisfied that the official has been guilty of abusing his position by ill-treating any person or demanding unlawful gratification in the exercise of his official duties;

(j) authorising the agent to expel from a notified tribal area any non-tribal if, for reasons to be recorded in writing, he is satisfied that his presence in such area is likely to be detrimental to the interests of the tribals;

(k) the abolition of Patel and Patwari Watans in any notified tribal area, the replacement of non-tribal village officers by tribal village officers, the payment of reasonable compensation to the replaced non-tribals and the appointment of village officers on such remuneration and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed;

(l) controlling money-lending in a notified tribal area and in particular—

(i) prohibiting any person from engaging in the business of money lending otherwise than under and in accordance with a condition of a licence;

(ii) prescribing the authorities by which such licence shall be issued, the conditions to be entered therein (including conditions in regard to the rate of interest), the maintenance of accounts and the furnishing of receipt;

(iii) prohibiting absolutely the transaction of the business of money-lending in any notified tribal area in respect of which Government are satisfied that adequate provision for rural credit has been made through the medium of Government Co-operative Societies or otherwise;

(iv) instituting arrangements for the compulsory settlement of outstanding debts owed to money-lender by tribals;

(m) the constitution of Panchayats and the entrustment to Panchayats so constituted or to Panchayats constituted under the Panchayats Act of such criminal and civil jurisdiction and such social duties as may be prescribed.

(3) The rules made under sub-section (1) may further—

(a) provide for the procedure to be followed in the disposal of cases under this Regulation, and prescribe a summary procedure for the trial of criminal offences;

(b) confer powers and impose duties upon any Government officer as respects any matter;

(c) permit or prohibit applications for the transfer of proceedings under this Regulation and appeals from or the review or revision of orders made thereunder, and where such applications, appeals, review or revision are permitted prescribe the authorities by whom and the conditions under which and the mode in which powers to transfer proceedings, to entertain appeals and to review or revise orders shall be exercised;

(d) provide that any contravention of, or any attempt to contravene, and any abetment of, or attempt to abet, the contravention of any of the provisions of the rules or of any order issued under any such provision or of any condition of any licence so issued shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.

(4) Government may by order direct that any power or duty which by rule under sub-section (1) is conferred or imposed upon Government shall in such circumstances and under such conditions, if any, as may be specified in the direction be exercised or discharged by any other authority.

5. Any rule made under section 4, and any order made under such rule, shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any enactment other than this Regulation or in any instrument having effect by virtue of any enactment other than this Regulation.

Effects of rules
inconsistent
with other
enactments

Saving as to
orders

Protection of
action taken
under the
Regulation

Repeal

6. (1) No order made in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Regulation shall be called in question in any court.

(2) Where an order purports to have been made and signed by any authority in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Regulation a court shall, within the meaning of the Hyderabad Evidence Act, 1313 F., presume that such order was so made by that authority.

7. (1) No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Regulation or of any rule made thereunder.

(2) Save as otherwise expressly provided under this Regulation, no suit or other legal proceeding shall lie against the Government for any damage caused or likely to be caused by anything done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Regulation or of any rule made thereunder.

8. The Tribal Areas Regulation, 1356 Fasli, is hereby repealed.

NOTIFIED TRIBAL AREAS
REVENUE DEPARTMENT
Notification No. 2

Dated 16th November, 1949.
16th Dai, 1359 E.

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 1 of the Tribal Areas Regulation, 1359 E., Government is pleased to direct that the said Regulation shall come into force fifteen days after the date of this notification in the Jarida, in the two areas specified in Parts I and II respectively of the annexed schedule.

SCHEDULE

Part I.

DISTRICT ADILABAD

TALUK ADILABAD

Villages

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Malai Borgava | 37. Sangvee |
| 2. Ankapur | 38. Khogloor |
| 3. Jamul Dhari | 39. Kobai |
| 4. Lokari | 40. Ponala |
| 5. Vanket | 41. Chaprala |
| 6. Tantoli | 42. Mangrol |
| 7. Sitagondi | 43. Kopa Argune |
| 8. Burnoor | 44. Soankhas |
| 9. Navgaon | 45. Khidki |
| 10. Pipal Dari | 46. Khasala Khurd |
| 11. Pardi Buzurg | 47. Khasala Buzurg |
| 12. Yapalguda | 48. Jamni |
| 13. Chinchughat | 49. Borgaon |
| 14. Vankoli | 50. Sayelpur |
| 15. Kanpa | 51. Khara |
| 16. Avasodo Burki | 52. Lohara |
| 17. Malkapur | 53. Marigaon |
| 18. Jarce | 54. Chichdari |
| 19. Palsi Buzurg | 55. Khanapur |
| 20. Arli Khurd | 56. Kandala |
| 21. Nandgaon | 57. Tipa |
| 22. Vaghagur | 58. Hati Ghota |
| 23. Palsi Khurd | 59. Karoni Khurd |
| 24. Lingee | 60. Karoni Buzurg |
| 25. Kapkar Deni | 61. Singapur |
| 26. Ratnapur | 62. Buranpur |
| 27. Kesai | 63. Nagrala |
| 28. Umari | 64. Bodad |
| 29. Madanapur | 65. Chandpelli |
| 30. Ambagaon | 66. Peetgaon |
| 31. Ruyadee | 67. Yekori |
| 32. Sakanapur | 68. Sadarpur |
| 33. Daigaon | 69. Varoor |
| 34. Kaslapur | 70. Rohar |
| 35. Dorlee | 71. Takli |
| 36. Sahaij | 72. Ramkham |

