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VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH

VOLUME X

MAHARASHTRA

PART VI (I)

KUNKERI

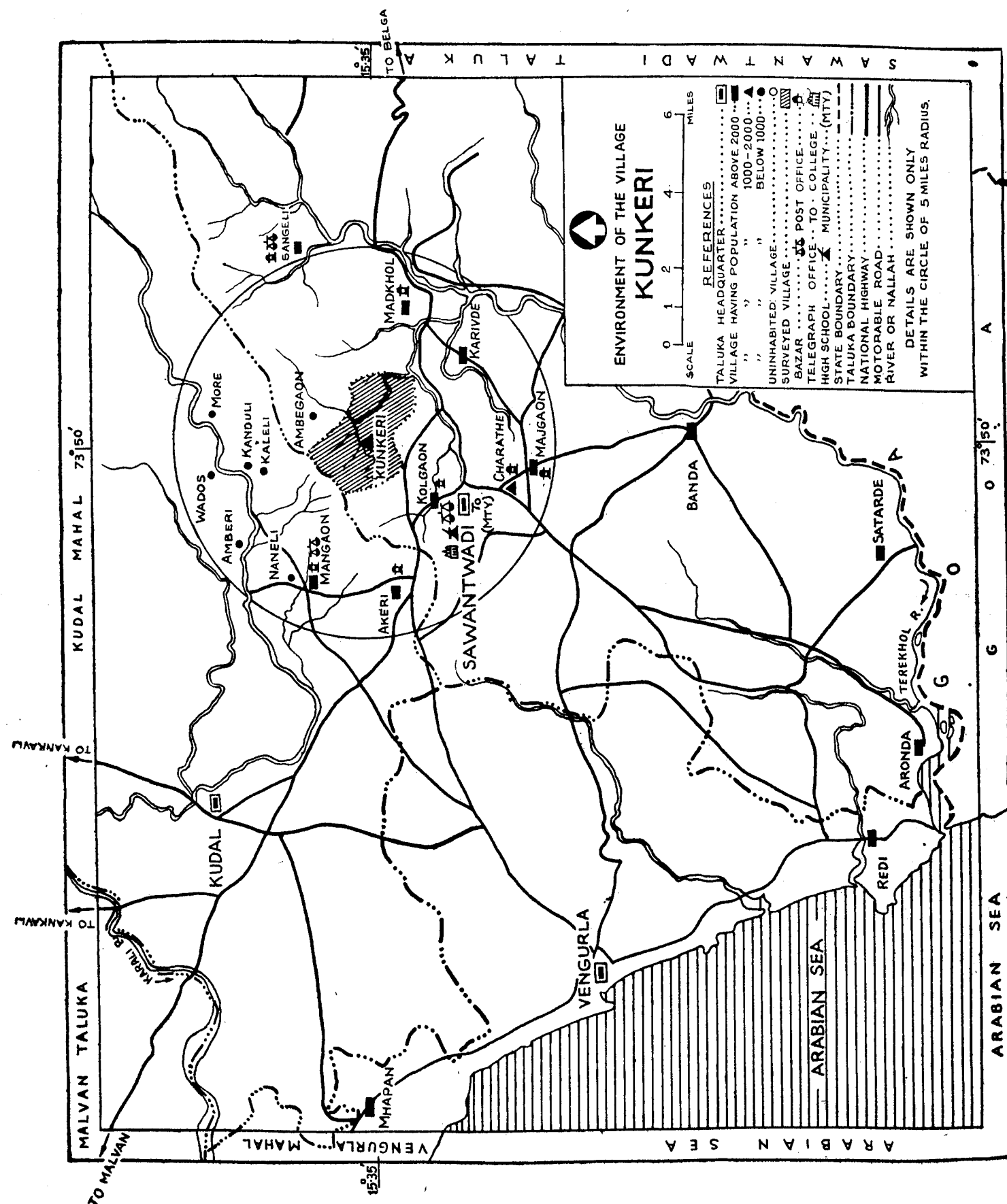
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RATNAGIRI DISTRICT

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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME X

MAHARASHTRA

PART VI (1)

KUNKERI VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH

Compiled by
THE MAHARASHTRA CENSUS OFFICE, BOMBAY

1966

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 - I-C .. Subsidiary Tables
 - II-A .. General Population Tables.
 - II-B (i) .. General Economic Tables—Industrial Classification
 - II-B (ii) .. General Economic Tables—Occupational Classification
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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, 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 centralization 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 communication 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 communication, 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 footwear; 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, moveable and immoveable 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 villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of 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. There 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 an appendix.

ASOK MITRA,
Registrar General, India.

New Delhi, July 30, 1964.

PREFACE

This Part of the Census Report presents a monograph on village Kunkeri of Savantvadi taluka in Ratnagiri district which is one of the 35 villages selected for the Socio-Economic Survey in Maharashtra.

The Registrar General, India, in his masterly "Foreword" has outlined the main objects of the Socio-Economic Surveys in selected villages as a part of the 1961 Census programme as also the method followed in selection of villages to be surveyed.

The Maharashtra Census Office could not, however, strictly confine itself to the basis suggested by the Registrar General for selection of villages as in selecting them the primary consideration that weighed with us was that each district should have at least one village selected.

Accordingly 35 villages were selected from all the 25 districts in the State (Greater Bombay district excepted), 15 from different 15 districts as shown in the list and 20 from the remaining 10 districts.

The selected villages roughly fall in the following categories:—

Category in which the villages fall				No. of villages in the category
1.	Villages in forest and hilly tract	..	..	12
2.	Villages in scarcity areas	..	..	7
3.	Villages having fertile lands with irrigation facilities	..	..	3
4.	Villages with medium type of soil	..	..	2
5.	Coastal villages	..	..	1
6.	Villages having rail and road facilities	..	..	2
7.	Villages isolated from the District Headquarters	..	..	1
8.	Villages in the vicinity of the industrial area of commercial centre	..	..	4
9.	Villages previously surveyed	..	..	2
10.	Others	..	..	1

The work of conducting the preliminary survey was entrusted to the Block Development Officers or other Officers available for the work from the Community Development Organization of the State Government.

Two types of questionnaire were used for collection of preliminary data viz., the Household statement which was utilised for listing all the households in the village and collection of information on certain basic items required for selection of representative households for further detailed study as regards occupational pattern and other economic aspects and the Household Schedule which contains questions on various social, cultural and economical aspects of the households.

On receipt of the preliminary survey reports from the Block Development Officers or the Officers appointed for the purpose, the Research Investigators in this Organization prepared the draft reports, after visiting the villages, on the basis of their findings and personal contact with the villagers and their own observations.

The preliminary work regarding the survey of Kunkeri village was done by Shri N. A. Bagwan, Statistical Assistant in the Savantvadi Block and further investigation and drafting of the final report was done by Shri V. B. Sawant, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations. The views expressed in this report and the conclusions drawn are those of the Author and do not in any way reflect the views of the Government. The maps and line drawings appearing in the Monograph are prepared by Shri S. Y. Pradhan, draughtsman. Shri K. K. Akolkar, Statistical Assistant, rendered valuable assistance in analysing the data and drafting of the report.

We are grateful to Shri Asok Mitra, Registrar General, India, and to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty in the Registrar General's Office for their guidance and advice during all the stages of the preparation of the village monographs.

We are very much indebted to Shri B. A. Kulkarni, Superintendent of Census Operations, for his sound advice, inspiring guidance and valuable suggestions in the execution of the Village Surveys.

Our thanks are due to the villagers for their ungrudging co-operation and patience in giving the required information but for which the reporting would not have been possible.

We have also to thank Shri J. D. Gandhi, Manager, Government Photozincographic Press, Poona, and Shri S. A. Sapre, Manager, Government Central Press, Bombay, for bringing out the report in short time.

BOMBAY :
5th March 1966

D. V. RANGNEKAR

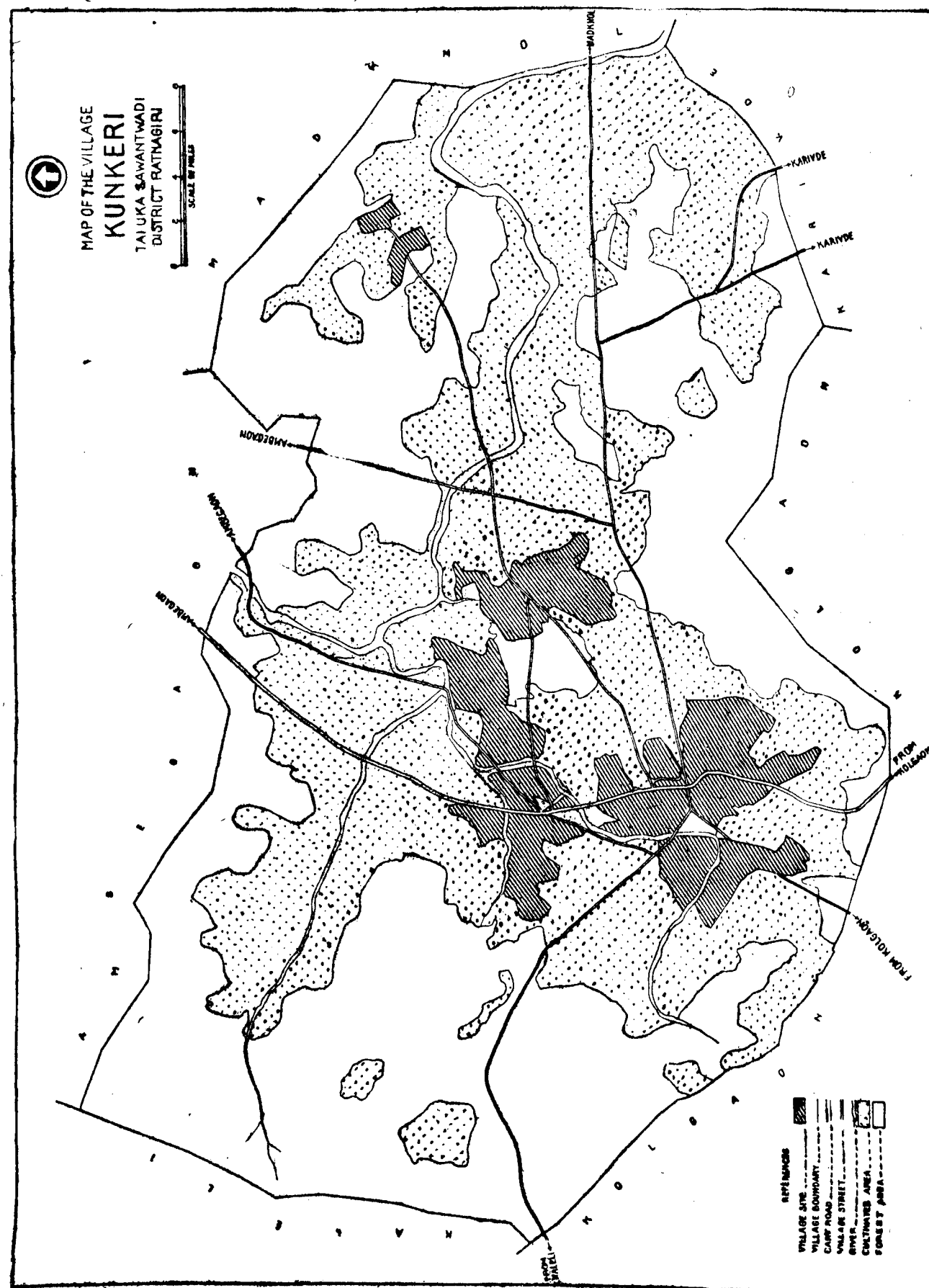
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MAP OF
THE KUNKERI VILLAGE



CHAPTER I

GENERAL FEATURES

Introducing the Village

The village Kunkeri lies to the north of Savantvadi Town, the capital of the ex-State of Savantvadi in the Deccan States Agency and now the headquarters of Savantvadi taluka in Ratnagiri, one of the coastal districts to the south of Bombay, in the State of Maharashtra. It is situated approximately between $16^{\circ}20'$ and $15^{\circ}36'35''$ north latitude and $74^{\circ}20'51''$ and $73^{\circ}36'11''$ east longitude and is at a distance of about 4 miles 4 furlongs from the Savantvadi Town by road. The village is 4.8 square miles in area.

The statement of households (Appendix 1) in respect of the households in the village was filled in on local enquiry between January to February 1961 and the household schedules (Appendix 2) in respect of 80 selected households were completed between March to November 1961. The Census data made use of in the report pertains to the position as on 1st March 1961.

Location

The village is bounded on the south and south-west by the villages of Kariwde and Kolgaon, respectively, both in Savantvadi Taluka; on the west by part of the village Kolgaon; on the north-west by the village Kaleli in Kudal Mahal; on the north-east by the village Ambegaon and on the east by the village Madkhol, both also in Savantvadi Taluka.

Administrative and other institutions

The Sub-Divisional and Taluka Headquarters, as also the Police Station for the village, are at Savantvadi. Ratnagiri, the district headquarters, is to the north, at a distance of about 129 miles by road via Savantvadi. Belgaum, the nearest Railway Station, is at a distance of about 66 miles by road to the east, also via Savantvadi. The nearest port of call is Vengurla for ferry steamers running between Bombay and Vengurla, at a distance of about 21 miles to the west, also via Savantvadi. State Transport buses ply regularly every day between Savantvadi-Belgaum and Savantvadi-Vengurla.

The nearest Sub-Post and Telegraph Office is at Savantvadi and the branch office serving the village is at Kolgaon, a distance of 2 miles.

The nearest place for medical aid is the cottage hospital at Savantvadi where also there is a well-equipped maternity home named Rani Janki Bai Saheb Maternity

Home, with forty beds. There is also a good number of private medical practitioners at Savantvadi. The Judicial Court for the village is at Savantvadi. There are High School and College amenities available at Savantvadi and also a Technical Institute imparting instructions in weaving, tailoring, printing and carpentry.

Savantvadi is also the nearest market place for the village.

The village is representative of the hilly tract in the hinterland of South Ratnagiri, surrounded by hills and dales, with pockets of cultivation in small valleys, by river and nullah sides, and habitations on small hillocks adjoining the area of cultivation.

Physical aspects

This is an interior village surrounded on all sides by hills. The area is comprised of ups and downs, a hillock or a mound here and there, interspersed with low-lying cultivable land in-between and crossed by nullahs. The country is very much wooded. Soil is light and sandy gravel. The area of ex-Savantvadi State is "cut off from the sea by a narrow strip of Goa and Ratnagiri. It stretches along the foot of the *Sahyadris*, a land of hills and streams, broken, rugged and picturesque". (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi, 1880).

"There is no good soil over any expanse of the State. The State's soil is chiefly a light sand full of stones and gravel and unable to yield the better class of crops. The prevailing soils in the west are light coloured and clayey or sandy nature." (*Revision Survey Settlement Report of the Savantvadi State*, 1925).

"The chief characteristic of Savantvadi is the wonderful variety of its countryside which changes every few miles as one goes from north to south or east to west, villages are separated from one another by an endless diversity of woods, river and hilly scenery."

Being surrounded by verdant hills and strewn with watercourses the village is fairly cooler as compared to adjoining areas at night, but during the day-time, especially in the noon, the climate is pretty hot due to reflection of heat from the close by hill ranges. During the rainy season the weather is damp and chilly and in the winter very cool. The summer months have trying heat. The rainfall is very heavy. "Except that it is somewhat damper and cooler, the climate

of Savantvadi is much the same as that of Malvan (about 45 miles from Savantvadi), the season begins about the middle of November, the weather suddenly changing from damp warmth to dry cold. From February to the middle of May strong gusty winds blow from the north-west. The hot weather begins in March, when at times in the afternoon, with heavy cloudy sky the thermometer rises to 90° F. In April, the hottest month of the year, mists and fogs are sometimes followed by thunder, lightning and rain from the north-east. May, though it has a higher average temperature than April, is freshened by a strong sea-breeze, with occasional thunder-storm from the north-east. The rainy season begins early in June and ends about the middle of October. The fall is very heavy, varying during the 32 years ending 1879, from 222 inches in 1874 to 93 inches in 1855 and averaging 143 inches." (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi, 1880).

During the 10 years ending 1890-91 the rainfall averaged to 153·24 inches. During the 10 years ending 1920-21 it averaged to 141·78 inches. The average rainfall for the period of 10 years ending 1960-61 was 181·14 inches as shown below :—

Year	Rainfall in inches		
1951-52	..	..	170·49
1952-53	..	..	173·30
1953-54	..	..	184·36
1954-55	..	..	181·06
1955-56	..	..	177·44
1956-57	..	..	163·61
1957-58	..	..	193·04
1958-59	..	..	178·94
1959-60	..	..	Not available.
1960-61	..	..	206·00

The average for the 10 years works out at 181·14 inches per year.

As recorded in the *Revision Survey Settlement Report* of ex-Savantvadi State, "Below the ghats the ordinary extremes of temperature experienced are 65° in January and 90° in May. At all times of the year the damp heat is trying to a European in those parts to which the sea-breezes do not permeate freely," as in this village. "The people of the State, however, have no fault to find with it, except in so far as it is a pre-disposing cause to the spread of the Malaria from which the State is now suffering". As reported the maximum temperature of the area today is 98° F. and minimum, 70° F.

The ex-Savantvadi State area as a whole was formerly affected by malaria and the village was notorious for its malarial fever. We could see the visible signs of this in the shape of swollen bellies of the village children. This had a telling effect on the population of the village which greatly dwindled prior to 1951. Now

due to spraying of D.D.T. and other anti-malarial measures the situation has markedly improved and the Census of 1961 has registered an increase of 37·6 per cent over the 1951 population.

The State was continuously affected by malaria long before the introduction of survey settlement and during the five years preceding it was more extensive than at any previous period of which records exist.

"From 1910 onwards when the death rate of the State rose from 22·4 to 26·1 per thousand, malaria went due south of Mangaon into Akeri, Kolgaon and Savantvadi in which belt the village under survey lies. For settlement purposes the village was classed as infected prior to 1910 which has suffered less severely or infected subsequent to 1910" (*Revision Survey Settlement Report*, dated 12th May 1922) and proposed increase of maximum rate of assessment was recommended to be deferred on that account.

Flora and Fauna

The chief forest and other trees in the village are :

Mango, *mangifera indica*, having valuable fruit and timber value ;

Ain, *terminalia glabra*, bark used for tanning and wood for timber ;

Bhirand, ratambi, *garcinia purpurea*, having fruit with edible pulp, rind when dried being used for flavouring acid in curries and seeds yielding Kokam oil (used as a vaseline and also for frying cakes) ;

Bherla Mad, *caryota urens*, the bastard sago palm ;

Chinch, *tamarindus indica*, fruit used for flavouring curries and seed for preparing paste required in the toy industry at Savantvadi, and wood for fuel ;

Char, *buchanania latifolia*, seed used in confectionery ;

Chivar, *arundinaria wightiana*, small bamboos used for roofing,

Jambha, *xylia dolabriformis*, used for timber and charcoal ;

Jambhul, *eugenia jambolana*, edible fruits and timber ;

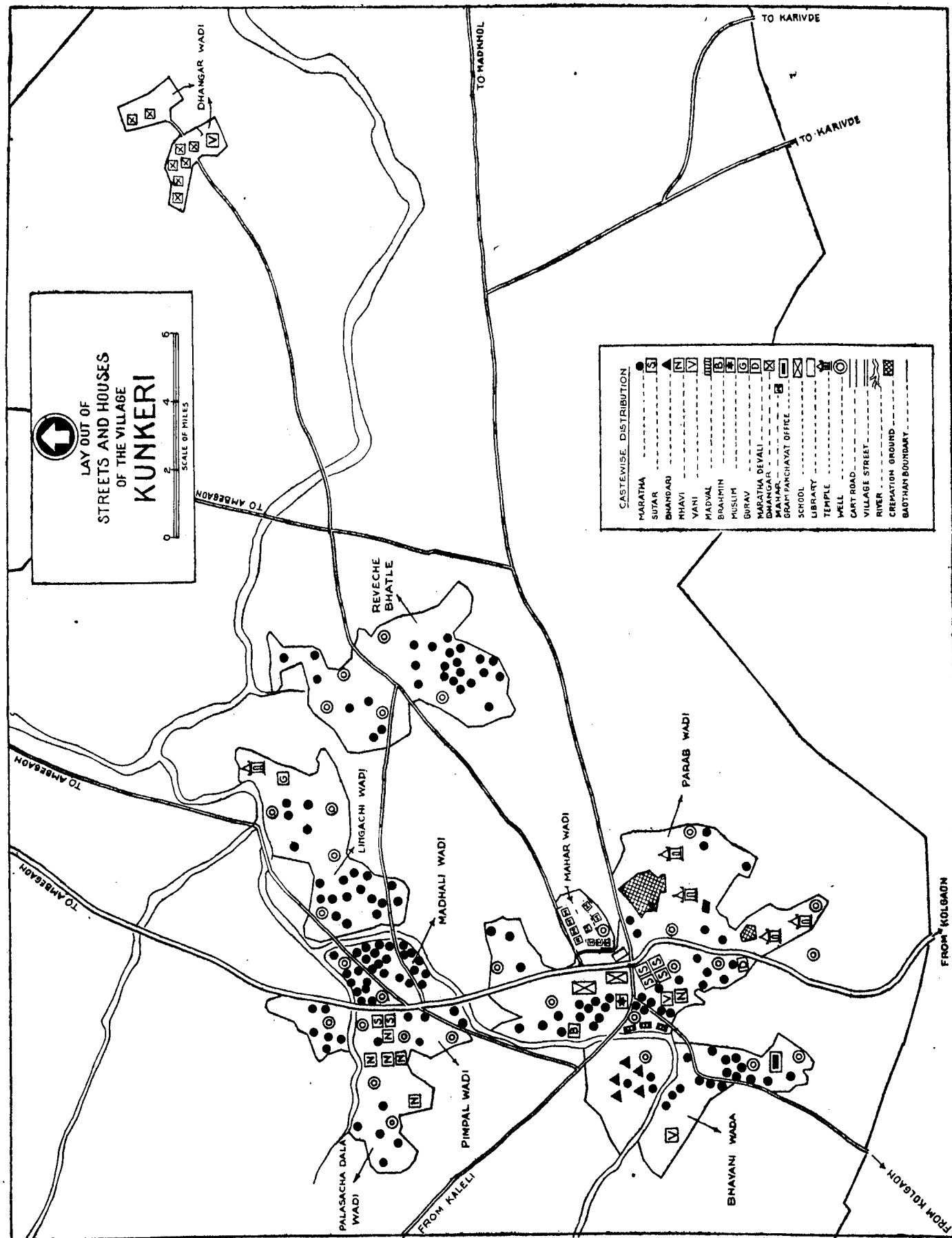
Kinjal, *terminalia paniculata*, used for timber ;

Kumbya, *careya arborea*, used for timber (and big roots for making ploughs) ;

Khair, *acacia catechu*, yielding *catechu* ;

Kajra, *strychnos nuxvomica*, furnishing powerful poison, *strychnine*, and yielding a useful timber and fuel wood ;

LAYOUT OF STREETS AND HOUSES.



Kaju, *anacardium occidentale*, yielding largely exported cashew-nut and fruits from which spirit is distilled ;
 Mad, *cocos nucifera*, the cocoa palm ;
 Manga, *bambusa arundinaria*, the common Bamboo used as a dye ;
 Pangara, *erythrina indica*, light wood used for making sword scabbards and wooden toys ;
 Payar, *ficus cordifolia*, a useful tree for road side (giving shade) ;
 Pophal, areca-nut tree ;
 Phanas, jack fruit, yielding fruit and timber ;
 Ritha or Ringi, soap nut tree ;
 Saila or Sagvan, teak tree ;
 Sivan, *gmelina arborea*, yielding light and strong wood (used for making light furniture, yokes, toys) ;
 Vad, Banyan tree, Pimpal ;
 Shevga, *moringa pterygosperma*, drum sticks used for vegetables ;
 Nana, *lagerstraeia parviflora*, yielding excellent heart-wood ;
 Biba, *semicarpus anacardium*, the marking nuts having edible fruits ;
 Satvin, *alstonia scholaris*, the bark being a good febrifuge ;
 Savar, *salmaalibabarica*, the silk cotton tree ;
 Tirphal, *xanthoxylon rhetsa*, the fruit being used as a medicine and also to flavour fish curries and to poison.

According to the village record the fruit trees in the village are :-

Name of the tree	Number
Cocoonut palms	252
Mangoes	213
Jack fruits	140
Tamarind	4

The following wild animals and birds are found in the village :-

Wild Animals.—Tiger, Panther, wild boar, fox, hare, squirrel, monkeys and reptiles.
Birds.—Wood pigeons, King fisher, crows, kites, vultures, etc.

The domestic animals are:—Cats, dogs, cattle, fowl and goats.

Number of Households

There are 254 households in the village housed in 198 dwelling houses according to 1961 Census. Fifty houses are vacant. The number of persons is 1,182, Yd 4 740—2

570 males and 612 females. In 1951 the number of households was 241 and of houses 214, sheltering 859 persons, 401 males and 458 females. During the ten years 1951 to 1960 there has been an increase of 13 in the number of households and 34 in the number of houses though 50 of them are vacant, with an increase in population of 37·6 per cent. The increase in the number of houses cannot be said to have kept pace with the increase in population. The size of the household has increased from 3·6 per household in 1951 to 4·7 in 1961.

Residential Pattern

The houses in the village are not in one or two compact blocks but they are scattered all over the village in clusters in 8 hamlets. The villagers of different castes live in groups in these hamlets, not quite close to one another. The Mahars have their houses in a separate habitation called Maharwada. The houses are not close to one another but stand in their own open land at the back and in the front, in some cases with improvised fence round about. The sacred Tulsi plant is seen installed in the front courtyard of every house (except Muslim), and an earthen pot kept on a big *chulah* (stove) for warming bathing water at the foot preferably of a cocoanut palm or plantain grove in the back-yard.

The eight hamlets in the village are :-

1. **Parab Wadi.**—Comprising Survey Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 149, 169, 170, 171, 176, 181, 194, 196, 341 and 342.

Parabwadi contains 48 houses : 35 of Marathas ; 4 of Sutar ; 1 of Vani ; 3 of Madvals, washermen ; 1 of Deoli (temple servants) ; 1 of Nhavi (barber) ; 1 of Mussalman ; 1 of Kumbhar and 1 of Brahmin.

There are 11 big and small temples in the Wadi, including the principal temple of Shri Devi Bhavai, and 9 drinking water wells. The ceremonial image of Shri Devi Bhavai is kept and worshipped in the house of Shri Bhiva Dattaram Parab.

The village school is also situated in this hamlet in Survey No. 3 (two buildings).

2. **Bhavani Wada.**—Comprising Survey Nos. 201, 210, 218, 330, 331 and 333.

Bhavani Wada contains 18 houses of Marathas and 5 of Bhandaris. The Village Panchayat Office is situated in this Wada in a rented premises. In the house of

Shri Narayan Soma Sawant the image of Shri Devi Bhavani is installed and worshipped. There are three drinking water wells in this Wada. There is no temple here.

3. *Palsacha Dala Wadi*.—Comprising Survey Nos. 237, 267, 285, 286, 298, 315, 316 and 317.

There are 13 houses of Marathas, 5 of Nhavis and 2 of Sutars in this Wadi. There are two small temples, Brahman Devli and Nhavi Vas Devli. There are five drinking water wells, including one well built with the assistance from N. E. S. funds.

4. *Linghachi Wadi*.—Comprising Survey Nos. 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27.

Linghachi Wadi contains 21 houses : 20 of Marathas and 1 of Gurav.

There is a Linga temple in this Wadi. There are four drinking water wells.

5. *Madhli Wadi*.—Comprising Survey Nos. 299 and 300.

Madhli Wadi contains 31 houses : 30 of Marathas and 1 of Kumbhar.

There are two drinking water wells, but no public temple as such—

(i) however, in the house of Shri Ramchandra Sabaji Sawant, Sawant Vas is installed, which is worshipped by 6 houses ;

(ii) in the house of Shri Gangaram Sakhambar Sawant there is a Devli (small temple) of their Vas ; and

(iii) in the house of Shri Vithal Rajaram Sawant there is installed their Vas.

6. *Pimpal Wadi*.—Comprising Survey Nos. 301, 303 and 304.

In this Wadi there are 6 houses of Marathas and 1 of Vani.

In the house of Shri Krishna Sakhambar Sawant there is installed Shri Deo Patekar, their household deity. There is a small Maruti temple (Devli) under a Pippal tree built by the Sawant families here. There is one N.E.S. well in this Wadi.

7. *Mahar Wadi*.—Comprising Survey Nos. 159 and 160.

There are 11 houses of Mahars in this Wadi.

There is a small Mahar temple (Mahar Devli) and a drinking water well.

8. *Reweche Bhatle*.—Comprising Survey Nos. 129, 132, 133, 134 and 135.

This hamlet contains 26 houses, all of Marathas.

There is no temple in this hamlet.

There are four drinking water wells in this hamlet and one new well is under construction.

Besides the above there are 7 houses of Dhangars, 1 of Maratha and 1 of Vani in Survey No. 54.

Communications

The village is joined to the Belgaum-Vengurla National Highway at mile No. 16/4 by an approach road of approximately 1½ miles in length, the other end of which leads to village Ambegaon in the north-east. The approach road was constructed by the then District Local Board (now Zilla Parishad), Ratnagiri and given in charge of the Village Panchayat for maintenance. It is not a *pucca* metalled road and is badly out of repairs being washed away by rains and the water from the adjoining fields flowing thereon. About half a mile of road near the village is not even jeepable. It is difficult to reach the village except on foot and this is a great handicap to villagers, when they have to carry things to or from the village, and especially in an emergency, when somebody requires urgent medical attendance or has to be removed to the hospital or the maternity home at Savantvadi.

In the village itself there are no roads (except the one leading to the Ambegaon village in the north-east which, as stated earlier, is in disrepair) either leading to the different hamlets or connecting them, due to uneven terrain of the village. There are only foot tracks for internal communication with other hamlets or other villages round about.

Public places and Places of worship

The only important public places in the village are the temples, the village school (2 buildings) and the Village Panchayat Office, the latter being housed in a rented house in Bhavani Wada. There is no mosque, chavdi, gymnasium or Dharmashala in the village.

Village Temples.—In the ex-Savantvadi State area, every village has at least twelve deities or *sthalas* (स्थळ) as they are called. *Shiva* in the form of a Linga or otherwise, is worshipped as is evident from the principal images in the village temples. The main village temple though not necessarily that of a Shiva Linga, is of some incarnation of Shiva or his power (शक्ती). In these temples there is also the image of *Brahma Shakti*

which is termed *Kalika* or *Kalkai* ; this goddess has also sometimes a separate temple. There is also a temple of *Vishnu Shakti* which is known as *Bhagavati*.

The deity in the main temple of a village is called *पुर्वी* or *पुर्वसत्ता*, (*Purvi* or *Purvasatta*). It is the principal deity in the village. The right of worship of this deity is generally with Marathas with the surname *Parab*. In a few villages this right is enjoyed by Marathas having *Pujare* or *Rawool* as surname. In the same temple there is one standing figure with folded hands. It is called the *वंस* (the ancestor) of the family enjoying the right to worship. In that temple on each side of the entrance to the Shrine (गमारा) there is a figure, riding on a horse with a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left. The figure at the right hand side is called *बाराचा पुर्वस* and that at the left *मायेचा पुर्वस*. *Baracha Purvas* is also called *Nitkari*. *Nitkari* means the deity before whom the villagers take vows after offering a cocoanut. In the temple there is usually an image of *Ganapati*, and outside there is *चाळा*, i.e., the hosts of *Shiva Shakti*. Animal sacrifice to the village deity is made before *Baracha* or *Mayecha Purvas*, or the *Chala*.

The deity enjoying the second position in the village coterie of deities (गवदेवस्की) is that of the deity, holding *राजसत्ता* (*Rajasatta*) which rest with the descendants of the persons who settled the village. This deity is called '*Vithala Devi*'. The main deity in this temple is '*Bhagavati*'. Beside this deity there is a four-handed deity which is called *Vithaladevi* or *Chala*. In one of the right hands of this deity there is a sword and in the other a *Damaru* (rattle). In one of the left hands there is a bowl (पानपात्र) and in another a trident. One stone in the name of the ancestor, or '*Vas*' of the family, who worships this deity is installed by its side. Animal sacrifice is offered to this deity.

The third deity (स्थळ) in the village is that of '*Gavade*'. In it there are two images, one of a man and another of a woman. The male figure has a sword in the right hand. On his left shoulder there is a cloth. There is nothing in the right hand of the woman's figure. She however holds a leaf bowl in her left hand. Close by there is installed a stone in the name of the *Vas* (ancestor) of the family whose right it is to worship these deities.

The fourth deity (स्थळ) in this hierarchy is '*Gango*'. It is just a stone installed and worshipped. It is worshipped by *Maratha Ghadis*. An annual sacrifice is made to this deity.

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The fifth deity (स्थळ) is '*Khatiya*'. This deity is worshipped by the *Sutars* (carpenters) and comprises images of a husband and wife. The husband holds a sword in his right hand and a shield in the left and at his right there is a hammer and on the left a pair of tongs. The wife's right hand is free and in her left hand there is a bowl. Near the above images is installed and worshipped a stone representing the ancestor of the *Sutars* of the place, called '*सुतारवंस*'.

The sixth deity is '*Madval*'. It is a stone worshipped by the village *Madval* (washerman).

The seventh deity is '*Jain*'. In this temple *Shiva Linga* is the main deity and beside it there are *Nandi* and *Ganapati*. There are also images of men and women in meditating pose. One of these images is called '*Jain Vas*' or *Nitkari*. This deity is generally worshipped by a *Lingayat Gurav* or *Jangam*. But as they are small in number in this area the deity is worshipped by *Marathas* with *Rawool* surname.

At the setting in of the monsoon at the beginning of the *Mriga*, an offering of a cocoanut and a coin is made to this deity first, and it is invoked to give protection to the crops, animal and men during the agricultural operations. It is therefore believed that when the village was first set up this deity enjoyed the status of '*पुर्वसत्ता*'.

The eighth deity in the hierarchy is '*Brahmin*'. It is a stone installed and worshipped. It is at present with the *Karhade Brahmins*.

The ninth deity is '*Kul*'. In most villages a small pot full of water called (झारी) is worshipped to represent this deity. The family having the right to worship this deity is called '*Kulkar*'. An animal sacrifice is made to this deity.

The tenth deity is *Bharadi* or *Bhadrakali*. Some call it *Bhavai*. It is a figure sitting crossed legged (बासन मंडी), holding spearlike weapons in both hands. At its two sides there are pictures of creatures with animal bodies and birds' faces. An offering of fowl is made to this deity.

The eleventh and twelfth *sthalas* or deities are *Bela* and *Pan Mahars*. *Mahars* worship them.

The village administration in this area was so much mixed up with the administration of the village *Devas* that one could not be separated from the other. The main village officers were those who held the second *sthal* or the *sthal* of *Rajasatta*. They also enjoyed the rights in the village temple (मानपात्र). It appears that those who first settled in the village retained the *Rajasatta* with themselves and they brought the persons

useful to them and allowed them to settle at the other eleven *sthalas*. In some villages persons holding Rajasatta also hold Purvasatta. However the persons enjoying all the *sthalas* other than Rajasatta are called *virtiks* (*Virttivan*), i.e., servants. Annual festivals and fairs are generally held in the temple of पूर्वसत्ता.

—(*Vividha Dnyan Vistar*, Marathi Magazine, Vol. XVIII—No. IV—pp. 73-83, April 1886).

The twelve *sthalas* in Kunkeri village are said to be :

- (1) Bhavai, (2) Sateri, (3) Bhutnath, (4) Linga, (5) Mahar Sthal, (6) Khatiya Vas, (7) Madval Vas, (8) Nagoji Vas, (9) Brahmin, (10) Jain, (11) Rawalnath, and (12) Kalkai.

Of these the first five are principal *sthalas*.

The village temples in Kunkeri village are :

- (1) Shri Devi Bhavai, (2) Nagoji Vas, (3) Shri Devi Sateri, (4) Bhutnath, (5) Khate Vas, (6) Madval Vas, (7) Baracha Nitkari, (8) Baracha Chavatekar, (9) Purvichya Maharache Devool, (10) Brahman Devli, (11) Nhavi Vas Devli in Palsacha Dala Wadi, (12) Mahar Devli in Mahar Wadi, (13) Kulachi Devli, (14) Hanuman Devli in Parab Wadi and (15) a small temple of Shri Maruti under a Pippal tree in Pimpal Wadi.

(1) *Shri Devi Bhavai Temple*.—This temple is situated in Parab Wadi. It is the principal temple in the village. This and the other temples in the village are said to have been built when the village was settled some 1,000 years back. This is a temple of the village deity and faces the south as all temples of village deities (*Gram Devatas*) do in this area.

The main temple, where the deity is installed, is a stone masonry room 21'-4" × 21'-2" with a back room of 21'-4" × 9' and an old open *sabha mandap* auditorium of 21'-4" × 19'-9" and an open extended *sabha mandap* in front of the old one, 55'-3" × 27'-4". Excepting the main portion which has Mangalore tiles roof, the rest of the building has a roof of country tiles and wood and masonry work.

Besides the main deity, Shri Devi Bhavai, there are installed in this temple, the image of Mayecha Nirakari, Mayecha Andhar, stones representing Jain, Brahmin and in the south-east corner of the *sabha mandap* the image of Vetat and along with it the stones representing Ashta Bhairavs and in the south-west corner Vetatacha Purvas. In front of the Vetat is kept the wooden platform on which *tarangs* (Ceremonial Poles) of Bhutnath, Ravalnath and Kalkai are kept,

(2) *Nagoji Vas*.—In front of Shri Devi Bhavai's temple and in the same compound is the temple of Nagoji Vas on horse back.

This temple is 35' × 25'-5" with the main temple building 24' × 14', surrounded by an open verandah. Excepting the beams the structure is not old. In the main building is the image of Shri Nagoji Vas on horse back with the image of Ganapati to its right. In the north-east corner on the verandah are installed the *Padukas* (foot prints) of Shri Nagoji Vas.

(3) *Shri Devi Sateri*, (4) *Bhutnath*, (5) *Khate Vas*, (6) *Madval Vas*, (7) *Baracha Nitkari*, (8) *Baracha Chavatekar*.—These are in one compound.

Shri Devi Sateri's is another principal temple in the village. The Holi and the Hooda festivals are celebrated in its compound.

The main temple of Shri Devi Sateri is 31' × 20'-10" facing the east. To the north of this temple is the temple of Shri Bhutnath, to the east a small temple of Baracha Chavatekar and in between, in the open space, is the Hooda, a pole about 60' in height with a standing space provided at the top, and beside it the place for erecting and worshipping Holi and to the south-east the small temples of Baracha Nitkari, Madval Vas and Khate Vas. All these are structures with roofs of country tiles and excepting the nice engraving on wooden pillars of the Shri Devi Sateri and Shri Bhutnath temples the other constructions and material used are not of a very distant date.

In the main temple of Shri Devi Sateri are installed along with Shri Devi Sateri, the image of Pardhicha Vas, Nirakari, Baracha Purvas, Kulacha Purvas, Nirakari, Prarab Vas, Gawde Vas, Ghad Vas and a stone representing Purvicha Vas.

The temple of Shri Deo Butnath consists of the main building of 30'-3" × 21'-7" with a *sabha mandap* of 17' × 27'-6". It faces the south.

Together with the Bhutnath the images of two Nirakaris, Brahman, Purvas, Rawalnath, Kalkai Nirakari and Gawde Vas are also installed in this temple. Gawade Vas is said by some to be a memorial of one Gawde who was murdered.

In the temple of Baracha Nitkari are installed the images of Nitkari Andhar, Nitkari Nirakari, Nitkari Purvas, and Brahman and Jain, in front, in the north-east corner.

There is an idol of Kurmura Andhar in the open between the temple of Madval Vas and Khate Vas.

(9) *Purvichya Maharache Devool*.—This is a small temple in Parab Wadi worshipped by Mahars. It is a small structure with a roof of country tiles.

Along with the image of Purvicha Mhar are the images of Mharacha Vas and Nirakari by its side, and the image of Bela Mhar in front, to the right.

(10) *Shri Linga temple*.—This is a small structure with a roof of country tiles which is not of a far off date, with nice engravings on wooden pillars of old, in which a Linga is installed. It is 18' × 24'-6".

(11) *Kulachi Devli* and (12) *Hanuman Devli*.—The former is a small temple of Kul, clan, in Parab Wadi worshipped by Parabs. Hanuman Devli is a small stone structure under a Pippal tree, which is now in a dilapidated condition. An image of Shri Maruti or Hanuman is installed and worshipped here.

(13) *Maruti temple in Pimpal Wadi*.—This is a small cement concrete structure 3' × 3' at the foot of a Pippal tree. An idol of Shri Maruti is installed in it and worshipped by the people in Pimpal Wadi.

Besides the Linga, the idols of Shri Ganapati, Linga's Purvas, Nirakari and other idols are installed in this temple. They are however not visible due to an ant-hill grown in the temple.

The deities in the last three temples do not form part of the ooterie of village deities.

The construction of other temples is not worthy of any note.

The two school buildings in the village are located in the area known as 'Chavadi'. Both are structures of mud walls with tiled roofs. The roof of the new building is of Mangalore tiles. The old building is said to have been built in the year 1919-20 and faces the east. It is a structure of 45'-5" × 25'-1" on a stone plinth with three doors and an open verandah of 6'-7" width. The new building faces the north and is a structure of 49'-8" × 21'-5" with an open verandah of 8' width, consisting of two rooms. This building is said to have been built by the villagers by voluntary labour (*shramdan*) with help from the District Local Board and Village Panchayat. The Panchayat contributed Rs. 600 towards the construction of the building. It has a spacious playground in front for the children. The village has now a full primary school. At the time of Census it imparted instructions only up to Standard V Marathi.

Cremation Ground

There are three cremation or burial grounds in the village in Survey Nos. 165, 172 and 177/2 comprising 3 acres 31½ gunthas of land set aside for the purpose.

Survey No. 165 is used by all castes excepting Mahars. Each community is allotted a different site for its use. Survey No. 172 is used by Marathas and Survey No. 177/2 by Mahars only.

When the intervening nullahs, etc., cannot be crossed due to floods during the rainy season, the people cremate or bury their dead in their own lands. Women dying during pregnancy or child birth are said to be buried in Survey No. 21.

Excepting Mahars, all burn the dead bodies, but children who have not cut their teeth and pregnant women and women dying in child birth, are buried.

The fuel from their own lands, especially mango wood, is used for cremation. On a death in a family, a branch or two of a mango tree in one's own land is cut with the help of persons attending the funeral party and carried to the funeral ground by men in the party and this fuel is supplemented by home made cowdung cakes.

Monuments

There are no monuments in the village.

Source of Water

The sources of water for drinking and other purpose are wells. During the rainy season and for a month or two thereafter the cattle are watered at nullahs where women also wash their clothes.