TALUK KINWAI

Villages

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ambari | 38. Unsa |
| 2. Bodri | 39. Gochi |
| 3. Chikli | 40. Samkher |
| 4. Kamtala | 41. Nankwadi |
| 5. Ghoti | 42. Sakam |
| 6. Mandwa | 43. Waghera |
| 7. Maregaon | 44. Mandap |
| 8. Malbargaon | 45. Angulher |
| 9. Patoda | 46. Gondwarsa |
| 10. Daligaon | 47. Palanguda |
| 11. Domandhari | 48. Karalgao |
| 12. Darsangi | 49. Palsi |
| 13. Digri | 50. Patoda |
| 14. Sindgi | 51. Javarla |
| 15. Kunakwari | 52. Pipalgaon |
| 16. Kopra | 53. Kanki |
| 17. Malakwadi | 54. Singora |
| 18. Nisapur | 55. Dongargaon |
| 19. Yenda | 56. Pipalsendha |
| 20. Pipalgaon | 57. Jurur |
| 21. Bulja | 58. Munki |
| 22. Waroli | 59. Tulsi |
| 23. Anji | 60. Machander Pardhi |
| 24. Blumpur | 61. Muthi |
| 25. Sirmeti | 62. Laki |
| 26. Karla | 63. Parsa |
| 27. Kothari | 64. Wansa |
| 28. Gokunda | 65. Umra |
| 29. Gogurwadi | 66. Asha |
| 30. Malkapur | 67. Hangai |
| 31. Dhonora | 68. Timapur |
| 32. Rampur | 69. Wajra |
| 33. Patri | 70. Wanola |
| 34. Porodhi | 71. Patsonda |
| 35. Boath | 72. Dhanora |
| 36. Darsangi | 73. Sakur |
| 37. Norgaon | 74. Digri |

TALUK BOATH

Villages

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Hatnur | 9. Venkatapur |
| 2. Wakri | 10. Hasanpur |
| 3. Pardhi | 11. Surdipur |
| 4. Kartanada | 12. Polmamda |
| 5. Serlapalli | 13. Balhampur |
| 6. Neradikonda | 14. Dharampuri |
| 7. Daligaon | 15. Gokonda |
| 8. Kuntala | 16. Bhotai |

TALUK BOATH—Concl'd.

Villages

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 17. Korsekal | 32. Gerjam |
| 18. Patnapur | 33. Chincholi |
| 19. Tejapur | 34. Siachelma |
| 20. Guruj | 35. Mankapur |
| 21. Khahdiguda | 36. Narsapur |
| 22. Rajurwadi | 37. Dharampur |
| 23. Isapur | 38. Harkapur |
| 24. Ghanpur | 39. Dhampur |
| 25. Jaterla | 40. Nigni |
| 26. Khantegaon | 41. Ajhar Wajhar |
| 27. Sauri | 42. Chintalbori |
| 28. Ichora | 43. Chintakarva |
| 29. Mutnur | 44. Rampur |
| 30. Gudi Hatnur | 45. Gangapur |
| 31. Talameddi | 46. Gayatpalli |

TALUK UTNUR

All villages of the taluk

TALUK ASIFABAD

Villages

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Rajampet | 37. Kapri |
| 2. Gunjala | 38. Belgaon |
| 3. Indhani | 39. Sirasgaon |
| 4. Samela | 40. Moar |
| 5. Tejapur | 41. Wavdham |
| 6. Kannargaon | 42. Dhamriguda |
| 7. Kautaguda | 43. Ballanpur |
| 8. Sankepalli | 44. Chalwardi |
| 9. Jamuldhari | 45. Jhoreghat |
| 10. Gundi | 46. Babijhari |
| 11. Chorpalli | 47. Sakangundi |
| 12. Saleguda | 48. Ara |
| 13. Wadiguda | 49. Uppal Naugaon |
| 14. Savati | 50. Ankasapur |
| 15. Dhaba | 51. Chirakunta |
| 16. Chopanguda | 52. Illipita Dorli |
| 17. Nimgaon | 53. Mandrumera |
| 18. Khirdi | 54. Dantanpalli |
| 19. Metapipri | 55. Deodrug |
| 20. Sakra | 56. Tunpalli |
| 21. Sangi | 57. Dhagleshvar |
| 22. Devurpalli | 58. Padibanda |
| 23. Khotara-Ringanghat | 59. Tamrin Moar |
| 24. Nishani | 60. Malangundi |
| 25. Kota Parandoli | 61. Kaudan Moar |
| 26. Mesapur | 62. Goina |
| 27. Goigaon | 63. Kutoda |
| 28. Dhanora | 64. Tilani |
| 29. Pardha | 65. Kannepalli |
| 30. Surdapur | 66. Bordoum |
| 31. Kerimeri | 67. Telundi |
| 32. Murkilonke | 68. Mangi |
| 33. Devapur | 69. Lodiguda |
| 34. Chinta Karra | 70. Moinda-Gudipet |
| 35. Jheri | 71. Ginnedari |
| 36. Ara-Dasnapur | 72. Koitclundi |

TALUK ASIFABAD—Concl'd.

Villages

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 73. Madura | 80. Sungapur |
| 74. Devaiguda | 81. Rala Samkepalli |
| 75. Areguda | 82. Ralaped |
| 76. Gardepalli | 83. Kistampet |
| 77. Lakepalli | 84. Takalapalli |
| 78. Chintepalli | 85. Chakalpalli |
| 79. Ralle Kannepalli | 86. Annaram |

TALUK LAKSHETTIPET

Villages

- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Gundam | 10. Tarapet |
| 2. Kasipet | 11. Devapur |
| 3. Dandepalli | 12. Gathapalli |
| 4. Chelampeta | 13. Rotepalli |
| 5. Rajampet | 14. Mandamari |
| 6. Mutiempet | 15. Dharmaraopet |
| 7. Venkatapur | 16. Venkatapur |
| 8. Rali | 17. Chintaguda |
| 9. Kauwal | 18. Mutiempalli |

TALUK RAJURA

Villages

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Bendwi | 33. Porda |
| 2. Chincholi | 34. Wargaon |
| 3. Goigaon | 35. Nokari |
| 4. Hirapur | 36. Mirapur |
| 5. Sakri | 37. Pardhi |
| 6. Balapur | 38. Kutoda |
| 7. Manoli | 39. Parsewara |
| 8. Antargaon | 40. Mangalhira |
| 9. Wirur | 41. Karki |
| 10. Dongargaon | 42. Nokari |
| 11. Timbervai | 43. Manoli |
| 12. Sersi | 44. Sonapur |
| 13. Bedora | 45. Isapur |
| 14. Vmarjheri | 46. Mangi |
| 15. Lakarkot | 47. Uparwal |
| 16. Ergaon | 48. Tutra |
| 17. Kirdi | 49. Lakmapur |
| 18. Sondo | 50. Kirdi |
| 19. Devara | 51. Injapur |
| 20. Khorpana | 52. Jamni |
| 21. Kanargaon | 53. Hargaon |
| 22. Chenai | 54. Chikli |
| 23. Kairgaon | 55. Patan |
| 24. Samalhira | 56. Kosundi |
| 25. Dhanoli | 57. Kauthala |
| 26. Markagondi | 58. Sonorli |
| 27. Yellapur | 59. Chopri |
| 28. Katalbori | 60. Doda Arjuni |
| 29. Isapur | 61. Sarwai |
| 30. Devti | 62. Rapalli |
| 31. Panderwani | 63. Teka Mandiva |
| 32. Wansari | 64. Meta Arjuni |

TALUK SIRPUR

Villages

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Phetpalli | 13. Chintam |
| 2. Korsni | 14. Gullatalodi |
| 3. Tsgaon | 15. Damda |
| 4. Chintaguda | 16. Dhorpalli |
| 5. Ankora | 17. Kanki |
| 6. Utsurangpalli | 18. Garlapet |
| 7. Arpalli | 19. Gudlabori |
| 8. Bopalpatnam | 20. Gurnpet |
| 9. Babasagar | 21. Lonveli |
| 10. Pardhi | 22. Mogurdagar |
| 11. Tumrihati | 23. Wirdandi |
| 12. Chintalmanopalli | 24. Chipurdubba |