There are 30 drinking water wells in the village, 9 in Parab Wadi, 3 in Bhavani Wadi, 5 in Palsacha Dala Wadi, 4 in Lingachi Wadi, 2 in Madhali Wadi, 1 in Pimpal Wadi, 1 in Mahar Wadi and 5 in Reveche Bhatle. All the wells, excepting one in Pimpal Wadi and another in Palsacha Dala Wadi which are built from National Extension Service funds and the well in Mahar Wadi which is recently deepened and repaired by the Village Panchayat, are private. The Village Panchayat takes no care to disinfect the water of these wells by T. C. L. or other chemicals.

The water in the wells in (1) Palsacha Dala Wadi, (2) Reveche Bhatle and (3) Pimpal Wadi lasts till the end.

The water in the Lingachi Wadi wells dries up during the last three months preceding the monsoon. During this period the people from this Wadi fetch water from Reveche Bhatle, Pimpal Wadi and Madhali Wadi.

The wells in the Madhali Wadi dry up during the last two months of the summer when the people there fetch water from the wells in Palsacha Dala Wadi.

The water in the only well in the Mahar Wadi used to dry up during the summer and the people used to go to the well in the adjoining Wadi for water. The people of that Wadi used to draw water for them. The well in Mahar Wadi is now repaired by the Village Panchayat this year and it is hoped that the water in the well may now last throughout the year.

In Parab Wadi all the wells excepting the Shri Devi Sateri temple well dry up in the summer when the people here get water from the well of Shri Devi Sateri.

In Bhavani Wada only one well holds water till the end and it is sufficient for the needs of the people.

Excepting the N. E. S. well in Palsacha Dala Wadi no other well in the village has pulley or a wheel for drawing water. A cattle trough is provided by the side of the N. E. S. well at Palsacha Dala Wadi. At other places the cattle have to be given water in tin buckets. All the wells in the village are pucca wells. Excepting the wells at Reveche Bhatle, which are very shallow, 9 to 12

feet deep, water of all other wells has to be drawn by rope. At Reveche Bhatle hamlet the people get into the wells to fetch water. No guinea-worm trouble is, however, reported.

The villagers cleanse the wells by community efforts every year when water therein dries up.

Welfare and Administrative institutions

There is no private or public dispensary in the village. There is neither a private medical practitioner nor a village midwife (Dai) either in the village or nearby. Panchayat has kept a box of De Chane medicines manufactured by J. and J. De Chane, Residency Road, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, for treatment of common daily ailments. For medical and maternity relief people have to go to Savantvadi where there are a cottage dispensary and a full-fledged maternity home. Cases from this village as stated in Table No. 1.1 below were reported to have been treated at these two institutions from 1956-57 to 1960-61.

TABLE No. 1.1

Medical facilities availed of by the villagers of Kunkeri from 1956 to 1960

Annual Report of the Government Medical College, Bangalore for the year 1955-56 to 1960-61										
Year	Number of cases hospitalised in the Cottage Hospital at Savantvadi			Details of the cases				Maternity cases at Rani Jank Bai Saheb Maternity Home		
	Indoor	Outdoor	Grand Total	Name of disease		Number of cases	Year	Number of cases		
1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8		
1956	..	26	66	92	Abscess	..	16	1956-57	..	6
1957	..	33	74	107	P. U. O.	..	21	1957-58	..	4
					Injuries	..	43			
1958	..	27	58	85	Loose tooth	..	20	1958-59	..	5
					Nor. Labour	..	26			
1959	..	32	68	100	Dyspepsia	..	30	1959-60	..	7
					Bronchitis	..	46			
1960	..	30	82	112	Pneumonia	..	18	1960-61	..	10
					Influenza	..	21			
					Myalgia	..	53			
					Ph. Arthritis	..	19			
					Rheumatism	..	10			
					Diarrhoea	..	28			
					Gastro Enteritis	..	9			
					T. B. Pul.	..	4			
					Asc. Lumbri Coidis	..	36			
					Appendicitis	..	2			
					Ringworm	..	14			
					Scabies	..	17			
Coryza	..	42								
Anaemia	..	21								
Total	..	148	348	496			496	32		

There are Bhajan Mandals in the different hamlets. Only one of them is subsidised from the Block Funds. There is also a library. There is no Farmers' Union in the village. There is no Panchayat Ghar, Police Chowkey or Village Level Worker's Office building in the village. The Talati holds his office in the rented premises of the Village Panchayat. The village is in charge of the Gramsevak, Kunkeri, who has his office in the village.

Markets

There is no market in the village and Marketing Act is not applicable. The only marketable commodities grown in the village are paddy, vegetables, fuel, charcoal, grass and local fruits, especially mangoes. In the absence of any carts and good roads in the village these commodities are taken to the market at Savantvadi, mostly by headloads, by women. The grocers from Savantvadi and other customers also go to the village for purchasing cashewnuts, Kokam and paddy. Fuel, fruits, vegetables, grass, are taken to the market at Savantvadi by women-folk and charcoal is delivered to the wholesalers on the highway at Kolgaon. But for charcoal, the quantities sold are negligible. The leafy vegetable of Math (मूत) from this village is known for its taste in the Savantvadi market. Dry fish is usually sold in the village itself by women vendors who exchange it for paddy or Nachni. Cash purchases are made in the market at Savantvadi.

History of the Village

The majority of households in the village are of Marathas, viz., Sawants, Parabes and Gawdes. From the privileged position they enjoy at the religious rites and ceremonies at the village temples, they appear to be the original settlers of the village.

Nobody from the village, however, knows the history of the settlement of the village except that its origin goes to some 1000 years back. According to Sawants, Nagoji and Shingoji Sawant from Nagpur raised the village; according to Gawdes, it was Gawdes from upghat and Parabes who built it. Gawdes and Parabes have, it is true, some temple rights, but they are obliged to perform service to the temple for which they enjoy the temple lands and the theory that Sawants from Nagpur settled the village would therefore appear to be plausible. The establishment of the temple of Nagoji Vas, the ancestor of Sawants, and the installation of Bhavani in one of the Sawant's house indicate that the Sawants established the village. No further light on the history of the village can be thrown in the absence of reliable data.

Settlement History

There are 198 households of Marathas, 14 of Mahars, 9 of Sutars, 7 of Nhavis, 7 of Dhangars, 5 of Bhandarisd 4 of Vanis, 3 of Kumbhars, 3 of Madval, 1 of Gou, Saraswat Brahmin, 1 of Gurav, 1 of Maratha Deoli and 1 of Muslim in the village.

From Table No. 1.2 on page 10 it will be seen that amongst the population settled in the village prior to 5 generations there are 126 households of Marathas, 13 of Mahars, 6 of Dhangars, 3 of Bhandaris, 1 of Nhavi, and 1 each of Vani and Gurav who are obviously the original settlers of the village. The others, viz., Sutars, Kumbhar, Brahmin, Madval, Maratha Deoli and Muslim are subsequent settlers in the village. The households settled in the village subsequent to 5 generations are only 103 or 40.55 per cent of the total number of households and as many as 100 out of them have settled in the village prior to the generation. The immigrant households to the village during the last generation is nil while in the present generation two households of Marathas have settled in the village in addition to one household of Goud Saraswat Brahmin who has temporarily settled in the village due to his serving as a village school master. Except as aforesaid, there is practically no movement to the village during the last and the present generations, which is an indication of the static economy of the village having no scope for any growth except development of agriculture, if at all.

The two households of Marathas who have migrated to the village in the present generation are :

- (1) Smt. Gunabai Bhatu Came to live in her father's house in the village in 1941 from Mangaon village due to her husband's death.
- (2) Smt. Sitabai Ram-chandra Sawant, age 35 years. Came to live in the village for work from Math village in Vengurla Mahal in 1959 due to her husband's death.

Legend concerning the village and its population

There is no legend concerning the village or any section of the population of the village.

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH

TABLE No. 1.2

Settlement history of households

Serial No	Name of Caste	Total number of households	Number of households settled					
			Before 5 generations	Between 4—5 generations	Between 2—5 generations	During the last generation	During the present generation	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	Brahmin (Gaud Saraswat) (School teacher)	..	1	..	..	..	....	1
2	Vani	..	4	1	2	1	....	..
3	Maratha	..	198	126	17	53	....	2
4	Gurav	..	1	1	..	..	....	..
5	Bhandari	..	5	3	1	1	....	..
6	Sutar	..	9	..	5	4	....	..
7	Kumbhar	..	3	..	..	3	....	..
8	Madval	..	3	..	..	3	....	..
9	Nhavi	..	7	1	..	6	....	..
10	Maratha Deoli	..	1	..	..	1	....	..
11	Dhangar	..	7	6	..	1	....	..
12	Mahar	..	14	13	..	1	....	..
13	Muslim	..	1	..	1	..	....	..
Total ..		254	151	26	74	....	3	

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL CULTURE

Ethnic Composition and Brief Note on each group

Out of the 254 households in the village only one is of Muslim and the rest are all of Hindus.

Table No. 2.1 gives the classification of the households in the village by religion, castes population and sex.

The aforesaid table shows that Marathas constitute 78.85 per cent of the total population of the village and 77.95 per cent of the households. The next in order come Mahars, 4.99 per cent of the total population. Then follow Sutars, Nhavis, Dhangars, Bhandaris Vanis, Kumbhars and Madvals (washermen), in that order, who (excepting Bhandaris) follow their caste vocations and thus play their role in the village economy.

According to *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi, 1880*, Marathas, Bhandaris and Devlis come under husbandmen. The Marathas, some of whom were soldiers as well as cultivators, were reported to be fairly well-off. The Bhandaris were poor, some of them in service, and some formerly employed as toddy-tappers. Devlis, the descendants of Bhavins or former temple prostitutes, besides cultivating land, performed temple service.

MARATHAS : "Marathas found all over the district are specially numerous near the Sahyadri hills. They claim Rajput descent" *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi, 1810*. They are strong, well-built and even amongst the poor we find an air of refinement. They have a very high sense of self-respect and it is proverbial that a Maratha would break but not bend. Formerly the men used to shave the head except top knot and moustache, and sometimes whiskers, but now they keep a crop of hair in keeping with the present times. Clean shaving of moustache is, however, not so common.

Most Marathas are of medium height, well-built and good featured ; and a few are handsome and warlike.

As a class Marathas are reported to be simple, frank, independent, liberal, courteous, and when kindly treated, trusting. They are said to be a manly and intelligent race, proud of their former greatness, fond of show, and careful to hide poverty. The Maratha is proverbially *Dauli* or fond of show.

Though the Marathas were mostly cultivators many of them took up service in the army, Police and other

TABLE No. 2.1

Distribution of households by Religion, Caste, Population and Sex

Religion/Community	Caste	Number of households	Number of			Percentage of households to total households	Percentage of population to total population
			Persons	Males	Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hindu ..	Maratha ..	198	932	431	501	77.95	78.85
	Brahmin (Goud Saraswat) ..	1	1	1	..	0.39	0.09
	Vani ..	4	27	17	10	1.58	2.28
	Bhandari ..	5	22	15	7	1.97	1.86
	Maratha Deoli ..	1	7	4	3	0.39	0.59
	Sutar ..	9	34	18	16	3.55	2.88
	Kumbhar ..	3	20	12	8	1.18	1.69
	Madval ..	3	11	6	5	1.18	0.93
	Nhavi ..	7	30	13	17	2.76	2.54
	Dhangar ..	7	30	17	13	2.76	2.54
	Mahar ..	14	59	30	29	5.51	4.99
	Gurav ..	1	6	3	3	0.39	0.51
Muslim ..	..	1	3	3	..	0.39	0.25
	Total ..	254	1,182	570	612	100.00	100.00

services. The Textile Mills in Bombay, the Greater Bombay Police force and the Police forces in Thana and Kolaba Districts and the various Government offices and business houses in Bombay provide employment opportunities to the villagers on this side, especially Marathas. They regard cultivation as secondary occupation to which they take if they are unsuccessful in other lines. Generally it is the weak and the old who remain behind in the family to manage family agriculture. The strong and healthy migrate outside for service, mostly to Bombay. Before partition of India, a good number of them used to go to Karachi also for service. Most of them on their return from employment brought with them considerable sums of money in addition to what they sent to their relations during service. During the period of one year ending December 1963 Money Orders amounting to Rs. 18,749.19 were disbursed in the village.

Marathas are reported to be religious-minded and treat their family priests and astrologer with much respect. Marathas are said to claim the right to wear a sacred thread but in this village the Marathas do not wear it except on Narali Purnima day. Caste disputes used to be settled formerly by a mass meeting of the caste but as a result of modern influences the caste organisation has broken up.

MAHARS : Next in strength to Marathas are Mahars with a population of 59 (30 males and 29 females). Amongst the Mahars in Ratnagiri District there are two sub-divisions, Pan Mahars and Bele Mahars, who neither eat together nor intermarry. On local enquiry, it is learnt that the Mahars here are Bele Mahars. They do not marry with Pan Mahars but do not object to dining with them. Mahars live in a separate hamlet called Maharwada situated in Survey Nos. 159-160.

There are 14 households of Mahars staying in 11 houses. They have got their separate temple, a Mahar Devli, and also a drinking-water well.

The Mahar is the only Scheduled Caste in this village. There is no other Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe population. All the 59 Mahars in the village claim themselves as Hindus by religion. There is no convert to Buddhism amongst them. The Harijan Removal of Disabilities Act is observed in the village more in breach in so far as the village temple, public wells and places of public entertainments are concerned. This lapse is more in the nature of non-enforcement of their rights by the Mahars themselves than any obstruction by the caste Hindus who allow the Mahars access to the outer verandahs of their houses where formerly even their shadow was deemed to pollute. The Mahars are found to be mixing freely amongst caste Hindus

unlike their forefathers. They have no longer to keep at that respectful distance from other caste Hindus which they had to do previously. The Mahars in the village are found to be not particular about the exercise of the rights bestowed upon them by the Statute and that is mainly due to their economic dependence on the village community and secondarily due to ignorance.

The relations between the Mahars and the caste Hindus are found to be cordial and the Mahars carry on their traditional occupation of removing the carcasses of dead animals as before without any resentment. They carry the dead animals and skin them in return for the hide. Besides this they have to beat drums at the village temple and in front of the caste Hindu houses during ceremonies and festivals which they do as before. They also render the service of collecting people at the village gatherings whenever required by the village. For all these services they receive from the villagers one Kudav (eight measured seers) of paddy per household. Formerly they used to be given a bundle of Paddy Crop (sheaf) on the field, at harvesting but the practice is now extinct. They also get cooked food from the caste Hindus during festivals.

There is a caste Panchayat amongst them which decides offences against moral turpitude.

The Mahars profess Hinduism as stated earlier. Every Mahar, male or female, has a *Guru* (religious guide). If one has no *Guru* he is not allowed to dine in the same line with one. The Mahars believe in sorcery witchcraft and soothsaying. They are hereditary village servants.

The duties of the Mahars to the villagers used to be to cut firewood, carry letters, sweep and clean the yards in front of their houses, carry cowdung cakes to the burning ground and dig graves. They had a monopoly of the dead village animals. For these private services they were paid in cash or cooked food.

Due to spread of education and awakening amongst them the Mahars generally have now given up most of these jobs, especially the removal of the carcasses of dead animals, but the Mahars in this village still carry on the work of removing dead animals.

There are in all 14 families of Mahars in the village, all of which are engaged in the household industry of Bamboo work either as a principal or subsidiary occupation. The work comprises making of baskets, winnowing fans and mats from Bamboo and umbrellas made of Bondgi leaves and *Iralis* of Bamboo and Palas leaves which are taken over heads by women when working in the fields during the rainy season. Besides selling

these articles at the market they also supply them to the village households to whom they are attached, for which they are generally paid in kind.

SUTARS : There are nine households of Sutars in the village with a population of 34 (18 males and 16 females).

Regarding craftsmen in general which includes Sutars *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi, observes: "Rising early in the morning they are soon at work and keep working till noon. After a meal and a two hours' rest they begin again and continue till the evening, when after supper they go early to bed. All except the goldsmiths are poor and some carpenters and potters eke out their earning by field work. Getting little help from their wives and children they carry on their work on the humblest scale with no stock in hand, and making articles only when ordered." (page 415)

Regarding "Sutars", the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi states, "Sutars, working both as carpenters and blacksmiths, are very useful to husbandmen. They make and mend their field tools, and are paid in grain at harvest time."

This is true of the village under report even today. The sutars in this village claim to be Konkani Sutars. They render the traditional service of preparing and mending agricultural implements for the village agriculturists under a Baluta system as would be described later.

NHAVIS : Nhavis have seven households in the village with a population of 30 (13 males and 17 females).

It is suggested that the Marathas and the Maratha Nhavis originally belonged to one tribe. Maratha Nhavis are reported not to shave Buruds, Jingars and other degraded Hindus, Europeans, Native Christians and Mussalmans.

Konkani Nhavis have two divisions, proper and Shindes or bastards.

In the southern part of Ratnagiri and in the ex-Savantvadi State, there is reported to be a third division, who circumcise and on that account are considered inferior and called *bandas* or illegitimates.

The hereditary occupation of the Nhavi is shaving, hair-dressing and nail-paring. He is an indispensable member of the village community, and formerly enjoyed inam or rent-free lands for his services. Village barbers are not paid in cash but in grain at harvest time. Their services are required at many social and religious functions such as first hair-cutting of a child, marriage, death, etc. They also render temple service.

Besides routine shaving of the adult male population and rendering customary temple service the Nhavis in this village have to shave the bridegroom at the time of marriage, the performance being locally called "रेख करणे", attend to first clipping of a child's hair (जावळ करणे), to prepare the garlands of mango leaves for decorating the *Hooda Pole* in the temple of Shri Devi Sateri (for which he enjoyed Inam land). He has also to take the Pata (the platform on which Tarangs—poles—representing the deities are kept) of the village deity during procession and to do Khochapatti (a rite) on Dassara, Shivratri and Shimga, [Khochapatti comprises keeping of knives (by Mahar, Madval and Sutar) on the threshold of the temple entreating the deity to evidence its presence], and to dress the big Bamboo (*kalak*) erected touching the Hooda pole for climbing up.

He is given 3 Kudavs of paddy annually per head, for weekly service and 4 Kudavs of paddy annually for service twice a week. This charge is levied per adult male member of the family whose first hair have been clipped; for children not of mature age the charge is 2 Kudavs per head per year.

He also receives one coconut each, on Shimga and Ganesh Chaturthi day from every household to which he is attached.

Besides the annual payment he receives—

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) For <i>jawal</i> (first hair clipping). | 1 Dhoti and Re 0.50. |
| (2) For <i>rekh</i> of a bridegroom | 1 Dhoti, 1 Seer rice, and Rs. 1.25 |
| (3) For <i>kshaur</i> , shaving of mourners. | 1 Dhoti and Re 0.25. |

The barbers as a class are badly off. Some going to Bombay improve their condition, but most are poor and forced to cultivate to eke out a living. (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi, page 127).

Two barbers from this village are reported to be keeping hair-cutting shops in Bombay.

BHANDARIS : There are five households of Bhandaris in the village with a population of 22 (15 males and 7 females).

The Bhandaris in this village are agriculturists and they have the same food, dress and other habits as Marathas and rank just below the Marathas in the social hierarchy. The Bhandaris supplied the former pirate chiefs with most of their fighting men and the name, it is suggested, would show that they were originally used as treasury guards.

Bhandaris have two main sub-divisions, viz., Hetkari and Kite *alias* Uparkari. The Bhandaris in ex-Savantvadi State and Ratnagiri District belong to Hetkari sub-division, an important sub-division in point of population and work done by them under Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. The Kite sub-division is rich and so lately Hetkaris are found to be entering into marital relations with them. Seafaring and archery were their traditional occupations. With the decay of the industry of sailing ships the Bhandaris are said to have left navigation and as there was no other industry available in Konkan they took to the tapping of Toddy Palms. They are said to be more advanced in education than any other socially backward caste from the Konkan (*Maharashtra Dnyan Kosh*, Sharirkhand, page Bha 6). As a class they are reported to be intelligent and well-to-do, living as cultivators and entering Government service in which some have risen to high offices (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi, page 124). The Bhandaris in this village as stated earlier are cultivators.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance and belong to the Hindu religion. They worship all Brahmanic and local Gods. Their caste Panch by name Dhuri stays at village Asoli Pal in Vengurla Mahal. Caste matters are referred to him by them. Money fine is inflicted by him, which is spent on tea, refreshments or dinner as convenient.

Their mother-tongue is Marathi.

The hereditary occupation of the caste is believed to be palm juice drawing and distilling. Before the introduction of Prohibition the Bhandaris in this area used to run licensed liquor shops in addition to managing household cultivation. Since Prohibition however they have fallen back mainly on agriculture and agricultural labour and some seek service.

The staple food of the caste is rice. They eat flesh and fish.

KUMBHARS: There are three households of Kumbhars in the village with a population of 20 (12 males and 8 females). The word "Kumbhar" is derived from the Sanskrit 'kumbha', a water-pot, and 'kar', a maker.

Kumbhars are divided into twenty-three endogamous groups none of whom eat together or intermarry. Of these divisions Marathas, Konkans, Sorathas and Khambatis are said to be of the territorial type.

Maratha Kumbhars are found throughout the Deccan. Konkans are found in the Konkan and Kanara. The

Kumbhars in this village do not know to which of the above divisions they belong. They are probably Konkani Kumbhars.

The chief occupation of Kumbhars is the making of tiles, bricks and earthen pots and figures of men and animals. Kumbhars form part of the village establishment and provide the villagers with earthen pots for which they are paid in grain at harvest time or are allowed to hold lands. The Konkani and Kanara Kumbhars are reported to have been priests before the arrival of Brahmins, and they are reported to still officiate in some of the temples of local deities, and performing the death ceremonies known as *kumbhar kriya* for all *Shudras* except the depressed classes. They are reported to serve as media between the God and all classes of Hindus and also acting as sorcerers.

The Kumbhars in this village do not claim to be priests nor do they act as sorcerers. They do not supply earthen wares to the villagers except (1) Pots with a hole at the bottom, to be hung over Tulsi plant in the courtyard, after filling it with water, on Mahashivratri day, (2) an earthen image of Naga (cobra) for worship on Nag Panchami day; and earthen lamps (*पुण्या*) for illumination at the village temple on Tripuri Purnima night. He has also to bore the hole in the compound of Shri Devi Sateri temple for planting the Holi pole. For these services he enjoys land and is also given a coconut on the day of Holi.

The Kumbhars have numerous Devaks. Their Devaks consist of Kalamb, Umbar, Kocha, earth of an ant-hill, peacock's feathers, etc.

In religion, Konkani Kumbhars follow Marathas. Their priests are either Karhada or Chitpavan Brahmins. In food and drink, they resemble Marathas. They eat food cooked by Marathas, Kunbis, etc. Kunbis, Nhavis, Agris, Thakurs, Kolis, etc. eat food cooked by them (*Enthoven* Vol. II, pages 275—284).

GURAVS: There is only one household of Gurav in the village with a population of 6 (3 males and 3 females). Guravs are found all over the State. They are a class of temple ministrants and consist of the following endogamous divisions or sub-castes:—

- (1) Shaiva Gurav, or Nagari, Nilkantha, Svayambhu Gurav;
- (2) Kadu Gurav, or Junari; *Kotsane*, *Gasrat* Gurav;
- (3) Hugar, Jeer, or Malgar, who are mostly Lingayats;
- (4) Jain Gurav;
- (5) Konkani Gurav or Bhavik.

None of these divisions intermarry with the others. The common bond is their occupation as temple servants.

Jain Guravs are found only in the Malvan Taluka of the Ratnagiri District.

Konkani Guravs also known as Bhavik Guravs resemble Konkani Marathas. The Gurav in this village is not sure whether he is a Jain Gurav or a Konkani Gurav.

All their marriage, birth and death rites, he says, are according to Marathas but they abstain from flesh and liquor and do not take food and water from any Hindu caste including Brahmins. They are mostly servants in village temples. As stated by Enthoven they are probably Jain temple servants who have come under the influence partly of Lingayatism and partly of Brahmanism.

The Jain Guravs resemble local Brahmins in matters of religion and custom, though they have a system of division by Devaks. Their Devaks consist of Kalamb and Audumbar.

VANIS: Of Vanis there are four houses in the village with a population of 28 (18 males and 10 females). They are Maratha Vanis. Maratha Vanis fall under eight heads:—

- (1) Bavkule;
- (2) Kathar;
- (3) Kharote;
- (4) Kudale;
- (5) Kufuni, Kunbi or Maratha;
- (6) Neve;
- (7) Patane;
- (8) Sangameshvari.

They had a common occupation of trading but they neither ate together nor intermarried.

Kudale Vanis, also known as Bandekar Vanis, are found mainly in the southern part of the Ratnagiri District, the ex-Savantvadi State, Kanara and Goa. They call themselves Arya Vaishya or Arya Dakshin Vaishya but are popularly known simply as Vanis. They are called Kudales and Bandekars after the Petas of Kudal and Banda where they were found in large numbers. Their original place appears to be Goa where they were both cultivators and traders, but on migrating to the ex-Savantvadi State they gave up cultivation and continued to trade only, which is their present occupation. The Vanis in this village claim to be of Kudale clan. They claim to have migrated from Pedna in Goa territory where they go for annual fairs. They do not dine with Marathas, they say. They claim to be Vaishyas, but from the fact that till

1850 they dined with Marathas on the occasion of the Darbar Shradha ceremony at Savantvadi and occasionally married Maratha girls though they did not give their daughters in marriage to Marathas, state-Enthoven, seem to show that they originally belonged to the same stock as the Marathas. (*Enthoven* : 1920 : Vol. III : pp. 439—440).

DHANGARS: There are seven households of Dhangars in this village. They stay in a separate Survey No. 54, near the forest, where they keep goats and do some hill cultivation and sell vegetables. They dress like other agricultural classes but poorly.

"Dhangars are an inferior class of shepherds who generally live among the hills wandering from place to place with their flocks. A few own cows and buffaloes as well as goats, and cultivate some small fields. The men are very strong, sturdy, ignorant, simple and rough; the women, brave and hard-working, take the milk and butter to market for sale." (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi).

In Kolhapur, the Dhangars are said to be split up into (1) Dange or hill and (2) Mendhe or sheep Dhangars who eat together but do not intermarry. The Danges take their name from Dang, by which name the wild, hilly and ascending tract of the northern division of the Sahyadris is known.

Regarding the origin of Dhangars, the Jativiveka asserts that they are descended from a Shudra father and a Mahishya woman, the latter being the offspring of a Kshatriya and a Vaishya mother. According to an old tradition, they were created from the dust of Shiva's body. Another tradition alleges that their original ancestor was the sage Tapa. A third tradition asserts that while Khandoba was once strolling in a forest, he met their progenitor, whom he struck dumb with awe by the display of his miraculous powers and Khandoba conferred upon him a boon that he and his descendants would earn a good living by rearing and tending sheep.

The Dhangars in this village do not know the legend of their origin or the class to which they belong. They might be probably Danges.

The social position of Dhangars is below that of Kunbis, but in point of language, house, dress and food they differ little from them.

Though some of the Dhangar sub-castes have settled down as stationary husbandmen or wool-weavers, there are not a few of their castemen, it is reported, such as Khilaris, who have not yet given up their nomadic habits. The Dhangars in this village are settled.

and Mangalore tiles, with larger apartments and windows and doors of teak wood and a sink, though the walls be of mud. Normally a house is built on a plinth of coursed rubble mud masonry with doors and windows with plain frames (with no decorations or designs thereon), and roof of round rafters with small bamboos (Chiwar) tied thereon at intervals by coir and covered with country tiles. The houses are provided with no sinks or other arrangement to drain away used water. As a matter of fact all washing, etc., is done outside the house.

A house of an average agriculturist, irrespective of caste, is a structure of about 15 cubits $\times$ 17 cubits with open or closed verandah of 9 cubits $\times$ 5 cubits in front and to the right hand side of the verandah a room 5 cubits $\times$ 5 cubits. Adjoining the front verandah and at its back is the main hall, *majghar* or *valai*, 9 cubits $\times$ 7 cubits with a door in the middle and adjoining it at the left is another room 5 cubits $\times$ 5 cubits used as kitchen. Such a house has no back *padvi* or verandah. The house has a front and a back door, not opposite to each other, and doors leading to the two rooms. The two side rooms have a window, each. There is also a window in the front wall of the main hall. The windows are generally small. The material used for the house is jungle wood locally known as *panchruch* with unsawn rafters and bamboos, fixed thereon with coir ropes, country tiles and mud walls. The cost of such a house is about Rs. 1,500.

The village houses are generally of the size of 15 cubits $\times$ 17 cubits, 19 cubits $\times$ 15 cubits, 21 cubits $\times$ 23 cubits, 21 cubits $\times$ 25 cubits and 25 cubits $\times$ 27 cubits.

In bigger houses the *majghar* or *valai* is in the middle with the kitchen room at the left and store-room at the right, and they also have front and back verandahs with attached rooms. These are generally of the size of 21 cubits $\times$ 23 cubits.

The cost of such a house is roughly Rs. 3,000. The family deities are generally installed in the main hall or a middle room. They have no separate grain stores. The grain is generally stored in receptacles (*mudis*) made of paddy-hay or in bamboo *tatas* or metal drums. In the back *padvi* (room) there are usually a stone mortar (बाईण) fixed in the floor and a curry stone. The back *padvi* is used for pounding grains, milling, housing poultry, storing fuel and keeping implements other than household utensils. As the houses are not provided with sinks, the womenfolk cleanse their utensils, which are mostly earthen, at the back of the house at the foot of

some tree, say a banana or a cocoanut palm. There are no bathrooms even in the houses of the well-to-do. There is an open bath preferably at the foot of a cocoanut tree where a stone-slab is kept for standing or sitting during bath. The water is warmed nearby in a big earthen vessel kept on a hearth, just near the foot of the tree. During the monsoon the bath and the hearth are shifted close to the back wall of the house where water is warmed and a temporary roof of grass or plaited cocoanut leaves, in some cases tiles, is made for protection from rain. Sometimes side screens of plaited cocoanut leaves are provided to screen the bath from view. There is no separate bathing arrangement for women. The houses do not touch one another but there is sufficient open space around the house with a back and a front yard, with an improvised fence or living hedge separating one house compound from another. The sacred Tulsi plant, generally planted in a pucca or semi-pucca earthen container (कुटी) is installed in the front yard facing the west and the bath chulah in the rear. The cattle are tethered generally in the adjoining farmhouse or a farmhouse in the field, where hay is stored in the monsoon and agricultural implements are deposited. The *mangar* (farmhouse) is mainly used for thrashing grains, and if near, or, on the field, for temporary stay during monsoon months when there is agricultural work.

"The house of a Mahar is of the same type and material as other Hindus but of cheaper variety. Their houses are also tiled but they are generally of smaller dimensions."

Photographs of houses of a Maratha and a Mahar in the village are given aside which do not indicate any fundamental difference between the two.

The houses of Dhangars are huts with thatched roofs. The walls are made of wild sticks plastered with cow-dung from within and without. The hut is generally 9 to 10 cubits in width. The length varies from 10 to 25 cubits depending upon the size of the household. The inside of the hut is generally partitioned for use of cattle, goats, etc., and of the family. There is only one chamber in the hut. The thatch is replaced every year.

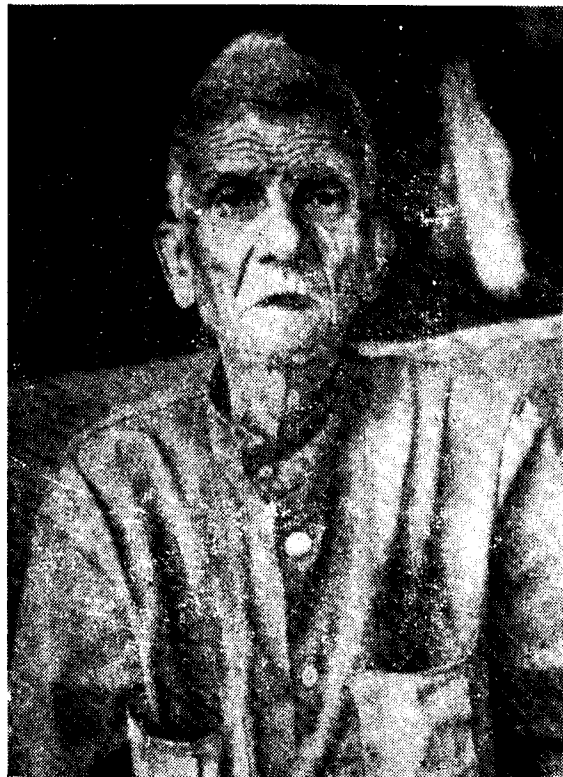
While constructing the village houses a plinth 3' in depth and 3' wide is excavated and filled with boulders and mud mortar upto the ground level; above that there is dressed cut stone or coursed rubble masonry, also in mud mortar, and mud walls. The walls are of 1 cubit in width. In some cases the houses are generally 8 feet in height in the front and 11 feet at the entrance to the *Majghar* or main hall,



A house of
a Maratha
Agriculturist



A house of a Mahar



An old Maratha man



An old Maratha woman

The roof which slopes on all the four sides is generally of round poles of Aig, Kinjal, Naram and Jambha trees and bamboos are fixed on them by coir ropes. A well-to-do villager may use sawn rafters. The tie beams are of Ain, Kinjal and Jambha and rarely teak. The ridge (top horizontal beam), *pashit*, is of Kinjal or Teak, supports of the ridge (*moravas*) or king-posts are of Kinjal or Ain and rarely of Teak and *konwasas* (the corner rafters) are of Kinjal, Ain or Teak.

The material available locally mostly from the villagers' own lands or forest is used.

After selecting the site for building a house the owner keeps mango twigs on the four corners of the proposed building site and one in the middle and then goes to Shri Devi Sateri temple for *prasad* (invoking God's favour) for building on the proposed site and asks the Gavkar Parab to seek *prasad* of the goddess on his behalf. *Prasad* is invoked by applying shelled rice-grains to the deity's body. If the *prasad* is favourable they forthwith start digging foundation without further ceremony. If the *Prasad* is unfavourable another site is selected and *Prasad* sought for it. Before filling in foundation they ascertain from the Brahmin priest the auspicious moment for setting the corner stone, worship it under the auspices of a Brahmin priest and set it in its place.

A house cannot face the south. It can face any other direction. The hearth (*chulah*) in the house must face the west.

When the building work has reached roof-level there is the ceremony of laying the ridge pole (top horizontal pole of teak) locally called (पशीट or अढे). The *pashit* is worshipped under the presidency of a Brahmin priest and laid in position at the hands of five kinsmen. The walls are built by local mason and wood work done by carpenter. If the owner of the house be very poor he builds the walls himself with the help of the members of his family. The wall builder charges Rs. 30 per 100 cubits of work, earth being supplied by the owner. Daily wages for laying walls are Rs. 3. Carpentry work is always given out on contract. The daily wages of a carpenter are Rs. 3.

Coolie charges are Rs. 1.50 a day. An average house has six windows, $2\frac{1}{2}' \times 3\frac{1}{2}'$ (2 in the front, 3 at the sides and 1 in the hind portion).

A house has two main doors, one front and the other in the rear. They are not in one line. Besides this there are doors leading to the side rooms and back *padvi*. The doors are $6\frac{1}{2}' \times 3\frac{1}{2}'$ in size.

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The houses have generally roofs of country tiles. The tiles are manufactured locally by calling in potters from outside. The potter charges Rs. 12 per thousand of tiles if the material is supplied, and Rs. 20 per thousand if otherwise. Though lately those with sufficient means evidence a tendency to go in for Mangalore tiles, they are not much in vogue. There are only three houses of Mangalore tiles roofs in the village.

The walls of the houses are painted inside and outside with yellow or red earth as is locally available about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the bottom being cowdunged. In the room where the images of Naga, Krishna and Ganapati are worshipped annually, white earth locally called *shed*, is applied to the walls and geometrical designs, leaves etc., are painted on the wall, at the back of the deity, with *kav* (red earth) and green juice of vegetable leaves or green colour. Some designs are made by strings dipped in white colour on the outer front walls. The houses are cleaned and the walls painted seasonally, especially before Shri Ganesh Chaturthi festival which is celebrated in this region in practically every Hindu house with some ceremony. The floors are occasionally smeared with cowdung. Though due to the peculiar construction of the houses the main hall and the back *padvi* do not admit of sufficient light, the houses are fairly well ventilated and the house premises and premises around are kept clean.

Before starting to reside in a newly built house the ceremony of Vastu Shanti is performed with the help of a Brahmin priest by worshipping a *pratima* (image) of Laxmi made of 7 metals, which is buried in the right hand corner of the *majghar* (central hall) where the earthen or copper pot for storing water is generally kept on a raised platform.

Dress

Men—Except for the very few of the younger generation, who due to urban influence have taken to wearing of shirts or bush-shirts and pants or trousers (except when working in the field) and usually move bareheaded, the villagers (men) in general, irrespective of their caste or religion, while moving in the village or going to the field, wear a shirt, dhotie, locally called *pancha*, round their waist, and a half-shirt or a short jacket (locally called *kopari*) with a pocket or two to keep Bidis and match-box, and carry a coarse blanket locally called *kambali* on their shoulders. The *kambali* serves the purpose of an umbrella for protection against the sun and the rain and also for sitting and sleeping.

They generally wear locally made sandals in their feet. This is the dress of all men, young and old while at work though old men of poorer classes are sometimes seen in loin cloth (*langoti*).

While going out of the village or when going to attend any ceremony or Court, etc., the men wear clean dhoti, shirt and coat and a scarf (*rumal*) or a cap (on the head) and sandals in the feet and usually carry an umbrella. The young people use the modern dress comprising of a bush-coat or bush-shirt and pants and sometimes shoes in place of sandals.

Women.—The women wear both in and out-door, nine yards Sari locally called *lugade* with the skirt turned behind between the legs and tucked at the back, and a blouse, or *choli* (bodice), to cover their breasts. The modern fashion of wearing 5 or 6 yards Sari without turning the skirt at the back, seen in the towns and cities among young women, has yet to reach the village and it is a rare sight in the village to see a girl wearing a Sari in that fashion. The women do not generally wear any footwears. While working in the fields the women role up their Saris up to the hips and if it be raining take on their heads an *irala* (इरला) which is a sort of covering to be taken over the head and is made of Palas leaves fixed in a frame of bamboo net-work. While otherwise moving in the rain they sometimes carry an umbrella, if available. Formerly umbrellas made of Bondgi leaves were used by females generally, but due to urban influence ordinary umbrellas have taken their place.

On ceremonial occasions women generally wear a costly Sari and blouse, or *choli*, from the store. The poorer amongst them however use every day Sari and blouse, or *choli*, after cleaning them.

Infants.—The infants both male and female, are clad in a frock up to 1 or 2 years of age whereafter the male child is given a shirt (*sadara*) to wear and the female child a frock; up to 3-4 years of age both male and female children are practically naked. Thereafter the male child is given a half pant and the female child a frock or a petti-coat to wear. Under-pants for children are not still in vogue in the village. On ceremonial occasions they are clad in costlier clothes.

Mahars.—The Mahars, the only Scheduled Caste in the village, dress just like Marathas but their dress is of cheaper quality and the poorer among them use clothes discarded by others.

Dhangars.—The Dhangars wear a *kopri* (half jacket) in the body, a scarf (चमाल) on the head and a loin cloth or short dhoti round their waist. Their clothing is very coarse and not clean. Dhangar women

wear a 8 or 9 yards robe (Sari) of coarse cloth (locally called *band*) tight round the waist with the skirt turned tight right upto the hips and a *choli* (bodice) of coarse *khan* (bodice piece) cloth.

The clothes of the villagers in general are found to be coarse and simple and they are not laundry washed. Clothes are got stitched from outside as there is no tailor working in the village. Ready-made clothes are purchased at Savantvadi. Except for the few young people who occasionally give their clothes for washing to a Dhobi the villagers generally wash their clothes at home, as they are not in a position to pay the Dhobi charges.

Most of the villagers go barefooted while working in the village though some use sandals when off-work. There are no cobblers or shoe-makers in the village.

Ornaments and Body decoration

During field enquiry it was observed that the males do not generally wear any ornaments except gold rings on the fingers. Women's ornaments are: in the ear, *kudis* and *bugadis* both generally of gold, though now-a-days some women wear *kudis* of cultured pearls; and in the nose, a nose-ring (नथ) mostly of gold; a lucky necklace of black beads woven in sisal thread, with gold beads and gold pendants in the centre in the neck, in the case of married women only; occasionally, necklaces of beads of any other colour in the case of unmarried girls; glass bangles and *patlis* (flat bracelets of copper with thin gold sheet mounted on the surface), on the wrists; and silver *jodvis* (toe-rings) on the toes. Some women also wear gold *putalis* and gold *vajratik* on the neck. Gold or other necklaces of modern designs are rarely seen in the village.

Todas or anklets formerly worn by newly married girls are no longer in vogue.

Mahar women have very rarely any ornaments except the lucky necklace of black beads, glass bangles and ear-rings.

The left nostril of girls is pierced at the age of 6 or 7 so that they can wear a nose-ring when they enter womanhood. Till marriage they only wear a gold stud (*fuli*) in the nose. The necklace of black beads and glass bangles are considered as lucky ornaments which a woman cannot part with so long as her husband is living. *Nath* has to be necessarily worn on all ceremonial occasions.

Boys sometimes put on gold rings (मुद्या, बाळपा) in the ear, silver bracelets (*kadas*) on the wrists and a silver chain or *goph* round the waist. Girls put on gold ear-rings (कुड्या) in the ear and sometimes

silver chain, silver bracelets and anklets, and a necklace of coloured beads, except black, in the neck. Usually all children and men wear a thick black or red thread called *munja* around their waist which is useful or fastening loin cloth. There is a belief that if no hread or chain is worn like this around the waist there is a danger of colic trouble.

The Dhangar males wear gold ear-rings (*mudis* and *balis*) in the ears, silver wristlets (*kadas*) on the wrists; silver chain or *goph* round the waist and silver rings on the fingers.

The Dhangar females wear gold *kudis*, *bugadis* and *kaaps* in the ears; a bead necklace of white and yellow beads round the neck; silver *vakyas* on the arms and glass bangles on the wrist.

Tattooing is not in vogue in any community. Formerly the girls used to get tattooed on their forehead a star, and sometimes a crescent, but the practice is no longer prevalent.