Part II

DISTRICT WARANGAL

TALUK MULUG

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Kannaiguda | 43. Kothur |
| 2. Ankannaguda | 44. Peddapalli |
| 3. Raghavpatnam | 45. Sarvapur |
| 4. Medarnofa | 46. Bhussapur |
| 5. Koetla | 47. Chelvai |
| 6. Pasra Nagaram | 48. Rangapur |
| 7. Muthapur | 49. Govindraopet |
| 8. Motlaguda | 50. Ballapalli |
| 9. Venglapur | 51. Dumpallaguda |
| 10. Yelpak | 52. Kerlapalli |
| 11. Kaneboenpalli | 53. Lakhnavaaram |
| 12. Medaram | 54. Pasra |
| 13. Kondred | 55. Gonedpalli |
| 14. Chintaguda | 56. Padgapur |
| 15. Kondaparthi | 57. Narlapur |
| 16. Yelsethipalli | 58. Kalvapalli |
| 17. Allvamarighunpur | 59. Uratam |
| 18. Rampur | 60. Kondia |
| 19. Malkapalli | 61. Mahat |
| 20. Chettial | 62. Aclapur |
| 21. Bhupathipur | 63. Dodla |
| 22. Gangaram | 64. Komaram |
| 23. Kannaiguda | 65. Tadvai |
| 24. Rajannapet | 66. Boodiguda |
| 25. Bhutaram | 67. Bannaji |
| 26. Akkela | 68. Bandam |
| 27. Sirvapur | 69. Selpak |
| 28. Gangaram | 70. Kantalpalli |
| 29. Bhupathipur | 71. Sarvai |
| 30. Pumbapur | 72. Gangaguda |
| 31. Rampur | 73. Tupalkalguda |
| 32. Ankampalli | 74. Akulvari Ghanpur |
| 33. Kamaram | 75. Shahpalli |
| 34. Kamsattigudam | 76. Gaggalli |
| 35. Ashnaguda | 77. Chinna Boenpalli |
| 36. Yellapur | 78. Venkatapur |
| 37. Allaguda | 79. Narsapur |
| 38. Narsapur | 80. Anvaram |
| 39. Puschapur | 81. Lingal |
| 40. Bhattupalli | 82. Ballepalli |
| 41. Lanval | 83. Bangal |
| 42. Vadduguda | 84. Thunniapur |

TALUK NARSAMPET

Villages

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Vebelli | 37. Rangagudem |
| 2. Polara | 38. Peddalapalli |
| 3. Bakkachintaphad | 39. Yerravaram |
| 4. Ganjad | 40. Kundanpalli |
| 5. Thirmalguda | 41. Neelampalli |
| 6. Gopalpur | 42. Daravatnampalli |
| 7. Khustapur | 43. Karnegund |
| 8. Tatinari Venpalli | 44. Mahadevagudam |
| 9. Pattal Bhoopati | 45. Marriagudam |
| 10. Chandelapur | 46. Jangalpalli |
| 11. Battalpalli | 47. Bavarguda |
| 12. Advarampet | 48. Garbak |
| 13. Sattahnagar | 49. Gangaramam |
| 14. Dutla | 50. Mucherla |
| 15. Modhwada | 51. Amaroncha |
| 16. Mangalawarpet | 52. Kamaram |
| 17. Karlai | 53. Chintagudem |
| 18. Arkalkunta | 54. Nilavancha |
| 19. Kodsapet | 55. Kangargidda |
| 20. Ganderpalli | 56. Madagudem |
| 21. Masami | 57. Dalurpet |
| 22. Battivartigudem | 58. Kothagudem |
| 23. Mamidigudam | 59. Kotapalli |
| 24. Pangonda | 60. Durgaram |
| 25. Roturai | 61. Dubagudem |
| 26. Satteddipalli | 62. Rudravaram |
| 27. Konapur | 63. Narsugudem |
| 28. Kondapuram | 64. Komatlagudem |
| 29. Pogulapalli | 65. Katervam |
| 30. Govindapuram | 66. Semar Rajpet |
| 31. Makadapalli | 67. Marepalli |
| 32. Pagulapalli | 68. Goarur |
| 33. Murraigudem | 69. Radhiapur |
| 34. Yelchagudem | 70. Gazalgudem |
| 35. Tummapuram | 71. Rajvepalli |
| 36. Jangamvartigudem | 72. Bollypalli |

TALUK YELLANDU

Villages

All the villages of the Taluq with the exception of the town of Kothaguda and the following villages :

1. Yellandu
2. Singareni
3. Sirpur

TALUK PALONCHA

Villages

All the villages of the Taluq and Samasthan of Paloncha with the exception of the following villages :

1. Paloncha
2. Borgampad
3. Ashwaraopet
4. Dammapet
5. Kuknur
6. Nelipak

NOTIFIED TRIBAL AREAS RULES

REVENUE SECRETARIAT

Notification No. 5

16th November, 1949
Dated 16th Dai, 1359 F.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 4 of the Tribal Areas Regulation 1359 F. (referred to in the rules prescribed herewith as the said Regulation) Government are pleased to make the following rules:—

1. These Rules may be called the Notified Tribal Areas Rules, 1359 F., and shall come into force in the Areas Notified under sub-section (2) of section 1 of the said Regulation, fifteen days after the date of their publication in the Jarida.

Part I

GENERAL

2. The administration of a Notified Tribal Area in respect of matters covered by these rules is vested in the Agent; the Assistant Agent, the Panchayat, if any and such officer or officers as the Government may see fit from time to time to appoint in that behalf subject to the exceptions and restrictions hereinafter provided.

3. The Agent shall be competent to define the jurisdiction of any Assistant Agent and to transfer any case, civil or criminal from an Assistant Agent to himself.

4. The Agent shall be competent to appoint such person or persons as he considers desirable to be the members of a Panchayat for such village or villages as he may specify and to entrust to such Panchayat or to any Panchayat formed in such area under the village Panchayats 'A' in 1351 F., any or all of the duties specified in these Rules. The Agent may modify or cancel any such order in his discretion. In any area for which no Panchayat has been constituted the powers and functions of the Panchayat under these rules shall be exercised and performed by the Agent or by any Assistant Agent authorised by him.