Household goods

Earthen cooking vessels; an iron frying pan (*tawa*); two or three wooden *pats* (low seating stools), locally made; brass and aluminium dishes (*tats* and *pitalis*); one or two porcelain cups and saucers; one or two glasses; metal pots (*tambyas*) and tumblers, for drinking water; one or two brass ladles and ladles made of cocoanut shells; a small wooden trough (*doni*) for holding liquid drained from boiled rice; a wooden dish (*walan*) for draining liquid from boiled rice; big earthen pot for warming bathing water and boiling paddy; earthen and copper pots (*ghagar*, *kalshi*) for drawing and storing water; an iron bucket for watering animals and washing clothes; occasionally, a wooden bench or two; bamboo mats; large and small bamboo baskets for storing and carrying grains and sheltering fowls at night; bamboo winnowing fans; a broom of cocoanut leaf ribs; a stone slab with stone crusher for preparing chilli and cocoanut-kernel paste; a mounted sickle (*vili*) for cutting onions, vegetables, chillies, etc.; a sickle; a bill-hook; an axe for cutting fuel; a grinding stone; a wooden grinding mill (*ghirat*) for dehusking paddy; a mortar and pestle for pounding rice, etc.; a crusie lamp; occasionally, a hurricane lantern; some tins for storing sundry material; a few bottles for storing oil and a *kambali* or two and one or two quilts made of old clothing for bed are the only household gear of an average villager in this village. Tables, chairs and such other modern articles of furniture have yet to enter most households.

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Mahars and Dhangars too have the same household articles but on a modest scale.

On ceremonial occasions when an unusually large number of persons are fed, they use plantain leaves or platters of leaves (such as Jack-fruit, Palas or Banyan) for dining. The cost of the household goods used by an average villager does not exceed Rs. 50 to 100.

Regarding the household goods of Mahars the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi aptly states: "Mat, sleeping and sitting boards, a few earthen and brass or copper vessels, a tobacco pipe, a bill-hook or axe, and if he is a cultivator a plough and other field tools form the chief part of a Mahar's household gear", which holds good even today. In the field study it was revealed that the furniture used by the villagers is very scanty indeed. 254 households have amongst them furniture and other material as under:—

Bed steads	.. 1	Mirrors	.. 4
Khatias	.. 65	Benches	.. 70
Chairs	.. 36	Stools	.. 7
Tables	.. 11	Wall-shelves	.. 4

In the absence of Khatias, benches or chairs, a *kambal* or *pat* (low wooden stool) is offered to a guest to sit on.

The most common piece of furniture in a household of generally fair means over here is a wooden cot locally called *chophala* which is usually in the front verandah or room and which is used for receiving guests during the day-time and during the night the elderly male member of the household sleeps on it. Those with poor means have no *chophala* in their houses and the guests are honoured by the offer of a *kambal* or a low stool, for sitting.

Table No. 2.2 on page 22 gives castewise distribution of the above articles of furniture.

The said table would show that chairs, tables and mirrors are not widely used by the villagers and that the number of Khatias too is not proportionate to the number of households. The villagers generally sleep on the floor.

The above articles are manufactured within the village by local carpenters.

Out of the 254 households, 185 are using hurricane lanterns. Only four households possess a petromax; three, a torch battery and two, a bicycle, each.

There is no kerosene stove or a radio set in the village.

Castewise distribution of the above consumer goods is given in Table 2.3 on page 22.

TABLE No. 2.2
Castewise distribution of furniture and other articles

Name of the Caste	1	Total Number of households	2	Number of households possessing								Jol-chowki	Wall-shelf
				Bedstead	Khatia	Chairs	Tables	Mirrors	Benches	Stools	10		
				3	4	5	6	7	8	9			11
Maratha	..	..	198	1	52	29	10	3	58	5	..	..	4
Sutar	..	..	9	..	1	3	..	..	4	1	..	..	..
Bhandari	..	..	5	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Vani	..	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Brahmin	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Nhavi	..	..	7	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
Gurav	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mahar	..	..	14	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kumbhar	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Maratha Deoli	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Madval	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Dhangar	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	..	254	1	65	36	11	4	70	7	..	..	4

TABLE No. 2.3
Castewise distribution of consumer goods

Name of the Caste	1	Total Number of households	2	Number of households possessing					Radio Set
				Hurricane lantern	Petromax	Battery/Torch	Kerosene Stove	Bicycle	
				3	4	5	6	7	8
Maratha	..	..	198	146	3	2	....	2	....
Sutar	..	..	9	5	....	....	....	....	....
Bhandari	..	..	5	3	....	....	....	....	....
Vani	..	..	4	3	1	....	....	....	....
Brahmin	..	..	1	1	....	1	....	....	....
Nhavi	..	..	7	6	....	....	....	....	....
Gurav	..	..	1	1	....	....	....	....	....
Mahar	..	..	14	11	....	....	....	....	....
Kumbhar	..	..	3	1	....	....	....	....	....
Maratha Deoli	..	..	1	1	....	....	....	....	....
Madval	..	..	3	2	....	....	....	....	....
Muslim	..	..	1	1	....	....	....	....	....
Dhangar	..	..	7	4	....	....	....	....	....
Total	..	..	254	185	4	3	....	2	....

The aforesaid two Tables speak for the material prosperity of the villagers which certainly lacks in many ordinary amenities of life and depicts a vivid picture of the villagers' poverty.

Except on the Diwali day, no bath soap is used by the villagers even though they have the means, not to speak of the use of face powder or any other cosmetics. Very few use washing soap. They take bath daily after return from work in the noon. In the rainy season they also take warm water bath on returning from work in the evening. Poorer women when they took bath over the head, which they usually do on the 4th day after menses and on days of religious festival, formerly used Jaswant leaves or ashes of dry skin of Banana trunks to wash their hair. Now they use soap and washing soda. The women comb their hair every day after applying cocoanut oil and apply *kumkum* to their forehead daily. Men also apply cocoanut oil to their heads especially when going to bed or before taking bath.

Regarding the use of washing soap by the villagers, a study of 20 selected households (12 of Marathas, 2 of Bhandaris, 1 of Gurav, 3 of Sutar, 1 of Vani and 1 of Mahar) disclosed that 8 households are using washing soap while 12 are not. They however wash their garments of daily use, excepting shirts and jackets, and clothing of the children, daily.

The income of the households and the use or non-use by them of the washing soap is given in Table No. 2.4 below.

From the said table we can say that the people generally do not use washing soap irrespective of their income.

Classifying the 254 households in the village occupation-wise with reference to their using washing soap, toilet soap, footwear, etc., we get the pattern as in Table 2.5 on page 24.

From the aforesaid table, we see that the use of toilet soap, getting the grain milled at flour mill and keeping a sewing machine are luxuries which the villagers cannot afford. Out of the total of 254 households, only three of agriculturists and one of grocer (Vani) use toilet soap; no household possesses a sewing machine; only 54 or 21.6 per cent of the total number of households including those who mill their corn both at home and at a flour mill, avail themselves of the services of a flour mill. This clearly spotlights the poverty of the people. All households get their clothes stitched at the tailor's; 128 or 50.39 per cent households use washing soap and 157 or 61.81 per cent households use footwears.

TABLE No. 2.4

Distribution of 20 selected households (14 in the income group of Rs. 50 or less and 6 in the income group of Rs. 51 to 100) in the village using and not using washing soap

Caste	1	Those with income of Rs. 50 or less		Those with income of Rs. 51 to 100		Total using washing soap	Total not using washing soap
		Using washing soap	Not using washing soap	Using washing soap	Not using washing soap		
		2	3	4	5	6	7
Maratha	..	3	8	1	....	4	8
Bhandari	..	1	....	1	....	2	....
Gurav	..				1	....	1
Sutar	..	1	....	....	2	1	2
Vani	..			1	....	1	....
Mahar	..		1	....	....	....	1
Total	..	5	9	3	3	8	12

TABLE 2.5
Occupationwise distribution of households using consumer articles

Religion	Principal occupation	Total Number of households	Number of households using			Number of households stitching clothes		Number of households making flour		
			Washing soap	Toilet soap	Foot-wear	At home	At tailor	At home	At flour mill	Both at home and flour mill
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Hindu	Agriculture	183	99	2	121	..	183	150	3	30
	Agricultural Labour	56	20	..	26	..	56	40	5	11
	Hotel business	2	2	..	2	..	2	..	2	..
	Carpenter	3	1	..	1	..	3	1	..	2
	Grocer	2	2	1	2	..	2	2	..	..
	Police Patel (service)	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
	Barber	2	1	..	1	..	2	1	..	1
	Potter	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
	Bamboo Worker	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
	Teacher	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
Muslim	Milk business	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
	Agricultural Labour	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
Total		254	128	3	157	..	254	200	10	44

None of the above households is found sending clothes to a washerman for washing.

Out of the total of 254 households, 244 do not take liquor and 60 do not take tea. Information regarding income is not available in respect of 234 households.

Information of 20 households whose income is known is given. A family having income of above Rs. 100 per month was not amongst those selected. Of the same 20 households it is found that 10 take liquor while 10 do not and similarly 10 are in the habit of taking tea and 10 are not. Castewise and incomewise Tables Nos. 2.6 and 2.7 showing tea drinking and sugar taking habits of the 20 households are given on page 25.

The aforesaid Tables confirm the statement that most of the villagers do not enjoy even the ordinary amenities of present day life and their economic condition is deplorable.

The number of households castewise, whose income is not known and who take or do not take tea and

those who do not take sugar is given below :—

Caste	No. of households taking Tea	No. of households not taking	
		Tea	Sugar
1. Maratha	153	33	186
2. Sutar	3	3	6
3. Nhavi	6	1	7
4. Mahar	3	10	13
5. Brahmin	1	..	1
6. Bhandari	3	..	3
7. Vani	3	..	3
8. Kumbhar	..	3	3
9. Madval	3	..	3
10. Maratha Deoli	1	..	1
11. Dhangar	7	..	7
12. Muslim	1	..	1
Total	184	50	234

Thus we find that out of the total of 254 households, 244 do not take sugar and 60 do not take tea.

TABLE No. 2.6
Table indicating the Habit of taking Tea

Caste	No. of households taking tea with monthly income of		No. of households not taking tea with monthly income of		Total number of households	
	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 26—50	Taking tea	Not taking tea
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maratha	..	4	1	7	4	8
Sutar	1	..	1	1	1	2
Vani	1	1	..	..	2	..
Bhandari	1	..	..	..	1	..
Gurav	..	1	..	..	1	..
Mahar	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	4	6	2	8	10	10

TABLE No. 2.7
Table indicating the Habit of taking Sugar

Caste	No. of households taking sugar with monthly income of		No. of households not taking sugar with monthly income of		Total number of households	
	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 26—50	Taking sugar	Not taking sugar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maratha	..	6	1	5	6	6
Sutar	1	..	1	1	1	2
Vani	1	1	..	..	2	..
Bhandari	..	..	1	..	..	1
Gurav	..	..	..	1	..	1
Mahar	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	3	7	3	7	10	10

Food and Drinks

Gruel of boiled rice, or bread in the morning ; rice, dal or fish curry and vegetables, if available, or chatni and/or dried fish in the noon ; and rice with bread, if possible, and dal or curry and vegetables or chatni in the evening, is the normal food amongst all sections of the community.

A study of 20 selected households (12 of Marathas, 3 of Sutar, 1 of Vani, 2 of Bhandaris, 1 of Mahar and 1 of Gurav) has revealed that the staple food of the villagers is rice and all of them except the Gurav are non-vegetarians. They eat fish, eggs, fowl and flesh of goats, sheep and wild game (Muslims excepted so far as wild boar and pig are concerned). They do

not, however, eat flesh of pigs and other animals. There is no taboo on taking flesh but the people relish fish more and they take at least dry fish if not fresh, frequently. Sea-water fish which is available at the market at Savantvadi is relished more. Due to present high prices of fish, on account of its transport to distant places like Belgaum and Kolhapur, and increased consumption at Redi village where recently manganese mines are worked, the villagers are compelled to go off fresh fish excepting in the season, which is generally at the harvest time when fish is in plenty. The villagers take only local vegetables grown in their own fields such as math, radish, brinjals, bhendi, chillies, onions, etc. They rarely purchase vegetables except potatoes at the market.

Bread is rarely taken except by those who do not cultivate any land or cultivate inferior soils, and the poor. The latter prefer Nachni or rice bread. Wheat is not relished on this side even by the well-to-do unless one is forced by circumstances to consume it.

All the 254 households including the Muslim household have reported beef and liquor as prohibited. No other food or drink is reported as prohibited.

Of the 254 households, 13 households (11 of Marathas and 2 of Sutar) were reported to take only one meal a day, and 241 households, two meals a day. There is reported to be no household in the village taking three meals a day. The castewise break-up of these households is given below :—

Caste		Total Number of households	Households taking	
			One meal a day	Two meals a day
Maratha	..	198	11	187
Brahmin	..	1	..	1
Kumbhar	..	3	..	3
Nhavi	..	7	..	7
Sutar	..	9	2	7
Bhandari	..	5	..	5
Vani	..	4	..	4
Gurav	..	1	..	1
Madval	..	3	..	3
Maratha Deoli	..	1	..	1
Mahar	..	14	..	14
Muslim	..	1	..	1
Dhangar	..	7	..	7
Total	..	254	13	241

During local enquiry in the village in 1964, however, it was found that the villagers generally take three meals a day as under :—

- (1) Rice gruel or bread in the morning at 8 a.m.
- (2) Rice, *dal*, vegetables or *chatni* between 12 noon to 1 p.m.
- (3) Rice, *dal*, rice or Nachni bread, vegetables, flesh or fish (fresh or dry), as available, between 8 to 9 p.m.

Those who are extremely poor take only two meals a day, one in the noon and the other in the evening.

As stated in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi “The food of middle class household is rice, Nachni bread, curry and vegetables, for every day, with *vadas* on special occasions. The every day food of poor household is Nachni bread and occasionally rice and curry with *vadas*.” The food habits as recorded in the *Gazetteer* remain unchanged.

There are little seasonal variations in food except on ceremonial occasions, and during the summer months when those with lesser means have either consumed their own stock of grain or have no wherewithal to purchase it from the market. During the latter period many poor households have to live on rice gruel, vegetables of raw Jack fruit and curry of raw mango. Such occasions are, however, said to be rare in this village.

On feasts and festivals they have special preparations like *khir*, sweet gruel of rice, on Gudhi Padva ; *ambolis*, a kind of rice bread, on Dassara, Diwali (Bali Pratipada), Makar and Karka Sankrants, Gokul Ashtami and Dhulvad (except on Gokul Ashtami day they have mutton with *amboli*) ; and *shirvalyas* or *shevayas* (vermicilli) of rice mostly on Holi festival. When they have any guest they prepare *vadas* (cakes of rice and udid flour fried in oil), or *ambolis* and fowl or mutton or *ghayans* (also a kind of rice bread), or *shirvalyas* served with sweetened cocoanut milk. *Vadas* and *khir* (porridge), *varan* and curry of black peas are special dishes on any religious or ceremonial occasions such as the annual holidays, etc. On Ashadhi and Kartiki Ekadashis, Mahashivaratri and other fasting days they take Nachni, Vari or Wheat bread, or Vari rice and curds or butter-milk, vegetables and sweet potatoes (*ratoli*).

All the Dhangars in the village are non-vegetarians. Rice is their staple food. They take three meals a day :

- (1) Rice or Nachni bread with *chatni* or vegetables, at 8 a.m.
- (2) Rice, *dal*, butter-milk, curry at 12 noon.
- (3) Rice, *dal*, fish (if available) or *chatni* at 8 p.m.

The staple food of the Mahars in the village and their food habits are the same as those of other communities except that due to poverty their menu is more restricted.

The villagers use cocoanut oil and fresh cocoanut-kernel in their preparations. The fuel wood locally available in their lands or forest, and cowdung cakes are used for cooking food.

For warming bathing water they collect and burn dry leaves and rubbish found round about their compounds, except in the rainy season, when cowdung cakes or big logs of wood stored for the purpose are burnt.

Excepting rice, millets and vegetables which they get from their fields, the villagers purchase all other articles of food from the market. The purchases are mostly made by their womenfolk who carry to the market their own rice, vegetables, fuel, grass, hay and other produce for sale and from the sale proceeds purchase the commodities they want.

It is customary to store for the monsoon, requirements of provision, especially salt, chillies, etc., in advance, as both men and women are busy in the fields during this period. Dry fish required for the year is usually bought and stored in October.

Most of the households now a days take tea early in the morning though instances are not wanting where only the adult male members of the family take tea and that also in the village hotel.

The Muslim family in the village takes tea in the morning with *ladus* and *bhajis* ; rice, *dal* or fish at 12 noon and rice and *dal* at 10 p.m.

Most of the villagers are reported to be drinking liquor. All classes smoke tobacco. Those who work in fields prepare their own bidis from local Kuda (a herb) leaf. Hubble-bubble (गुडगुडी) has disappeared from the village.

Beliefs and Practices concerning Births

It is customary amongst the Marathas as amongst other castes including Muslims, the financial position of the father permitting, for a married girl to go for her first confinement to her parents' place. A poor untrained midwife of Maratha or any other caste attends her. The villagers do not take the benefit of the Maternity Home at Savantvadi though it is at a distance only of 4 to 5 miles because it is not deemed safe to take a woman in labour pains there due to the bad condition of the village approach road. In 1960-61 only ten women took benefit of the Maternity Home at Savantvadi. But the tendency of going to the Maternity Home for delivery is growing. After delivery, the child's umbilical cord is cut by the midwife. The child and the mother are bathed with warm water and laid on a bed made on a Bamboo mat. The placenta is buried in the back room of the house where the mortar is fixed in the ground. The mother does not suckle the child immediately on birth but it is given some castor-oil and honey, the first instalment of diet after its birth, and then fed on

honey on the rest of the first day. The mother suckles the infant at her breast on and from 4th day. Till then it is fed on cow's milk. In case the mother is dry the child is fed on cow's milk even thereafter. In order that the mother should have profuse supply of milk, she is given a sweet porridge of broken wheat and methi corn with sumptuous quantity of cocoanut milk and jaggery ; and as a last resort the milk obtained by pounding the roots of Shatavari creeper is given to the mother.

Post-birth impurity is observed by the whole family for 10 days. On the 11th day the village priest gives purifying water containing cow's urine, dung and Tulsi leaves, which is given to the delivered woman and the new born after bath, and which the whole family also takes after bath, and the whole family is deemed to be clean from then onwards. All the clothes in use during the 10 days period except woollens are washed on the 11th day. The mother however cannot enter the kitchen or undertake any religious worship till after the month ceremony of the child.

The woman and the child occupy a separate chamber in the house. The midwife attends the woman only on 1st, 5th and 11th day. On other days an eldest woman in the house attends her. The mother is given light food during this period alternated with chicken soup on 4th, 7th and 11th day unless the family be a vegetarian one. A sweet oil lamp is kept burning for the whole night in the lying-in-room during the ten days after birth. Oil is applied to the woman and the child every day before bath and they are bathed with warm water. After bath the smoke of frankincense, garlic balls leaves, etc., is made in the room to disinfect the premises and also to warm the mother and the child. The twigs of Nigud shrub are also hung at the door as a disinfectant and cowdung cake smoke is made in the house in the evenings to drive away mosquitoes, etc. Where a woman has delivered in the house, the mother's fifth or *panchvi* in the form of a Kalash (metal pot filled with water), kept on rice, measuring 1½ seer, a net and small Bamboo bows are worshiped in the evening of the 5th day of birth by an elderly woman in the house with a living husband. The night used to be celebrated formerly with pomp by beat of drums when all in the house kept awake and by dinner to kith and kin and drinking of liquor ; but now a days they do not employ drum beaters ; and the ceremony is much abridged. There is no indulgence in drinking on this night as of yore. The 4th to 7th day after delivery of a woman, are supposed to be days harmful to the new-born and also to any other infant in the house or frequenting it during these days, or residing nearby, so

if there be any other child in the house or in the vicinity, of tender age, it is taken away during this period, and no child of tender age from outside is allowed to be brought to the house. There is a belief that the material installed at the worship of पाचवी is to be removed outside the house before daybreak next day and carried to water. In the case of the Marathas the village Madval (washerman) removes and carries away the पाचवी. In the case of others a person from the community concerned or the midwife removes it.

There is no ceremony of any kind after *panchvi*, till after 11 days from birth. On the eleventh day, besides taking bath and purifying water, the whole house is cleansed, walls washed with mud and the floor is cow-dunged. Formerly during the days of impurity the father of the new-born did not shave his face or head but this restriction is no longer observed rigidly. On the 12th day the lap of the delivered woman is filled with rice, cocoanut and blouse piece by married women, in the afternoon, and the child is cradled and named. On this day its ears are pierced by some elderly woman. In selecting the name for the child the village Brahmin priest is consulted by some. Others name the child in consultation with elders. Betelnut, Betel leaves, grams soaked in water and some sweet, *batasas* of sugar (if the child be a girl) and *pedhas* (if the child be a boy), or sugar, according as the financial position of the parents would permit, are distributed amongst the assembled ladies and children and the ceremony is over. The delivered woman then goes to a nearby well and worships it. The naming ceremony is attended generally by women relations and friends who bring some rice, cocoanut and blouse piece or piece of bodice cloth for the mother and clothing for the child. If it is a first delivery, the mother's parents present the child with some gold or silver ornaments if they can afford it. The women from the husband's house also bring presents for the mother and the child.

Except amongst the poor, a mother does not attend to any out-door work such as working in the field, fetching fuel, water, etc. till after one month from child-birth. Both the mother and the child are bathed with warm water by a midwife or some elderly woman in the house after applying oil and *utana* to their bodies. The *utana* is generally made of gram flour. By the application and rubbing of *utana* to the child's body, it is believed, the superfluous hair on its body are removed and it does not grow superfluous hair at the later age. The child is given a bath daily except on the day of birth.

The month ceremony of the child is performed on the 29th day in the case of a male child and 27th day in the

case of a female child, when the mother is treated to some feast. From this day onwards the mother can attend to her normal duties and enter the kitchen.

Abortion and barrenness as also still births and infantile death are believed to have their root in a curse or evil eye of family deity or some deceased ancestor and the villagers try to pacify them after consulting Bhagats.

Black thread is wound round the wrists of the child with a piece of *vekhand*, (Orris roots) (a herbal medicine), tied thereto, and a black thread round the waist, and some times talismans and black and white beads or yellow (*kervā*) beads are put on the child to ward off evil. To ward off the effects of an evil eye, some mustard and salt, some times accompanied by dry chillies, are waved round the face of the child thrice, and thrown into a fire, once or twice a day, especially in the evening. The child is not taken out of the house for three months.

The hair on the head of a male child is first clipped at the age of 5 to 7. The village barber is called in for this. He shaves the child after putting new cloth purchased for the occasion on its lap and throws the hair at the foot of some fruit-bearing tree appointed by the elders in the family for the purpose, the fruits of which he (the barber) could enjoy afterwards. The parents of the child are forbidden from eating the fruits of this tree. After the removal of its first hair the child is bathed and seated on a low stool. An open umbrella is held over his head and *pedhas* (sweet lumps of cheese and sugar) thrown on it and picked up by children present on the occasion. The ceremony ends with a feast.

These practices are followed by all the castes and communities amongst Hindus with some difference depending on their circumstances. No account as to the post-natal treatment of mother and child in the case of Muslims could be obtained as there is no married Muslim in the village. Only information that could be obtained regarding the Muslims was that they observe the post-natal impurity for forty days after birth, during which period the mother and the child only are held impure. The Muslims also abstain from taking cooked food in any Hindu house where a woman has delivered till after 40 days after delivery.

The fifth night after child birth is, amongst Muslims, observed by the women as an occasion of rejoicing. On the expiry of the period of impurity the child is cradled and named. There is no ear-piercing ceremony or time fixed for it. The name of supreme God Allah is uttered into the child's ears and it is made to utter it at the age of 4. Circumcision is done with ceremony after the child attains 12 years of age.

Amongst the Dhangars the girl goes for her first delivery to her father's house where she is attended by a midwife of their own caste. The umbilical cord is cut by a razor. Placenta is buried outside the house, nearby. The child is placed in a winnowing fan immediately after birth. The mother and the child are then rubbed with oil and given warm water bath and for five days the child is kept in a bed laid in a basket. The mother's bed is made near it on the floor. The child is suckled by the mother at her breast immediately after birth. *Panchvi puja* is done on the night of the 5th day. The impurity after birth is observed for 12 days. The caste priest (called Bhat) gives purifying water on the 12th day and the house is purified by sprinkling it all over the house and men and women in the house including mother and the child, purify themselves by drinking it. The child is named by the parents on the fifth day. No priest is consulted for a name. The child is cradled on the 12th day.

Beliefs and Practices concerned with Marriage

According to Enthoven, Marathas claim to belong to four main branches or *vanshas* each consisting of 24 *kuls* or families. They have numerous surnames. Besides *kuls* and surnames, they also claim to have *gotras* like Brahmins. Surnames and *gotras*, it is reported, are not necessarily a bar to intermarriage, the chief restriction in this respect being belonging to the same *kul* or *devak*. On local enquiry with the Marathas in this village, it was however found that no marriage could be performed between families having the same *gotra*. Belonging to the same *kul*

is no bar to marriage amongst them. Same surname also does not prohibit marriage.

The installation of the Devak is an important part of the marriage ceremony amongst the Marathas. The Devak of the Marathas in this village is Kalamb.

Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter is not allowed. A marriage with a father's sister's daughter is also not common though not strictly disallowed. A Maratha preferably marries his maternal uncle's daughter and a person has by custom a first claim over his mother's brother's daughter and such marriages are numerous in this region. The village under study however appears to be an exception to this rule as there is no case of a marriage with a blood relation in any of the existing marriages in the village. A marriage with a deceased wife's sister is preferred in the village, especially when the deceased has left one or two young children behind her. Two brothers can marry two sisters. As stated by the villagers, the boys are generally married between the age of 25 and 30 and girls between 18 and 22 years of age. There are only two cases in which boys have been married at the age of 15 and 17 respectively, five cases each, in which girls were married at the age of 12 and 14, respectively, and one case in which a girl was married at the age of 16. In most cases the boys are married from the age of 20 onwards and girls from the age of 15 onwards.

The wives are generally younger than the husbands, the difference in their respective ages being from 3 to 5 years. Table No. 2·8 below gives the information regarding the difference in the ages of husbands and wives in different age-groups.

TABLE No. 2·8

Difference in ages of husband and wife by age of the Husband

Present age of the husband	Total Number of couples	Difference in wife's age in number of years (+ or — to be used in relation to husband's age)					
		0—2 years	3—5 years	6—9 years	10—14 years	15—20 years	21 years and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Below 14 years	..	..					
15 to 24 years	..	..	5	1	4	....	....
25 to 34 years	..	..	52	....	31	16	5
35 to 44 years	..	..	62	2	19	17	21
45 to 54 years	..	..	37	....	5	4	14
55 years and above	..	..	24	....	1	2	11
Total	..	180	3	60	39	51	20
						7	

Out of 180 married couples enumerated in the village, in 102 cases the difference between the age of the wife and husband ranges between 2 to 9 years. In most of the cases the difference between the wife's and husband's age is from 3 to 9 years. In no case wife is older than the husband.

Polygamy is not disallowed by the custom of the community where the first wife is barren and has no issue but it is not widely practised. Since the enforcement of the Prohibition of Hindu Bigamous Marriage Act, polygamy is disappearing. Polyandry is unknown and not practised. Widow remarriage and divorce are strictly prohibited. On local enquiry it is understood that marriage negotiations start from the girl's father if the boy is educated and from the boy's father if he is not educated. If a boy is educated, a dowry (Hunda) from Rs. 200 to 400 has to be paid to him and if the boy is uneducated the boy's father has instead generally to give a Dej, to the girl's father. Though in practice marriage without a Hunda or Dej is rare, that marriage is considered ideal in which a girl is given away duly adorned with ornaments befitting the ranks of the parties, and without passing of any money between them (*Salankrit Kanyadan*). In selecting a bride or the groom, besides physical appearance, more weight is given to the lineage of the families, and marriages between families of unequal status are very rare and possible only where the boy is educated. The community has a strong objection to marrying a girl in a family deemed to be of a lower social status though taking girl from a family slightly lower in status is not so much looked down upon. Once the two families are satisfied about their respective lineage there is not much hindrance in settling the marriage provided the boy and the girl, especially the former, approve of each other. Dowry or Dej, ornaments and presents to be made to relations of either party, etc., are secondary considerations. Marriage rarely breaks down in the village on terms of dowry or Dej.

Sakharpuda.—After the boy and his family approve of the girl, a *sakharpuda* (betrothal ceremony) is performed at the girl's parents' house. A party from the boy's house, males and females, go to the girl's house with some sugar. They place the sugar in front of the girl's family Gods and offer prayers and invoke blessings of the family deity. They are then served with tea and light refreshments whereafter they return home.

Between *sakharpuda* and the performance of marriage the bride and the bridegroom are treated to dinner or

feast by their relatives (including the house of marriage) and friends. This is called *ketwan*.

A *muhurta*, auspicious moment, for the marriage, is then fixed in consultation with a Brahmin priest. It is written on a piece of paper by the priests on either side and the pieces of papers are exchanged.

At both the houses a pandal (*mandap*) is erected in the front courtyard of the house and close relatives are invited to the house for marriage preparations. Invitations for the marriage are given to close relatives and friends by going personally or deputing a member from the household to their place and printed or written invitations are sent to others by post, or delivered personally or through deputies. This is preceded by some persons from the household going to the village temple to the accompaniment of music to invoke the village deity's blessings to the function. Rice grains are also placed before the family deity and its blessings too are invoked for the occasion. They then go round the village to the accompaniment of music and invite their kinsmen and neighbours to the marriage by giving them *akshats*, rice grains tintured with *kumkum*.

Ghana ceremony is performed at both the houses. It consists of propitiating the mortar and pestle and a bamboo basket (*rukhat*) in the house by married women with spouses living, before using them for preparing provisions for the marriage. Five married women handle the pestle along with the boy and the girl (at their respective places) and feign to pound rice.

The marriage proper is a function nowadays of only one day. The marriage is ordinarily performed at the house of the bride, except where due to distance between the houses of the bride and the bridegroom, the girl's family shifts to the boy's village with the girl for a temporary halt. In that case the bridegroom instead of going to the bride's village for the marriage goes to where the girl's family have temporarily halted. A mango twig is planted in the pandals in front of both the houses, in the morning of the marriage or on the earlier day if the bridegroom has to leave for marriage on the day preceding.

In the morning of the day of marriage women in the families of both the bride and the bridegroom, at their respective places, apply turmeric paste to the bodies of the bride or the groom, as the case may be, and they are bathed. After bath, the girl sits before *Gauri Hara* (Shiva and Parvati) and offers prayers.

Punyaha Vachan is performed by the girl's and boy's parents at their respective places, in the morning of the marriage day and the boy or the girl, as the case may be,

sits with them. Then the *kul* or *devak* is installed and worshipped. The girl's and boy's parents, at their respective places, are then presented with *ahers* (offerings) by kinsmen after applying *kunkum* (vermilion) and rice to their foreheads, the ceremony being termed *सैंस भरणे*.

At the girl's place at the exact moment when half the orb of the sun is visible on the horizon *Ghatikasthapana* is done. This consists of floating a metal pot of a prescribed size with a hole bored at the bottom, in a big metal pot full of water. The former gets completely filled and sinks after every 24 minutes or *Ghatika*. This device is used for recording the exact time of the auspicious moment for the marriage. The marriage day is heralded by music of drums, *tashas* (Indian kettle drum) and *sanai* (*Shahanaï*).

Depending upon the distance he has to cover to the girl's place, the boy starts from his house for the bride's house or village, generally on foot, in a cart, rarely on a horse, or in a motor car, dressed in the marriage costume of a turban of wound cloth (*pagadi*) with 2 marriage coronets (*bashings*) affixed thereto (one spare being for the bride), *angarkha* or coat, a dhoti, and sandals on his feet. In his hands, he holds a clean shaven cocoanut and a knife, at the tip of whose blade a betel-nut is fixed, the blade being wound in cloth.

At the boundary of the village and at cross-roads, a cocoanut fruit is waved round the boy's face and broken on a nearby stone to ward off evil spirits. On reaching the bride's village, or when he is in the proximity of the bride's house, the bridegroom halts at a house fixed for the purpose of *janosa* (i.e. for temporary halt). The bride's party with music then goes to where the boy's party is halting for *janosa*, with *Rukhvat*, i.e. a dish of sweets meant for the boy. The *Rukhvat* usually consists of two kinds of dishes, though not common in this village, one for show and one for eating. The dishes for show comprise bigger size preparations, those for consumption are of normal size. The girl's father worships the boy and then the *Rukhvat* is placed before him. The worship is known as *Simant Pujan*. The clothes, saris, ornaments, etc., brought by the bridegroom for the bride along with the *bashing* (coronet) meant for the bride are then sent from here to the bride's house, on return of the bride's party, to the accompaniment of music. Amount of *Dej*, if any, is also sent alongwith. The coronet received from the bridegroom is then tied on the bride's forehead and she is dressed in the bridal clothes and ornaments are put on her person. After *Simant Pujan* and after honouring the *Rukhvat*, the boy starts for the marriage pandal. On

reaching the entrance of the pandal he throws cumin seeds tied in a small piece of cloth on to the top of the pandal.

Five *Suvasinis* (married women with their first husbands living) greet the bridegroom at the entrance to the pandal, wave doughed rice flour lamps held in a leaf, round his face and throw them away. The bride's mother then pours water on the bridegroom's feet waves cooked rice balls round his face and throws them away. The girl's father then leads the bridegroom to the place where the marriage is to be celebrated holding the palms of his hands in his, and the groom is made to stand on a low stool (*pat*) below the seat of which some rice grains are deposited, and a garland of rolled pieces of mango leaves is given in his hands.

Another low stool with rice grains placed below the seat is placed opposite to the bridegroom's, for the bride to stand on. A cloth screen (*antarpai*) with a *swastika* mark drawn on it in red vermilion is held in front of the bridegroom and between the two low stools. The girl's maternal uncle and in his absence, any relation older than her father, brings her out of the house from the place where she is sitting before *Gauri Hara*, duly dressed in the new clothing received from the bridegroom and putting on the lucky necklace, and she is made to stand on the low stool meant for her with another mango-leaves garland in her hands, on the other side of the screen, facing the bride-groom. The maternal uncle or other relatives of the bride and the groom hold drawn swords or some weapon over their heads. The Brahmin priests presiding over the marriage ceremony recite auspicious verses and at the end of every verse, the priests and the men and women attending the wedding throw at the bride and bridegroom rice grains smeared with *kumkum* which are earlier distributed. Music is not played and nothing but the auspicious verses are audible on the occasion. At the end of the *mangalashthakas* (auspicious verses) the priests beckon to the musicians who play with great tempo, the screen (*antarpai*) is withdrawn, guns or crackers are fired, the remnants of the grains with them are thrown by those present at the bride and the bridegroom and the latter put the mango-leaves garlands into each other's neck. They then sit, first facing each other and then one by the side of the other, the bride to the left of the bridegroom.

Then follows the ceremony of *Madhuparka*. The bride's parents sit on two low stools in front of the bridegroom. The father washes the feet of the boy and the mother pours water over them. The father

then worships the groom and pours *madhuparka* (honey and curds mixed together) over his hands, of which a few drops he throws in the four directions and sips a little of it. This is followed by *Kanyadan*. The hands of the bride and bridegroom are joined by the girl's father, a pot (dish) of bell-metal or copper called (*tamhan*) is held below by the priest and the girl's mother pours water with some coins or a gold ring in it over their clasped hands. This completes the *Kanyadan* or the girl-giving ceremony.

After *Kanyadan* ceremony, the bride's father presents the girl with clothes, ornaments, utensils, land, animals, conveyance, etc., according to his means. Then the priest sprinkles water over the pair, chanting *mantras*. The hems of their garments are then tied by the priest, blessings are showered upon them by elderly persons and the pair worship Laxmi, Indrani and Parvati.

Betel leaves, nuts and flowers are distributed amongst the assemblage who leave after the *Kanyadan* is over.

Vivaha Homa and Saptapadi.—The *Vivaha Homa* or marriage sacrifice is next performed. The bride and the groom are seated on low stools, the bride to the groom's left. The bride's brother stands near them holding parched grains of rice, sesame seed, etc. The sacrificial fire is lit and fed with parched rice (*Lahyas*), ghee, sesame seed, cotton and palas sticks (*Butea trondovi*) and other sacred wood. The bride's brother squeezes the bride groom's ear and is presented with a garment. The pair then walk seven times from the left to right round the sacred fire and the *Saptapadi*, which is the binding wedlock ceremony of the marriage, is over.

The knot of their garments is then untied and they are shown the *Dhruva* or the Pole star and they then bow before the family gods. This ends the day's marriage ceremony.

The bridegroom and the bride with their party then leave for their house in procession to the accompaniment of music. On the way home, arches of mango leaves are held by the poorer people in the locality over the heads of the bridal pair for which they are rewarded. When the procession reaches the bridegroom's house, there is a ceremony of naming the bride. The bridegroom writes with his finger-ring or in its absence by the finger itself the name he chooses for the bride, in the rice grains kept in a dish before him. The name is declared by the priest and sugar, betelnut and leaf are distributed to the assembly. The bride and the bridegroom are then ceremonially led into the house by the bridegroom's mother or

other elderly person with a *laman diva* (लामण दिवा) (sweet oil lamp) in her hands. Both worship the Devak installed in the bridegroom's house, the family deity, and pay respects to the elders; and the marriage function is over. On the next day, both the bride and the bridegroom are given a bath to wash away the turmeric paste applied to their bodies prior to the marriage (हळद उतरणे) and both indulge in a playful ceremony called *जांबा सिपणे* which comprises of sprinkling by mango leaves turmeric water kept in a dish before them over one another.

Later, on a convenient day both the bride and the groom with a few chosen relatives and friends are invited to dinner at the girl's parents' house. This is called *panch partavan*. After dinner the party leaves back for their place.

No other ceremonies or functions are of late observed in marriages. As stated earlier, the marriage is to-day an affair of a day or two with not more than two to three dinners as such, at both places.

Marriage Rules amongst Mahars.—The Mahars in this village belong to Bele section of Mahars, i.e., those working in Bamboo. They do not intermarry with Pan Mahars, the other section. They have surnames which are exogamous. They have also a *devak*, *kul* or *totem*. Mahars in this village say their *totem* is Kalamb which they instal and worship at the time of a marriage in the family. On personal inquiry, it was found that the Mahars in this village can marry in the same *kul* outside the village but not within it. The persons of identical surnames can also marry.

Marriages are generally prohibited within three degrees of relationship. Polygamy is allowed and practised but polyandry is unknown.

The offer of marriage comes from the girl's father. He has to be paid a sum of Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 as bride price but it is not a condition precedent to marriage.

A Mahar marriage in this village is exactly the same as amongst Marathas with the exception that there is no Brahmin priest presiding over it but a priest, Guru, of their own caste.

Widow remarriage and divorce are permissible and practised. The marriage rules (and restrictions and observances) of all other castes in the village are practically the same as among the Marathas with the exception that amongst the Sutar, the bridegroom wears only a Dhoti without any coat or a shirt on his person, during marriage. Amongst Bhandaris in the village, no dowry has to be paid to the groom but

a bride price of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 is paid. The boys are generally married between 20 to 25 years and girls between 15 to 20 years. Like the Maratha community, remarriage of widows is not favoured and permitted by all castes except Nhavis, Kumbhars, Madvals (washermen) and Mahars. Divorce is allowed by all castes except Brahmins, Marathas, Sutars, Vanis and Guravs. The Dhangars have a slightly different marriage custom.

The Dhangar marriage ceremony is briefly as under :—

The boys and girls are married generally between the ages of 8 and 12. Marriage between two families of the same surname is not permitted. A Dhangar cannot marry his father's sister's or mother's sister's daughter. Mother's brother's daughter is preferred. Two brothers cannot marry two sisters. A man cannot marry two sisters. He does not marry the sister of a deceased wife. Umbar and Kalamb trees are their *kuls*. Persons of the same *kuls* cannot intermarry. Marriage alliance is initiated by the boy's father. Community marriages are in vogue. 5-6 boys' fathers find brides for their sons and marriages of all of them are celebrated in one place at one time. The caste priest names the auspicious day for the marriage and presides at it. Marriages are performed only in the Hindu months, Magh and Phalgum. The marriage time is usually 10 to 11 in the morning. In this system of performing community marriages, it is not possible to perform the marriages at the brides' places. The rites of marriage are the same as amongst the Marathas. When the bride and the groom garland each other the marriage is over. Sacrificial fire is not necessarily burnt. Bride price of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 has to be paid. If bride price cannot be paid the would-be son-in-law takes service with his father-in-law. No dowry is paid. The average expenditure for marriage is Rs. 400. Two dinners, one at the time of erecting of *mandap* and the other, after the marriage, are given. The girl goes in procession (*varat*) to her husband's house but if she is not mature returns after a few days. The son-in-law has to give a feast and honour his father and mother-in-laws and brothers and sisters-in-laws with dresses, for which he has to spend about Rs. 100 to Rs. 150.

Widow remarriage.—Amongst the Hindus in the village, widow remarriages are permitted only amongst Nhavis, Kumbhars, Madvals and Mahars. There is, however, only one existing widow remarriage in the village and that is amongst Nhavis.

In a widow remarriage amongst the Nhavis (barbers) the bridegroom goes to the widow's place at night with four male relations. They are treated to dinner. The widow and the bridegroom are then seated on low stools in the courtyard or *padvi* (i.e. closed verandah). The Gavkar, i.e., the main temple worshipper, applies *kunkum* (vermilion) and rice to the widow's forehead and to the bridegroom's right knee and the remarriage is over. One seer of rice, Rs. 1.25, and a cocoanut are laid aside in the name of the widow's deceased husband, which are sent to his house and his blessings to the marriage are invoked. Then the party is treated to a dinner. The wedded couple have to reach their home before daybreak next day lest anybody should see their faces on the way. They, therefore, leave in the early hours of the morning after marriage, and make an offering of a cock and a cocoanut to the boundary God of their village through the Gavkar. Afterwards there is a caste dinner.

Amongst Nhavis, a bachelor cannot marry a widow.

There are only 3 households of Kumbhars in the village and no one knows whether widow remarriage is permissible, or if it is performed, but the villagers say it is not prohibited amongst the community. Similar is the case with Madvals and Mahars. The Mahars only know that a bachelor cannot marry a widow and consensus of opinion is that widow remarriages are performed at night in the same fashion as the Nhavis do and with the same offerings. This is the general procedure of a widow remarriage in this area, which is not looked upon with favour even by the communities allowing it.

In a widow remarriage amongst the Dhangars, the caste priest ties into a knot the hems of the dress of the would-be husband and the widow seating them on low stools at the house of the widow's father. The bridegroom has not to pay anything to the widow's deceased husband's family but *Dej* has to be paid to her father.

Divorce.—Brahmins, Marathas, Sutars, Vanis and Guravs do not allow divorce. In the castes which allow it, it is generally allowed on the grounds of the wife's unchastity, the husband's ill-treatment of the wife, or contraction of an incurable disease by either. Divorced women are allowed to re-marry in the form of a widow remarriage.

Marriage Rules amongst Musalmans.—A girl is approved by female members of the boy's family and his father. If they approve of the girl then follow

rejoicings in both the families till the marriage day. The rejoicing is in the form of the women singing *kawalis* and other songs at night. The day for the marriage is fixed in consultation with the Kazi. Marriages are performed in any month subsequent to Bakari-Id and before Ramzaan-Id. Marriage is performed at the bride's house in the evening. The bridegroom goes to the marriage in procession clothed in *sehra*, or flower-sheet fastened round his head by a string, which the father ties after offering prayers (*Namaj*). On reaching the bride's pandal, the bridegroom's party sit on one side of the pandal and the bride's party on the other. In the space in between, are placed three seats : one in front of his party, for the bridegroom ; another in front of the bride's party, for her agents ; and the third in between the two for the Registrar, the Kazi, or his deputy. The Registrar seating himself asks the bride's agent whether she with a certain portion, or *meher*, accepts the boy as her husband. If she says yes, he takes the declaration of two other witnesses. The Registrar then making the bridegroom repeat the creed, puts to him the same question. The proceedings are recorded, and the guests, raising their hands, offer the marriage thanksgiving.

The musicians who are silent till then, play joyful notes. *Batasas* (sugar cakes), almonds and dry dates are thrown in the air and the gathering is entertained. The marriage ceremony thus ends and the guests, except the bridegroom and his party, leave. Early in the next morning, the wife's face is shown to the husband in a mirror and the bride and the bridegroom proceed to their home in procession. Marriage with a cousin brother or sister (i.e. father's brother's son or daughter) or mother's sister's daughter is not favoured in this village. Maternal uncle's daughter is preferred. A man may not marry his wife's sister during his wife's life-time unless she has been divorced. A woman cannot marry her foster-brother and a man, his foster-sister, unless they were nursed by the same woman at intervals widely separated. Polygamy is permitted to the extent of four wives but is rarely practised. Divorce is at the option of the husband, but is rare, being of prohibitive cost. After divorce, the divorced woman cannot marry for three months.

Adultery and extra-marital relations are abhorred by all the castes and communities, and amongst all the castes excepting Marathas, Brahmins and Vanis, it is a matter which is put before the Caste Panchayat for decision.

Beliefs and Practices connected with Deaths

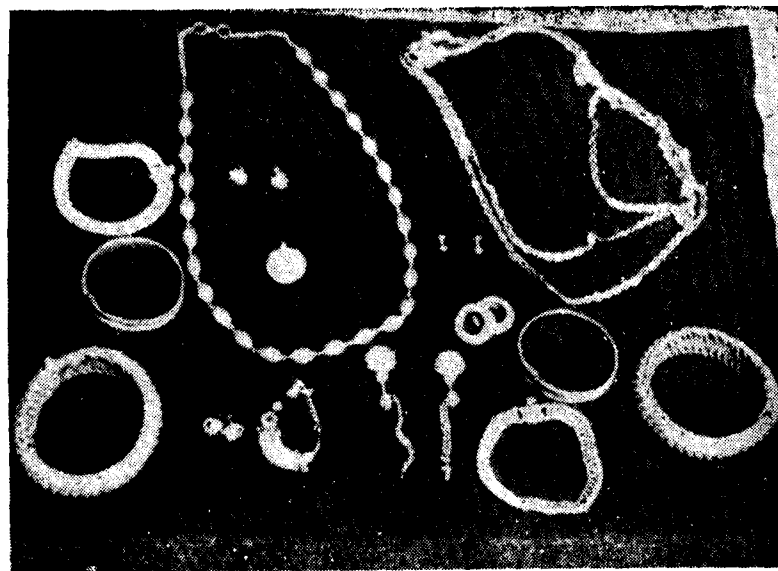
Marathas.—When a man or a woman is dying water is dropped into his/her mouth with the help of a Tulsi leaf. After the death, the relations, kinsmen and friends collect. The dead body is removed from the bed and placed on the floor of the outer verandah, or side room after cow-dunging the floor. The corpse is then bathed with warm water after anointing it with turmeric paste, oil, etc., covered in a new white sheet of cloth and placed on a bier made of bamboo and plaited cocoanut palm leaves, on which a whole plantain leaf is laid and it is tied on to it in a white shroud. Two copper pieces are tied to the cloth. If the man has left a wife behind him, her bangles and lucky necklace (मंगळसूत्र) are broken and vermilion on her forehead is wiped off and the broken pieces of bangles etc. are sent with the corpse on the funeral bier. If a female dies leaving behind her husband, then she is decked with vermilion, she is draped in new yellow sari, her lap is filled with cocoanut, rice, by way of auspicious present (ओटी मरणे) and flowers are put on her head and her person while putting her on the bier. The corpse is not rested on way to the cremation ground but carried straight thereto. Amongst the Marathas the corpse is generally carried to the cremation ground to the accompaniment of the beating of *dhol* (drum) if the family can afford it. The women-folk and children, a person whose wife is pregnant or a person whose both parents are living do not accompany the funeral procession. The Marathas in this region universally burn their dead except in the case of children who have not cut teeth, or women dying during menses, pregnancy, or in childbirth, who are buried. The son or other available male relative of the deceased walks with fire taken on a whole cowdung cake at the head of the procession. Another person walking alongside carries an earthen pot in his hand. All the persons in the procession go bare-headed. At the cremation ground the accompanying priest, if there be any, purifies the ground where the corpse is to be laid, by sprinkling cowdung water and one of the pice pieces taken with the corpse is buried there. If a Brahmin is not accompanying then some one in the procession purifies the ground. The priest, if he be there, prepares the fire after reciting *mantras*. Otherwise those in the party do it. The son or a male relative of the deceased, in the meantime, bathes at the nearest water source and brings with him an earthen jar full of water. The corpse is then taken off the bier, stripped off its clothing and laid on the funeral pyre with the head to the south and legs to the north. The son or other male relative



A Mahar woman weaving a bamboo mat



A Mahar family



Ornaments used by a Maratha woman

accompanying, lays the pyre first, and the others then follow. The son or the male relative then lights the pyre at the end where the head of the deceased lies, and then others set fire to it on all sides. When the corpse is half burnt, the son or the male relative goes round the pyre $3\frac{1}{2}$ times in anti-clockwise direction, (i.e. from right to left), with the jar full of water on his left shoulder, and at the completion of each round another man present, pierces the jar with a stone. At the completion of $3\frac{1}{2}$ rounds, the jar is thrown back over the shoulder. All those present in the cremation ground then take a pinch of earth in their left hand and throw it into the burning pyre invoking the deceased's blessings. All then bathe at the nearest water source and drop water with their left thumb on the stone with which the jar was pierced taking seven small pebbles in their hands. They then return to the deceased's house treading on a 'Toran' (a thorny shrub) twig kept in the way, dropping back the pebbles in their hands while doing so. At the deceased's house is kept a pot full of water with mango leaf in it and nearby is kept some black pepper in a winnowing fan. The men from funeral party on their return apply the water to their feet with the mango leaf, bite one pepper and spit it out, sit for a while and return to their places. Impurity after death in a household is observed for 10 days for all except children who have not cut teeth, for whom the impurity after death is observed for 3 days only by parents. Married daughters (and their husbands) observe impurity on the death of the former's parents for three days. No impurity is observed on the death of a married daughter. Formerly the family concerned was not touched by anybody during this period of impurity but now the rule is not strictly observed. On the 11th day the house is cleansed, floors cow-dunged, walls washed, and the family takes purifying water from a Brahmin, after bath.

The purifying water is also sprinkled in the house. During the mourning period the household abstains from all luxuries. The principal mourners cook their own simple food and eat on platters of Kuda leaves. Shaving is forbidden during this period. No religious rites including marriages are performed in the family and the family Gods are not touched or worshipped. This restriction continues till the family is purified after taking purifying water from the Brahmin priest on the 11th day. The ashes of the dead are collected and obsequies performed from the 3rd, 7th, 9th or 11th day according as convenient, care being taken to see that a new moon day does not intervene in between the dates on which the dead was cremated and the ashes are

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collected. If the Amavasya (new moon day) precedes the 7th or 9th or 11th day, the ashes are collected on any of these days which falls before the new moon day. It is most common to perform the obsequies from 9th day onwards. The day begins with collecting the ashes and throwing them into a flowing stream and offering of *pindās* (rice balls) at the site of burning. Then follow the shaving of the hair and moustache of the principal mourners, a re-bath and other rites. On the tenth day *pindās*, balls of rice cooked at the site, are placed on small earthen pots filled with water and offered to the deceased by the chief mourner. The party wait till a crow touches the *pindās*. This is preceded by the worship of the *ashma* (the stone with which the earthen jar carried on his shoulder by the principal mourner was pierced at the cremation ground and which is worshipped on every day at the time of performing obsequies). The *ashma* is preserved in a piece of white new cloth and brought to the place of the performance of obsequies every day and taken back. After the worship and offering of *pindās* on the tenth day, it is thrown into flowing water by the principal mourner over his shoulders, without looking back.

On the 11th or 12th day *pindās* (balls) of the flour of rice mixed with Urid grains are prepared and worshipped in the side room of the house and an offering of cooked food is made to them. The *pindās* and the meal are later thrown into flowing water.

On the 12th day a caste dinner in the name of the deceased is given, to which the persons who carried the funeral bier are also invited. Relations and kinsmen coming for this dinner bring presents of sweets for the family, and the close relations bring a present of a turban, or, a cap and a Dhoti, for the principal mourner and if the deceased is a married person who has left a widow behind him, a Sari for the widow.

After dinner oil is applied to the shoulders of the bier-carriers and presents are made to them according to the means of the mourners. All are treated to Pan, etc., and the death obsequies are over. The male mourners then visit the village temple and offer prayers. The family is free to move in the society, worship family deities, etc., from this day onwards.

Bharani shraddha in the name of the deceased is performed on the appointed day in the second half of the Hindu month Bhadrapad in the first year of death and from next year a *mahalaya* is performed every year in the 2nd fortnight of the Hindu month Bhadrapad on the date (according to the Hindu calendar) on which the deceased died. The *mahalaya* or *shraddha* comprises

offering of *pindas* to the deceased and an *amanya*, rice, dal, tur, vegetables and cocoanuts, to the presiding Brahmin priest along with fees (Dakshina) in cash, and dinner to kinsmen, relations and friends in the name of the deceased. Before serving the kinsmen and friends etc., offering of cooked food is made to crows in the name of the deceased. Cooked food is also offered to crows on every *amavasya* and festival day before taking meals. If the deceased is a married woman who has left her husband behind her the *mahalaya* is performed on the 9th day of the second half of Bhadrapad which is termed *avidhava navami*. If for some reason the *mahalaya* cannot be performed on the due date it is performed on the last day of Bhadrapad which is called a universal day for *mahalaya* (*nagar mahal*).

All other castes among Hindus in the village except Mahars and Dhangars burn or bury the dead like the Marathas, with same rites.

The Mahars generally bury their dead, irrespective of age or condition at death. They observe family impurity after death to the same extent and in the same manner as other Hindus do. The rites of bathing the dead body and putting it on the bier in a white shroud and breaking the bangles and wiping off the vermilion of the deceased's widow, etc., are the same as amongst other Hindus. They, however, perform the obsequies on the 11th day after taking purifying water from a Brahmin priest. On that day a metal pot full of water on which a coconut is placed, called Ghata, is deposited on one seer of rice grains and a garland is left hanging thereon and it is worshipped by the principal mourner. A caste feast is given to relations and friends. The annual *mahalaya* is performed like other Hindus and crows fed on new moon days and holidays, etc., as other Hindus do.

The Dhangars too bury their dead. The deceased is given a warm water bath after death and put on a bamboo bier in a shroud of white cloth. The deceased is carried on the bier to the burial ground straightway without resting the bier on the ground, on the way, and is lowered into the grave in a sitting position and the grave is filled with the earth. The bier is then cut into pieces and thrown on the grave. Death impurity is observed for ten days. The caste priest purifies the family with *panchagavya* (cow's urine, dung, etc., mixed with water), on the eleventh day. On the twelfth day a meal is let into a stream in the name of the deceased and the castemen are feasted. Bangles etc. of the deceased's wife are broken and her *kumkum* wiped off in the same fashion as other Hindus do.

As related by the elder in the only Muslim household in the village, and as is universally known, the Musalmans bury their dead irrespective of age or condition. When a person dies the corpse is removed from the bed on which he or she expired and put on another bed in the central room of the house called *majghar* or *valai*, frankincense is left burning in the room. When the relatives and friends collect the deceased is bathed with warm water after applying oil, scent, etc., to its body. The deceased is then wrapped in new white cloth as verses from Koran are being recited and then put in the carrier (coffin) and carried to the graveyard in procession. The funeral party recites Allah's name on the way to the grave. A grave as will suit the deceased's length and size is dug in the graveyard, 5' to 5½' in depth. The deceased is then gently lowered into the grave. Everyone present then throws earth into the grave pit and the grave is filled with the earth to the ground level. Next day after hearing recitals from the holy Koran the mourners' party again go to the grave, makes a mound of earth on the grave and lay stones on it.

Those who can afford it, give a community dinner on the 9th day, others do it 40 days after death. On either of this day according as the dinner is proposed to be given, flowers are laid on the grave in the morning, after recital of Koran at the deceased's house and the death obsequies are over. The Musalmans do not observe impurity after death in a family.

Except in the case of some Marathas having their own cremation grounds, who erect a stone or brick structure locally called Matha or Chhatra, at the place where their elderly persons were burnt after death, and Musalmans who raise a mound and lay stone on the grave of their deceased, no other caste has any shrine to commemorate their deceased. There are 2-3 such Mathas of Marathas in the village.

General Beliefs and Practices

The villagers' ideas of heaven and hell are the same as most other Hindus. They believe that the soul of a virtuous person goes to the heavens after death and of the sinner to hell. They believe in re-incarnation of the soul and an occasional re-birth in the same family. They are believers in destiny, especially the theory that we have to suffer in this life the fruits of our evil deeds in the past and that the fruits of good or bad that we do in this life have to be reaped in the next. They believe in the existence of ghosts and that they are ill-disposed towards mankind, and try to appease them by offerings. They believe in the supreme power of the village deity whose inclination in any matter of

importance is ascertained by seeking *prasad* or *kau* and appease the deity, if need be, by sacrifice of fowl or an offering of a coconut, betel-nut, or betel-leaf.

The village deities (*Grama Devatas*) on this side, as already seen, is a peculiar institution. They are mostly Goddesses Sateri, Bhavai, Bhagawati, Kalkai, Pavnai, Mauli and Gods Rawalnath, Bhutnath, Goroba, Vetel. Images of stones to represent the ancestors of the original settlers are also installed along with the main deity, or, in separate temples, and worshipped. The Gavkars, i.e., the heirs of the persons who originally shaped the village enjoy special rights at temple service and the temple servants, Sutar, Madval, Kumbhar, Ghadi, Gurav, Bhavin, Deoli etc., have to work to their orders.

The Parabs and Gawdes in this village claim to be Gavkars and they attend to the temple service, the Sawants keeping present. The Gavkars also serve as a medium for seeking *kaul* or *prasad* from Shri Devi Sateri and officiate at animal sacrifice to the deity. The deity is supposed to speak through the medium of some of them, who, when the deity is supposed to have entered his person, is believed to speak the mind of God and this medium is called an *Avsar*. The *Avsar* is believed to speak of the future.

The villagers believe in good and bad omens and also in the evil eye for which they use a talisman (*Tavij*). They do resort to medical treatment in case of illness but the belief in the Bhagat as a magic curer for all evils is not wanting. They believe in the influence of stars and planets.

A black cloth is considered as unlucky in marriage and birth but black thread is believed to have the magic power of warding off an evil and it is tied in the wrists and around the neck of infants.

A swastik symbol, or the symbol of the horse-shoe is considered to bring good luck and a discarded horse-shoe, if found, is fixed to the threshold of the front door to keep away evil influence.

Breaking of an earthen pot (*ranjan*) full of water or falling of anything of religious importance including a sweet oil lamp (*Samai* or *Panati*), is looked upon as foreboding an evil.

A woman with an empty pot, or a widow, or a cat, crossing one's path, is deemed as unlucky. Passing of a cow with a calf or a married woman (with husband living) with a child in arms, is looked upon as bringing good luck.

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Burning of clothes is deemed unlucky. The moaning of a dog or cat or hooting of the bird locally called 'Poya Sukana', or an owl, is deemed as foreboding death and is looked upon with dread.

Saturdays, Tuesdays and Amavasya (new moon) days are deemed to be unlucky for starting construction of a house.

All other days are deemed auspicious.

Wednesdays and Sundays are specially favoured for wearing new clothes.

The 'kar' days, i.e., days following an eclipse, the Gudhi Padwa, Makar Sankranti and other big holidays are deemed unlucky for setting upon a journey.

An eclipse is looked upon as polluting the person, clothing and food and no food is taken some time before and during an eclipse. After the eclipse is over the house is cleaned. The whole household bathes and then the womenfolk start storing fresh water and cooking food.

Pregnant women are forbidden from cutting, stitching, etc., on an eclipse day lest the child should be born with some deformity.

It is deemed unlucky for a newly married woman to live in her husband's house during the first five days of the month of Ashadh and in the month of Paus. It is also deemed unlucky for her to leave the husband's house on Saturday, Tuesday, Sankranti day, the 'kar' day and also the day following the day of a death in the family.

The villagers believe in the powers and charm of *tait* (talisman) as keeping away evil influence.

Dhanishtha Panchaka, the first five days when the sun enters the constellation Dhanishtha, is deemed harmful for storing of fuel, or hay, or repairing a house roof.

Sundays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays are considered lucky for cutting hairs and nails unless the day is an Amavasya.

The villagers believe in dreams. The general belief is that seeing anything good in the dream forbodes an evil and *vice versa*. The dreams in the early hours of the morning are however believed as coming true.

The villagers have great faith in herbal medicines and for sundry ailments they use them and go to the doctor only in cases of serious ailments.

Infants are given herbal medicines (Bal Aushadha) twice every week on Wednesdays and Sundays unless either of the days happen to be the days of its birth. This practice is however now dying out. On the 12th day after birth a line is marked on the child's belly with a marking nut (*Biba*), which is supposed to protect the child against any stomach disease. Oil is put on a child's head profusely as it is believed to keep the brain cool. Grown-up people also put oil on their heads while going to sleep or bath. This is believed to have a soothing effect. White onion is believed to have medicinal properties and is used against cough, in the form of a decoction, and in fever it is put on the head to keep temperature down,

after chopping it into pieces. Par boiled rice gruel is freely taken for its cooling effect. Between 1 and 3 years of age crushed Brahmi leaves or crushed white onions are put on the head of the child at the intervals of 15 days on every Amavasya and Purnima days and two days following, during the summer months, and the child is also given a juice of Brahmi leaves to drink. This all is done to protect the child from heat. Tiger's dried flesh is used as a protection against cough and smallpox. The fox's skin is tied round the neck of the child to ward off whooping cough. The villagers can foretell the rain from the ripening of Jambuls, blooming of Mugni plant, changing of its colour by the common lizard, etc.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Economic Resources

The total geographical area of the village is 3,094 acres 32½ gunthas assessed at Rs. 1,646·82.

(a) *Extent of land under cultivation, forest, pasturage, cultivable waste, current fallows, waste homestead and others.*—The break-up of the total village land according to the abstract of Village Form No. I is as under for the period from 1958-59 to date :—

	Area	Assessment
	A. g.	Rs.
A. Cultivable land :		
1. Assessed—		
(a) Assessed Government land—		
(i) On ordinary tenure ..	1,307 4½	1,518·75
(ii) On restricted tenure ..	.. ..	..
(b) Cultivable waste land ..	.. ..	..
(c) Held at reduced rate or free of assessment under special agreement ..	.. ..	..
(d) Alienated ..	204 5½	128·07
Total assessed land ..	1,511 10	1,646·82
2. Unassessed land ..	.. ..	..
Total A ..	1,511 10	1,646·82
B. Land not fit for cultivation :		
1. Uncultivable—		
(a) Pot Kharaba ..	326 14½	..
(b) Rivers, streams, etc. ..	52 35½	..
Total ..	379 9½	..
2. Land set aside for special public purpose—		
Forest ..	1,198 29	..
Deorahati ..	1 29½	..
Burial ground ..	3 31½	..
School ..	0 3	..
Total ..	1,204 12½	..
Total B ..	1,583 22½	..
3. Land from out of survey number given for non-agricultural use on lease. ..	.. ..	..
Total area of the Village ..	3,094 32½	1,646·82

From the above abstract it is seen that only 1,511 acres 10 gunthas of land assessed at Rs. 1,646·82 from out of the total area of 3,094 acres 32½ gunthas, or less than 50 per cent of it, is cultivable. Out of the land not available for cultivation, as much as 1,198 acres 29 gunthas, or 38·73 per cent of the total land of the village, is set apart for use as forest, 379 acres and 9½ gunthas of land, or 12·25 per cent of the total, is not cultivable being Pot Kharaba land and land covered by rivers, streams, etc., 39 acres 25 gunthas of assessed land is occupied by houses and their compounds and 5 acres 23½ gunthas of land is set aside for other public purposes such as burial ground, school and Devrahati.

There are three classes of land in the village, viz., rice, bagayat, or garden, and warkas, i.e., the land which can grow only grass, or inferior millets, periodically.

The area and assessment of different classes of lands are given below. The area and assessment for different types of land as per survey records are :

Type of land	Area	Assessment
	A. g.	Rs. a. p.
Kharif ..	625 ½	1,465 0 0
Bagayat ..	10 16½	32 12 6
Warkas ..	2,075 5	154 8 6
	2,710 22	1,652 5 0

The maximum rate of assessment for the village as fixed at the last Revision Settlement is Rs. 6·00 for Kharif or Dongari Bagayat lands and Rs. 3 for others. The rate of average assessment for cultivable assessed land in the village works out to little over Rupee one per acre. The main land ratio for cultivable land works out at 1·28 acres per person and *per capita* incidence of land revenue comes to Rs. 1·39.

Though the record of rights is written in respect of the village, other village papers such as Village Forms Nos. VIII-A, VIII-B, etc., are not ready. Moreover, at the time of preparing the record of rights only the paddy growing or Tari land was measured and Warkas or dry crop land which forms bulk of the village land was left untouched. According to the information

obtained from the village officers, the total cultivated land in the village is held by 435 persons of whom 268 hold as owners, 167 as tenants and 50 both as owners and tenants. There are no owner cultivators living outside the village. However there are 9 tenants from outside the village cultivating land in the village.

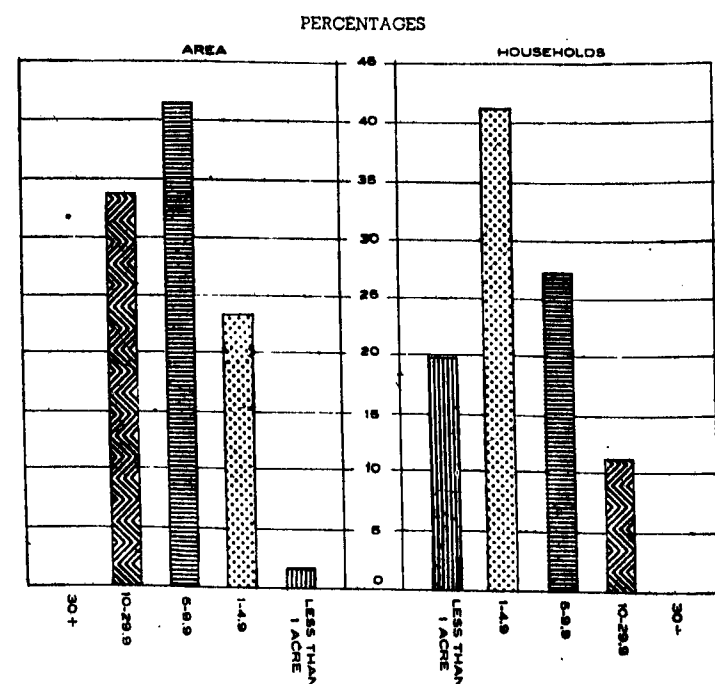
From the information obtained regarding land held and cultivated by households, obtained at the time of Census, it is found that there were a total of 193 cultivating households holding land. As the information given by the villagers regarding the land held by them and the tenure thereof, at the time of enumeration, could not be correct as most of them could hardly know the land required to make a guntha or an acre, information regarding land holding pattern of the village was tried to be obtained from the village record. Information in respect of 135 households could only be obtained as the records have not been brought up-to-date.

The pattern of land holding in respect of the said 135 cultivators is given in Table No. 3.1 below.

As disclosed from the said land holding pattern the average size of the holding works out at 4.81 acres per cultivator, which may *prima facie* appear to be sizable. The distribution of land is not however even, 33.6 per cent of the land being concentrated in the hands of 11.1 per cent of the holders and 88.9 per cent of the holders hold the remaining 66.4 per cent of land. Out of the latter as many as 42.2 per cent hold only 9.8 per cent of the total land.

A graph showing the percentages of households holding different sizes of holdings is given below :—

AREA CULTIVATED & NO OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE OF HOLDINGS



From the graph we see that the largest number of households, i.e. 41.5 per cent, hold land between 1 to 4.9 acres but the total area held by them does not exceed 23.2 per cent of the total land held; whereas 38.5 per cent of the households hold 75.10 per cent of the total land.

TABLE No. 3.1

Table showing the land-holding pattern as per revenue record

Size of Holding	Tenure Type				Percentage	Total land held (acres)	Percentage
	Owners	Tenants	Both owners and tenants	Total holders			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total	42	19	74	135	100.00	648.9	100.00
Less than 1 acre	14	10	3	27	20.00	10.6	1.63
1.0 acre to 2.4 acres	8	4	18	30	22.22	52.6	8.11
2.5 acres to 4.9 acres	11	3	12	26	19.26	98.0	15.10
5.0 acres to 7.4 acres	4	1	15	20	14.82	121.4	18.71
7.5 acres to 9.9 acres	3	1	13	17	12.59	148.1	22.82
10.0 acres to 12.4 acres	....	....	5	5	3.70	53.5	8.25
12.5 acres to 14.9 acres	....	....	3	3	2.22	38.8	5.98
15.0 acres to 29.9 acres	2	....	5	7	5.19	125.9	19.40
30.0 acres to 49.9 acres	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
50.0 acres and above	....	....	....	....	....	....	....

The position of Mahar landholders is still miserable. Out of the 14 Mahar households in the village only 8 hold some land as under, either owned or leased in :—

Number of households	Area held by each household		Total area held
	A.	G.	
2	0	6	0 12
3	0	15	1 5
2	0	18	0 36
1	0	25	0 25
8			2 38

Amongst them 4 are owner cultivators, 3 tenant cultivators and 1 both owner and tenant cultivator.

The average size of their holding works out at only 14.8 gunthas.

No household amongst them holds more than 25 gunthas of land and the total area held by them is only 2 acres 38 gunthas of the total cultivable area of 1,511 acres 10 gunthas in the village. They can thus be said to be mostly a landless people who work as ordinary or agricultural labourers in addition to working in their traditional occupation of making baskets and mats to supplement their income.

135 cultivators enumerated at the time of Census in respect of whom information was available from the village record are further classified by interest in land and size of land cultivated by them in Table No. 3.2 below.

From the aforesaid table it is seen that only 31.11 per cent of the holders hold entirely owned land or land held from Government and the remaining 68.89 per cent hold tenanted lands.

Out of the 193 cultivating households in respect of whom information was obtained at the Census, 182 were engaged in cultivation only and 11 both in cultivation and household industry. Out of the remaining 61 households in the village 50 were engaged neither in cultivation nor in household industry and eleven were engaged in household industry only. Percentage of households engaged in cultivation, including those engaged in household industry also, comes to 76.38 per cent and they support 87.23 per cent of the village population.

It is significant to note that there is no grazing ground in the village to graze village cattle which number 654 though agriculture is the main occupation of the village. The villagers are greatly handicapped due to the absence of grazing land in the village.

Next to agriculture, forest plays a major role in the village economy. The area under forest is 1,198 acres and 29 gunthas.

There is no scope for irrigation in the village as the region is hilly. There is no river, canal, or tank in the village. The only source of water supply is storage wells for drinking water. There are no irrigation wells in the village but the villagers dig temporary pits, wherever possible, to grow seasonal vegetables for self consumption and sale. Some summer or *waingan* paddy is grown in lands which retain moisture upto March or April. There is only 41 acres of land under summer paddy and only 10 to 15 cultivators raise it. The total double cropped area in the village inclusive of summer paddy and vegetables is 53 acres 20 gunthas.

TABLE No. 3.2

Households engaged in Cultivation classified by interest in land and size of land cultivated

Households engaged in Cultivation by the size of land in acres												
Interest in Land Cultivated	No. of Cultivating Households	Households engaged in Cultivation by the size of land in acres										
		Less than 1	1.0—2.4	2.5—4.9	5.0—7.4	7.5—9.9	10.0—12.4	12.5—14.9	15.0—29.9	30.0—49.9	50+	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Total	135	27	30	26	20	17	5	3	7	..	..	
1. Entirely owned or held from Government.	42	14	8	11	4	3	...	..	2	..	..	
2. Entirely held from private persons or institutions for payment in money, kind or share.	19	10	4	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	
3. Partly held from Government and partly from private persons or institutions for payment in money, kind or share.	74	3	18	12	15	13	5	3	5	..	..	

The crop pattern of the village as revealed from the Village Form XIII—Crop Return, for the period from 1955-56 to 1960-61 is as shown in Table No. 3.3 below.

From the crop pattern we see that out of the cultivable land of 1,511 acres 10 gunthas, only 920 acres 6 gunthas is the net cropped area in the village and even granting that the land which has remained fallow due to causes other than rotation or *shindad, pad*, is brought under plough hardly more than 950 acres of land would

be available for cultivation in the village and it is no wonder that the people have to lead a miserable life and have to depend upon outside help or migrate to meet the expenditure of their households. This speaks for the migration of members to outside towns like Bombay, etc., from this region in search of employment, in large numbers.

The crop pattern for the village has remained practically unchanged during the period from 1955-56 to 1960-61.

TABLE No. 3.3
Crop Pattern of the village for the period from 1955-56 to 1960-61

Serial No.	Name of the Crop	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1959-60	1960-61
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		A. g.		A. g.	A. g.	A. g.
1	Paddy	822 8	Not available	822 8	822 8	822 8
2	Nagali	90 0	Not available	78 0	78 0	78 0
3	Kulith	8 0	Not available	9 20	9 20	9 20
4	Chavli	....	Not available	....	....	....
5	Onion	1 20	Not available	1 00	1 00	1 00
6	Bananas	1 0	Not available	8 0	9 10	9 10
7	Chillies	7 20	Not available	9 38	9 38	9 38
8	Cocoonut	9 38	Not available			
	Total area under food crops	940 6	..	928 26	929 36	929 36
	Area under other crops	27 20	..	39 10	43 30	43 30
	Total cropped area	967 26	..	967 36	973 26	973 26
	Double cropped area	53 20	..	53 20	53 20	53 20
	Net cropped area	914 6	..	914 16	920 6	920 6

Livestock and agricultural implements.—According to the Livestock Census of 1961 the livestock wealth of the village is as shown below :—

	Number
Working bullocks	274
Milk cows	50
Dry cows and heifers above 3 years of age	130
Animals of 3 years and under	107
Total	561
He-buffaloes of 3 years	21
She-buffaloes above 3 years kept for milk	53
Animals under 3 years	19
Total buffaloes and calves	93
Total sheep	31
Total animals	635
Total fowls and ducks	962
Wooden ploughs	315

The livestock wealth of the village is very poor. It is significant to note that there are no stud bulls of either kind though there is a total of 180 cows and 53 she-buffaloes in the village. The problem of cattle breeding and rearing is badly neglected. There are no agricultural implements besides the time-worn wooden plough and other traditional implements. No attempt to introduce improved implements appear to have been made and none is used. There is a vast area of forest in the village and the village is not far from the taluka headquarters town. There are no carts in the village, probably because of bad road conditions.

Other resources.—The other resources, to speak of, are household industry restricted to the craftsmen and the Mahar households in the village. There were 11 households, 6 of Mahars, 2 of potters and 3 of carpenters in the village engaged in their traditional occupation of basket-making, pot-making and carpentry at the time of Census. The details of these households are given in Table No. 3.4 on page 43.

There are no other resources such as sand quarries or minerals in the village. Only some charcoal is manufactured seasonally but not in very large quantities.

Factors influencing Economic Life

(a) **Land Reforms.**—There have been no land reforms excepting the Tenancy Legislation and the legislation preventing fragmentation of land, banning creation or transfer of fragments. The work of consolidation of holdings has not yet been taken up in hand. According to the Tenancy Legislation all the tenants in the village barring a few are deemed to have become owners of the land held by them on and from 1st April 1957, and the proceedings regarding fixation of the purchase price to be paid by them are in progress.

The information as to the tenants who have become holders of land due to implementation of the Tenancy Act is, however, not readily available. It is reported that the Agricultural Lands Tribunal has fixed purchase price under section 32-G of the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act in 46 cases involving an area of 254 acres 1½ gunthas. In 30 out of these cases involving 69 acres 5 gunthas of land assessed at Rs. 79·61, in respect of which mutation entries have so far been made in the Record of Rights, the purchase price is fixed at Rs. 8,866·04 which works out at roughly 111 times the assessment, the maximum purchase price allowed under the law being 200 times the assessment.

(b) **Land Improvement.**—On looking to the available cultivable land in the village it is seen that out of the total of 1,511 acres 10 gunthas of cultivable land, only 920 acres 6 gunthas of land is under crops and besides the 60 acres 13 gunthas of rotation fallow. 534 acres 20 gunthas is *shindad* or *Rab pad* and fallow, for other

reasons. The *shindad pad* land is used for *Rab* purposes, i.e., to burn the paddy fields before sowing. The anti-*Rab* movement in the area has, it seems, not impressed or appealed to the villagers at all and they still firmly believe that weeds, etc., could not be got rid of except by burning the land. If the anti-*Rab* movement could be successfully implemented in the village there are possibilities of some more land being available for cultivation.

According to Village Form I (Register of lands in the village), there was 625 acres ¼ guntha of *Tari* or rice land in the village at the time of Revision Survey Settlement and as 822 acres 8 gunthas of land is now under paddy we can say that about 200 acres of warkas land has been converted into paddy or *Tari* land since the Revision Survey Settlement was introduced in 1924-25.

Of the 50 cultivators in the village from whom information was sought to be obtained in respect of the improvements on land made by them during the last three years, such as construction of kaccha wells, repairs to old wells, construction of pucca wells, fencing, bunding, levelling, tree planting, etc., none is found to have carried on such improvements. The main reason given by some of them for not undertaking any of the above improvements was that their lands were not in one or two compact blocks but were scattered all over the village thus making it difficult for them to reap the benefits of the improvements, if any, made by them, which may have some truth in it. An average agriculturist holding 3 to 4 acres of land is found to be holding it in not less than 30 to 40 pieces, some pieces being less than even ¼ guntha, each. Of the 4,942 pieces (or *Hissas*) of cultivable land in the village as many as 3,001 pieces are from ¼th to 5 gunthas each. The consolidation of holdings might help overcoming this difficulty.

TABLE No. 3.4

Distribution of Households engaged only in Household Industry

Household	Industry	Total Number of households engaged.	Households engaged in household industry according to number of persons engaged				
			1 person	2 persons	3-5 persons	6-10 persons	More than 10 persons
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
	Broom-making, bamboo work	6	4	2	....	....	....
	Pot-maker	2	....	....	....	2	....
	Carpenter	3	2	....	1	....	....
	Total	11	6	2	1	2	....

The villagers use only the cowdung manure locally available, except for chilli, for which they use manure mixture or ammonium sulphate. Seed used is also not of improved variety. They say that they had formerly tried the improved variety of Varangal and Kolamba rice but failed and so they are using their own seed. Of the above 50 cultivators with whom enquiries were made as to use of improved agricultural methods, such as use of improved seeds, fertilisers, etc., none is found to have made use of any improved methods. None could however give any satisfactory explanation for this non-use except in the case of improved seed which some said they could not use as it is not made available to them in time. This problem would deserve the serious attention of the Block authorities.

On being asked whether it had been possible for them to secure better type of cattle, better implements, better irrigation facilities, better manure, more land for cultivation, use of pesticides etc., one reply given by them all was 'no' saying that they did not go in for these amenities due to the same difficulty, viz., their holdings being not in one compact block.

Regarding the Japanese method of paddy cultivation there is a general belief that it is a time consuming and expensive process which requires more workers which they cannot get in nick of time and so the villagers in general, even those who know of its benefits are found reluctant to adopt the method with the result that there is no acreage of paddy in this village under this method. A belief also prevails amongst the villagers that in their land thin planting is harmful to crop, which needs investigation.

Extensive Demonstrations in cultivator's fields also appear to be necessary.

On the whole the villagers did not appear to be eager to adopt improved methods and were found following the old time methods adopted by their forefathers.

Tractor is of little use due to the hilly nature of the village and none has been used. No new wells are also dug. No fruit trees on wide scale have been planted and people are not keen on doing it but for planting some cocoanuts and mango trees, where possible, which they do on their own. No compost pits or improved farm yard manure pits are found in the village. The dung and rubbish is thrown in the traditional pit locally called गायर (Gayar) which is round in shape and is not of uniform depth. All cowdung and rubbish collected in the cattle shed are thrown into the pit throughout the rainy season and allowed to be washed away by rain. This cowdung

along with the rubbish round about the house is later in the fair season put into the field and mostly used for manuring them. Cowdung cakes to be used as fuel are prepared only during the period of about 3 to 4 months commencing from the day following the Hooda fair till the advent of rains.

(c) *Industrialization*.—There has been no industrialization in the village or round about and there appears to be little scope for it. It is understood that an industrial estate is to be established near Savantvadi. It is difficult to foresee how it will affect the life in the village, without knowing the plans. So far as this village is concerned some of the villagers used to supply unfinished wooden dolls to the toy industry at Savantvadi. Now only three persons do it but it is done on such a small scale that they have to sell the dolls prepared to the local grocer in the village at a low price—5 dolls for one anna—where one finished doll sells for one anna at Savantvadi. The toy industry at Savantvadi itself is on the point of being closed down in the absence of local or outside patronage and the occupation of preparing unfinished wooden dolls in the village may die out soon.

The charcoal industry is said to have recently grown up in the village. Some 10 households prepare charcoal and deliver it to the dealers from Belgaum, Ajra, etc., on the main road, about 2 miles from the village. The charcoal producers are however not organised and there is no source of finance to them. They take advances from the dealers and as a result of this bad bargaining have to sell their produce far below its normal price. Moreover in the absence of any planned cutting of wild trees for charcoal, and replanting the area cut, it is feared a time will come very soon when no trees will be left in the village and there will be a consequent danger of soil erosion.

83 persons from the village are found to be serving outside the village in Bombay and elsewhere in different capacities.

(d) *Improvement of Communications*.—There has not only been no improvement of communications in or with the village, but even what little means of communications are there, are not properly maintained. This needs urgent attention of the local administration.

There is a Branch Post Office at Kolgaon, about 2½ miles from the village, which serves it. Incoming letters and Money Orders are delivered in the village daily. On enquiries with the postal authorities it is found that during the period of one year from 1st January 1963 to 31st December 1963, 520 Money Orders amounting to Rs. 18,749.19 were paid in the

village and 15 Money Orders amounting to Rs. 198.95 were sent out. Similarly 5,271 letters were received for delivery and 1,765 were sent out during the above period. A letter box is kept in the village at a grocer's shop and letters are collected from there daily for onward transmission.

(e) *Expansion of Marketing Facility*.—The villagers have little or no surplus left with them from what they grow. There could therefore be no question of any marketing facility, not to speak of its expansion. The people do not even feel any need for it. They find it convenient to take, what little they can afford, for sale to the market at Savantvadi where they can also purchase the things they want. The grocers no doubt go round the village for purchases of cashew nuts and dried Bhirand rinds (*Kokam*), etc., and paddy is sold to visiting customers from the town during the season.

(f) *Expansion of Sources of Finance*.—There are no moneylenders in the village. There is also no co-operative society. There was one formerly, but it has been liquidated long back. Attempts to form a new society are afoot and the people have collected the necessary share capital. The needy villagers generally get advances in the rainy season (Shravan), on condition to sell paddy at the harvest, to the person making the advance, generally some consumer. The transaction is obviously to the disadvantage of the cultivator as under such a transaction he cannot get fair and reasonable price.

The cases of (1) Nilu Mahadeo, Bhaidkar and (2) Budaji Bobade Parab who had taken such advances can be cited here to further elucidate the matter :—

(1) Nilu Mahadeo Bhaidkar is a tenant cultivator and he also prepares Bidis by way of a subsidiary occupation. His yearly expenditure is Rs. 600. He had taken two advances of Rs. 20 and Rs. 40, respectively, in the monsoon, before the Ganesh Chaturthi holidays, on condition to pay at harvest one Kudav (or 8 seers) of paddy per rupee of advance taken, in full repayment of the loan. The rate of paddy per 20 Kudavs (or Khandi as it is locally called) was Rs. 35 on the date the advance was taken and Rs. 32 per Khandi when it was repaid. In terms of money, Nilu thus paid Rs. 96 in repayment of the loan of Rs. 60 which means that he paid an interest of Rs. 36 on the loan of Rs. 60 taken for about 6 months, i.e., he had to pay an interest at the rate of Rs. 120 per annum.

(2) Budaji Bobade Parab is also a tenant cultivator and also grows vegetables and sells it in the market. His annual expenditure is Rs. 500. He had taken

a total advance of Rs. 85 as above at different times before the Ganesh Chaturthi with an undertaking to pay at harvest one Kudav of paddy per rupee of advance taken.

Generally the contract these days is to pay 8 seers of paddy at harvest per rupee of advance taken and obviously the transaction is to the disadvantage of the borrower as seen above. The advances are generally taken in the month of Shravan (August) and paddy is given in return at any time from December to March. Mere cash loans are rarely taken.

In 1960-61 there were in all 14 Tagai borrowers who had taken a total loan of Rs. 1,865 ranging from Rs. 100 to 200. All these loans were taken for the purchase of bullocks. No loan for any other purpose was taken. Out of the above amount Rs. 1,590 were still outstanding. There is no record of loans having been taken by the villagers from any other source.

At the date of visit to the village in August 1965 following different sources of finance were reported to be available in the village :—

(1) *Scheme for Construction of Irrigation Wells*.—Under this scheme a loan upto Rs. 2,500 is paid to the agriculturist, if he can grow food crops and vegetables in one acre. The loan is advanced in two equal instalments. A sum of Rs. 500, or ¼ of the loan advanced whichever is less, is paid to the applicant as subsidy. The amount is not paid in cash but credited to his Khata.

This scheme is also applicable for the purchase of Oil Engine for Irrigation purposes.

(2) *Rural Housing Project Schemes*.—An amount of Rs. 850 is paid to any person who is willing to repair his old house with sanitary point of view. The amount is paid in two equal instalments.

The loans under the above two schemes are advanced on the mortgage of land.