5. No court of law or revenue authority shall have any jurisdiction in any Notified Tribal Area in any dispute relating to land, house or house site occupied, claimed, rented or possessed by any tribal or from which any tribal may have been evicted whether by process of law or otherwise during a period of one year preceding the notification of such area as a Notified Tribal Area.

6. All suits or proceedings relating to matters covered by rule 5 pending before any court of law or revenue authority on the date of the notification of such area as tribal area shall be transferred to the Agent concerned who shall deal with such suits or proceedings in the manner hereinafter provided.

7. If the Agent is of the opinion that it is necessary to cancel any decree or order passed by a court of law or revenue

authority during a period of three years preceding the enforcement of the said Regulation in such area, which adversely affects the right of a tribal in any land or house or house site he may recommend its cancellation to Government and the Government may pass such orders thereon as they deem fit. If such decree or order has already been executed and Government consider it necessary to restore the position which obtained before such execution they shall direct the Agent to do so by evicting any person from such land, house or house site, placing any person in possession of such land, house or house site or taking any other action according to the circumstances of the case. In such cases Government shall consider the rights of the person affected by their orders and determine in what manner he should be compensated.

8. The Panchayat shall decide all cases in open Durbar in the presence of both the parties and at least three independent witnesses.

9. The time limit for an appeal under these rules shall be 30 days.

10. No legal practitioner shall be allowed to appear in any case before the Panchayat.

11. No legal practitioner shall appear in the course of the Agent or Assistant Agent except with the Agent's permission.

12. The Member in charge of the Social Service Department may permit any legal practitioner to appear in any case before him.

Part II

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

13. Subject to the provisions of Rule 16, criminal justice in respect of the following offences in which a tribal is involved as a party shall be administered by the Agent and the Assistant Agent :

Name of law	Section	Offence
Hyderabad	135	Affray
Penal Code	136	Intentional insult with intent to provoke breach of peace
	137	Misconduct in public by a drunken person
	211	Negligent act likely to spread infection of disease dangerous to life

Name of law	Section	Offence	Name of law	Section	Offence
Hyderabad Penal Code	218	Fouling water of public spring or reservoir	Cattle Trespass Act		All offences under the Cattle Trespass Act
Contd.	220	Rash driving or riding on a public way	Vaccination 16 & 17 Rules		Contravention of the provisions of the vaccination Rules
	223	Danger or obstruction in public way		14.	The Agent shall be competent to pass any sentence warranted by law in respect of the offences mentioned in Rule 13.
	229	Negligent conduct with respect to animal		15.	The Assistant Agent shall be competent to exercise all the powers of a first class Magistrate under the Hyderabad Criminal Procedure Code.
	230	Public nuisance in cases not otherwise provided for		16.	(1) The Agent may authorise a Panchayat constituted under Rule 4 to try the following offences in which a tribal is involved as a party, and the Panchayat shall be competent to impose fine not exceeding Rs. 50 may also award payment in restitution or compensation to the extent of the injury sustained and enforce it by distraint of the property of the offender. In cases in which the fine is not paid or realized, either in whole or in part, they shall represent the facts and send in the offender to the Agent, who may retry the case and impose such other punishment as he is competent to inflict.
	233	Word, gesture or act intended to insult the modesty of a woman			
	234	Obscene acts and songs			
	263	Voluntarily causing hurt			
	274	Voluntarily causing hurt on provocation			
	281	Wrongful restraint			
	292	Assault or criminal force otherwise than on grave provocation			
	294	Assault or criminal force to women with intent to outrage her modesty			
	295	Assault or criminal force with intent to dishonour person, otherwise than on grave provocation			
	296	Assault or criminal force on grave provocation			
	315	Theft			
	316	Theft in dwelling house, etc.			
	317	Theft by clerk or servant of property in possession of master.			
	344	Dishonestly receiving stolen property			
	359	Mischief			
	361	Mischief by killing or maiming animal of the value of ten rupees or more			
	362	Mischief by killing or maiming cattle, etc., of any value or any animal of the value of fifty rupees or more			
	377	House trespass			
	390	Dishonestly breaking open receptacle containing property			
	421	Marrying again during lifetime of husband or wife			
	423	Adultery			
	424	Enticing or taking away or detaining with criminal intent a married woman			
	430	Criminal intimidation punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both			