(3) *Ordinary short-term loan for Paddy Cultivation*.—Ordinary short-term loan is advanced through Ratnagiri District Central Co-operative Bank to the Co-operative Societies concerned and the Societies advance loans to their members at the rate of Rs. 100 per acre for paddy cultivation as under :—

Rs. 40 in kind in the shape of fertilisers
+ Rs. 60 in cash.

The society prepares normal credit statements and fixes borrowing limit of each member. The loan is advanced by the Bank to the Societies by obtaining

Pro-Notes from the Chairman and members of the Managing Committee of the Society. The Society advances loans to its members by obtaining loan Bonds with two sureties from amongst members. The loan is to be repaid within 12 months.

There are also other schemes operated by the Co-operative Bank for advancing loan for irrigation wells and pumping sets, etc., which are medium term loans to be paid within 3 to 5 years.

There was however no Co-operative Society functioning in the village at the date of survey and the village was attached to the Co-operative Society in the adjoining village Kolgaon. But the villagers did not avail themselves of the facility.

Following schemes to step up horticultural production were also, it was reported, in operation in the village along with other villages since 1958-59, viz :—

1. Scheme for cashew plantation.
2. Scheme for mango grafts plantation.

(1) *Scheme for cashew plantation.*—Under this scheme Rs. 120 are granted per acre, repayable in 10 equal instalments in 10 years at 4½ per cent. The loan is paid to the cultivator in cash in two equal instalments. The first instalment of Rs. 60 is paid immediately and the second instalment is paid after the holes for planting the seedlings are dug.

(2) *Scheme for plantation of mango grafts.*—Under this scheme a loan of Rs. 400 is granted per acre for planting 40 mango grafts, in two equal instalments of Rs. 200 each. The first instalment is paid immediately and the second instalment after pits for planting the grafts are dug. The amount is repayable in 10 equal instalments in 10 years at 4½ per cent, rate of interest.

No villager from Kunkeri had taken any loan under either scheme at the date of survey.

Two more schemes, viz., (1) coconut plantation and (2) Areca-nut plantation have also been introduced in the area since 1963. Under these schemes, Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000, respectively, are loaned for planting 60 trees under the same terms as above.

Some of the villagers have evolved their own schemes to meet the difficulties of finance.

The residents of Palsacha Dala, Bhavani Wada, Madhali Wadi and some persons from Lingachi Wadi and Parab Wadi, have started their own separate grain banks where they contribute five Kudavs of paddy per member by way of share, and the paddy so collected is

loaned to needy members on condition of repayment at the harvest time at 1½ times. Bhavani Wada people have started a society for giving cash loans too. These are however, not registered bodies.

The grain bank in Bhavani Wada named as Shri Devi Bhavani Paddy Fund, was started in 1957-58. It has a membership of 28 households, each household having paid Re. 0.25 as membership fee and contributed 10 measured Payalis of paddy each, towards share capital. 24 of these households are of Marathas and 4 of Bhandaris. When the fund was started in 1957-58 there were only 24 shareholders, now there are 27 after allowing for the death of one of them.

The paddy collected is loaned out to the needy members without any security on condition of returning 1½ times at harvest.

Paddy as under was collected during the five years 1957-58 to 1961-62 :—

Year	Paddy collected	
	Payalis	(4 seers)
1957-58	..	240
1958-59	..	300
1959-60	..	636
1960-61	..	896
1961-62	..	1,016

The 1,016 Payalis of paddy collected in 1961-62 was as a result of the recoveries made against loans made during the five years. The profit accruing from the transactions after deducting the share amount was distributed amongst the members.

The grain bank holds to-day, 750 measured Payalis of paddy.

It is the experience of the villagers that an agriculturist needs money more during the rainy season when he has to borrow money from others on condition to repay the loan in kind at harvest at the rate of 2 measured Payalis for every rupee borrowed, as a result of which paddy for even seed purposes is not left with him. To meet this contingency the aforesaid 28 members have started a money fund since 1959-60 by contributing Rs. 5 each. The money is lent to a needy member after considering the urgency of his need. The loan is repayable with interest in cash at the rate of Re. 0.01 per month per rupee loaned for the period from March to August and an aggregate of 7 seers of paddy per rupees of loan between August to February. The loan is

also advanced in kind at 5 seers of paddy per rupee repayable at 7 seers at harvest. Under this scheme Rs. 140 were distributed during the three years 1959-60 to 1962-63 resulting in a profit of Rs. 274 on the original investment of Rs. 140. In this transaction a profit of Rs. 13.50 has accrued to every member per share. Out of the profits, Rs. 6.50 were paid to the members and Rs. 7 kept aside for any public purpose.

(g) *Infiltration of Urban influences.*—The persons from the village who are working outside in the textile mills and other establishments in Bombay and elsewhere occasionally keep their families in the village. Despite this fact little urban influence has infiltrated into the village. Only 3 persons from the village work at Savantvadi—one as a clerk in a bank, one as a clerk in a consumers' society and one as a tailor. They daily go to the place of their work and return to the village in the evening. The only visible change in the village life is the change in the clothing of school-going children and young people.

Livelihood Classes

Classifying the Households by livelihood classes, we get the following pattern :—

Category	Number of households
1. Cultivator	168
2. Agricultural Labour	52
3. Mining, Quarrying, etc.	..
4. Household Industry	12
5. Manufacturing other than Household Industry	..
6. Construction	..
7. Trade and Commerce	4
8. Transport and Communications	..
9. Other Services	9
10. Not working	9
Total	254

From the above classification it is seen that most of the households fall within the category of cultivators and agricultural labourers.

Table No. 3.5 below gives the number of workers from these households engaged in different means of livelihood.

TABLE No. 3.5

Table showing distribution of population according to means of livelihood classes, classified by sex and broad age-groups

WORKERS													
Age-group	Population			Total workers		Total	I As Cultivators		II As Agricultural Labourer		III In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, etc.		
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females		M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Total	..	1,182	570	612	280	335	615 (52.03)	210	267	17	43	3	..
0—14	..	516	280	236	10	7	17 (3.29)	3	7	..	..	3	..
15—34	..	291	117	174	109	164	273 (93.81)	80	133	6	14	..	..
35—59	..	296	142	154	135	137	272 (91.89)	106	109	11	22	..	..
60+	..	79	31	48	26	27	53 (67.09)	21	18	..	7	..	..

WORKERS															
Age-group	IV In Household Industry		V In Manu- facturing other than House- hold Industry		VI In Construction		VII In Trade and Commerce		VIII In Transport and Storage		IX In Other Services		NON-WORKERS		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Total	..	22	21	1	..	..	5	1	..	..	22	3	290	277	Per. cent 567 (47.97)
0—14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	270	229	499 (96.71)
15—34	..	12	15	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	2	8	10	18 (6.19)
35—59	..	6	4	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	8	1	7	17	24 (8.11)
60+	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	5	21	26 (32.91)

615 persons (280 males and 335 females), or, about 49·12 per cent of the total male population and 54·74 per cent of the total female population are workers and 567 persons (290 males and 277 females) are non-workers. For Mahars the only Scheduled Caste in the village the percentage of male and female workers is 53·33 and 62·07 per cent, respectively.

From Table No. 3.5 on page 47, we see that 545 persons (244 males and 301 females) or 88·62 per cent of the workers, are in the working age-group 15—59 years and 8·62 per cent in the age-group of 60+ years.

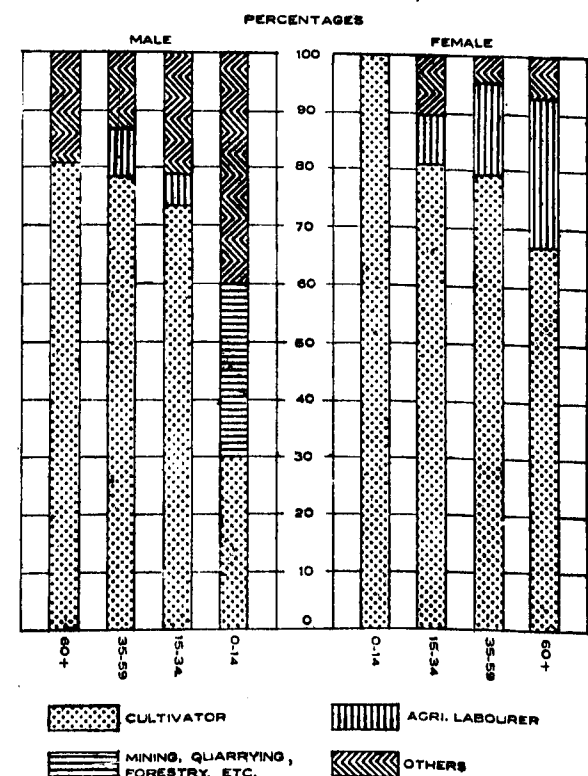
The aforesaid table also reveals that only 17 persons (10 males and 7 females) amongst the workers are below 15 years of age. Out of these, 10 (3 males and 7 females), are cultivators, 3 males graze their own cattle and 4 males graze cattle for their masters.

The total labour force of the village, viz., those in 15—59 years age-groups is 587 persons (259 male and 328 females), of whom 545 (244 males and 301 females), or 92·84 per cent, constitute the working force in the village together with 17 persons aforesaid in 0—14 years age-group and 53 persons (26 males and 27 females) in 60+ years age-group. The total working force in the village thus constitutes 104·8 per cent of the labour force.

Of the total workers 77·56 per cent are working in cultivation, 9·76 per cent in agricultural labour, about 7·00 per cent in household industry and 4·07 per cent in other services making in all 98·39 per cent of the total workers, the rest being in mining (3), in manufacturing (1) and in trade and commerce (6). It is significant to note that all the three males working in mining, quarrying and livestock graze their own cattle.

The graph in the next column gives an idea about economic activities in the village by broad age-groups. From the graph we find that the predominant activity in the village is cultivation which absorbs both the male and female population in the village in large numbers, except in the case of males in age-group 0—14 where we find that only 30 per cent of them are engaged in cultivation. In the case of females, agricultural labour activity engages a good number of females next to cultivation. None of the females are to be found in mining, quarrying, etc. though a few of them are to be found in activities other than cultivation and agricultural labour. The proportion of males in agricultural labour is very low which implies the presence of more females in agricultural labour though a good number of them may be working on their own fields.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY BROAD AGE-GROUPS



Classifying the male and female workers, separately, by broad economic activities, we find that 75 per cent of the male and 79·70 per cent of the female workers are engaged in cultivation and 6·07 per cent of the male and 12·84 per cent of female workers are engaged in agricultural labour which in other words means that 81·07 per cent of the male and 92·54 per cent of the female workers are engaged in the agricultural sector as seen from the graph on page 49.

We have already seen above that 52·03 per cent of the total village population are workers. For Mahars this proportion is 57·63 per cent. The details of their population engaged in different categories of work are given below :—

		Males	Females
Population (59 persons)	..	30	29
Total Workers	..	16	18
Workers—			
As cultivators	..	3	3
As agricultural labourers	..	..	1
At household industry	..	7	14
In other services	..	6	..
Non-workers	..	14	11

Their participation in work for males and females, separately, works out at 53·33 per cent and 62·07 per cent. This high rate of participation in work in general

and also for females indicate their poor economy condition even in the context of the village.

Classifying the Mahar workers, occupationwise, we find that 61·76 per cent are principally working in Bamboo work, 17·65 per cent in cultivation, 17·65 per cent as unspecified or sundry labourers and only one female is working principally as agricultural labourer. All but 4 males and 10 females, or 41·18 per cent of the total workers have no subsidiary occupation which confirms the theory that their economic condition is poor.

Classifying the households by the number of adult workers and non-workers we get the data given in Table No. 3.6.

The number of adults per household works out at 2·62 and of working adults at 2·35. Out of the 68 non-working adults (20 males and 48 females) 4 males are full-time students, 9 males are dependent for no reason assigned, 5 males are dependent due to advanced age, 1 male is retired and not re-employed and 1 male is a beggar; amongst non-working female adults, 22 are doing household work, 8 are dependents for no reason assigned, 16 are dependents due to advanced age and 2 females have retired and are not re-employed. The percentage of entirely dependent adults thus comes to 5·7 per cent only.

Table No. 3·7 on page 51 gives the subsidiary occupations of persons principally working as, (1) cultivator, (2) agricultural labour and (3) in household industry.

The aforesaid table shows that out of the 20 persons, 11 males and 9 females, principally engaged in cultivation, not less than 14 or 70 per cent are engaged as agricultural labourers. Out of the 6 persons principally

LABOUR PARTICIPATION AND BROAD ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

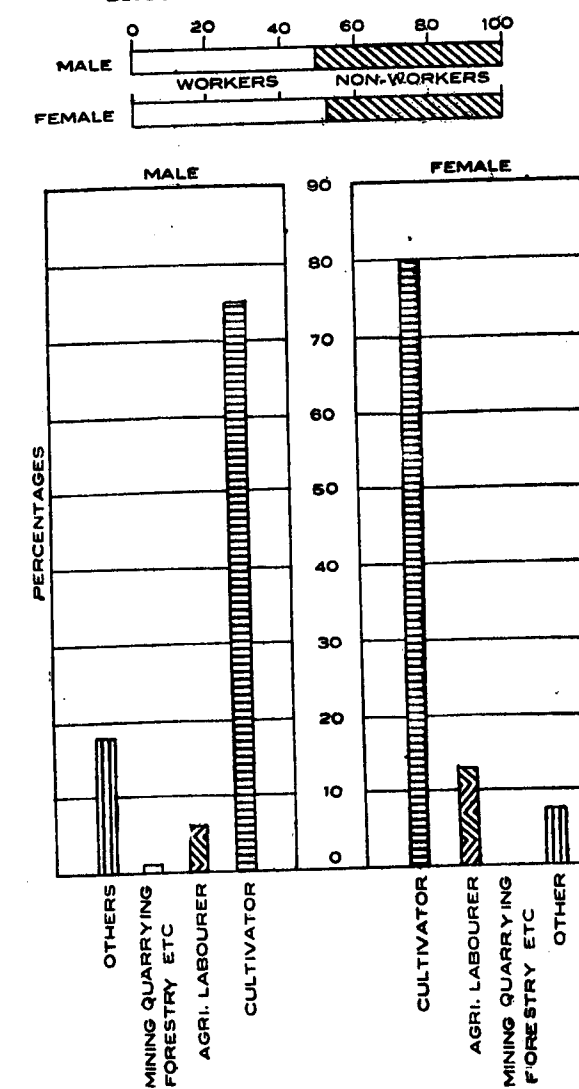


TABLE No. 3.6

Number of adults per household by their occupation and sex (Adult = 15 years and above)

Distribution of adults by occupations at each frequency level														
Frequency number	Number of households falling in the category		Total number of adults in the category		Cultivator		Agricultural Labourer		Household Industry		Other occupations		Non-workers	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Total	190	64	290	376	208	255	32	51	17	18	13	4	20	48
1	9	46	9	46	4	18	2	23	1	2	2	1	..	2
2	70	12	74	90	53	60	13	19	3	5	1	..	4	6
3	61	4	90	105	65	75	14	9	5	4	1	..	5	17
4	28	2	55	65	44	53	1	..	2	2	1	..	7	10
5	11	..	25	30	21	24	2	..	1	1	..	..	1	5
6	4	..	11	13	10	12	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
7	4	..	15	13	8	9	..	..	..	..	6	3	1	1
8	2	..	6	10	3	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	6
9	1	..	5	4	..	..	..	..	5	4	..	..	..	..

engaged in household industry, 3 each, or 50 per cent, are engaged in cultivation and as agricultural labourers. This also speaks for the preponderance of agricultural cultivation in the household economy.

It is further seen, that out of the total male workers of 280 and female workers of 335, only 17 and 10, or 6 and 3 per cent respectively, have secondary occupation. This speaks for the utter lack of subsidiary occupation which is so very essential in an economy largely or mainly dependent on agriculture.

Classifying the number of non-workers per household on the basis of the occupation of the head of the household and number of non-workers therein we get the Table No. 3.8 on page 51.

From the aforesaid table, we see that 54 households with 99 workers have no non-workers amongst them. The maximum number of non-workers in a household is 15. It is a household of a Vani who keeps a grocery shop.

56.3 per cent of the households have between 1 to 3 non-workers. The average number of non-workers per household works out at 2.2 as against average number of workers per household which is 2.4. The highest number of non-workers are to be found in cultivating households numbering 142, which gives an average of 2.9 non-workers per cultivating household which indicates pressure on agriculture.

Table No. 3.9 on page 51 gives the economic status of non-working population.

Non-workers are not found in any other categories.

Of the 25 non-workers amongst Mahars, 6 (5 males and 1 female) are full-time students or children attending school and 19 (9 males and 10 females) are neither attending school nor seeking employment. They are all in the age-group 0—14 which is a non-working age. Out of these, 12 (5 males and 7 females) are children below 6 years of age who cannot be expected either to attend school or take up any gainful employment, which leaves only 7 (4 males and 3 females) of school-going age (besides the 6 who are attending school) who are not attending school. This means that about 54 per cent of the school-going age children amongst Mahars are not attending school, which may be due to poverty.

The number of dependents is largest, 353 out of 516 or roughly 68.41 per cent, in age-group 0—14 as is natural. It is 29.86 per cent of the total population. The ratio between dependents (age-group 0—14 and 60+) and 100 of supporting (age-group 15—59) population

for the village as compared to the district (rural) and State is as below :—

Area	Youth (0—14)	Aged (60+)	Total
Kunkeri ..	87.90	13.46	101.36
Ratnagiri District (Rural) ..	83.10	15.10	98.20
Maharashtra State (Rural) ..	80.60	10.80	91.40

The dependency ratio for the village is higher than both the district and the State (Rural). This can be due to high fertility and declining mortality. This can be also due to migration of working age population to urban area.

Out of the 254 households in the village, only 12 have shifted from their father's occupation and 2 from their earlier occupation, voluntarily, 7 having shifted from their father's occupation being forced by circumstances, and 3 for other reasons not given. Out of the 254 households as many as 205 households want their sons to continue in their own occupation, 10 want their sons to go into Government service, and 2 to take to agriculture. 21 households have no sons and 16 heads of households are not married. This speaks for the static state of occupational pattern in the village in which nobody wants to shift from his present occupation either personally or by his sons. There is no tendency amongst the villagers to change their traditional occupation not because the villagers have any serious objection to the same but because there is no scope for any change.

It is true that 83 persons from the village have migrated outside, especially to Bombay, but that is not primarily with the intention to change the traditional occupation but with a view to supplementing the income from it as that in itself is not sufficient for their maintenance. And here also those only generally migrate whose kinsmen or relations have previously migrated outside.

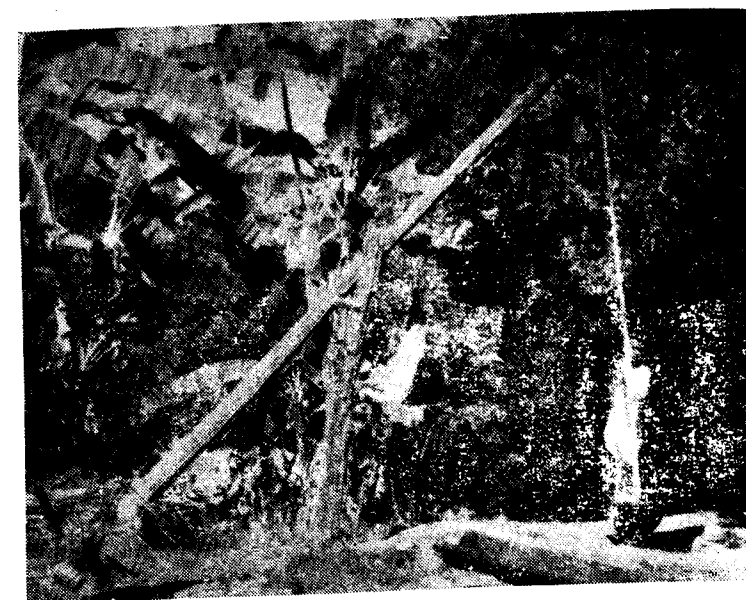
The Tables No. 3.10 and No. 3.11 on page 52 will further clarify the position.

Table No. 3.12 on page 53 shows the distribution of population in different occupations in 1951 and 1961 Censuses.

From the aforesaid table we see that with an increase of 37.6 per cent in the village population from 1951 to 1961 the pressure on agriculture has increased by about 55 per cent and though the pressure on agricultural labour has reduced by about 10 per cent, the total population dependent upon agricultural sector has increased during the decade by 43 per cent with no increase in resources. The pressure on agriculture



A cultivator ploughing with a pair of bullocks



A Lever-Lift—उठ

TABLE No. 3.7

Principal and Subsidiary Occupations

Principal Workers		Total		Household Industry		Cultivator		Agricultural Labourer	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Cultivator ..	..	11	9	4	2	....	....	7	7
Agricultural Labour ..	..	....	1	....	....	....	1	....	....
Household Industry ..	..	6	....	....	....	3	....	3	....

TABLE No. 3.8

Number of Non-workers per household related to the Occupation of the Head of the Household and number of working adults

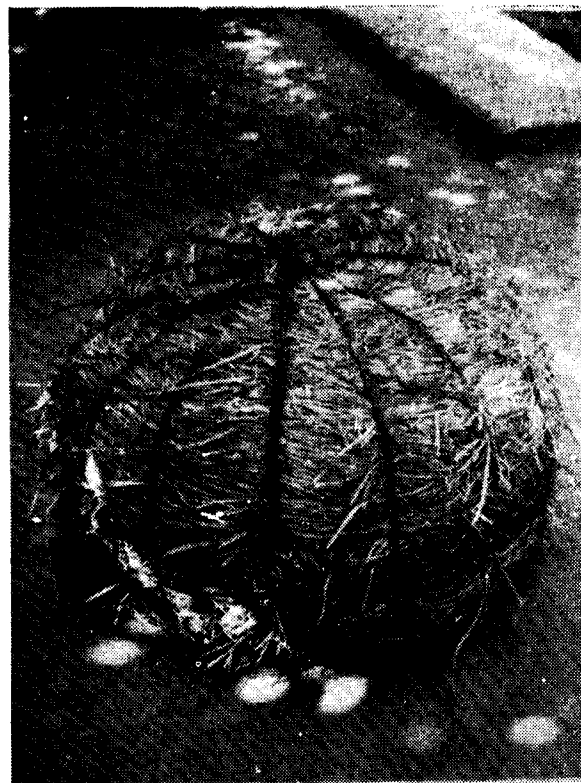
Number of Non-workers	Number of households with non-workers in col. 1	Total number of non-workers at frequency level	Total number of workers at frequency level (including head)	Number of households at the level by occupation of the household head							
				(I) Cultivator	(II) Agricultural labourer	(IV) Household industry	(V) Manufacturing other than household industry	(VII) Trade and Commerce	(III, VI, VIII) Other occupations	(IX) Other services	Not working
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total ..	200	567	516	142	34	10	...	2	...	3	9
0 ..	54	...	99	26	18	2	...	2	...	6	...
1 ..	47	47	114	31	12	...	...	...	...	...	4
2 ..	46	92	118	27	9	7	...	...	...	1	2
3 ..	50	150	129	40	8	1	...	...	...	1	...
4 ..	32	128	84	25	4	1	...	1	...	...	1
5 ..	14	70	39	11	1	1	...	...	...	...	1
6 ..	5	30	15	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 ..	5	35	16	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
8 ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 ..	1	15	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total ..	254	567	615	168	32	12	...	4	...	9	9

TABLE No. 3.9

Non-workers classified by sex and broad age-groups

Age-group	Total non-working population			Full-time students or children attending school		Persons engaged only in household duties		Dependents, infants, children not attending school, etc.		Retired persons not employed again, etc.		Beggars	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Total ..	567	290	277	88	58	..	26	200	191	1	2	1	..
0-14 ..	499	270	229	84	58	..	4	186	167	..	..	..	..
15-34 ..	18	8	10	4	..	..	6	4	4	..	..	..	..
35-59 ..	24	7	17	..	..	..	11	5	4	1	2	1	..
60+ ..	26	5	21	..	..	..	5	5	16	..	..	..	..

Va 4740-5



A ' Mudi ' for storing paddy



A woman with an 'Irale' on her head

TABLE No. 3.10

Occupational mobility—Cause of change

Caste/Tribe/Community	Number of persons who changed their father's occupation			Number of persons who have changed their earlier occupation		
	Voluntarily	Forced by circumstances	Other reasons	Voluntarily	Forced by circumstances	Other reasons
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maratha	7	6	3	2	..	..
Sutar	2	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	1	..	..	..	..
Bhandari	1	..	..	..	..	..
Nhavi	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	12	7	3	2	..	..

TABLE No. 3.11

Occupational Mobility—Nature of Aspiration

Occupation	Number of persons who want their sons to be					
	Number of households in the occupation	In the same occupation as in Col. 1 (i.e. his own)	Occupation No. 1 Govt. Service	Occupation No. 2 Agriculture	No son	Never married
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cultivation	183	157	5	....	10	11
Agricultural labour	57	40	3	....	9	5
Hotel business	2	1	1	....	....	....
Carpenter	3	2	....	....	1	....
Grocer	2	2	....	....	....	....
Police Patil	1	....	....	1	....	....
Barber	2	1	....	....	1	....
Potter	1	1	....	....	....	....
Bamboo work	1	1	....	....	....	....
Teacher	1	....	1	....	....	....
Milk business	1	....	....	1	....	....
Total	254	205	10	2	21	16

has on the whole increased during the decade, 87.23 per cent of the total population being now dependent on the agricultural sector as against 83.93 per cent in 1951 Census.

Statistical data re : Primary Occupation—other than Cultivation or Agricultural Labour

The details of the occupations of the male and female workers working in other than agricultural sector are given in Table No. 3.13 on page 53.

We thus see that only 78 persons (53 males and 25 females) are engaged in non-agricultural sector forming 12.68 per cent of total workers. Most of these are in the occupation falling in the categories of household industry and other services. None of the workers is found in transport and construction.

Age structure of the above workers is given earlier.

TABLE No. 3.12

Dependency on different Occupations in 1951 and 1961 Censuses

Category	1951						1961											
	Population (workers and dependents)			Percentages			Workers			Dependents			Workers and Dependents			Percentages		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Agriculture	582	268	314	67.73	66.83	68.56	477	210	267	429	211	218	906	421	485	76.65	73.86	79.25
Agricultural labour	139	67	72	16.18	16.71	15.72	60	17	43	65	40	25	125	57	68	10.58	10.00	11.11
Mining, Quarrying, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	0.25	0.53	..*
Household Industry	66	31	35	7.68	7.73	7.64	43	22	21	27	15	12	70	37	33	5.92	6.49	5.39
Manufacturing other than Household Industry	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	0.09	0.18	..*
Construction	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Trade and Commerce	9	3	6	1.05	0.75	1.31	6	5	1	18	12	6	24	17	7	2.03	2.98	1.14
Transport	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other services	49	27	22	5.71	6.73	4.80	25	22	3	12	7	5	37	29	8	3.13	5.08	1.31
Non-cultivating owners of land, rent receivers, etc.	14	5	9	1.63	1.25	1.97	They are now included in non-workers.			..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Not depending on any occupation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	5	11	16	5	11	1.35	0.88	1.80†
Total	859	401	458	100	100	100	615	280	335	567	290	277	1,182	570	612	100	100	100

* Occupation of the head of the household is different.
† Occupation of the head of the household is not given.

TABLE No. 3.13

Details of occupations of workers working in non-agricultural sector

Category	Class of Occupation	Numbers working		
		Males	Females	Total
1	2	3	4	5
III Mining, Quarrying, etc.	(1) Tending cattle	..	..	1
	(2) Farmer and farm managers	..	..	2
IV Household Industry	(1) Carpenters	..	..	7
	(2) Pottery	..	..	8
	(3) Basket-weavers	..	..	7
V Manufacture other than Household Industry	(1) Spinner and Weaver (not elsewhere classified)	..	..	1
VIII Trade and Commerce	(1) Clerk in Bank	..	..	1
	(2) Grocery shop-keeper	..	..	4
IX Other services	(1) Labourers (not elsewhere classified)	..	..	11
	(2) Teachers	..	..	3
	(3) Manager of recreation, etc.	..	..	1
	(4) Police Constable	..	..	1
	(5) Barbers	..	..	2
	(6) Service, sport, recreation workers not specified	..	..	4
Total		53	25	78

Workers who have migrated outside the village

Besides the 615 workers enumerated in the village in the 1961 Census 83 persons, all males from 65 households in the village (53 of Marathas, 3 each of Vanis and Nhavis and 1 each of Maratha Deoli, Dhangar, Sutar, Bhandari, Madval and Mahar) are serving outside the village, mostly in Bombay, which means that for every 3 households in the village there is at least one worker working outside it.

Out of these 83 workers, 70 are Marathas, 3 Vanis, 4 Nhavis, and Bhandari, Sutar, Maratha Deoli, Madval, Dhangar and Mahar, one each. Out of them 38 have gone out in search of service of their own accord and the remaining accompanied some relation of theirs such as brother, father, uncle, etc.

Out of the 65 households, workers from which have migrated outside, two households have 4 workers each, 3 households have 3 workers each, 6 have two workers each and the remaining 54 households have one worker each, working outside the village.

Out of these 65 households, 50 are cultivating households cultivating 134 acres 12 gunthas of land (owned and/or leased in) giving an average of 2 acres 27 gunthas of land per household as against the village general average of 4 acres 32 gunthas per cultivating household (as per Revenue Record). Nine households are of agricultural labourers, two of grocery shop-keepers, one of a worker in Bamboo (basket-maker), and in three households, only the dependents, (wife and children), of workers in Bombay, are staying.

The total number of members in these 65 households both in the village and outside, together, is 566, i.e., about 47.88 per cent of the total village population (289 staying in the village and 277 outside).

Out of the 65 households above referred to, 14 have the wives and children of the earners working outside, staying with the parent family, in the village, and the wives and children of the workers from the remaining 51 households are staying with them at their places of work.

Of the above 14 households, 12 households receive remittances amounting to about Rs. 1,525, annually, which are quite nominal, (ranging from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 per annum except in the case of 5 households), and 32 households having no members of the earners' family (wife and children) staying with them in the village, receive remittances from the earners in Bombay, or elsewhere, aggregating to about Rs. 5,165, annually. Thus 44 out of the 65 households whose members are working outside, receive monetary benefit from the

latter to the extent of about Rs. 6,690 a year, as told by the villagers, which amount is however far less than the amount of money orders disbursed in the village in the year 1963, viz., Rs. 18,749.19.

Twenty-one households covering 96 persons do not receive any monetary help from the earners in the family working outside in Bombay or elsewhere.

Out of the 44 households who receive money orders from the earners in Bombay or elsewhere, 22 receive regular remittances, ranging from Rs. 5 to 50 per month, and 22 receive remittances only once or twice a year mostly on the occasion of important festivals, such as Ganapati, Shimga, etc. It is through these occasional remittances on the occasion of the festivals that the earner staying outside the village either alone, or with his wives and children, maintains contact with the parent family in the village in anticipation of his getting proper share and place in the ancestral home on his return to the village after retirement. These contacts are further strengthened by keeping his wife for work with the parent family in the village, occasionally and also by occasional visits to the village, either with wife and children or alone, at the sowing or harvesting season, or on festivals, like Shimga, Ganapati, Dasara or Diwali, once a year or once in 2-3 years.

Out of the 83 persons working outside the village, 36 are working in factories, mills, Bombay Port Trust, Railways, etc., 3 are working as hair-dressers, 5 as watchmen, 9 as ministerial servants in Government and private establishments, 10 are peons in public and private establishments, 2 mukadams and 1 overseer in the Bombay Municipal Corporation (Water Department), 4 are working as labourers in different trades, 5 are sales workers in private and co-operative enterprises, 2 are carpenters, 2 in the police—1 as a Head Constable and another as a Constable, 1 is a Ticket Collector in the Railways, 1 is a Postal Inspector, 1, a Conductor in the B.E.S.T. Undertaking, and 1 is in the Army.

Out of them 36 have their own accommodation at the place of work, 3 are staying in hotels and excepting the one who is in the Army, the others are staying with their relations and friends.

Of the 83 earners who are working outside the village in Bombay or elsewhere, 20 visit the village at least once a year, 13 once in two years, 4 once in 3-4 years, 22 visit the village whenever necessary, such as on the occasion of marriage or death in the family and 24 have never returned to the village

since they left. Of these 9 have left the village between 1 to 5 years back, 11 between 5 to 15 years back and 4 between 16 to 25 years back.

Regarding this feature of the economy of this region the Revision Survey Settlement Report of ex-Savantvadi State records :

"The people of Savantvadi are clever and industrial minded but they carry their talents outside the State. There is no industry of any importance in Savantvadi excepting the manufacture of lacquered wood ornaments and furniture. Immigration is practically nil but emigration is enormous. About one-tenth of the population works outside the State, whether in civil or military services or in the mills and docks in Bombay or in private service, clerical or otherwise. The value of money orders paid in the year 1920-21 to people living within the State was Rs. 877,651. This sum represents pensions due for services in British India, and remittances, chiefly from Bombay mill workers to relations who look after the lands or houses of the absentees. To this will have to be added the sums which workers returning to the State on leave or on completion of their work bring with them as savings."

"The workers emigrate partly for the necessities, partly for the comforts of life. The fact that the population is in excess of the present food supply produced in the State is the main cause of emigration. But at the same time many persons emigrate because even after allowing for the greater expense of living in Bombay or Karachi, they can still save much more than if they remained as agricultural labourers in Savantvadi. In consequence, the supply of labourers in the State in many places has become inadequate, and owing to superficial cultivation the land yields much lower food supply than it could otherwise produce."

This gives a succinct picture of the village economy.

Regarding the movement of population to and out of Savantvadi, the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Ratnagiri and Savantvadi records :

"Though the people are poor, it is estimated that not more than three in a thousand leave Savantvadi in search of work. Some of these, belonging to the upper classes, go to Bombay and other large towns in the hope of finding employment as clerks in Government and mercantile offices. They generally leave their families behind, if they succeed in finding employment, return after a time and take them away. A second body, chiefly Marathas and Mahars, getting

service in the native army and in the Police, generally take their families with them. They visit their native villages from time to time, and generally settle there when they have earned a pension. The third class are labourers, who in October, after the harvest is over, move to Bombay or other labour markets, and working there as carriers during the fair seasons, go back to their villages in the beginning of June before the rains set in. Within the limits of the State there is a certain amount of movement among the cultivating and labouring classes, whose time is divided between the growing of the coarser grains in hill lands and of rice near the coast. As there is little waste land, and nothing either in the trade or the industries of the State to attract capital or labour, there is no immigration."

In this village we only find the first and second category of people though instances of persons leaving for Bombay for temporary work especially in the Textile Mills in Bombay are not lacking.

For every 1,000 people in the village 70 are working outside the village in Bombay and elsewhere.

Besides these 83 earners who stay outside the village, 3 earners from the village, work at Savantvadi, one as a clerk in a bank, one as a salesman in a Co-operative Society shop and one as a tailor and they leave for their place of work every morning and return in the evening. Their earnings go into the family pool and they help the other members in the household in their agricultural work.

Ownership of the economic resources

The information of households owning or possessing land or who have given out land to others for cultivation and the extent of the land so held or given out as stated by the households at the time of enumeration is given in Table No. 3.14 on page 56.

Ownership of land of a few present holders could not be traced back during the last 10 years as the data was not available with the village officers. The impact of tenancy legislation could not also be judged due to lack of data.

Households engaged in cultivation only are classified by size of land cultivated and number of family workers and hired workers in Table No. 3.15 on page 56.

From the aforesaid table it is seen that the number of family workers preponderates over the number of hired workers, which is only 3 as against 467 family workers. All the three hired workers are engaged by households in 3-5 persons category. Full-time workers engaged in the previous season or current season are

TABLE No. 3.14

Households owning or possessing land or who have given out land to others for cultivation

Religion	Nature of interest in land	No. of households and extent of land										
		No land	5 Gunthas and below	6—10 Gunthas	11—20 Gunthas	21—30 Gunthas	31—39 Gunthas	1—2.4 Acres	2.5—4.9 Acres	5—10 Acres	10 Acres and above	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Hindu	... 1. Land owned ...	...	4	10	16	10	1	43	54	15	2	
	2. Land held direct from Government under a tenure less substantial than ownership.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	3. Land held from private persons or institutions.	...	...	6	10	6	1	40	65	12	1	
	4. Land given out to private persons or institutions.	...	...	2	2	7	1	4	4	...	...	
	No land	...	60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Muslim	... No land	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total		...	61	4	18	28	23	3	87	123	27	3

TABLE No. 3.15

Households engaged in cultivation only classified by size of land cultivated and number of family workers and hired workers

Size of land cultivated		Total cultivating households				Cultivating households according to number of persons engaged in cultivation									
		No. of households	No. of family workers	No. of hired workers	1 person		2 persons		3—5 persons			6—10 persons			
					No. of households	No. of family workers	No. of hired workers	No. of households	No. of family workers	No. of hired workers	No. of households	No. of family workers	No. of hired workers		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
All Sizes	...	...	182	467	3	28	74	148	...	74	254	3	6	37	...
Less than 1 acre	...	...	23	42	...	10	8	16	...	5	16	...	...	...	...
1.0 to 2.4 acres	...	...	37	81	...	9	17	34	...	11	38	...	...	...	...
2.5 to 4.9 acres	...	...	63	160	2	8	24	48	...	31	104	2	...	...	...
5.0 to 9.9 acres	...	...	53	168	...	1	22	44	...	24	86	...	6	37	...
10.0 to 12.4 acres	...	...	3	8	...	...	2	4	...	1	4	...	...	...	...
12.5 to 14.9 acres	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15.0 to 29.9 acres	...	...	2	6	1	...	...	...	...	2	6	1	...	...	...
30.0 to 49.9 acres	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50 acres	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

only enumerated, casual labour employed for field work off and on are not taken into account and that is why the figure of hired workers is so low as 3. It is also possible that the seasonal workers, locally called 'Manais', who are engaged for the seasonal work from June to October-November, i.e., till the harvesting is over, have escaped the Census count taken in March. During local inquiry it was learnt that about 150 Manais are engaged in the village annually for transplanting and harvesting work of whom about 40 are from outside the village. None from the village is however

reported to be going out to work as Manai in other villages. Moreover agriculture is followed in the village as elsewhere as a traditional household occupation capable of giving work to all members of the family, young and old, and which is a must in the life of the villagers, deviation being allowed by tradition rather to augment or supplement the family income than to better one's prospects in life.

The size of land held by households engaged both in cultivation and household industry could be seen from Table No. 3.16 on page 57.

Out of the 11 households engaged in cultivation and household industry, 8 households engaged in the household industry of bamboo work are found to be cultivating less than one acre of land, each, and 3 households engaged in carpentry as principal household industry are found to be cultivating, one household less than one acre of land and two households between 2.5 to 4.9 acres of land. This will speak for the poor economic condition of these people.

There is no hand or powerloom or any other industry as such, in the village except the traditional household industry of Bamboo work, pottery and carpentry. There are only 22 households in the village engaged in household industry, of whom 11 are also engaged in cultivation. Out of these 22 households, 14 households of Mahars are engaged in Bamboo work, 2 households of Kumbhar in pottery and 6 households of Sutars in carpentry. They have no establishment as such and no implements excepting their primitive tools and they are in the line since the time of their forefathers.

Practices connected with Agriculture.

The soil of the village is chiefly a light sand full of stones and gravel and unable to yield the better class of crops.

During the rainy season rice lands get water from mountain streams, and in the dry season fields are watered by lever-lifts (लवट) installed on brooks, wells or ponds. The lift is worked by a single person the bucket emptying into a channel at the mouth of the well or the bank of the pond or stream. The water from the brooks is carried through the adjoining fields and gardens by narrow water courses.

The average rice land under one plough varies from 3 to 4 acres. The steps taken to prepare the ground for sowing the wet weather (Sard) crop vary greatly

in different soils. Moist (shel) lands are broken up with the plough between March end to May and when sowing begins after some showers of rains are re-ploughed 7 times. In the drier lands the ploughing does not begin till after the rains.

There are two seasons for sowing, and the crops are distinguished as the dry weather, Gimvas or Waingan, and the wet weather, Pavasali. The dry weather crops are sown in November and December, and harvested in March and April. These crops are grown only on marshy lands watered from rivers or nullahs.

Rice holds first place in the crops raised. In this village the area under rice (paddy) is 822 acres 8 gunthas.

"For the wet weather crop, in June, after a few showers, the field, if in high moist soil, is sown with rice and ploughed. This operation is called Dhul waf (धूल वाफ), i.e., sowing in the dry earth, but it is not in vogue in this village. "The plants shoot up after a few heavy falls of rain. They are then allowed to grow for a month, and when the soil has become soft, they are pulled up in bundles and planted eight or ten inches apart, in land previously ploughed and cleared of grass. The field is afterwards weeded from time to time, till in October or November, the crop is ready for cutting. After being cut it is spread out to dry. It is then tied in sheaves, after a month thrashed by beating the sheaves against a well-cleaned threshing floor, and finally winnowed. If the soil can bear a second crop, it is again prepared in November, and the same course of labour is gone through, the soil does not require second manuring nor are the clods of earth broken by ploughing." (Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi, page 422).

TABLE No. 3.16

Households engaged both in cultivation and household industry classified by size of land cultivated and workers engaged therein

Size of land cultivated in acres	Total cultivating households which are also engaged in household industry			Cultivating households engaged in household industry according to number of persons						
	No. of households	No. of family workers	No. of hired workers	1 person		2 persons		3-5 persons		
				No. of households	No. of family workers	No. of family workers	No. of hired workers	No. of households	No. of family workers	No. of hired workers
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All Sizes	11	28	...	2	3	6	...	6	20	...
Less than 1	9	23	...	2	2	4	...	5	17	...
1.0 to 2.4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2.5 to 4.9	2	5	...	...	1	2	...	1	3	...

The calendar of agricultural activities and method of cultivation described above remain unchanged to this date.

On personal enquiries with the villagers, it was learnt that for the *sard* or wet paddy crop, the loppings of trees required to burn the field are cut by the villagers early in January from their own warkas land. Burning the tree branches for rab manuring in rich soils is considered essential by the villagers for destroying the weeds in the land. The loppings cut for rab purposes are placed in heaps at the place of cutting for some time to dry, and after they dry up they are tied into big headloads and carried to the fields where they are to be burnt, and rested one bundle against the other, vertically. In this village there is no propitiation of deities (*Deopan*) before starting to cut loppings, *kawals*, as they are locally called, except that the *jantas* (five Mankaris) or village leaders offer cocoanut to Shri Devi Bhavai on the day of 2nd or Deo Diwali and invoke the deity's blessings before starting to cut the loppings. When it is nearly time to burn the loppings in the field, which is generally between April and May after the Hooda festival in the village, the bundles are untied and the dried twigs spread over the field to be burnt in a thick layer. They cannot, however, be burnt till after the 6th day of Holi festival. On the 6th day of the Holi festival the villagers take a handful of twigs from the bundles kept by them in the fields, go to the place where the Hooda and the Holi poles stand in the premises of Shri Devi Sateri, light the twigs in their hands and move round the Hooda and the Holi poles. From the day following the Hooda, the loppings, *kawals*, are burnt in lands which grow weeds most, or rice plants from where are afterwards proposed to be removed and transplanted elsewhere. The operations of removal of plants and transplanting are possible only where it is possible to flood or hold water in the field and that is why generally loppings are burnt more in low lying lands.