Name of law	Section	Offence
Hyderabad Penal Code	315	Theft where the value of the property stolen does not exceed Rs. 100
Contd.	316	Theft in dwelling house, etc., where the value of the property stolen does not exceed Rs. 100
	317	Theft by clerk or servant of property in possession of master where the value of the property stolen does not exceed Rs. 100
	344	Dishonestly receiving stolen property where the value of the property so received does not exceed Rs. 100
	359	Mischief when the damage or loss caused does not exceed Rs. 100
	361	Mischief by killing or maiming animal of the value of ten rupees or more
	362	Mischief by killing or maiming cattle, etc., of any value or any animal of the value of fifty rupees or more
	376	Criminal trespass
	376	House trespass
	390	Dishonestly breaking open receptacle containing property
	421	Marrying again during lifetime of husband or wife
	423	Adultery
	424	Enticing or taking away or detaining with criminal intent a married woman
	430	Criminal intimidation punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both
Cattle Trespass Act	21	Forcibly opposing the seizure of cattle and rescuing the same
Vaccination Rules	16 & 17	Contravention of the provisions of the vaccination Rules
		(2) No sentence of imprisonment, whether substantive or in default of fine, shall be inflicted by any Panchayat.
		17. The Panchayat shall have power to compel attendance of the parties and witnesses and to impose a fine up to Rs. 50 if they fail to attend.
		18. An appeal shall lie from the decision of the Panchayat to the Assistant Agent. A record shall be made of the matter in dispute and the decision of the Panchayat. If necessary, the Assistant Agent shall examine the parties, and, if the decision appears to be just shall affirm and enforce it as one of his own. If the Assistant Agent sees reason to doubt the justice of the decision, he shall try case <i>de novo</i> , or refer it to arbitration as provided in Rule 33.
		19. An appeal shall lie from an original decision of an Assistant Agent to the Agent.

20. An appeal shall lie to the Member in charge of the Social Service Department, against sentences of three years imprisonment and upwards. In other cases there shall be no right of appeal. The decision of the Member shall be final and no appeal or revision shall lie against it.

21. The Member in charge of the Social Service Department, or the Agent may call for the proceedings of any officer subordinate to him and reduce, enhance or cancel any sentence passed or remand the case of retrial.

22. The Member in charge of the Social Service Department, may for any reason transfer any original case pending or under trial before any officer subordinate to him to any other officer.

23. The Member in-charge of the Social Service Department, the Agent and the Assistant Agent shall be guided in regard to procedure by the principles of the Hyderabad Criminal Procedure Code so far as they are applicable to the circumstances of the Notified Tribal Area and consistent with the provisions of the said Regulation. The Chief exceptions from the principles of the Hyderabad Criminal Procedure Code are :

(a) Verbal orders or notice only shall be requisite in any case except when the police are employed or when the person concerned is not a resident of the Notified Tribal area at the time. The order shall be made known to the person affected or to some adult member of his family, or proclaimed at the place he was last known to be at, in sufficient time to allow him, to appear.

(b) The proceedings of the Panchayat need not be recorded in writing, nor is it necessary that examinations before the Agent and Assistant Agent be signed by the parties examined. The Agent and Assistant Agent may, however, require the Panchayat to report their proceedings in any way which appears suitable.

(c) The Agent shall be competent to permit the panchayat to spend the income realized from fines for such purposes as he may deem fit including compensation payable to the aggrieved party. The amount, if any, remaining after such expenditure shall be paid to the Agent or the Assistant Agent or other officer empowered to receive it within 8 days from the date of realization.

(d) It shall be discretionary to examine witnesses on oath in any form or to warn them that they are liable to the punishment of perjury if they state that they know to be false.

24. The Agent and the Assistant Agent shall be guided by the general principles of the Evidence Act.

25. The Member in charge of the Social Service Department, may either upon conditions or without conditions suspend the execution of or remit or commute any sentence.

Part III

CIVIL JUSTICE

26. Civil justice in cases involving the rights of any tribal shall be administered by the Agent, the Assistant Agent and the Panchayat, if any, authorised under these Rules, subject to the condition that the Agent shall be competent to exercise the powers of any court subordinate to the High Court.

27. The Panchayat constituted under Rule 4 shall be competent to try all cases without limit as to amount in which both the parties are tribals and live within their jurisdiction, subject to the condition laid down in Rule 26.

28. The Panchayat shall have power to compel attendance of parties to any suit and their witnesses all such persons being resident within their own jurisdiction and to fine within the limit of Rs. 50, persons wilfully failing to attend. They have power to award all cost, also compensation, to defendants for unfounded or vexatious suits brought against them.

29. All the proceedings shall be *visa voce* and the Panchayat shall not be called upon to make either record or registry of their decision. After hearing both parties and their witnesses, if any, they shall pronounce a decision forthwith.

30. The Panchayat may carry out their decision at once and order attachment of property to be sold if the party does not file an appeal. On such appeal being made they shall send the parties and their witnesses to the Assistant Agent or the Agent (as the case may be) forthwith or as soon as possible and either accompany them or send one respectable person who has been present at the trial with them.

31. All notices given by the Panchayat to parties or witnesses shall be verbal and for a fixed day not exceeding eight days from the order, and the case may be subsequently adjourned for periods not exceeding eight days on good cause shown.

32. Agent and the Assistant Agent shall not ordinarily hear suits triable by the Panchayat but they shall have a discretion to do so when they think right, and suits which under these rules the Panchayat cannot try must be tried by the Agent and the Assistant Agent; provided that the Assistant Agent shall be competent to try suits not exceeding Rs. 1,000 in value. A register of all suits tried by the Agent and the Assistant Agent shall be kept in such form as the Agent may prescribe.