After the *kawals* are burnt the ashes are collected on the next day, early in the morning, and arranged in the field itself in small heaps. This is the start of agricultural operations so far as wet or *sard* crop is concerned.

The field burnt as above is ploughed immediately after there is sufficient rain as would allow of easy ploughing. In case it rains in May and the land becomes sufficiently soft for the plough, dry paddy seed is sown before ploughing the land. For dry sowing, about 80 measured seers, i.e., $1\frac{1}{2}$ Bengal maunds of

paddy is required. After the seed is sown as above the land is again ploughed and is levelled by an implement called *gutha* which is a thick wooden board about $\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick and $5'-6" \times 0'-7"$ in size drawn in a slanting position by the bullocks, the farmer standing on it in the middle. On the next day the field is overturned by plough, twice, so that weeds, if any, therein should get buried in the mud and the land is again levelled by the *gutha*. The rice plants peep out of the ground on the 5th or 6th day and on the 8th or 9th day the whole field appears green. Within about a month, say by the middle of July, the plants are ready for transplantation. The plants are then pulled up in bunches after leaving sufficient plants in the parent field and are taken to another field for transplantation. The field in which the plants are to be re-planted is then puddled, ploughing first lengthwise [the process being locally called *phodani* (फोड़णी), i.e., breaking the land], then breadthwise, *dudani* (दुड़णी), and lastly moving on the land so puddled the levelling plank, *gutha*, to level it. On the next day the land is again ploughed lengthwise and then breadthwise and levelled with the *gutha*. (The field has to be flooded during these processes so that it should not be difficult to transplant the plants and weeds also should get buried in the slush). The plants are then planted in bunches in an inclined position, 10—15 plants in a bunch, leaving a space of $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet on all sides depending on the soil. In most cases $\frac{3}{4}$ th feet of space is left open all around between two bunches of plants so replanted. After transplanting is over no attention has to be paid to the crop or the field except for repairs of bunds, if broken during floods till harvesting.

In cases where the rains do not start till June, after there has been sufficient rain, the land is ploughed once lengthwise and then breadthwise. The seed to be sown is then watered for germination. On the third day, the land is again ploughed twice, first lengthwise and then breadthwise as above, and an implement called *data*, a wooden board with wooden tines fixed into it, say a rake, is moved in the field with the help of bullocks and the germinated seed is sown broadcast in the land so prepared. During this process the land must hold sufficient water or else water has to be let in from outside, or poured into the field. If no water is flooded in the field there is the danger of withering away of the germinated seed which lies just on the surface of the land, or its being eaten away by birds. About 8 Kudavs (64 measured seers or one Bengal maund) of paddy is required per acre for broadcasting. After one month some plants from the ground are pulled up in bunches

leaving sufficient plants in the parent field, and they are transplanted elsewhere.

The inferior types of lands, which are generally fields made on hill-slopes by terracing, or which are at the top of a flat land where rain water from other lands does not collect, and water for cultivating operations would be available only while it is raining, the mode of cultivation is necessarily as in the previous paragraph and sowing is done by broadcasting germinated seed. As no plants can be removed from such lands without damaging the roots, the land surface being hard, only 5 Kudavs (40 measured seers) of paddy is sown in such lands.

No weeding is done in any land except the last one. Harvesting and thrashing are the only works left.

Valai, Bela and Patni are the three varieties of paddy grown in the village. These are local strains.

Valai takes $3\frac{1}{2}$ months to mature and is grown in low-lying lands which hold water till late in October. Bela and Patni mature in 3 months. Of these, Bela is grown in lands which dry up earlier than the lands of the first type and Patni is grown in high lying lands. Patni being an early crop is not grown in low-lying lands which hold water for long as otherwise the crop would be damaged due to the plants lying in water on maturity.

After the crop is ready, it is harvested. The crop of Bela and Patni is immediately thrashed by beating the stalks of paddy against the floor. The stalk, after the grain has been beaten off, is put under bullocks' feet for further thrashing to salvage the grains, if any, still holding to the stalk, and to prepare the hay. It is not customary in this region to keep the paddy stalks as they are after thrashing, but they are softened by putting them under bullocks' feet or by beating.

The Valai crop is not thrashed immediately on harvesting and drying of the crop in the field, but stacked and thrashed later, i.e., after Deo (or second) Diwali, as the cultivator is busy with other operations such as sowing for summer crop and also as labourers are not available. Formerly when rent was paid in kind it was from this stock that the cultivator used to pay the rent which was usually at December end and that was also one reason why this paddy was not thrashed till then.

After the harvesting is over there is no work for the cultivator, excepting cutting or burning rab till the next sowing season unless the land is capable of giving second crop, or the cultivator raises chilly, vegetables, etc., on his own or somebody else's land.

The principal second crop in the village is that of Gimvas, i.e., Waingan, or summer paddy.

Those who raise summer paddy crop plough the land, replough it, level it with *gutha* and allow the weeds to rot in the ground for 8 days, immediately after harvesting of the kharif paddy crop. After 8 days they replough the land twice. Then they level it with *khori*, a hand-drawn leveller. After one or two days the land is again ploughed and those who can afford it, apply cowdung manure. The land is levelled with *gutha* and ash is thrown in the field so levelled. The land is then again levelled with *gutha* and the surplus water is drained out. The seed is then germinated and broadcast in the land. About 6 Kudavs ($\frac{3}{4}$ Bengal maund) of paddy seed is required per acre. The seed is of local Sorati variety. There is no propitiation of deity before sowing and preparing land for summer cultivation. The crop has not to be attended to till it matures except planting seedlings at places where the germinated seed has not struck roots, which is after three months. The Waingan or summer paddy is sown at the beginning of December. The crop is ready by the middle of February or March. Such of these lands as retain moisture are then prepared for kharif crop by repairing the bunds when the land is still wet and ploughed and re-ploughed and clods are crushed by a wooden hand clod-crusher locally called *Diphala* (दिफला).

A wooden plough, axe, spade, shovel, bill-hook, scythe, sickle, *gutha*, crow bar, rake (*data*), *khori* (leveller), and wooden clod-crusher are the agricultural implements required and used by an agriculturist in the village. They are manufactured and repaired by the village carpenter. No improved implements are introduced or are in use.

The main crop of the village is paddy and its average yield per acre as stated by the villagers is 10 to 12 Bangal Maunds. The official figure is 18 Maunds per acre. The next crop of significance is Nagli which covers 78 acres. An average agriculturist, it is stated, sells 2 to 3 local Khandis, equal to 5 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ Bengal Maunds of paddy per year.

The agriculturist and adult members in his family (male and female) work on the field, irrespective of caste and creed. If the agriculturist and the members of his family cannot manage the cultivation themselves, a man is engaged on contract basis for the period commencing with the beginning of the rains up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ months at the sowing season for all agricultural work for which he is given 2 Khandis (5 maunds) of paddy, and three meals daily, during the period of his service.

Pansupari, tea, etc., he takes with other members of the family but no clothing or covering is supplied. The man so engaged is called a *manai* (man servant), meaning an adult male, in colloquial term. The *manai* engaged at the time of the sowing operations is expected to do all things connected with cultivation. He is not told any other work. Where the cultivator is a woman she necessarily engages a *manai* or a servant as there is a taboo on this side on the woman driving the plough. She can do all other agricultural work. Some engage a *manai* also for gathering harvest and he is given a remuneration of 2½ maunds of paddy. The *manai* is expected to work from 8 a.m. to 12 noon and 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.

In addition to the family workers and the *manai*, the cultivator has also to engage casual labourers, mostly females, so that the transplanting and harvesting should be timely done. For transplanting, only females are employed. At harvesting both males and females are engaged. They have to be paid in kind for their work, six seers of paddy to males, and four seers to females. Besides this payment in kind the casual labourers have also to be given a bread and tea in the morning and/or meal in the noon. They have to work from 8 a.m. to 12 noon and 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. There is no organisation of man power, those with no land to cultivate or having less land go for work as above. The rates paid are however uniform. No one can either offer or receive more.

For ploughing and sowing one acre of land of superior type, two men, one for driving the plough and another for digging the corners and sides of the field where the plough cannot reach, with one pair of bullocks, take eight days and the cost is Rs. 44 at Rs. 5.50 per day, Rs. 4 for the ploughman and animals and Rs. 1.50 for the other worker.

The medium and inferior types of land require two extra persons besides the ploughman (instead of one extra) and they also have to work for eight days, to plough and sow one acre of land the cost being Rs. 56, Rs. 32 to the ploughman and animals and Rs. 24 for the two workers.

For pulling out the plants in bunches and transplanting them, 60 women are required per acre per day unless there be weeds. One woman can pull out paddy seedlings from one guntha of land or can replant seedlings in two gunthas of land (in one working day). If weeds are there in the field, more time is required.

For harvesting one acre of land, 6 persons are required for one day. For threshing, no outside persons are engaged.

The grain required to be given to these workers and for their meals, etc., is from the agriculturist's own stock. The cash required is spent from savings, or taken as hand loan (हात उसने), or as an advance against repayment in paddy at a given rate at harvest.

The produce is stored in containers made out of paddy hay, called *mudis*, *tatas* of bamboo or tins. The grain required for seed purposes is necessarily kept in a hay bundle (*mudi*).

The paddy grown in the village, as elsewhere in the area, is of coarse variety which can hardly be made into raw rice (*surai tandul*), consumed by non-agriculturists, par-boiled rice has to be prepared out of it and is mostly made for domestic consumption. The average agriculturist who can spare 5 to 8 maunds of paddy, generally sells it in the form of paddy itself, mostly to customers coming to his door. Very rarely paddy is taken out for sale. There are, however, some persons, especially poor widowed women, who purchase paddy in small quantity, at intervals, boil it, pound it into rice and sell it in the market at Savantvadi, in retail, eking out their sustenance on the margin left.

The villagers, as other villagers in the area, relish par-boiled rice in preference to raw rice which is used only on ceremonial occasions and are prepared to purchase paddy at any rate when their own stock is exhausted. It is a common belief on this side that the par-boiled rice is more sustaining than the raw rice and the liquid taken off after boiling the rice is considered to be a tonic.

There is much scope for improvement in the practices of cultivation adopted by the people, the seed used and the implements, but it appears to be an uphill task, looking to the achievements made so far which are practically nil.

On a study of 49 selected households of cultivators to find out their production, and surplus available for disposal, the following pattern is revealed :—

Total number of selected households	..	49
Area cultivated	.. (Acres)	282.87
Total production	.. (Mds.)	3,100
Household consumption	.. (Mds.)	2,600
Surplus for disposal	.. (Mds.)	500
Other disposals	..	....
Balance	..	....
Total cultivated area in village	.. (Acres)	813.83
Total population dependent on agriculture—		
Persons	..	998
Males	..	483
Females	..	515
Population in 49 selected households—		
Persons	..	259
Males	..	129
Females	..	130

It will be seen from the above pattern that 3,100 maunds of paddy is produced in 282.87 acres. At this rate production in 813.98 acres will be 8,937.23 maunds approximately. 259 persons are consuming 2,600 maunds of paddy and on that basis 998 persons depending on agriculture only, will be consuming 9,980 maunds of paddy which will leave no surplus with them. The figure of production arrived at here is however at 10.96 maunds per acre as told by the villagers. The average of the last 10 years as supplied by the Revenue authorities is 18 mds. per acre and we can safely take the average production from 15 to 16 mds. and on that basis the total production of paddy for the village will be about 12,000 to 13,000 mds. giving a surplus of 2,000 to 3,000 mds. which appears to be reasonable.

Practices connected with Animal Husbandry

There are no establishments engaged in animal husbandry either in the village or near about. The people do not concern themselves much with animal husbandry except keeping of cattle for plough with milch cattle here and there. They purchase the cattle in the cattle bazar at Banda, about 13 miles distance from the village, which is held every Monday, or at Kudal, about 11 miles distance, where the weekly bazar is held every Wednesday, and rarely at Savantvadi, where the weekly bazar meets on Tuesdays. The villagers are served by the Veterinary Dispensary at Savantvadi. The Veterinary Officer and the stockman under him go round the village occasionally, especially during epizootics and inject cattle against the disease. For endemic diseases of cattle, the people have to take them for treatment to Savantvadi. People mostly rely on indigenous medicines so far as cattle are concerned and do not have recourse to hospital or medicines.

So far as cattle breeding is concerned the people do not appear to have realised its importance. No stud bulls are kept in the village. No improved breed of cattle has so far been introduced in the village and the villagers do not even think of introducing improved breed. The cows are kept by the people not so much for milk but out of sentiments as it is a sacred animal to Hindus. No scientific breeding is resorted to. No special care regarding buffalo breeding is also taken.

There is no grazing ground set apart in the village though grazing is allowed in the reserved forest except in the closed area (which is about 1/4th of the total forest area every year). People say they are greatly handicapped for want of grazing facilities and that may be one reason why they may not be so much interested in cattle breeding; and sometimes, though they do

not intend harm to the forest, they let loose their cattle in the forest area clandestinely. Lack of adequate water supply is also one handicap in animal husbandry.

Poultry keeping as a side business has not yet attracted the people's attention and there appears to have been no attempts made towards introducing scientific poultry keeping in the village though every villager keeps fowl and eats them. Occasionally, a village woman is seen taking an egg or two, or, cockrels, for sale at Savantvadi but these are stray cases and the proceeds are insignificant.

Twenty households, 12 of Marathas, 3 of Sutaras, 1 of Vani, 1 of Gurav, 2 of Bhandaris and 1 of Mahar, were studied to find the number of milch cattle, draught bullocks, goats, sheep and fowls owned. (Table No. 3.17 on page 62.)

From the aforesaid table, it is seen that 6 households of Marathas own 9 milch cattle and 1 household of Vani owns one milch cattle; 10 households of Marathas own 19 draught bullocks; 1 household each of Bhandari and Mahar own two bullocks each; and 1 household of Sutar owns 1 bullock.

The information regarding livestock and agricultural implements held by households of different castes as collected during local inquiry is given in Table No. 3.18 on page 62.

From the aforesaid table we see that 133 or 69 per cent of the households possessing land possess livestock and agricultural implements and 31 per cent of them do not possess any livestock or implements. The number of households possessing livestock but not holding land is only two. The 4 bullocks possessed by 2 households not holding land are from the cows they owned. In one household the owner's son-in-law uses the bullocks and the other two bullocks are now disposed of.

One hundred and twenty-one of the above households possess 307 bullocks, out of which 4 households possess 6 bullocks each, 24 households possess 4 bullocks each, 1 household possesses 3 bullocks and 92 or 76 per cent of the households possess 2 bullocks each.

Ploughs.—Out of the 129 households who possess 156 ploughs, one household possesses 3 ploughs, 25 households possess 2 ploughs each, and 103, or 80 per cent of the households possess one plough each.

When not at work the cattle are taken out for grazing at sunrise and they are brought back in the noon after they have grazed in the fields. They are watered at a brook or well and later are tethered in the cow-shed

TABLE No. 3.17

Households owning milch, cattle, draught bullocks etc.

Caste/Community	No. of households	Milch cattle		Draught bullocks		Goats/Sheep		Fowls	
		No. of households owning	Total Number	No. of households owning	Total Number	No. of households owning	Total Number	No. of households owning	Total Number
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Maratha	12	6	9	10	19	..	..	11	15
Sutar	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	2
Vani	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	2
Gurav	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
Bhandari	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
Mahar	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..

TABLE No 3.18

Households possessing Land, Livestock and Agricultural Implements (prepared on local enquiry)

Name of Caste	Total number of households	Number of households holding land and possessing livestock and Agricultural implements						
		No. of Households	Bullocks	Cows	Buffaloes	Calves	Goats	Ploughs (Wooden)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Maratha	198	117	275	84	42	110	..	141
2. Mahar	14	3	6	1	..	..	..	3
3. Sutar	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Dhangar	7	2	4	20	..	..	..	..
5. Nhavi	7	4	8	..	..	..	100	1
6. Bhandari	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	4
7. Kumbhar	3	..	..	..	4	..	..	2
8. Vani	4	2	4	2	4	2	..	..
9. Madval (Dhobi)	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	1
10. Brahmin	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Gurav	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	1
12. Maratha Deoli	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	1
13. Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	254	133	303	107	50	112	100	154

Name of Caste	Number of Households possessing land but not possessing livestock and Agricultural implements	Number of households possessing livestock but not holding land					Ploughs (Wooden)	Number of Households not holding land and not possessing livestock and any Agricultural implements
		Number of Households	Bullocks	Cows	Buffaloes	Calves		
1	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Maratha	42	2	4	..	..	1	2	37
2. Mahar	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
3. Sutar	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
4. Dhangar	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Nhavi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Bhandari	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
7. Kumbhar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
8. Vani	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
9. Madval (Dhobi)	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
10. Brahmin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
11. Gurav	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
12. Maratha Deoli	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	61	2	4	..	..	1	2	58

and are given some hay, or dried, or wet grass, as available. Again at 3 or 4 in the evening they are taken out for grazing and brought back in the evening after watering, and tethered in the cattle-shed. Hay, or dried grass is again put before them and they rest. During the season they are given more substantial feeding of oilcake and the hay of summer paddy crop which is believed to have more sustaining power. Some also give a seer or two of boiled paddy or a seer of boiled Kulith seeds to the bullocks during this period, if they can afford it in addition to the normal feed. The yoke bullocks are ploughed as far as possible early in the morning and except in rains they are not yoked between 12 noon and 4 p.m. to protect them from the sun. Threshing operations are usually started in the early hours of the morning, say at 2 a.m. and the bullocks used for threshing are let off at 7 or 8 a.m., to graze. This is done to save both the animals and the men from the heat and suffocating sensation caused during threshing operations due to the dust let loose in the air as a result of threshing. Under unavoidable circumstances threshing is also done after 2 p.m. Hindu agriculturists do not yoke plough bullocks on the new moon day and the two Ekadashis (11th day according to Hindu Calendar in the bright and dark halves of the month). There is no festival like Pola, when cattle are adorned and taken in procession etc., as in the up-ghat area, but on Bali Pratipada day, (the first day of Kartika), the cattle are worshipped, rice flour paste is applied to their horns and they are given bread of rice, i.e., *amboli*.

A miniature cattle-shed of cowdung is laid up in the household cattle-shed and symbolical animals are made out of a bitter fruit, locally called *karit* or *chirata*, by pinning to them legs of cocoanut palm leaf ribs and the shed and the cattle so made are worshipped.

The Dangi breed of bullocks is recommended for the area but the people are still favouring indigenous breed. They prefer to purchase bullocks from Dhangars who do some cattle breeding in this area. The minimum price of a bullock is Rs. 125. The supply of milk and its product in the village is limited and they are not exported outside.

Practices connected with Fishing

There are no perennial water sources such as tanks, rivers, etc., in this village. During the rains when the nallahs and fields are flooded some people do some fishing for their own consumption. They use a trap of Bamboe or cocoanut palm leaf ribs. This trap is a cylinder of ribs tapering at one end and at the other end its ends are turned in and an opening is left for the fish to enter it. They however cannot get out of it.

Rarely some persons go to catch fish to a nearby river, or nallah, taking a fishing line and hook, as a hobby.

Forestry

(a) *Forest Area*.—The total forest land forming part of the village area is 1,198 acres 29 gunthas (1,286 acres and 15 gunthas according to departmental figures). The area has been declared as a reserved forest under four different notifications issued by the ex-State Administration since 1881 to 1905. The department manages the forest by posting a preventive staff of guards. The type of forest is South Indian Tropical moist deciduous forest. Timber trees such as teak, Ail (*terminalia glabra*), Kinjal (*terminalia paniculata*), Nana (*lagerstrœmia parviflora*), Jambha (*xylia dolabriformis*), etc., are grown in the forest. There is a working plan according to which the forest is divided into coupes and they are sold out for periodical felling to private bidders who are generally outsiders. The only benefit that can accrue to the villagers is work when the coupes are felled. The other operations are done departmentally by labour from the village. The other forest produce is some fruits, which are also sold by public auction. But the income is very insignificant. No lac or honey is gathered in the village forest.

(b) *Particulars of establishment, etc.*—There is no establishment except the preventive staff of guards and Range forest officers.

The contractors have to pay wages not less than Rs. 2.06 per adult male, Rs. 1.50 per adult female and Rs. 1.25 to persons under 18 years, employed on work in coupes, per day. Different rates are prescribed for doing specific work of cutting timber trees, cleaning the stumps, cleaning the land around the stamps, preparing charcoal, etc.

(c) *Type of rights or concessions enjoyed, etc.*—The villagers enjoy the right of—

(1) Free-grazing (except to sheep and goats), except in closed forests. Plantation areas are closed for grazing for the first five years commencing from the year of regeneration. Roughly one-fourth of the total forest area remains closed for grazing every year. The grass growing in the closed area is however allowed to be cut and removed subject to conditions of the sale. The grass in such area comes to about 3,500 lbs. per year.

(2) Removal of dead and fallen wood for domestic consumption only, except Teak, Khair and Sisum.

(3) Removal of branch wood of six inches and under at the thickest end, from annual felling coupes.

(4) Free grant of material for agricultural implements.

(5) Removal of fallen leaves and branch wood, etc., for agricultural purposes.

(d) *Description of the forest products, etc.*—Lumbering covers a period of about 6 to 8 months from November to June. Other minor forest produce such as fruits, etc., are available only during the season, i.e., in April-June. Timber to the tune of 5,000 c.ft. and fire-wood to the extent of 17,500 c.ft. are taken out from the forests in the village, annually. Their value on site would come to Rs. 10,000. During the lumbering period of 7 to 8 months the villagers earn annually about Rs. 1,500.

(e) *Organisation of work group, etc.*—There is no forest labour society either in the village or in its vicinity. The labourers are also not organised in any other way.

(f) *Tools and equipments, etc.*—Axes, cross-cutting saws, sickles, are the major tools. Pick-axes, shovels, ropes, etc., are required for preparing tracks for extraction of forest material and dragging it. Buffaloes are used for dragging.

(g) *Marketing.*—The forest produce is marketed by individual contractors by private negotiations. The markets are at Savantvadi, Kolhapur, Nipani and Gadhinglaj.

(h) *Restriction on the movement of forest produce.*—All forest produce from forest area is allowed to be transported under authorised transit passes issued to the purchaser by the Forest Department. There are no restrictions on the cutting of trees from private mulki forests. But the owner is required to prove his ownership over the produce before a transit pass is issued. On verification of the ownership of the material and authenticity of the deal, transit passes are issued, through Forest subordinates, to safeguard Government interests.

(i) *Expenditure connected with various operations, etc.*—Raising of plantations in the annually clear felled areas is carried departmentally. The sale of standing tree-growth in annual coupes and minor forest produce is held annually and further operations are carried out by the purchasers. Roughly an amount of Rs. 4 to 6 thousand has to be spent annually by the department and the purchasers for exploiting the material.

Formerly the villagers used to get loppings of forest shrubs for manuring their fields by burning but the system has been stopped as a measure of anti-rab movement.

Village Industries

There is no village industry to speak of in the village except the work done by the village carpenter, potter and Bamboo workers who work in their traditional household occupation. As seen earlier, there are in all 11 households principally engaged in household industry. They are 3 in carpentry, 2 in pottery, and 6 in Bamboo work.

The three households of Sutar engaged in carpentry mainly render customary service to the village community of making and mending agricultural implements. The village households are allotted amongst them for this purpose. The raw material and fuel (i.e. charcoal) is supplied by the customer and the Sutar only renders the necessary service of preparing or mending the implements. He is helped in his work by other male members in his household. The village Sutar does not produce for the market or make any articles of furniture except low stools (*Pats*), or stools, which they make to order. Such occasions are however very rare. The village Sutar also get annually the wood work of one or two houses in the village which they either take under a contract or on daily wage basis. One of them prepares about 3,000 crude dolls annually, for the toy industry at Savantvadi from which he gets annually about Rs. 30.

Their tools and implements are the same as used by their forefathers and their total investment in the industry does not exceed Rs. 200 to 250.

None of the Sutar doing carpentry work in the village is trained nor does he feel any necessity for the same.

The Sutar is paid at the rate of 5 to 6 Kudvas (5/8 to 3/4 Bengal maunds) of paddy per yoke for the customary service of making and mending agricultural implements rendered by him to the village community and is also given 1/2 seer each of miscellaneous crops such as chilly, Kulith, Nachni, etc., if grown by the cultivator, and also a cocoanut, each, at the time of Shimga and Ganesh Chaturthi.

One of the carpenters who makes and mends agricultural implements for outsiders charges them as under :—

	Rs.	P.
(1) For fixing the ploughshare	...	0.50
(2) For sharpening harvesting sickles	...	0.25
(3) For fixing handles to axes, pick-axes, etc.	...	0.12

The three Sutar get about 8 to 10 Bengal maunds of paddy from the customary service rendered by them to the village community.

Of the two Kumbhars found principally engaged in pottery at the time of Census one who was outsider and had come temporarily for preparing tiles, etc., has since left and the other has shifted to the neighbouring village, Ambegaon, where he cultivates land. He does not prepare or supply any earthen wares to the villagers. Formerly he used to supply the villagers with, (1) pots with a hole made at the bottom to be hung over the Tulsi plant in the courtyard on Mahashivaratri day, after filling it with water, (2) an earthen image of Naga (Cobra) for worship on the Naga Panchami day and (3) earthen lamps (*pantis*) for illumination at the village temple on Tripuri Purnima night. The village Kumbhar has also to bore a hole in the compound of Shri Devi Sateri's temple for erecting the Holi-pole, which service he still renders. For the services rendered to the village community, the Kumbhar enjoys land and is also given a cocoanut on the Shimga and Ganesh Chaturthi days.

The Mahars principally engage themselves in the household industry of Bamboo work. The menfolk make baskets and the females make winnowing fans, mats and other miscellaneous articles. The raw material required by them is hollow Bamboos called *Autache Mange* which they purchase in the village or in the neighbouring villages. They have to pay approximately Re. 1 for two Bamboos, 18 feet in length, each. Formerly they could get 4 to 6 Bamboos in a rupee.

A *pal* (bill-hook), sickle and knife are the only tools they require. These are the same as used by their forefathers with no improvement. Their total investment is about Rs. 8 to 10, each.

The village Mahar households are attached to the different caste households in the village to whom they supply the Bamboo articles as per their customary service to the village community and are paid in kind as under :—

Articles	Payment in kind
(1) A pair of winnowing fans.	1 Kudav paddy (½ Bengal maunds).
(2) A square mat (<i>dale</i>) (6'×6').	2 Kudavs paddy (¼ Bengal maunds).
(3) A mat (7½'×4½').	4 Kudvas paddy (1/2 Bengal maunds).
(4) A Ravli	1 to 2 seers paddy (1/64 to 1/32 Bengal maunds).
(5) Baskets	4 to 8 seers paddy (1/16 to 1/8 Bengal maunds depending on size).

On a marriage in any of the households attached to him, the Mahar has to give 1 basket, 1 mat, 1 square mat, 1 *Yerwan*, 1 fan, 1 *pata* (a small mat for the bride and bridegroom to sit on), a basket for installing Kul (*kulachi pardi*) and he is paid Rs. 4 cash and *tali* (rice, cocoanut and Rs. 0.25), or presented with a Sari.

He has also to supply to the attached households a pair of small winnowing fans (*supalya*) per married couple therein on the occasion of Gauri Puja and also to give a pair of such winnowing fans per married woman in the household if they be worshipping Hartalika.

Besides rendering customary service to the village community as above the Mahars also make the above articles for the market which they sell at the Savantvadi market against cash on the Bazar day. Every household on an average sells Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 worth of goods every week. They however could not give, exact figures of their earnings and of the raw material used by them as being illiterate they do not keep accounts.

The cash prices of the Bamboo articles sold in the market are as under :—

Articles	Cash price Rs.
(1) A pair of winnowing fans	... 1.00
(2) A square mat (6'×6')	... 2.50
(3) A mat (7½'×4½')	... 3.00
(4) Ravli	... 0.25 to 0.37
(5) Basket	... 0.50 to 1.00

During the sowing season when there is no demand for Bamboo articles, the Mahars take up work as agricultural labourers for a period of about 2 months from 15th June to 15th August.

Since the abolition of Mahar watan in 1961-62, they have not now to render any service to Government, stipendiary village inferior servant—Kotwal—taking their place.

Sex-wise details of class of workers in village industries are as given below :—

Name of Industry or occupation	Total workers		
	P	M	F
(1) Sawing and planing of wood	7	7	...
(2) Manufacture of bricks and tiles	9	5	4
(3) Manufacture of earthen wares, pottery.	6	3	3
(4) Manufacture of material from bamboo, cane, etc.	21	7	14
Total	43	22	21

The above table will show that only 43 (22 males and 21 females) or 6.99 per cent of the total workers are working in traditional village industries. The percentage of those working in the traditional village industries to the total non-agricultural workers (78), thus works out at 55.13 per cent. This confirms the proposition that the village economy is not broad-based but is principally dependent upon agriculture.

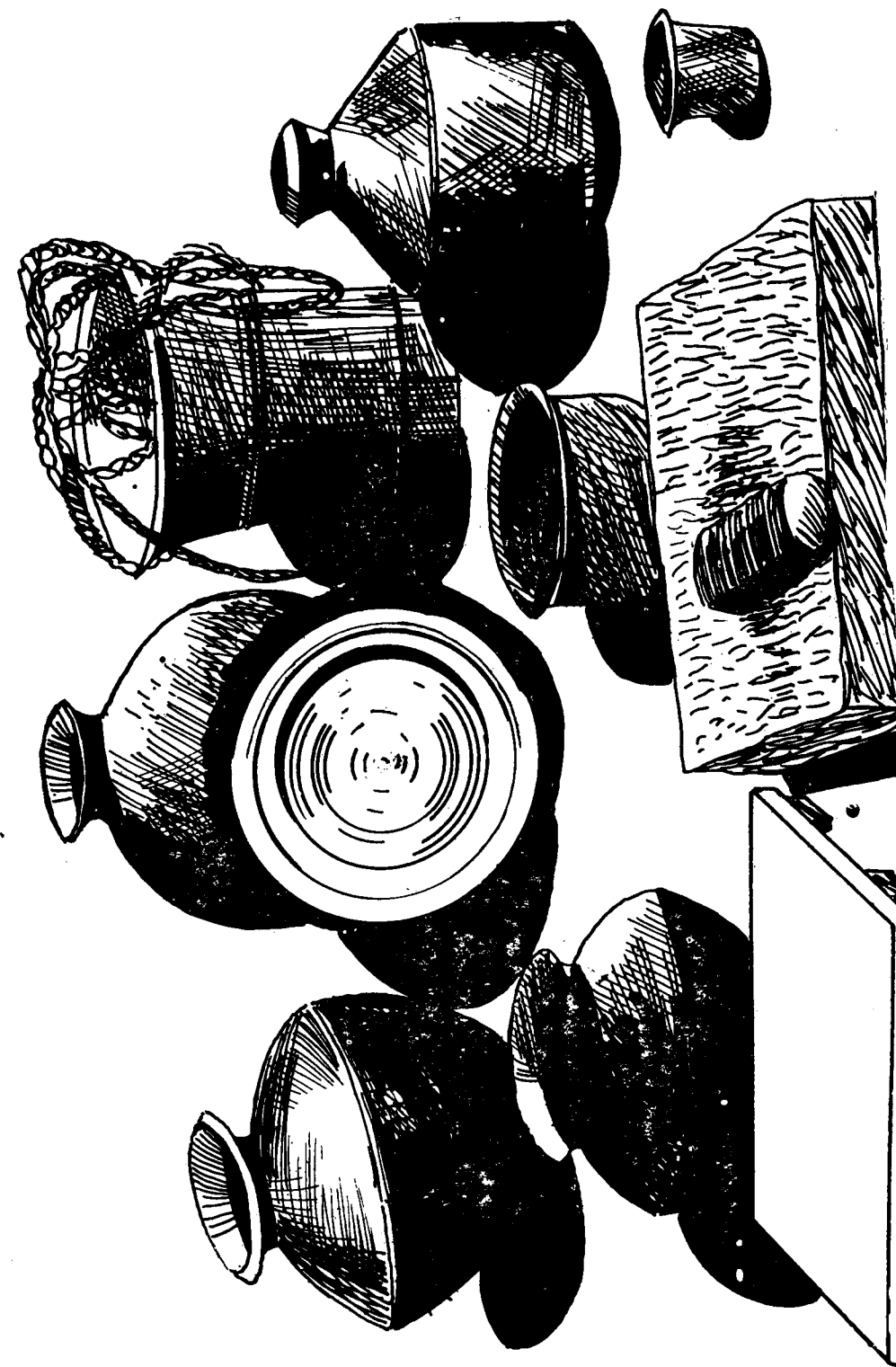
Moreover their industries are petty ones and are more in the nature of service to the village community. The carpenter does not turn out any articles or products for sale, but mostly renders the traditional service of making and mending agricultural implements. The potters do not manufacture any tiles, or bricks, or earthenwares, but supply the villagers only with earthen lamps (*panatis*) and pots required on Mahashivratri day for watering Tulshi plant. The Mahars prepare only bamboo baskets, winnowing fans and mats which they supply to the villagers according to demand, and also sell outside.

Some persons including carpenters make wooden toys for supply to the coloured toys industry at Savantvadi, in their spare time, at their own risk. There is no organisation of any sort binding them together. The toy industry at Savantvadi itself is practically dying out for want of patronage and there is therefore no impetus to make dolls. A few carpenters and others who formerly used to make dolls out of wood blocks continue doing the work to earn or supplement their living as they cannot turn to any other work of skill now. About 4 to 5 thousand dolls are made in the village, it is observed, and they are sold by the individual maker to the local grocer at 5 dolls for an anna or Re. 0.06.

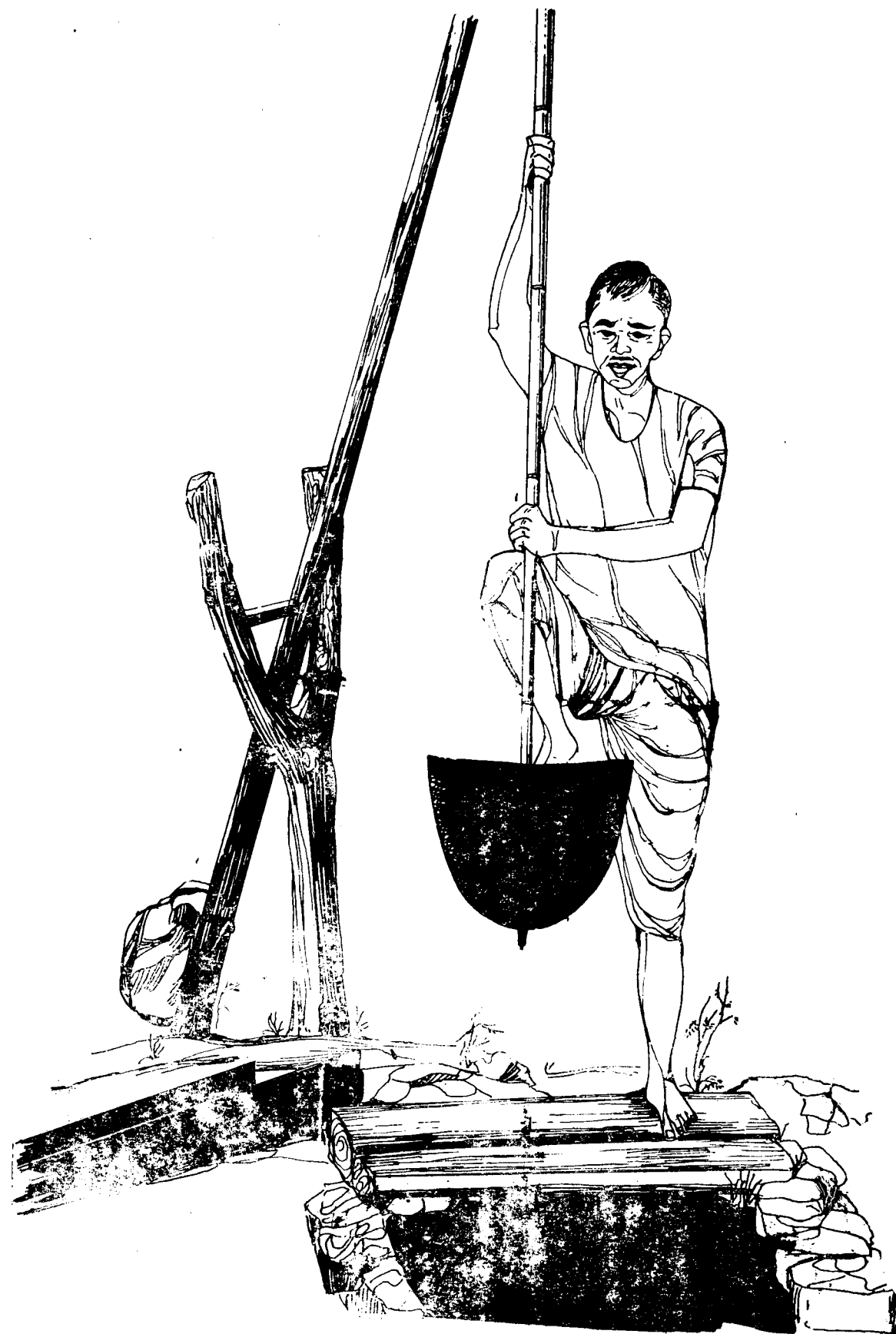
A new industry, if we may call it, has recently grown up in the area which heretofore was in the hands of people from Belgaum and Ajra side, viz., that of making charcoal for fuel. Some households do make charcoal from the wood in their own lands. About 10 to 15 people from the village manufacture charcoal from the wood in lands of other villagers. No trees from the forest are taken for making charcoal. They have learnt the technique from the charcoal-makers from up-ghat area. But there is no organisation. Everyone manufactures his charcoal at his own risk. In the season about 50 to 60 people from village Kanur in Ajara Mahal of Kolhapur District also come for this work. About 1,000 to 1,500 bags of charcoal are prepared every year. The charcoal is not taken to the market at Savantvadi due to difficulty of transport but it is delivered on trucks on the main road near the village. There is no agency to finance the charcoal-

makers and so they have to depend upon advances made by the intending purchaser who is just a middle-man and obviously, with all the trouble the charcoal-maker has to undertake, he does not get a fair price. It was stated that for a quantity which should fetch Rs. 90 they get nearly Rs. 45. It is also apprehended that this industry may die out soon due to indiscriminate cutting of private trees for charcoal and no fresh trees being planted in place of those cut. To prepare charcoal the trees are cut during spare time in the rainy season and they are arranged in a pile and kindled after the harvesting is over.

Those wishing to prepare charcoal, purchase standing trees from their owners on condition to pay Rs. 3 to 4 per brass ($9' \times 3' \times 9\frac{1}{2}' = \frac{243}{2}$ c.ft.), if the trees be near a road and Re. 1 to Rs. 2 if they are in the interior, depending upon the quality of the wood. The Ain trees are preferred for this purpose and they fetch more price to the owner. About 5 bags of charcoal, it was stated, are obtained from one brass of wood and its price at site is said to be about Rs. 20 to 25. The trees are felled after harvest and cut into logs of 3' in length and arranged in a heap of $9' \times 8' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'$ to facilitate measurement. The manufacture of charcoal is started about 1 to 1½ months after cutting the trees. The charcoal is prepared here by closed burning technique. First, three big stones are kept on the ground touching one another, keeping an opening on one side like that of a *chulah*. The cut logs are then arranged into a kiln around these stones, vertically, one after the other, in a slightly slanting position round and round, keeping the opening intact to facilitate kindling. After arranging the cut logs they are covered with hay at the top and also on all the sides, except at the opening kept at the bottom. A thick layer of dry earth is then spread at the top and also along the sides of the kiln. The kiln is then kindled by inserting burning chips attached to a Bamboo pole, from the opening at the bottom, and once the logs inside are found to have caught fire the Bamboo is withdrawn and the opening is sealed by arranging logs against it and spreading hay and dry earth thereon. If smoke is found emitting from any part of the kiln while it is burning, it is sealed by spreading dry earth on the spot. The kiln is left to burn from 21 days to one month during which period a constant watch is necessary to see that no outside air is allowed to get in and seal the places from which smoke is found emitting. Thereafter water is sprinkled on live charcoal, if any, the kiln is dismantled and the charcoal is collected with the help of an instrument called *mangare*, a sort of rake, and filled in gunny bags, ready for market.



Household goods of Mahar family



A Lift—कट

Commerce

There are only two grocery shops in the village, who sell articles of daily consumption by retail. They belong to the Vani caste. The shops are not very prosperous. Their monthly sales together, do not exceed Rs. 200 to 250. They purchase the commodities at Savantvadi, twice a week or after every two days and carry the goods to the village by headloads. The villagers patronise them only during the busy season. During other parts of the year their womenfolk go to the town with vegetables, fuel, grains, etc., and after selling their wares purchase the commodities required by them, or else the adult male-members get them on their visit to the town. At harvest the sales in the grocery shops in the village are by barter system mostly, when the villagers exchange their paddy for household goods required. It is, however, only when any commodity is required in very small quantity or in an emergency, that the villagers purchase at these shops. Big purchases are made in the town. The village grocers also purchase locally-made wooden dolls for sale to the toy industry at Savantvadi. Traders from outside come to the village for purchasing cashew-nuts and dried rinds of Kokam. Dry fish is mostly sold by the women-hawkers at Savantvadi, who go to the villagers' doors and exchange the fish for paddy or Nagli. Some consumers also visit the village to purchase paddy locally. The surplus for sale is negligible and the needs of the villagers are also very limited and so there are no pressing problems regarding commerce. The grocers have their own private finance.

Other Occupations

There are no other occupations in the village unconnected with agriculture except that of the village barbers who as already seen, work under a Baluta System.

Indebtedness

Of the 20 households from the village selected for assessing indebtedness, 12 are in debts to the extent of Rs. 1,980 collectively. The details regarding the income group, etc., of the households in debts are given in Table No. 3.19 below :—

Out of the total debt of Rs. 1,980, Rs. 1,050 were taken for sickness, Rs. 760 for household cultivation and only Rs. 170 for marriage expenses. The details are as follows :—

Cause	Indebtedness by Cause of Debt		
	Amount of debt	Number of families in debt	Proportion of debt to total debt
	Ra.		Per cent.
(a) Purchase of land	..	..	..
(b) House construction or repairs to existing building.	..	..	..
(c) Marriage	170	1	8.59
(d) Funerals	..	..	..
(e) To give dowry	..	..	..
(f) To clear outstanding debts.	..	..	..
(g) Sickness	1,050	5	53.03
(h) Ordinary wants	..	..	..
(i) Household cultivation	760	8	38.38
(j) Industry run by the household.	..	..	..
Total	1,980	14*	100.00

*Two households have incurred debts for two different purpose and so the number in col. 3 above exceeds that in col. 3 of the table (No. 3.19 below), viz., 2.