33. The Agent and the Assistant Agent shall in all cases in which the parties are tribals endeavour to induce them to submit their case to arbitration. If they agree each party shall name an equal number of arbitrators, and shall choose, or leave the arbitrators to choose, an umpire. The name and residence of arbitrators and the umpire and the matter to dispute shall be recorded before the proceedings commence and the Agent or the Assistant Agent, as the case may be, shall direct the Panchayat or some other recognized authority

to assemble the arbitrators and witnesses within eight days. After the case has been decided, the umpire shall appear with the parties before the court of the Agent or the Assistant Agent, as the case may be, which shall proceed to record the decision and enforce it as its own, and no appeal shall be from such decision.

34. An appeal shall lie from the decision of the Panchayat to the Agent or the Assistant Agent. A record shall be made of the matter in dispute and the decision of the Panchayat. If necessary, the Agent or the Assistant Agent as the case may be, shall examine the parties, and, if the decision appears to be just, shall affirm and endorse it as one of its own. If he sees reason to doubt the justice of the decision, he shall try the case *de novo*, or refer it to arbitration as above.

35. An appeal shall lie from the original decision of an Assistant Agent to the Agent.

36. An appeal shall lie to the Member in charge of the Social Service Department, from an original decision of the Agent if the value of the suit exceeds Rs. 1,000 or if the suit involves a question of tribal rights or customs or of the right to or possession of immovable property. The decision of the Minister shall be final and no appeal or revision shall lie against it.

37. The courts of the Member in charge of the Social Service Department, the Agent and the Assistant Agent shall be guided by the spirit but shall not be bound by the letter of the Hyderabad Civil Procedure Code and they shall follow, subject to any express provisions of these rules, the principles of the Limitation Act.

38. Houses, necessary clothing, cooking utensils and implements whereby the tribal owner or his family subsists are except from attachment, sale or transfer in execution of a decree unless they are the actual subject matter of the suit.

39. No tribal debtor shall be imprisoned for non-payment of debt except when the Agent is satisfied, that the debtor has made a fraudulent disposition or concealment of property in which case he may be detained for a period not exceeding six months.

40. It shall not be necessary to administer oaths to parties or witnesses.

41. The Member in charge of the Social Service Department, the Agent and the Assistant Agent shall be guided by the general principles of the Evidence Act.

Part IV

REVENUE JURISDICTION

42. Revenue Jurisdiction in cases involving the rights of any tribal shall vest in the Agent, the Assistant Agent and the Panchayat if any authorised under these rules subject to the condition that the Agent shall be competent to exercise powers not higher than those of the Board of Revenue.

NOTIFIED TRIBAL AREAS RULES

43. The Agent may authorise an Assistant Agent to exercise such of the powers of any Revenue Officer not higher in rank than that of a First Taluqdar, as he may specify.

44. The Agent may authorise the Panchayat constituted under Rule 4 to exercise such of the powers of a revenue officer not higher in rank than that of a Tahsildar as he may specify.

45. The procedure to be followed by the Panchayat shall be generally on the lines of the procedure prescribed for Civil cases.

46. An appeal shall lie from the decision of the Panchayat to the Assistant Agent who may either affirm the decision or try the case *de novo* or refer it to arbitration.

47. An appeal shall lie from the decision of an Assistant Agent to the Agent.

48. An appeal shall lie to the Member in charge of the Social Service Department from an original decision of the Agent. The decision of the Member shall be final and no appeal or revision shall lie against it.

49. The Member in charge of the Social Service Department, the Agent and the Assistant Agent shall be guided by the spirit but shall not be bound by the letter of the Hyderabad Land Revenue Act and they shall follow subject to any express provisions of these rules the principles of the Limitation Act.

50. It shall not be necessary to administer oaths to parties or witnesses.

51. The Member in charge of the Social Service Department, the Agent and the Assistant Agent shall be guided by the general principles of the Evidence Act.

52. If the Agent is of the opinion that it is desirable to cancel or revise any title in land granted to a non-tribal in

any notified tribal area during a period of one year preceding the coming into force of the said Regulation, he may recommend its cancellation to Government who may pass such orders thereon as they may deem fit. If Government order cancellation of such patta, the Agent may execute such order by evicting any person from such land and granting the right of occupancy to any other person in accordance with the orders of Government.

53. No land at present cultivated by a tribal or in respect of which he claims that he has a right to hold it, shall be sold in execution of any decree or order of any civil or revenue court whether made before or after the coming into force of the said Regulation and all sales not finally confirmed before the date of the enforcement of the said Regulation shall be cancelled and all such cases shall be transferred to the Agent for disposal. The Agent shall arrange for the satisfaction of such decree by fixing reasonable instalments to be paid by the Judgment debtor and, if this is not convenient, by giving the land of the judgment debtor in possession of the decree-holder for such period not exceeding 20 years as he may deem reasonable for the satisfaction of the decree.

54. If in the opinion of the Agent it is necessary to cancel any forest settlement made under the Forest Act, he may, after consulting the Director of Forests, recommend such cancellation or revision to Government.

Provided that the agent shall be competent to exclude land from a reserved forest without such reference to Government if the area to be excluded does not exceed 100 acres and the Divisional Forest Officer concurs with the exclusion.

55. The Agent shall be competent to recommend to Government the abolition of Patel and Patwari Watans in any notified tribal area and the appointment of tribal village officers in such area. The abolished Watandars shall be paid such compensation and the appointed tribal village officers shall be paid such remuneration as Government may determine.

GLOSSARY

<i>Bajaban</i>	. . .	A silver ornament worn around the elbow	<i>Khade</i>	. . .	A plain silver wrist ornament
<i>Bontha</i>	. . .	Quilt	<i>Khondawada</i>	. . .	Cattle pound
<i>Chappal</i>	. . .	Footwear	<i>Khodi</i>	. . .	A wooden pole
<i>Chauwur</i>	. . .	A large whisk made of yak's hair resembling the ceremonial fly-whisks belonging to the insignia of Rajas and used in ritual of worship of Hindu deities	<i>Kova</i>	. . .	Monkey
			<i>Langhoti</i>	. . .	A small strip of cloth worn in between the legs to cover the nudity
<i>Chitang</i>	. . .	A narrow gold ornament worn round the neck	<i>Mamool or Dumpatti</i>	. . .	Customary payment
<i>Choli</i>	. . .	A blouse	<i>Mudde</i>	. . .	A silver finger ring
<i>Dandari</i>	. . .	A kind of dance	<i>Munda</i>	. . .	The central pole in the marriage booth
<i>Dappu</i>	. . .	A musical instrument made of thin membrane stitched round a wooden frame and beaten with two wooden sticks	<i>Nadipatti</i>	. . .	A silver waist belt worn by men
			<i>Nihari</i>	. . .	Breakfast
<i>Dhemsu</i>	. . .	A kind of dance	<i>Nika or Pat</i>	. . .	Widow remarriage
<i>Dulalu</i>	. . .	Wooden beams	<i>Panakam</i>	. . .	Jaggery water
<i>Garelu</i>	. . .	A savoury dish	<i>Punjol or thodi</i>	. . .	A silver anklet
<i>Gedam</i>	. . .	Name of a clan	<i>Paring</i>	. . .	Bride price
<i>Ghumela</i>	. . .	A kind of dance	<i>Pari</i>	. . .	Clan
<i>Ghusari</i>	. . .	A clown	<i>Pata</i>	. . .	Ritual beggar
<i>Gone</i>	. . .	Gunny bag	<i>Pataka</i>	. . .	Turban
<i>Gulmohuwa</i>	. . .	A tree, the flowers, of which are consumed by the tribals as diet	<i>Patti</i>	. . .	A silver waist belt worn by women; A wooden rafter
			<i>Penkomta</i>	. . .	God's pillar
<i>Gummi</i>	. . .	A big bamboo basket used to store the grain	<i>Pithang</i>	. . .	Obsequies
<i>Jatara</i>	. . .	Fair	<i>Potampuri</i>	. . .	A kind of sweetmeat
<i>Jatha</i>	. . .	Mortar	<i>Pulli</i>	. . .	A gold ear ring
<i>Jatoor</i>	. . .	A stringed musical instrument	<i>Pusti</i>	. . .	A necklace of black beads worn only by women in married status
<i>Jodu</i>	. . .	Toe rings	<i>Rengi</i>	. . .	A small wheeled low bullock cart
<i>Jonesoron</i>	. . .	A house specially arranged for the bridegroom's party to stay at the time of marriage in the bride's village	<i>Rolu</i>	. . .	Grinding stone
			<i>Saga</i>	. . .	Phratry
<i>Kadapattilu</i>	. . .	Wooden rafters	<i>Sakri</i>	. . .	A silver chain with a heart shaped pendant hanging over the chest
<i>Kante</i>	. . .	A silver ornament worn on the neck	<i>Sale</i>	. . .	Spear-head
			<i>Sari</i>	. . .	Bread
			<i>Sonivothad</i>	. . .	The local midwife
			<i>Tikalemudde</i>	. . .	Silver finger ring
			<i>Tipun</i>	. . .	Sowing plough with coulter
			<i>Vota</i>	. . .	A raised mud platform
			<i>Wakur</i>	. . .	Broad plough

ABOUT THIS MONOGRAPH

Bhurnur is a small village predominantly inhabited by Gonds, a Scheduled Tribe prominent in Adilabad District, a home for many aboriginals in Andhra Pradesh.

Gonds and Pradhans continue to be of fascinating interest to anthropologists. Prof. C. v. F. Haimendorf, a renowned Anthropologist, had made a pioneer study of these people and instituted several developmental measures. This study throws light on the changing pattern in their socio-economic life since then.

A special study is presented in this monograph about the Keslapur fair which is influencing the socio-cultural life of these tribes in relation to the economic growth around.