TABLE No. 3.19

Selected Households in debts classified by income-groups

Income Group	Indebtedness by Income Group			
	Total number of households	Number of households in debt	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2	Average indebtedness for households in debt
1	2	3	4	5
				Ra. P.
Rs. 20 and below	..	..	..	..
Rs. 21 to Rs. 30	3	3	100.00	140.00
Rs. 31 to Rs. 40	9	4	44.44	167.00
Rs. 41 to Rs. 60	4	3	75.00	80.00
Rs. 61 to Rs. 80	4	2	50.00	325.00
Rs. 81 to Rs. 100	..	..	..	..
Rs. 101 and above	..	..	..	..
Total	20	12	60.00	

During the last 10 years, three persons have cleared outstanding debts amounting to Rs. 1,881. Out of the Tagai amount of Rs. 1,885 granted to the villagers for purchase of bullocks an amount of Rs. 1,590 was found to be outstanding.

The indebtedness does not appear to be heavy, which may be due to assistance from relations serving in Bombay or elsewhere.

Co-operation

There is no co-operative society in the village, the one that was found formerly having liquidated long back. Efforts to start a new society are being made, it is said, but no concrete work appears to have been done in that direction excepting collecting share capital.

Income and Expenditure

Table No. 3.20 showing Income and Expenditure of the selected households engaged in different occupations is given below.

Annual income and expenditure of 21 households from the village, 12 of cultivators, 7 of agricultural labourers, one of carpenter and one of barber are given in the table below. All the households except those of cultivators are found to be living within their means. The cultivating households are found to be slightly living beyond their means.

The *per capita* income of all these households, which constitute 8.27 per cent of the total households in the village, works out at Rs. 223.52 per member. The *per capita* income is the highest (230.75) in the case of agricultural labourers and the lowest (Rs. 162.50) in the case of carpenter.

Analysing the expenditure of all the households taken together we find that 66.90 per cent of their total expenditure is incurred on food and food articles including tea and milk. Expenditure on clothing and footwears is only 6.39 per cent of the total expenditure. Their expenditure on education is 2.73 and on medicine, 3.46 per cent. Expenditure on other amenities is negligible. Individually the expenditure on staple food is the lowest (22.74 per cent) in the case of carpenter and the highest (52.89 per cent) in the case of cultivator. The expenditure on clothing by these households varies from 5.84 per cent in the case of cultivator to 9.93 per cent in the case of carpenter. The expenditure on education similarly varies from 0.63 per cent in the case of agricultural labourer to 9.93 per cent in the case of carpenter and that on medicine from nil in the case of barber to 4.25 per cent in the case of carpenter. The carpenter who is the village artisan appears to be spending more on clothing, education, medicine, etc., than any other community in the village.

TABLE No. 3.20

Income and Expenditure of the selected households engaged in different occupations

Occupation	No. of house- holds	Total members	Total annual income	Per capita income per annum	Total annual expendi- ture	Expenditure on different items (percentages)								
						Staple food	Veget- ables	Meat and Fish	Condi- ments, salt, etc.	Oil and ghee	Sugar, gur	Tea, Pansupari tobacco, etc.	Milk and milk products	Lighting
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.									
Cultivation ..	12	94	21,522.00	228.96	22,362.00	52.89	1.52	1.65	2.33	1.48	5.29	3.00	1.35	1.81
Agricultural Labourer ..	7	20	4,615.00	230.75	4,302.00	36.33	2.03	1.96	3.23	1.24	13.06	2.21	3.15	2.68
Carpenter ..	1	8	1,300.00	162.50	1,763.00	22.74	1.25	0.85	2.10	0.85	7.66	5.67	3.40	2.27
Barber ..	1	5	950.00	190.00	893.00	30.23	2.80	7.84	3.36	5.04	10.08	2.24	1.68	3.36
Total ..	21	127	28,387.00	223.52	293,20.00	47.96	1.62	1.83	2.48	1.52	6.72	3.02	1.75	2.02

Occupation	Expenditure on different items (percentages)													
	Fuel	Clothing footwear, etc.	Dhobi and laundry charges	Barber	Brahmin	Other miscella- neous services	Education	Medicines & Medi- cal fees	Marriage, religious observan- ces, etc.	Repairs of house	House rent	Journey	Court	Other miscel- laneous expendi- ture
1	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Cultivation ..	4.18	5.84	0.06	0.76	0.56	1.22	2.62	3.67	1.56	3.60	0.18	1.39	0.63	2.41
Agricultural Labourer ..	4.08	7.44	....	0.51	0.39	1.23	0.63	2.80	0.81	13.03	0.28	1.05	..	1.86
Carpenter ..	..	9.93	....	2.27	0.57	2.83	9.93	4.25	8.51	8.51	0.17	0.57	..	5.67
Barber ..	5.60	8.40	....	1.12	1.12	1.12	1.68	....	2.80	11.20	0.33	..	..	..
Total ..	3.96	6.39	0.04	0.83	0.56	1.31	2.73	3.46	1.91	8.51	0.20	1.24	0.48	2.46

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Statistics

(a) *Age and Sex distribution.*—The total population of the village as returned in 1961 Census is 1,182 persons (570 males and 612 females). Children under one year of age (new borns) are 26 (13 males and 13 females). The oldest amongst females are 2 of 90 years age, each, and the oldest amongst males, 2 of 80 years age, each. The density of population works out at 246 per sq. mile as against 341 of the Ratnagiri District (Rural). The total population of the village as per the houselist prepared in October 1960 is 1,145 persons (555 males and 590 females). There is no significant increase or decrease in the population between October 1960 and the date of the Census.

The age and sex-wise distribution of the population of different castes in the village is given in Table No. 4.1 below.

From the aforesaid table, it will be seen that 81.81 per cent of the total population is below 44 years of age, of which 43.65 per cent or 516 are below

14 years. Only 6.68 per cent of the village population is of 60 years of age and above. The number of females in 0—5 and 6—14 years age-groups is less than that of males. Excepting amongst Brahmins (only one household which has migrated for service), Maratha Deoli, Kumbhar, Madval, Dhangar and Mahars, the number of females in the age-group 15—44 years exceeds the males in that age-group. The sex ratio for females in this age-group works out at 1,349 females for 1,000 males as against the sex ratio for that age-group for Ratnagiri District (Rural), which is 1,647 approximately. The sudden rise of females in age-group 15—44 is indicative of emigration of males leaving the females behind. This may also partly account for a proportionately larger number of persons in age-group 0—14.

Table No. 4.2 on the next page gives age and sex-wise distribution of the village population as compared with that of the Ratnagiri District (Rural), by percentages.

TABLE No. 4.1

Age and Sex-wise distribution of the Population of different castes and religions

Name of the Caste				Age structure of the population in columns 2 to 4																	
				Total Population			0—5			6—14			15—44			45—59			60+		
							P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19			
<i>Hindus—</i>																					
1. Maratha	932	431	501	192	107	85	225	112	113	340	136	204	108	53	55	67	23	44			
2. Brahmin (Gaud Saraswat)	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
3. Vani	27	17	10	6	5	1	6	4	2	9	4	5	5	3	2	1	1	..			
4. Bhandari	22	15	7	9	8	1	4	3	1	7	2	5	2	2	..	..	..	..			
5. Maratha Deoli	7	4	3	1	1	..	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..			
6. Sutar	34	18	16	9	5	4	6	3	3	15	6	9	2	2	..	2	2	..			
7. Kumbhar	20	12	8	2	1	1	1	1	..	13	8	5	2	..	2	2	2	..			
8. Madval	11	6	5	2	..	2	1	1	..	6	4	2	1	..	1	1	1	..			
9. Nhavi	30	13	17	6	3	3	5	2	3	10	4	6	6	3	3	3	1	2			
10. Dhangar	30	17	13	7	4	3	4	3	1	15	9	6	4	1	3	..	..	..			
11. Mahar	59	30	29	12	5	7	13	9	4	28	14	14	3	1	2	3	1	2			
12. Gurav	6	3	3	1	1	..	2	1	1	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..			
<i>Muslims</i>	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..			
Total	1,182	570	612	247	140	107	269	140	129	451	192	259	136	67	69	79	31	48			

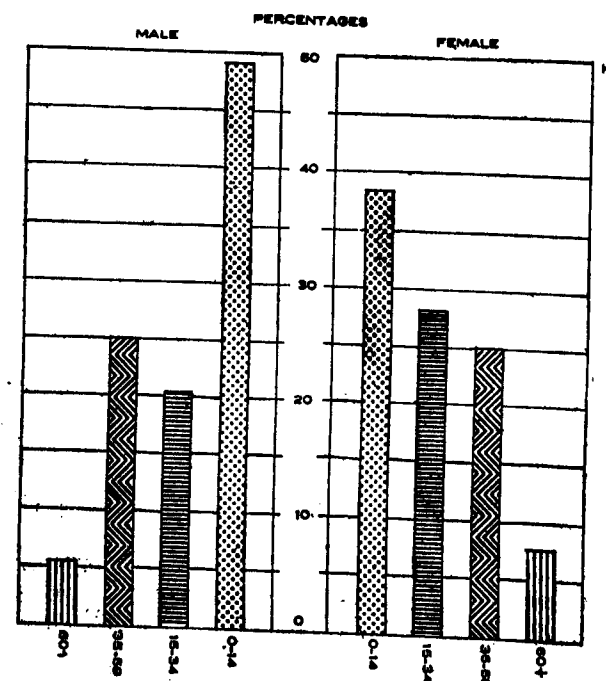
TABLE No. 4.2

Age and Sex-wise distribution of the Population compared with that of Ratnagiri District (Rural) by percentages

Age-group	1	Kunkeri Village			Ratnagiri District (Rural)		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
		2	3	4	5	6	7
0—14 years	..	43.65	49.12	38.56	41.92	47.45	37.54
15—34 years	..	24.63	20.53	28.43	28.10	24.39	31.05
35—59 years	..	25.04	24.91	25.17	22.32	20.41	23.84
60+ years	..	6.68	5.44	7.84	7.62	7.71	7.54
Age not stated	..				0.04	0.04	0.03

The age structure of the village population is also illustrated by a graph given below.

DISTRIBUTION BY BROAD AGE-GROUPS



The above figures disclose similar trends as regards emigration and span of life.

(b) Sex Ratio.—The sex ratio of females to males in the village population works out at 1,074 per 1,000 males as against 1,262 for Ratnagiri District (Rural) and 1,128 of Savantvadi Taluka (Rural). The sex ratio for the Mahars in the village is only 967 which may indicate that emigration amongst Mahars is less as compared with general population of the village. The sex ratio amongst the Mahars varies from 786 in the

age-group 0—14 years to 2,000 in age-group 45+ years. In the age-group 15—44 years females equal males.

According to 1951 Census, the sex ratio for the village was 1,142 females per 1,000 males. The sex ratio in the village has decreased contrary to the tendency in the district (rural) where it has increased from 1,238 to 1,262 during the period of ten years, 1951 to 1961. The sex ratio in both cases exceeds the sex-ratio for the State (Rural) which is 995.

The comparative figures of sex ratio of Kunkeri village and Ratnagiri district (Rural) by broad age-groups according to 1961 Census are as follows :—

Age-group	Sex ratio (Females per 1,000 Males)	
	Kunkeri Village	Ratnagiri District
0—14	843	999
15—34	1,487	1,606
35—59	1,085	1,474
60+	1,548	1,234
All ages	1,074	1,262

The sex ratio of the total population for all age-groups, except 0—14, is higher than even. The high sex ratio in age-group 15—34 indicates emigration of young adult males both for employment and education.

In this village, there is no emigration for education as such, and all migration is for employment. In the age-group 0—14, the sex ratio in the village is 843 which means that initially the male births exceed the female births but the ratio increases suddenly from 15—44 age-group as a result of emigration of males in working age-groups 15—59 and above.

(c) Number of children.—There is a total number of 189 children (109 males and 80 females) in 0—4 years age-group representing about 16 per cent of the total population.

Caste and sex-wise distribution of children is as follows :—

Name of the Caste	No. of Children		Percentage to total caste population
	Male	Female	
1. Maratha	82	61	143
2. Brahmin	..	..	..
3. Vani	4	1	5
4. Bhandari	7	..	7
5. Maratha Deoli	1	..	1
6. Sutar	4	4	8
7. Kumbhar	1	1	2
8. Madval	..	1	1
9. Nhavi	2	3	5
10. Dhangar	4	3	7
11. Mahar	3	6	9
12. Gurav	1	..	1
13. Muslim	..	..	..
Total	109	80	189

From the above figures, it is seen that Bhandaris, Sutar and Dhangars appear to be the most thriving people and Madval and Kumbhar show signs of decadence.

Classification of the households by number of members and number of children in 0—4 years age-group is given in Table No. 4.3 below.

The number of children per household works out at 0.74 per household, the maximum concentration of children being in the households with 4 to 8 members. 48.82 per cent of the households have no child therein.

TABLE No. 4.3

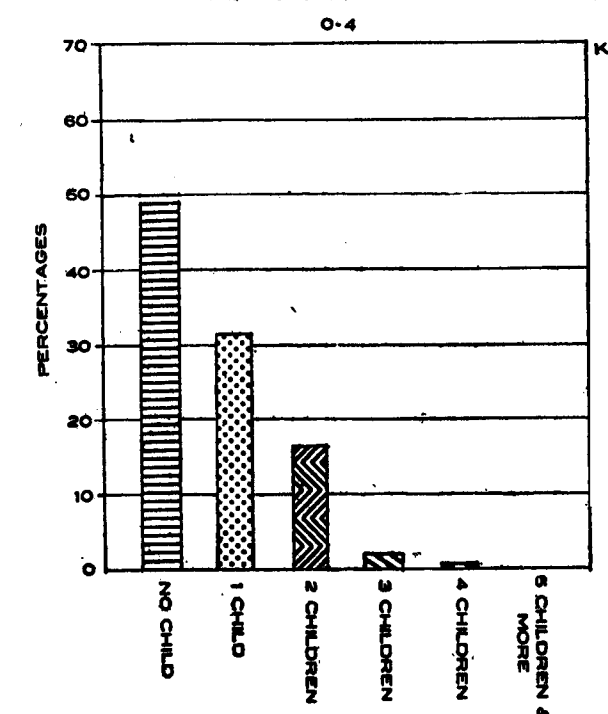
Households classified by size and number of children

Households with	No. of Households with						Total Households	Total Children
	No child	1 child	2 children	3 children	4 children	5 children		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1 member	30	..	..	..	..	30	..	
2 members	25	2	..	..	..	27	2	
3 members	25	6	..	..	..	31	6	
4 members	10	22	6	..	..	38	34	
5 members	18	16	6	..	..	40	28	
6 members	10	11	13	..	..	34	37	
7 members	3	12	6	1	..	22	27	
8 members	2	6	5	2	..	15	22	
9 members	1	3	4	1	..	9	14	
10 members	..	..	1	1	..	2	5	
11 members	..	..	2	..	..	4	6	
12 members	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	
13 members	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	
Total	124	80	43	5	2	254	189	

31.50 per cent have one child each, and about 17.00 per cent have two children, each. The number of households having 3 or more children is only 7.

A graph classifying the village households by number of children is given below :—

HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN



Classifying the households by the number of married females therein we find that 72 or 28.35 per cent of the households have no married females therein. 151 or about 60.00 per cent of the households have one married female; 22, two married females each; 6, three married females; and 3, four married females. Classifying the households by number of married females and number of children therein we get the results as shown in Table No. 4.4 below.

The number of married females works out at 886 per 1,000 households and the number of children in 0—4 years age-group at 840 per 1,000 married women as can be seen from the aforesaid table.

The child woman ratio of the village thus comes to 730 per 1,000 women in the age-group 15—44 years and 940 per 1,000 married women in that age-group as against 604 and 765 for Ratnagiri District (Rural), which speaks for itself.

The corresponding figures for Mahar population in the village are 643 and 818, respectively.

In 21 selected households, 23 married females between the ages of 24 to 45 years and 1 of 65 years of age were found in 19 households, 1 household having three married females in it, 2 households having two married females each, and the remaining 16 households having only one married female each.

The female married youngest, was at the age of 12 years (2), and that married oldest was at the age of 23 years, and between the two ages most of them appear to have been married between the ages of 14 to 19 years.

Out of the 23 married females above noted, 20 are in the child-bearing age of 15 to 40 years; two are 45 years of age each, and only one is 65 years old. Out of the latter three, two have no issues and one has three issues.

Out of the said 23 married females, 21 have 72 issues (16 being between 0—4 years of age) giving an average of 3.4 issues per married female whose marriage has been effective, and 3.1 issues per married female as a whole.

In the 21 effective marriages, no child was born in the year of marriage, 3 children were born in the first 2 years of marriage, 9 in 3rd year of marriage, 4 in 4th year, 2 each in 5th and 6th year and only 1 in the 7th year. The lowest age of the mother at the birth of the 1st child was 14 years and the highest age of the mother at the birth of the 1st child was 25 years.

Out of 72 issues, 1 was born at the mother's age of 14 years, 2 at the mother's age of 15 years, 3 at the mother's age of 16 years, and 66 were born at the mother's ages between 17 to 28 years out of which the period from 18 to 25 years of mother's age appears to be a peak period of child birth.

Amongst the 21 married females, the highest age at which a child is born is 35 years, no married female above 35 years of age having reported to have delivered a child.

(d) *Marriage*.—The pattern of marital status of the population in the village could be seen from Table No. 4.5 on the next page.

TABLE No. 4.4
Households classified by number of married Women and number of Children

No. of married females	No. of Households with married females as shown in col. 1		No. of Households in column 2 having					Total No. of children (0—4 years age)
	No. of Households	No. of married females	No child	1 child	2 children	3 children	4 children	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No married female	..	72	....	58	12	2	..	16
1 married female	..	151	151	61	56	33	1	125
2 married females	..	22	44	4	8	6	4	32
3 married females	..	6	18	1	4	..	..	8
4 married females	..	3	12	..	..	2	..	8
Total ..	254	225	124	80	43	5	2	189

TABLE No. 4.5
Distribution of the population by marital status, sex and age

Marital status				Age-group (years)														
				Population			0—5		6—9		10—14		15—19		20—24		25—29	
							M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16			
Unmarried ..	595	348	247	140	107	82	73	58	56	28	9	16	..	11	1			
Married ..	416	188	228	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	6	42	22	53			
Widowed ..	171	34	137	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	5			
Divorced ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
Not reported ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
Total ..	1,182	570	612	140	107	82	73	58	56	28	17	22	44	33	59			

Age-group (years)																	
Marital status		30—34		35—39		40—44		45—49		50—54		55—59		60—64		65+	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
Unmarried ..	2	..	3	..	3	..	2	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	
Married ..	31	45	32	35	34	18	19	12	18	9	12	3	6	2	8	1	
Widowed ..	1	9	..	15	3	17	5	12	6	21	3	11	12	26	4	19	
Divorced ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Not reported ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Total ..	34	54	35	50	40	35	26	24	24	31	17	14	19	28	12	20	

Of the 1,182 persons (570 males and 612 females), 595 persons (348 males and 247 females) or 50.34 per cent are found to be never married; they are mostly in the ages between 0—14. Never married persons between these ages number 516 persons (280 males and 236 females). No person between these ages, male or female, is married which may show that early or child marriages are not prevalent in the village. On referring to the consanguineous marriage tables prepared for the village, it is found that only in six cases the age of the wife was below 14 at the time of marriage, of which one dates to 33 years back, one to 28 years back, one to 22 years back, one to 20 years back and two to 8 years back. No early marriage amongst females is noticed within 8 years. Amongst males only one marriage at the age of 14 is noticed dating back to 31 years. It is further seen that only 2.13 per cent of married males were married between the ages of 14 and 18 and 21.05 per cent of married females were married between the ages of 12 and 15.

There is no person never married in the age-group 60 and above with the exception of 1 male, a Mahar, who is in age-group 60—64. The number of never married persons in the age-groups 30 to 59 is only 13 (12 males and 1 female) in the total population of 384 (176 males and 208 females) in these age-groups. There is practically no female never married in the age-groups from 20—24 onwards (the only exception being one in age-group 25—29 and one in age-group 50—54, both belonging to Deoli caste whose women formerly used to be dedicated to God). This indicates that for females marriage is universal and no female remains unmarried normally beyond the age of 20 years. This may be spoken of for males also with the exception that they are married upto the age of 30. The males who have remained never married are found to have remained so, due to poverty; and on local enquiry most of them are found to be agricultural or other labourers.

416 persons (188 males and 228 females), or 35.19 per cent of the total population are married with their

spouses living, and their concentration is between the ages 25—59. The less number of married females as compared to males in ages between 50—59 is counter-balanced by corresponding increase in widows in those age-groups.

The total number of widowed persons is 171 (34 males and 137 females) or 14.47 per cent of the total population. The highest number of widowed persons is in age-group 60—64, 12 out of 19 males and 26 out of 28 females. The number of widows per 1,000 married women (both between ages 15—44) comes to 239 as against 114 in Ratnagiri District (Rural). The higher proportion of living widows in the village may be due to absence of widow remarriages.

Out of the total population of 1,182 persons, 587 (222 males and 365 females) or 49.66 per cent are either married or widowed. Deducting the persons of non-marriageable age, viz., those upto 14 years of age, from the entire population of the village, we are left with 666 persons (290 males and 376 females) of marriageable age, out of whom 587 or 88.14 per cent are either married or widowed, which also confirms the theory that marriage is more or less universal amongst the villagers. Only 68 out of 290 males and 11 out of 376 females of marriageable ages are reported as never married on the date of enumeration.

Amongst the 59 Mahars returned from this village in the 1961 Census, all in the age-group 0—14 years are never married. The youngest male and female married are 20 years old which would indicate that early marriages are not prevalent in the community. The youngest widowed male is 40 years of age and the youngest widowed female of 25 years age. There is no divorced person, male or female, amongst them,

which would indicate that divorce though permissible is not practised by them. The number of married males and females amongst them is 11, each. From Table No. 4.6 given below, we will see that there are only 2 never married males in age-group 15—44 and 1 in age-group 45+. On the whole we find that there are only 5 males and 1 female in the village above the age of 44 who are never married which confirms that marriages are more or less universal amongst them though in some cases they might be late. There is no male or female never married, from 28 years of age onwards, except one male of 60 years of age, viz., Anna Modak Kunkerkar the uncle of Narayan Baburao Kunkerkar, head of household.

The pattern of marital status amongst the Mahars in the village is given below.

From the aforesaid table it is seen that out of the total population of Mahar, 47.46 per cent are never married, 37.29 per cent married and 15.25 per cent widowed. The corresponding figures for the general population of the village are 50.34 per cent, 35.19 per cent and 14.47 per cent, respectively. It will be seen that there is no vast difference between the two patterns.

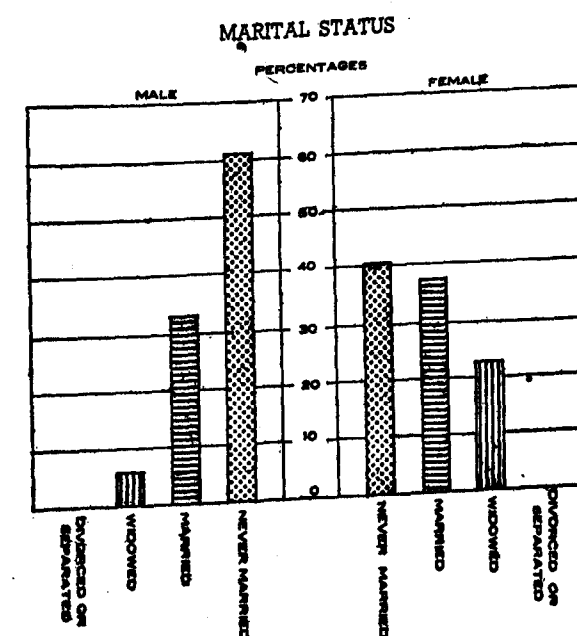
Marital status for the entire village population, males and females separately, is indicated in the graph on page 75 from which we see that 61.05 per cent of males and 40.36 per cent of females are never married, 32.98 per cent of males and 37.25 per cent of females are married, 5.97 per cent of males and 22.39 per cent of females are widowed and there is no male or female divorced or separated.

There are in all 259 females in the child bearing age, viz., 15 to 44 years, of which 201 are married, widowed or never married.

TABLE No. 4.6

Marital status of the Mahar population by sex and broad age-groups

Age-group	Never Married			Married			Widowed			Divorced or separated	Unspecified
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Persons
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ages	28	17	11	22	11	11	9	2	7	.....	.....
	(47.46)	(56.67)	(37.93)	(37.29)	(36.66)	(37.93)	(15.25)	(6.67)	(24.14)	.....	.....
0—14	25	14	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15—44	2	2	.....	22	11	11	4	1	3	.....	.....
45+	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	1	4	.....	.....



The number of widows in 15—44 age-group per 1,000 married women in that age-group, is 239 for the village and 273 for the Mahar population.

(e) *Births and deaths.*—The figures of births and deaths during the 20 years ending 1960 are given below :—

Year	Births	Deaths
1941	19	15
1942	5	28
1943	5	8
1944	12	21
1945	8	10
1946	13	25
1947	9	27
1948	25	20
1949	16	16
1950	16	14
1951	23	15
1952	29	11
1953	33	8
1954	34	6
1955	40	8
1956	27	9
1957	33	10
1958	44	18
1959	43	21
1960	36	21

From the above figures it is seen that the deaths were lowest in 1943 in the decade ending 1951. It is however significant to note that the deaths exceeded births from 1942 to 1947, the worst year being 1942 when deaths exceeded births by 23, the births in the year being 5 and deaths 28. In 1949 the deaths equalled births. The other significant factor of the decade ending 1951 is that both birth and death rates were widely fluctuating, the lowest births, viz. 5 being in 1942 and 1943 and the highest deaths being also in 1942. Since 1951 onwards there are no doubt fluctuations in the figures of births and deaths but the rise in births and deaths is not quite disproportionate. The highest deaths, viz., 21 are in the two years 1959 and 1960 but the births also are correspondingly high, viz., 43 and 36 during the two years. This is an indication of the improvement of the health of the villagers. On ascertaining the causes of deaths it is seen that Influenza accounts foremost of the deaths in these two decades. The village under survey along with round about villages of Ambegaon, Kolgaon, Kaleli, Savantvadi, etc., were targets of Malaria and the village suffered badly till the D.D.T. campaign was started in the village, along with other villages, somewhere in 1947. Since that time the death rate has gradually declined, the 3 years ending 1960 however register increase in the number of deaths in the village but there is also increase in births; and the average gain in population during the three years is 21 as against the minus population upto 1947. The net increase in the village population during the decade 1951—61 as per the register of village births and deaths comes to 215 as against the actual increase of 323, which may be due to failure in registering some births as also arrival into the village of persons born outside the village.

The population of the village which was 1,733 in 1901 was reduced to 859 in 1951. The available yearwise figures of population, from 1881 to 1961 are given below :—

Year	Population	Increase	Decrease	Percentage
1881	1,427	..	..	....
1901	1,733	306	..	+21.44
1911	1,704	..	29	—1.67
1921	1,257	..	447	—26.23
1931	859	..	398	—31.66
1961	1,182	323	..	+37.60

During the period of 80 years from 1881 to 1961 the population of the village increased by 629 and decreased by 874 thus registering a net-decrease of 245 or 17.17 per cent over a period of 70 years.

The decline between the period from 1911 to 1921 is a marked one, from 1,704 to 1,257, mostly due to the epidemic of influenza which ravaged the area in 1918. Though the figures of population between 1921 to 1951 are not available the fact that the population stood at 859 in 1951 is sufficient to show that the decline in population continued unabated, though not so violently as between 1911 and 1921 due to the malaria epidemic which prevailed in the ex-State area till it was brought under control by spraying of D.D.T. and other anti-malarial measures.

Between 1951 to 1961, however, the population has shown a gradual tendency of increase and it has registered an overall increase of 37.6 per cent, 42.14 per cent amongst males and 33.62 per cent amongst females, as shown below :—

Census year	Population		
	Males	Females	Total
1951	401	458	859
1961	570	612	1,182
Percentage increase ..	42.14	33.62	37.60

The population of Savantvadi Taluka has increased by 11.94 per cent, of the District (Rural) by 6.63 per cent and of the State by 23.60 per cent during this period. This is a clear index to the recovery of the village in the field of health. Now there is no Malaria trouble and the people look healthy. The present density of population in the village is 246 per square mile as against 179 according to the earlier Census.

According to the Revision Survey Settlement Report of ex-Savantvadi State, the average birth and death rate per thousand of the population during the early and closing years of the settlement were in the State as follows :—

Decade	Birth rate per 1,000	Death rate per 1,000
1893—1903	33.40	23.47
1911—1921	31.85	26.85

The death rate in 1917-18 rose to 49.9 as a result of the influenza epidemic. The erstwhile Savantvadi State had been continuously attacked by Malaria from a date long prior to the introduction of Settlement and during the last five years preceding the settlement the disease had been more extensive than at any previous period of which records exist.

As stated above the position has now changed and the village is free from Malaria.

Excepting the epidemic of Influenza in 1918, there has been no epidemic in the village excepting Malaria.

(f) *Language*.—1,179 of the village population (including Mahars) have returned Marathi as their mother-tongue and only 3 persons (all males) belonging to the only Muslim household in the village, have returned their mother-tongue as Urdu. In their houses and while speaking with one another the villagers speak in Kokani dialect peculiar to the place which is a slang of Marathi.

Out of the 1,179 persons (567 males and 612 females) who have returned Marathi as their mother-tongue, only 16 males and 1 female are returned as speaking subsidiary languages, viz., English 4, Hindi 11, Kannad 1 and Urdu 1. Three males who have returned Urdu as their mother-tongue speak Marathi as a subsidiary language. None of the Mahars has returned any subsidiary language.

The difference between the Marathi as spoken by the villagers and written Marathi with their equivalents in English can be seen from Table No. 4.7 on page 77.

(g) *Education*.—Classifying the village population according to age, sex and education we find that out of the 1,182 persons, 841 persons (308 males and 533 females), or 71.15 per cent of the total population are illiterate and 341 persons (262 males and 79 females), or 28.85 per cent are literate. Among the literates 64.2 per cent have reached some level of education. There is no villager staying in the village who has gone beyond primary or junior basic stage of education.

The percentage of literacy in the village as compared to the Taluka, District and State is given below :—

Name of the area	Percentage of literacy		
	Males	Females	Total population
Kunkeri Village ..	45.96	12.91	28.85
Savantvadi Taluka (Rural) ..	43.59	14.96	28.41
Ratnagiri District (Rural) ..	40.24	15.71	26.55
Maharashtra State (Rural) ..	33.51	9.34	21.46

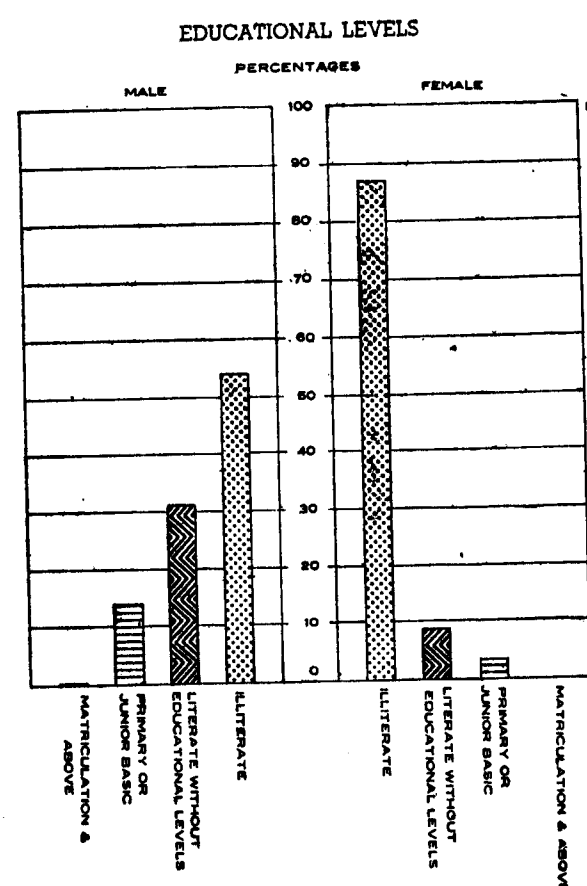
From the above figures, we see that the percentage of literacy in the village compares favourably with that of the Taluka and the District in which the village is situated except for the females who appear to be lagging behind.

TABLE No. 4.7

Marathi as spoken by the villagers and written Marathi with their equivalents in English

Marathi as spoken 1	Marathi as written 2	English equivalent 3
१. तुम्हा नांव काय ?	तुम्हे नांव काय ?	What is your name ?
२. तू खीय रवंतय ?	तू कोठें रहातोस ?	Where do you stay ?
३. माझा नांव सखाराम आसा. मी कणकेरे रवंतय.	माझे नांव सखाराम. मी कुणकेरीला रहातो	My name is Sakharam. I stay at Kunkeri.
४. तू शेती करतय काय ?	तू शेती करतोस काय ?	Do you follow Agriculture ?
५. होय मी शेती करतय ..	होय मी शेती करतो ..	Yes, I do cultivate land.
६. तुम्ही कितकी जमीन आसा ?	तुम्ही किती जमीन आहे ?	How much land do you own or cultivate ?
७. माझी २ एकर जमीन आसा	माझी २ एकर जमीन आहे	I own 2 acres of land.
८. तू सरकार धारो किती भरतय ?	तू सरकार सारा किती भरतोस ?	How much assessment do you pay ?
९. मी ४ रुपये सरकार धारो भरतय	मी ४ रुपये सरकार सारा भरतो	I pay assessment of Rs. 4.
१०. तुम्हा लग्न झालासा काय ?	तुम्हे लग्न झाले आहे काय ?	Are you married ?
११. होय. माझा लग्न झालासा	होय. माझे लग्न झाले आहे	Yes. I am married.
१२. तुम्हा कितकी बाकटी आसत ?	तुम्हा किती मुलें आहेत ?	How many children have you ?
१३. माकां दोन बाकटीं आसत. योक झील आणि येंक चेंडू.	मला दोन मुलें आहेत. एक मुलगा आणि एक मुलगी.	I have two children, one son and one daughter.
१४. तुम्हें आवस-बापूस आसतीतच ?	तुम्हे आईबाप हयात असतीलच ?	Your parents may be living ?
१५. होय. माझे आवस-बापूस जीते आसत. आम्ही सगळीं एकटीच रवंतय.	हो. माझे आईबाप हयात आहेत. आम्ही सर्व एकत्रच रहातो.	Yes. My parents are living. We all stay in one family.
१६. तुमच्या जेवणांत काय काय आसतां ?	तुमचे जेवण काय काय असते ?	What are the items of your food ?
१७. आम्ही सकाळीं पेज, दोपारी भात, सांबारा आणि भाजी आणि रात्री भात, माशाचा सांबारा नायतर टिकला, किवा डाळ, भात व भाजी खातव.	आम्ही सकाळी पेज, दोन प्रहरी भात व आंबटी आणि भाजी आणि रात्री भात, माशांचे कालवण (पातळ अगर जाय) अगर डाळ भात व भाजी खातो.	We take rice gruel in the morning, rice, sauce and vegetables in the noon and fish curry (thick or thin) or Dal, rice and vegetables at night.

A graph indicating level of literacy of males and females is given below :—



The Table No. 4.8 on page 79 gives age and sex-wise distribution of literates and illiterates.

• Out of the literates 35·78 per cent are literate without any educational level, 45·16 per cent are educated from I to IV Standard Marathi, 16·42 per cent are educated from V and VII Standard Marathi, and only 2·64 per cent are educated beyond VII Standard Marathi.

Out of the 159 persons in age-group 10—19, 102 are educated between I to VII Standard and 2 up to IX Standard and 3 persons are literate without educational level, the rest are illiterate. This indicates very unsatisfactory progress in education. The education starts late in the life of the villagers and ends early.

According to 1951 Census, the percentage of illiterates was 93·6 per cent and of literates 6·4 per cent. There has thus been some progress in the village during the last 10 years but it cannot be said to be satisfactory.

Coming to the standard of literacy amongst the Mahars, according to 1961 Census, we find that 84.7 per cent amongst them are illiterate and 15.3 per cent literate as against the general standard of literacy among the villagers which is, 71.15 per cent illiterate and 28.85 per cent literate, which is a clear index to the backwardness of the Mahars in education. Their standard of literacy does not also compare favourably with the percentage of literacy of the Taluka, District and State, which are 28.41 per cent, 26.55 per cent and 21.46 per cent. for rural areas.

The pattern of education amongst the Mahars in the village as emerging from the 1961 Census is given in Table No. 4.9 below.

There are only two persons (both male) in the age-group of 15—34 and above, representing 3.39 per cent of total Mahar population, who can be said to be literate in the real sense of the term in that they have reached the primary or junior basic stage of education as against 8.88 per cent amongst the total village population and even in the school-going age we find only 37.5 per cent and 25.00 per cent of literate males and females, respectively, amongst them.

There is no matriculate or a person holding any degree or diploma amongst them as in the general population of the village. Moreover there is no female amongst them who has reached any educational level.

TABLE No. 4.9

Distribution of the Mahar population by age, sex and educational level

Age-group		Total			Illiterate			Literate without any educational standard			Primary or Junior basic			
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
All Ages	..	..	59	30	29	50	22	28	7	6	1	2	2	..
0-4	..	..	9	3	6	9	3	6	..	..	..	..	2	..
5-14	..	..	16	11	5	12	8	4	4	3	1	..	..	..
15-34	..	..	20	7	13	17	4	13	2	2	..	1	..	..
35-59	..	..	11	8	3	9	6	3	1	1	..	1	1	..
60+	..	..	3	1	2	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE No. 4.8
Distribution of population by age, sex and educational level

[illegible][illegible]

The three diploma holders are trained teachers from outside who are posted in the village.

Classifying the village population on the basis of occupation and standard of education reached, we find that out of the 615 workers (280 males and 335 females) in different occupation, 429 (113 males and 316 females) or 69.76 per cent are illiterate, 122 (112 males and 10 females) or 19.84 per cent are literate without educational level, 61 (52 males and 9 females) or 9.92 per cent are literate with primary or junior basic standard of education and 0.48 per cent have taken a diploma not amounting to a degree. Occupational pattern of the persons is given in the Table No. 4.10 below.

Education, it will be seen from the aforesaid Table, has not much affected the occupational pattern of the village

as only 6 out of ⁵⁵39 males, who have reached some educational level, are working in other services.

Classifying the heads of households sex-wise and according to literacy standard, we find that out of 254 heads of households, 157 (101 males and 56 females), or 61.81 per cent are illiterate, 57 (51 males and 6 females), or 22.44 per cent are literate without educational level and 40 (38 males and 2 females) or 15.75 per cent are educated upto primary or junior basic stage of education. There is no head of the household with educational standard of matriculation and above. Among the 14 heads of households amongst Mahars (11 males and 3 females), all the females are illiterate and amongst the male heads of households 71.44 per cent are illiterate, 14.28 per cent are literate without educational level and 14.28 per cent have reached primary or junior basic stage of education.

TABLE No. 4.10

Distribution of the population by occupation and educational level

Educational Level	WORKERS														
	Total Workers			Cultivator			Agricultural Labour			Household Industry			Manufacturing		
				I			II			IV			V		
	Persons	Males	Females	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Total	615	280	335	477	210	267	60	17	43	43	22	21	1	1	..
Illiterate	429	113	316	326	76	250	53	12	41	33	12	21	..	..	..
Literate (without educational level)	122	112	10	104	95	9	4	3	1	7	7	..	1	1	..
(i) Standard I to IV	29	24	5	24	20	4	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..
(ii) Standard V to VII	28	24	4	20	16	4	1	1	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
(iii) Standard VIII and IX	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(iv) Standard X and XI	4	4	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(v) Non-Technical Diploma not equal to degree	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(vi) University Degree or post-graduate degree other than technical degree	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Educational Level	WORKERS									NON-WORKERS					
	Trade and Commerce			Other occupations			Other services			Students			Non-working		
	VII			(III, VI, VIII)			(IX)								
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Total	6	5	1	3	3	..	25	22	3	146	88	58	421	202	219
Illiterate	1	..	1	1	1	..	15	12	3	..	..	..	412	195	217
Literate (without educational level)	..	..	..	2	2	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(i) Standard I to IV	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	123	69	54	2	2	..
(ii) Standard V to VII	3	3	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	21	17	4	7	5	2
(iii) Standard VIII and IX	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
(iv) Standard X and IX	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(v) Non-Technical Diploma not equal to Degree	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(vi) University Degree or post-graduate degree other than technical degree	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Speaking generally, 28.56 per cent of Mahar heads of households as against 38.19 per cent of the general population are literate.

Table No. 4.11 on page 82 gives age-wise distribution of the above heads of households.

Concentration of illiteracy among heads of the households is found in the senior age-groups as is natural.

Turning to the children of school-going age, we find that out of the total of 269 children in age-group 6-14 (140 males and 129 females), 141 (83 males and 58 females) or 52.42 per cent, attend school. 20 children (10 males and 10 females) do not attend school as they have to work for their living. The details of the 20 children, who have to work for their living are cultivators 3 males and 7 females, ordinary labour 4 males, skilled work 3 males and house-work 3 females. The remaining 108 children do not attend school for no reason specified (*vide* Table No. 4.12 on page 82).

The village is under the scheme of compulsory primary education whereunder it is compulsory on the parents or guardians of all children between the ages of 7 and 11 to send their wards to school. There are 170 children (77 males and 93 females) in these ages in the village. Only 102 or 60 per cent of these (51 males and 51 females) however attend school but their attendance is not regular. Of the remaining school-going children from the village, 5 are below 7 years of age and 39 above 11 years age.

Table No. 4.13 on page 83 classifies the school-going children by their age, sex and educational level.

Out of 146 children going to school 4, all males, are above 14 years of age and 1 child, also a male, is below 6 years. The schooling age in the village as can be seen from the aforesaid table starts with 8th year and ends with the 12th year. No girl is sent to school after 12th year of age.

The caste-wise distribution of the children of school-going age in the village and those actually attending school is given in Table No. 4.14 on page 84.

As could be seen from the aforesaid table, besides the Dhangars and Kumbhars who send no child to school, the Marathas who are a major and an advanced community of all amongst the villagers, also appear to be lagging far behind in education in spite of the numerical strength of the school-going children in the caste. This is due to lack of real zeal for education amongst them and also due to their poverty. Vanis, Bhandaris and Nhavis would appear to be more enthusiastic about education.

The distribution of the school-going children by caste and educational level is given in Table No. 4.15 on page 84.

From the aforesaid table, we see that excepting among the Marathas, the other children stop going to the school practically after III or IV standard and possibly help their fathers in their traditional occupation.

There was a primary school in the village teaching up to V standard at the time of Census. The number of pupils attending the school was 145. Six of them were Mahars. The school now teaches up to Marathi VII standard. The number of teachers is 4. The school is not of a basic type. No adult literacy classes are conducted in the village.

Migration and Settlement

Out of the 254 households, 151 or 59.4 per cent have settled in the village before 5 generations, 26 or 10.2 per cent between 4-5 generations, and only 2 or 0.8 per cent have settled in the present generation. This is clearly indicative of the characteristic rural feature of this village where there are no migrations from outside for want of any attraction. This indicates the tightness of the village economy.

The two households who have migrated in the present generation are of Marathas. Out of these one as already seen earlier has migrated between 1-5 years before the survey and the other has migrated over 16 years before the survey.

Out of the total population of 1,182 persons, 751 (462 males and 289 females) or 63.54 per cent were born in the village itself, 351 (67 males and 284 females) or 29.70 per cent of the entire population were born elsewhere in Ratnagiri District in rural area; 41 (17 males and 24 females) or 3.47 per cent were born elsewhere in Ratnagiri District in urban area; 1 male was born in other district of Maharashtra in rural area and 32 (20 males and 12 females) or 2.71 per cent in other districts of Maharashtra in urban area. Amongst persons migrating from outside the State, are 1 female born in urban area in Mysore State and 5 persons (3 males and 2 females), born in Pakistan. The lower percentage of females born in the village in the existing population is obviously due to females born in the village being married out and females born elsewhere being married into the village. The movement of females into the village is mostly restricted to the district only as amongst them only 2.45 per cent are from outside the district.

TABLE No. 4.11

Heads of Households classified by age, sex and educational level

Age-group	Total		Illiterate		Literate (without educational level)		Primary or Junior basic		Matriculation and above	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
0-14	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
15-34	..	47	14	25	15	2	7	2	..	..
35-59	..	116	39	57	31	2	28	..	..	..
60+	..	27	10	19	5	1	3	..	..	..
Total	..	190	64	101	56	51	6	38	2	..

TABLE No. 4.12

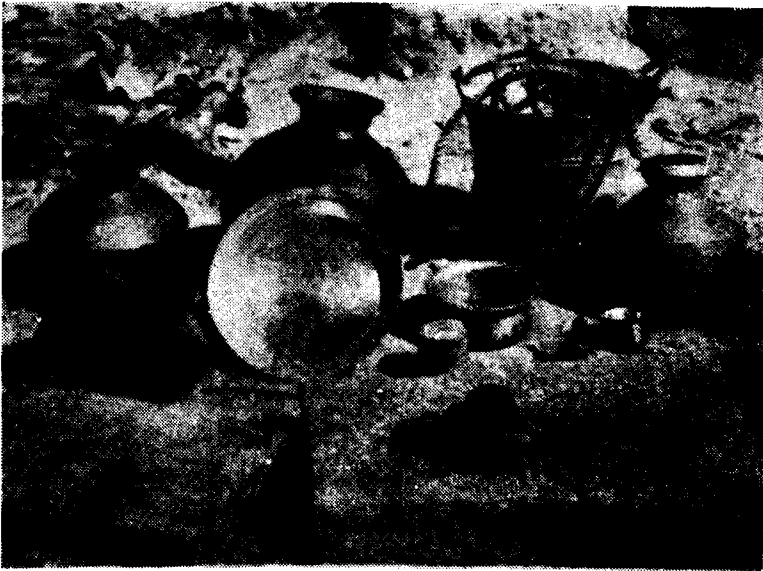
Distribution of Children of school-going age by age-group and occupation

Age-group	Total			Going to school			Household work			Ordinary labourers			Agricultural labourers		
	Persons	Males	Females	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Total	..	269	140	129	141	83	58	3	..	3	4	4	..	..	..
6 to 9 years	..	155	82	73	61	36	25	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
10 to 12 years	..	90	40	50	69	36	33	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
13 to 14 years	..	24	18	6	11	11	..	1	..	1	2	2	..	..	..

Age-group	Cultivators			Household Industry			Skilled work			Other work (excluding labour)			Not working		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Total	..	10	3	7	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	108	47	61
6 to 9 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	92	45	47
10 to 12 years	..	2	..	2	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	15	1	14
13 to 14 years	..	8	3	5	..	..	1 (mining)	1 (mining)	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
							(grazing cattle)	(grazing cattle)							



Open air-bath and household gear of a Maratha family



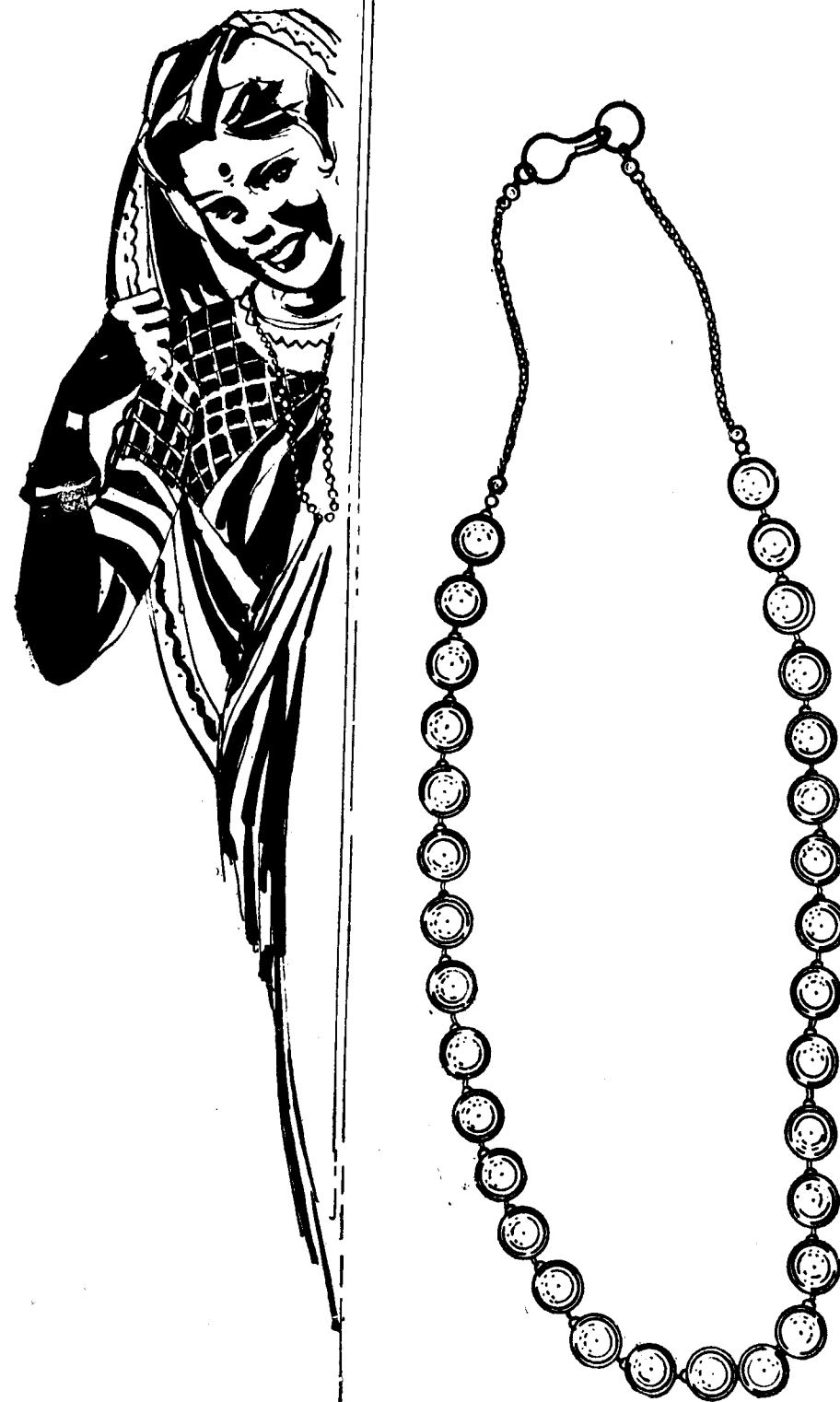
Household goods of a Mahar family

TABLE No. 4.13
Distribution of School-going Children by age, sex and educational level

Age in completed years		Educational Level																				
		Total Persons			Total children going to school			I Std.									II Std.			III Std.		
								I Std.			II Std.			III Std.								
Persons	Males	Females	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16							
Total	..	..	363	195	168	146	88	58	40	16	24	40	25	15	27	16	11					
5	..	..	58	31	27	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
6	..	..	44	26	18	4	4	..	3	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	..					
7	..	..	37	19	18	9	3	6	8	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..					
8	..	..	46	22	24	29	16	13	13	6	7	11	7	4	4	3	1					
9	..	..	28	15	13	19	13	6	6	2	4	9	8	1	3	2	1					
10	..	..	44	13	31	33	12	21	7	1	6	13	5	8	9	4	5					
11	..	..	15	8	7	12	7	5	1	..	1	1	..	1	2	1	1					
12	..	..	31	19	12	24	17	7	1	..	1	3	2	1	8	5	3					
13	..	..	10	7	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..					
14	..	..	14	11	3	8	8	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..					
15	..	..	17	11	6	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..					
18	..	..	18	12	6	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
19	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					

Age in completed years		Educational Level															
		IV Std.			V Std.			VI Std.			VII Std.			VIII Std.			
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	
1		17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
Total	..	..	16	12	4	16	12	4	4	4	..	1	1	..	2	2	..
5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	..	..	3	2	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	..	..	2	2	..	6	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	8	6	2	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..
19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

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TABLE No. 4.14

Distribution of Children of school-going age (6—14 years) actually attending school by caste and sex

Name of the Caste			Children of school-going age (6—14 years)			Children of school-going age attending school			Percentage of children attending school to the total		
			Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Maratha	..	..	225	112	113	116	65	51	51.56	58.04	45.13
2. Brahmin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Vani	..	..	6	4	2	4	3	1	66.67	75.00	50.00
4. Bhandari	..	..	4	3	1	4	3	1	100.00	100.00	100.00
5. Maratha Deoli ..	..	..	2	1	1	1	1	..	50.00	100.00	..
6. Sutar	..	..	6	3	3	5	2	3	83.33	66.67	100.00
7. Kumbhar	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Madval	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	100.00	100.00	..
9. Nhavi	..	..	5	2	3	3	2	1	60.00	100.00	33.33
10. Dhangar	..	..	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Mahar	..	..	13	9	4	6	5	1	46.15	55.56	25.00
12. Gurav	..	..	2	1	1	1	1	..	50.00	100.00	..
13. Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	..	269	140	129	141	83	58	52.42	59.29	44.96

TABLE No. 4.15

Distribution of Children attending school by caste and educational level

Educational Level	No. of children attending school			Maratha		Vani		Bhandari		Sutar		Madval		Nhavi		Mahar		Gurav		Maratha Deoli		
	M	F	Total	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Total	..	88	58	146	70	51	3	1	3	1	2	3	1	..	2	1	5	1	1	..	1	..
1st Standard	..	16	24	40	12	23	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
2nd Standard	..	25	15	40	19	11	1	1	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..
3rd Standard	..	16	11	27	13	10	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4th Standard	..	12	4	16	10	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
5th Standard	..	12	4	16	9	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..
6th Standard	..	4	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
7th Standard	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8th Standard	..	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The break-up of the population of the village on the basis of their places of birth is shown below :—

Place of birth	Percentage		
	Males	Females	Total
(1) The village of enumeration.	81.05	47.22	63.54
(2) Ratnagiri District ..	14.74	50.33	33.16
(3) Other districts in Maharashtra State.	3.68	1.96	2.79
(4) Other States in India ..	..	0.16	0.08
(5) Pakistan	0.53	0.33	0.42

The above information will show that there is no in-migration from another State or country except the solitary case of one female from Mysore and 5 migrants from Pakistan.

The table No. 4.16 on page 86 gives the classification of the migrants by place of birth and duration of their residence in the village.

The aforesaid table would show that among the migrants in all categories of duration, females exceed males, 74.94 per cent of the migrants being females. Five persons (3 males and 2 females) appear to have migrated from Pakistan due to partition.

As stated elsewhere, it is revealed from the field enquiry that 83 males of different castes (70 Marathas, 3 Vanis, 4 Nhavis and 1 each from Dhangar, Bhandari, Sutar, Maratha Deoli, Madval and Mahar castes, have migrated to Bombay and elsewhere for employment, the period of their migration ranging from 1 to 44 years.

Special Legislation

Untouchability.—Untouchability is still observed in the village. Harijans do not dare enter the village temple or go to the village well. Hotel-keepers also are understood to be serving tea to Harijans in separate cups. Harijans also stick to their old traditions. They believe with other castes and communities in their old traditional ways. The villagers outwardly make a show that they are against untouchability but they do not appear to be honest and sincere in their behaviour towards Harijans.

Prohibition.—Some 15 to 30 per cent of the villagers appear to be occasionally taking liquor.

Equal succession rights to women.—Majority of the people are not in favour of this legislation.

Late marriages.—The people are not in favour of early marriages and early marriages are not celebrated. The villagers however think that proper age for marriage should be 16 for girls and 24 for boys. They do not favour marriages performed later than this though due to circumstances this may not be possible.

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Dowry system.—The villagers are found to be neither for nor against dowry system and whatever dowry or Dej is given, is modest.

Education.—The villagers are of late realising the importance of education. They have recently built a school building by voluntary labour.

Higher education.—The villagers are in favour of higher education though it is beyond their means and some persons do send their sons to Savantvadi for High School studies.

At present there are 14 students, all males, studying in different standards in the High School at Savantvadi. They are, one in Standard XI, 5 in Standard X, 7 in Standard IX and one in Standard VIII. They go to the school every morning and return home in the evening.

Education amongst women.—Girls are sent to school along with boys but not to the same extent. Girls are generally stopped from school on completion of 12th year of age. Out of the 129 girls of school-going age it is found that only 85⁵⁸ are attending school.

Types of family

Out of the 254 households in the village 90 have simple families, 58 intermediate families, 27 joint families and 79 others :—

- (1) Simple family consists of a husband and un-married child.
- (2) Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brother, sister and one of the parents.
- (3) Joint family consists of a married couple with married sons, daughters or with married brothers and sisters.

Table No. 4.17 on page 86 gives caste-wise distribution of the families into simple, intermediate, joint and others.

Out of the 254 families only 27 or hardly 10.63 are joint families, 58 or 22.83 per cent are intermediate, 90 or 35.48 per cent are simple families and 79 or 31.10 per cent roughly, are others.

The table No. 4.18 on page 88 gives the distribution of the households by size.

From the aforesaid table, it will be seen that families of 4—6 members and above are a rule in the village, comprising 2/3rds of the total households, the households of 2—3 members being 58 in number and 30 being single member households.

TABLE No. 4.16

Migrants classified by place of birth and duration of residence

-----	Rural Urban	Duration of residence														
		Total	Migrants	Less than 1 year		1—5 years		6—10 years		11—15 years		16 years and over		Period not stated		
				Person	Males	Females	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Total	.. ..	431	108	323	32	34	24	58	15	47	14	50	23	134	..	..
Born elsewhere in Ratnagiri District.	Rural	351	67	284	23	25	18	48	9	39	4	47	13	125	..	..
	Urban	41	17	24	2	2	2	7	5	7	5	1	3	7	..	..
Born out of Ratnagiri district but within Maharashtra.	Rural	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
	Urban	32	20	12	7	7	4	3	1	1	2	..	6	1	..	..
Born in Mysore State.	Urban	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Born outside India	.. ..	5	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..

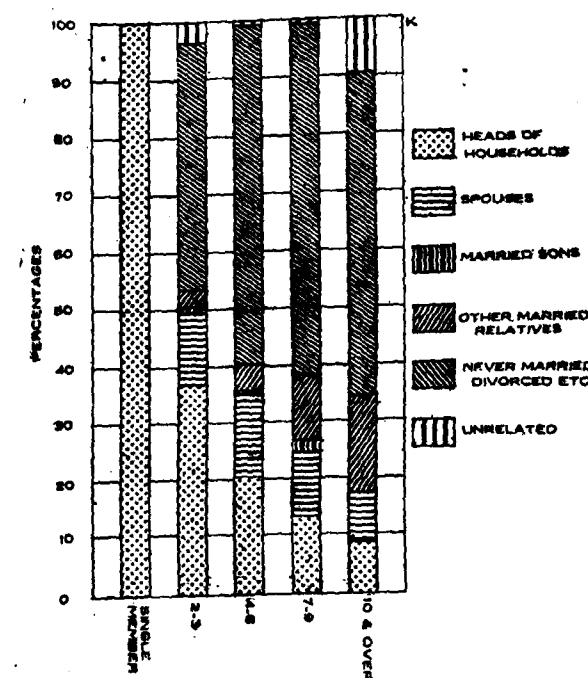
TABLE No. 4.17

Castewise distribution of Households by types of families

Caste/Community	1	Total Number of Households	Types of Families living in the Households			
			Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
2	3	4	5	6		
1. Maratha	..	198	65	46	24	63
2. Brahmin	..	1	1	..	..	..
3. Kumbhar	..	3	1	..	1	1
4. Nhavi	..	7	2	2	1	2
5. Sutar	..	9	3	2	..	4
6. Bhandari	..	5	4	..	..	1
7. Vani	..	4	2	1	..	1
8. Gurav	..	1	..	1	..	..
9. Madval	..	3	2	1	..	..
10. Maratha Deoli	..	1	..	..	..	1
11. Dhangar	..	7	3	1	1	2
12. Mahar	..	14	7	4	..	3
13. Muslim	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	..	254	90	58	27	79

The household size and composition in respect of all the households is given in Table No. 4.19 on page 88 and further classified by the graph below :—

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS



From the aforesaid table we see that majority of the households are having 4 to 6 members in them as in the general pattern of the village.

The graph above gives the percentages of different categories of persons such as heads of households, spouses, married relatives, persons never married, divorced, etc., and unrelated persons in different sizes of households, viz., single member, those having 2—3 members, 4—6 members, 7—9 members and those with 10 members and above.

The percentage of never married and widowed persons is the highest amongst all categories of households (single member household not taken into account). The percentage of unrelated persons is the highest in households having 10 or more members and next to that in the households with 2—3 members. The percentage of other married relatives also is the highest in households having 10 and above members and it goes on decreasing with the decrease in the size of the household. Number of spouses is practically uniform in all sizes of households and the number of married sons is negligible.

As will be seen from Table No. 4.20 on page 88, the prevalence of married persons by the size of households reveals that the number of married persons in the

household varies with its size and that there is concentration of married persons in the households having 4 to 6 members and above, the number being 150 males and 151 females.

The heads of the households are generally married males between 25—60 years. Female heads are mostly widows. Table No. 4.21 on page 89 will substantiate this statement.

Intra-family Relations

The relations between father and son are not so formal as before, where the son always kept at a respectful distance from the father and his communion with the father was through the mother. No positive disrespect for the parents is however evidenced. Except in personal matters such as choice of a bride, etc., sons are amenable to father's wishes and it is only after marriage, especially when there are more than one brother in the family, that disruptive forces set in. Fathers also are not so insistent on maintaining family integrity as before and they are alive to the fact that it is not unnatural if the sons should think of living separately after marriage. This is evidenced by the fact that only 10.63 per cent of the households in the village are now joint families.

The relations between fathers and daughters are practically unchanged. The father still deems it his responsibility to find a suitable match for his daughter and the daughter is amenable to this.

The relations between mother and son are cordial as before and it is only after marriage of the son, especially if he is of a weak character, that the relationship between mother and the son is strained. Even then the mother entertains the same care and love for her son.

The relationship between mother and daughter remains unchanged.

Formerly the younger brothers had deep regard for the eldest brother and his wife, and they were respected like parents, but that regard though not totally absent, is not seen nowadays to the former extent. There is a tendency to separate after marriage. Regarding brothers and sisters there is no change in relationship. Similar is the case with regard to relationship between sisters.

Formerly the husband and wife could not behave freely with each other in the presence of the elders and in most cases their regard for each other was influenced by the husband's parents, but the position has changed today and the son does not blindly follow the dictates of the parents.

TABLE No. 4.18

Distribution of Households by size and number of males and females therein

Total number of Households	Size of the Households															
	Single member			2-3 members			4-6 members			7-9 members			10 members & above			
	House-holds	M	F	House-holds	M	F	House-holds	M	F	House-holds	M	F	House-holds	M	F	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
254	..	30	6	24	58	69	88	112	280	270	46	166	186	8	49	44
Percentage	..	11.81			22.83			44.10			18.11			3.15		..

TABLE No. 4.19

Distribution of Households by size and composition

Size of the Household	Number of House-holds	Household Composition														
		Head of house-holds		Spouses of heads of households		Married sons	Other married relations		Never married, widowed, etc.		Persons unrelated		TOTAL			
		M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F	P	M	F	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Single member	..	30	16	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	6	24
2—3 members	..	58	36	22	..	20	1	1	4	30	38	1	4	157	69	88
4—6 members	..	112	96	16	..	81	4	5	19	172	153	3	1	550	280	270
7—9 members	..	46	44	2	..	39	9	11	29	99	116	3	..	352	166	186
10 members and above	..	8	8	..	..	8	..	7	9	28	24	6	3	93	49	44
Total	..	254	190	64	..	148	14	24	61	329	331	13	8	1,182	570	612

TABLE No. 4.20

Distribution of Households by size and number of married persons therein

Size of Households	No. of Households			Number of Married persons					
	Scheduled Castes	Muslims	Others	Scheduled Castes		Muslims		Others	
				Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 member	2	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..
2—3 members	1	1	56	..	..	..	..	28	28
4—6 members	10	..	102	10	10	..	..	89	90
7—9 members	1	..	45	1	1	..	..	61	61
10 members and above ..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	20	20

TABLE No. 4.21

Distribution of Heads of Households by age, sex and marital status

Age-group		Marital Status								
		Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed		
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
All ages	..	..	190	64	15	1	148	17	27	46
0-9	..	..								
10-14	..	..		1	....	1	....	....	....	....
15-19	..	..		4	....	....	....	....	....	....
20-24	..	..		3	2	....	....	....	....	....
25-29	..	..	15	1	5	....	1	2	....	....
30-34	..	..	25	11	2	....	10	....	....	....
35-44	..	..	59	23	....	....	22	7	....	1
45-49	..	..	20	4	....	....	58	8	....	4
50-54	..	..	23	6	....	....	15	....	5	15
55-59	..	..	14	6	....	....	18	....	5	4
60-64	..	..	16	8	....	....	12	....	5	6
65-69	..	..	2	....	....	....	5	....	....	6
70+	..	..	9	2	....	....	1	....	11	8
	..	..					6	....	3	....
										2

The relationship between the mother's brother and sister's son was emphasised by the prevailing tendency of the family to accept the mother's brother's daughter as the wife for the son in the family. As a matter of fact, the sister's son was deemed to have preferential claim on the mother's brother's daughter. Though such marriages are still generally favoured, they are not as universal as before. There is, however, no instance of such a marriage in this village as already seen.

The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law still remains as before where the mother-in-law wielded absolute power, but the rigours of the same have softened due to increased tendency of separation on marriage and the mother-in-law in her own interests adopts a milder attitude.

Inheritance of property

The inheritance of property is governed by the Hindu and Muslim Laws of Inheritance. The people know the change in the Hindu Law of Inheritance under which the daughter is given an equal share with the son but this provision is not followed. No family, however, feels aggrieved because of the non-observance of the strict provision of Law. There is no visible change in the attitude and practice towards inheritance of property.

Leisure and Recreation

Due to poor economy the villagers have little or no time for leisure or pleasure and they have to find some work or other to make both ends meet. So far as agriculturists and agricultural labour are concerned, there

are no leisure and recreation activities except that they collect together and chitchat.

The recreational activities, to speak of, are performing Bhajans on Thursdays, Saturdays, Ekadashi days and during Ganapati festivals and attending the fairs and festivals in the village and roundabout. In this region, annual fairs are held in every village between Kartik Shudh Dwadashi (October-November) and Vaishakh Vad 30, (Amavasya), (May-June), when parties of performers called Dashavataris move from village to village according to prescribed calendar and stage some mythological incidents in the form of a drama at the end of which a curds pot suspended in the temple premises is broken. The whole performance is called 'Dahi Kala'. These performances provide recreation to the villagers.

The Dahi Kala performance starts at about 10 in the night and ends at daybreak on the next day with the breaking of the curds pot.

The Dashavatari performance begins with the invocation of Ganapati and Saraswati and the performers generally belong to Deoli caste.

To start with, the Ganapati makes his entry accompanied by Riddhi, Siddhis. He dances for a while on the stage, is offered worship, after which he retires showering blessings on the audience. Then enters Saraswati with the peacock and after giving a 'peacock dance' she also retires. Then Shankasur comes on the stage dressed in black from head to toe with lips painted white and a strip of red cloth protruding through the lips to represent the tongue. He creates mirth by cutting jokes and indulges in mimicry which is a special

attraction, especially for the womenfolk and children though he strikes terror amongst the latter.

God Krishna then enters and has a wordy tussle with the Shankasur. Shankasur meets with death at the hands of Lord Krishna. Krishna then gives a dance and retires. Then starts the main item of the show, the enacting of a folk-opera. The theme is a Pauranic one such as Usha Swapna, Draupadi Vastra Haran, Kichakvadh, Kaurav Pandav Yuddha, etc. There is neither a script nor much of a plot. The plot unfolds through extempore dialogues and speeches (*Ratnagiri Gazetteer*, Revised, 243). The dramas of these performers are also staged independently in the villages by raising public contribution. Tamashas are not in vogue on this side and no Tamasha is performed anywhere.

Recreation for women.—The only recreation, to speak of for women is *phugadis* which is a dance exclusively of women performed to the accompaniment of songs, especially during Ganapati and Gauri festivals, in front of the images of Ganapati or Gauri. The only other occasions on which women meet formally, are social functions, especially marriages, or other religious occasions. There is no other occasion on which women meet except at the wells in the hamlets, or other water sources, where they get an opportunity to ventilate their grievances against their mother-in-law or other relations of their husbands to their neighbours, and which as a result, turn out into gossip centres in the village.

There are no other folk songs and dances in vogue in the village.

Annual Cycle of Fairs and Festivals

There are only two annual fairs in the village, one at the temple of Shri Devi Bhavai and the other in the premises of Shri Devi Sateri.

The annual fair of Shri Devi Bhavai is held on Kartik Vadya Navami. The ceremonial image of the Devi which is in the house of Shri Bhiva Dattaram Parab in Parab Wadi, is carried to the temple and kept near the idol of Shri Devi at about 8 to 9 p.m.

At this fair, the Dashavatari performers from Aravali Village in Vengurla Mahal, stage mythological drama annually. They come to the temple as usual, in the evening, and rest after meals. After the ceremonial image of the Goddess is brought to the temple, the Dashavatari are awakened. They recite Arati (prayers) in praise of the deity and the ceremonial image of the deity is placed in a palanquin and brought out. The image of the deity in palanquin is then taken round

the temple, five times. The procession is headed by drum beaters, Dashavatari and Mankaris, i.e., those enjoying honour at the temple. The Brahmin priest recites *mangalashthas* (auspicious verses). The palanquin is then taken into the temple and deposited and the ceremonial image placed by the side of the idol. The Dashavatari then perform a mythological drama till next morning. People from round about villages come for the fair. The congregation is about 1,000. Small dealers in toys, sweetmeats, and tea-stalls come for the fair.

Next day in the morning the Dashavatari break the curds pot hung in the *sabha mandap* and the ceremonial image of the deity is taken back in the palanquin to the place from where it was brought.

The Aravalikar performers used to get annual cash allowance of Rs. 8 from Government for their performance at this fair, which is stopped since 1955. Due to prevailing high prices, the villagers also raise public contribution and gave them an additional sum of Rs. 22. Now the villagers bear the whole expenditure of the fair. The Gaokar Parab too give them a *Shidha* (uncooked food) of 3 Kudavs rice, 1 seer tur pulse, 2 seers oil (1 seer cocoanut and 1 seer groundnut), 23 cocoanuts, vegetables and 2 headloads of fuel. The party consists of 15 to 16 men including carriers.

Hooda fair in the premises of Shri Devi Sateri.—The other fair in the village is the Hooda fair. The Hooda fair is held in the premises of Shri Devi Sateri and Baracha Chavatha. The Hooda is a pole of teak trees joined together (one at the top of the other) and planted in the premises of Shri Devi Sateri near the place where the annual Holi is celebrated. It is 60' above the ground and 7' underneath. Near the top, two planks are joined to it crosswise providing a standing space for four persons.

On the seventh day from Shimga Purnima (Holi), all villagers collect at Pimpal Wadi where there is the temple flag (*nishan*) and go to the site of the Hooda passing through the village. The ceremonial image of Shri Devi Bhavai from Shri Parab's house is taken to the Bhavai temple and *vidas* (betel leaves and nuts) are distributed amongst Mankaris, rayat and Simdhadas (villagers from adjoining villages). The Goddess and a *kalash* (metal pot) are then deposited in a palanquin which is kept on the platform, meant for keeping it, in the Shri Devi Sateri temple premises and the deity's lap is filled with rice, cocoanut, blouse-piece etc.

Two *avasars* (persons in whose body God is supposed to enter) go to the top of the Hooda and stand on the wooden frame, hugging to the Hooda pole. A third man (also an *avasar*) climbs the Hooda only upto the wooden frame at the top and remains clutching the Hooda. The five Mankaris then throw stones at the Hooda and other persons who have gathered at the foot of the Hooda are then asked to throw stones at the persons above, which they do. The stones thrown at the persons climbing on the Hooda are found not to hit or hurt them. Every person throws 5 stones aiming at the persons on the Hooda. The *avasars* then get down. The ceremonial image of the deity is then carried back to her seat at Shri Bhiva Dattaram Parab's house and kept there.

About 4,000 people from round about villages collect for the fair. Tea-stalls, aerated water stalls, sweetmeats and toy shops and shops of utensils are opened at the fair.

Hindu Festivals

(1) **Gudhi Padva.**—The first day of the Hindu year according to Shali Vahan Shaka (year) which the Hindus in these parts as in the other parts of Maharashtra follow. The day falls on the first day of the Hindu month Chaitra (March-April). It is celebrated by erecting and worshipping *gudhis* in the morning. The *gudhi* is a bamboo pole capped with a new piece of cloth with a metal pot (*tambha* or *lota*) and kept thereon upside down, and a string of flowers suspending from the neck of the pot, erected and worshipped in front of the house to herald the new year.

The *gudhi* is erected and worshipped by every Hindu house (Mahars included) in the village except Pimpalwadikar Savants.

According to Pimpalwadikar Savants, they do not erect or worship *gudhi* though they have the feast, as it was on this day that they received the news of the death of one of their ancestors in a fight on the Manohargad Fort. On learning the sad news, they hurriedly left for the place forgetful of erecting or worshipping the *gudhi*. Since then they have left the practice of erecting *gudhi*. There is no festival at the village temples on this day except the daily worship.

This is a day of feast and enjoyment. All people get up in the morning earlier than usual and put on new or washed clothes after taking bath. The day is observed by feast in every household. They generally have the sweet dish of *khir* (rice or broken wheat porridge) on this day.

Gudhi Padva is considered by all Hindus in the village as one of the 3½ most auspicious days in the year. The day is considered auspicious for building or entering a new house, putting a child to school or starting a new business.

(2) **Rama Navami.**—9th day of the bright half of the Hindu month Chaitra (March-April). Lord Rama, the scion of Aryan race, and the prince of Ayodhya, is believed to have been born at mid-day on this day. The day is observed as a day of feast. The story of the birth of Shri Rama is narrated in the temples in the form of a *kirtan* and exactly at 12 noon the cradling and naming ceremony of the Lord is performed in the temples. The ceremony ends with distribution of sweetened ginger powder called *sunthavada*. The celebration is not locally observed in the village but they observe the feast.

(3) **Hanuman Jayanti.**—The full-moon day of the Hindu month Chaitra (March-April), following the birth of Lord Rama. On this day Shri Hanuman or Maruti, the greatest and the most faithful follower of Lord Rama, and the son of the Wind, is believed to have been born to Anjani. The birth day celebration is observed with the same rites and ceremonies as observed during Rama Navami, at the sunrise of the full-moon day of Chaitra. There is no feast as such on this day. The day is observed to revere Shri Hanuman who is believed to be the deity of power and the most faithful follower of Lord Rama.

(4) **Akshayya Tritiya.**—Third day of the 1st half of Vaishakh (May-June). This day is not observed with any feast or ceremony in the village. It is, however, considered as one-half of the 3½ auspicious days in the year.

(5) **Karka Sankrant.**—This is the day on which the sun enters the sign of cancer which is usually on the 16th July. The agriculturists in this area have completed major part of their sowing operations by this time and routine work of weeding, etc., only is left on hand. The day is observed as a feast by them. They have a pungent dish of mutton or fowl and rice bread called *ambolis* on this day. They do not yoke bullocks to their ploughs on this day and the day is observed as a holiday.

(6) **Naga Panchami.**—Fifth day of the first half of Shravan (July-August). On this day an earthen painted image of Naga (cobra) is installed and worshipped in every Hindu house. Some unwidowed married women observe fast on this day for the well-being of their brothers. Sweet dish of *khir*, (sweet porridge), is prepared. The village women avoid frying things on this day.

Digging and ploughing, which is believed to harm snakes, are also avoided on this day. There is no function at any of the village temples.

(7) *Cocoanut day—Narali Purnima*.—This falls on the full-moon day of Shravan (July-August). On this day sacred threads, *Janavis*, locally called *powatas* are worshipped by all Hindu households and worn by male members. The day is observed by a feast. The *powata* is also worshipped in the temple of Shri Devi Bhavai.

(8) *Gokul Ashtami*.—8th day of the 2nd half of Shravan (July-August), on which day Lord Krishna is believed to have been born. This is a day of fast-cum-festival. Earthen painted image of Lord Krishna is installed and worshipped on this day by some households while some observe fast only. The fast is broken at midnight after worship of Lord Krishna. *Ambolis* and *Shevga* leaves vegetable are the preparations for the day. This is by and large the most important festival in this village and observed with Bhajans.

(9) *Shri Ganesh Chaturthi*.—4th day of the 1st half of Bhadrapad (August-September). The image of Lord Ganapati is ceremonially brought to the house in the morning and installed and worshipped. The village Brahmin presides at the worship. On this day images of Ganapati of different size and make, are installed and worshipped in every Hindu household. This is a universal festival amongst Hindus on this side, poor and rich, and it is observed with great pomp, with crackers, as during Diwali at other places. The houses are cleaned, walls painted and floors cowdunged for the occasion. The Ganapati festival lasts from 2 to 11 days, during which period goddess Parvati or Gauri is also worshipped. This is a purely individual family festival on this side. No community Ganapati festivals with a common image as in cities, are in vogue in the village or round about. The Ganapati image installed on Ganesh Chaturthi day during this festival, is immersed in water on 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th or 11th day. The general practice is to immerse it on the 2nd or 5th day. Gauri also is worshipped along with Ganapati but not with that pomp. The Gauri is immersed on the day prescribed therefor in the almanac.

(10) *Nava*.—This festival is generally observed on the day following Ganesh Chaturthi which day is locally called *Undar Bi* (the second day of the mouse), on which day the mouse (*Undir*), the conventional conveyance of God Ganapati, is specially honoured by offer of food to the image of mouse kept and worshipped along with Ganapati. The food offering made to the image of a mouse is next day taken to the fields and the crumbs

are thrown in the standing crop. By doing so it is believed the field mice are appeased and they do not damage the standing crops. The Nava festival comprises worshipping of standing paddy crop, cutting a few plants after worship, bringing them home, making them into garlands and tying the garlands to the upper side of the outer door and other articles in use, such as the pot in which water is stored, the pots in which rice is cooked and water is warmed for bath, mill-stone, pestle and mortar, etc. The observance of this festival on *Undar Bi* depends upon sufficient maturity of the crop; and it is performed on this day only if milk has formed in the paddy grain, otherwise the observance is deferred to such day by which the paddy grain is sufficiently matured.

The day is heralded by beat of drums (*dhols*), at the village temple.

The individual villagers perform their Nava worship on hearing the beating of drums as stated above.

A few grains of the new maturing crop are then thrown into the cooking food. The villagers do not eat new crop unless this ceremony is performed.

This is a day of festivity and feast. It is observed by all Hindu households.

(11) *Navaratri and Dasara*.—The festival consists of nine nights as the name suggests, beginning with the first day of the Hindu month Ashvina (October-November), and ending on the tenth day thereof called Vijaya Dashami or Dasara.

On the first day, the ceremony of *ghatasthapana* is performed. This comprises of mounting a *ghata* (a jar), preferably of copper, filled with water, on a small heap of rice kept on a wooden stool (*pat*). Before installing the *ghata* on the rice heap, a copper coin and a betelnut are dropped into it and at the top of the jar is placed a cocoanut after putting a few mango leaves on the mouth of the jar. The goddess in the shape of the *ghata* is worshipped daily for nine days and a fresh string of flowers is daily hung over the *ghata*. On the loose earth spread in front of the *ghata*, are sown different grains and they are germinated. The seedlings so raised are used for worship and distributed amongst women on the 10th day, for decking their hair. This worship is observed only in some families by tradition. All households of Hindus, however, germinate seedlings of grains of different kinds during the *Navratri* and the village women deck their hair with them on the Dasara day and also distribute them amongst other women.

A common collective worship is held in the village temple of Shri Devi Bhavai.

On the Dasara day, the villagers have sweet dishes in their homes in the noon. In the evening, they go to the large temple for *shivalagna* in dress reserved for ceremonial occasions and a Shami or in its absence an *Apta* is worshipped. The leaves of Shami or *Apta* trees are grabbed collectively as the leaves are supposed to imbibe gold, and exchanged with greetings. This particular ceremony is known as "looting gold".

This day is looked upon as one of the 3½ most auspicious days in the year and is considered auspicious for commencing any new work such as building house, etc.

(12) *Diwali*.—The festival of lights—14th day of the 2nd half of Ashvin (October-November). Diwali festival starts from the 13th day of the dark or second half of Ashvin and lasts up to the 2nd day of the bright half of Kartika. On the 13th day, there is *Dhana rayodashi* on which there is worship of the Goddess of Wealth. On the 14th day, there is early morning bath and feast. The main item of feast is beaten rice, or *pohas*; they are called. On the 30th day, there is *Laxmi Pujan* or *Vahi Pujan*. This is observed only by traders, merchants and the rich. On the 1st day of Kartika, there is *Pratipada* and on the 2nd day there is *Bhaubij*. In the village only the 14th day of the 2nd half of Ashvin and the 1st and 2nd days of Kartika are of importance. The festival is, however, not observed on the scale on which it is observed on Bombay side. On the 14th day of the second half of Ashvin, the members of the families get up early in the morning, take bath, break *hirata* (a kind of wild bitter fruits) under their feet in front of a *Tulsi* plant in token of the crushing of the demon *Naraka Sur* by Lord Krishna, take the juice of the bark of the bitter *Satwin* tree seasoned with black pepper and garlic and eat sweetened beaten rice (*pohas*). This day is locally called "Chav-dis".

(13) *Bali Pratipada*.—1st day of Kartika locally called *Padava*. This is incidentally the first day of the *Vikrama Sanvat*. On this day the cattle are honoured and worshipped after applying flour paste to their horns and feeding them "*amboli*" bread. A miniature cattle shed of cowdung is made in the cattle shed adjoining the house and worshipped. The day is observed by feast. This day is looked upon as one of the 3½ most auspicious days of the year for commencement of any work.

(14) *Bhaubij*.—*Bali Pratipada* is followed by *Bhaubij* on which day brothers greet their sisters with some presents, usually a Sari, bodice piece, or cash, after the latter have waved lights around their face.

(15) *Makar Sankranti*.—The new moon day of the Hindu month Paus, on which day the sun enters the sign of capricorn. Unwidowed women worship earthen pots and distribute sweetened sesame (तेलगूठ). Men, women and children also distribute *tilgul* in the evening.

(16) *Mahashivaratri*.—On this day, the Hindu households in the village hang above the *Tulasi* plant in their courtyards, a holed earthen pot locally called *galati*, supplied by the village potter; fill it with water and worship it. The day is observed by a fast by some who eat only roots and fruits.

(17) *Shimga*.—15th or full-moon day of the Hindu month Phalguna (March-April). This is mostly a community festival which comprises of erecting a pole of Bherla palm in the premises of Shri Devi Sateri and worshipping and burning grass around it every evening for 6 days.

On the *Shimga Purnima* day in the evening, *Gao Devasthan Panchas* (Mat-Mankaris), and the village Mahars with their *Dhols* (drums), collect at the Shri Devi Sateri temple and take a decision to celebrate the village Holi festival. A Bherla, bastered sago palm is cut and carried to the place fixed for erecting Holi in the open space in front of the Shri Devi Sateri's temple, decorating the upper portion thereof with mango leaves, after dressing the trunk, and it is erected. Grass is then spread around the erected Bherla palm trunk and lighted after proper ceremony and worship. This is on the night of the full moon day of Phalguna.

Before felling the Bherla palm for Holi, the *Gaokar* Parab worships the tree and 5 Mankaris, Parab, Sawants, Gawde and Mahar, i.e., the persons enjoying privileged position at the temple rites, invoke god's blessings. This is termed '*garhane*'.

The Parab *Gaokar* then gives the first axe-blow on the standing palm while the drums are beating, and the tree is cut. This is done before sunset. The party then leaves for their meals leaving the drums and the cut tree at its place. They return to the place after their meals. The felled tree is then dragged to the temple premises and erected at its appointed place. It is then worshipped and the Holi fire is lighted. The lighting of the Holi usually drags on upto 4 a.m. in the night of the Purnima day.

The drum beaters go next to the house of Shri Bhiva Dataram Parab to honour the ceremonial image of Shri Devi Bhavai installed there. The Holi is lighted every evening till the 6th day.

The Holi festival in the village begins from Purnima day. Turmeric water is sprinkled on all gods and persons on the 5th day from the Holi. This is called *haldavani*. The Shimga festival ends with the Hooda fair on 7th day in the evening at 5 p.m. On that day after the ceremonial image of the Devi is redeposited in the Parab's house, *kalash* (pot) with water is taken to every house to the accompaniment of Dhol. Water is first sprinkled on the deities in Shri Devi Sateri temple premises, Mankaris and other people present, and then they move to every house in the village and sprinkle water at it. This is called '*nhavan*'.

According to the tradition, during the Shimga festival no untouchability is observed and all people mix freely; and the *nhavan* is sprinkled to purify the pollution caused by touch during this period.

Holi festival in the village lasts for 6 days and ends with *dhulvad* in the evening of the 6th day. The *dhulvad* is celebrated by throwing dust at the Holi pole in the evening and throwing burning cowdung cakes at it at night. The last item of this festival is dancing round the Holi pole and the Hooda with burning *kawals* (dried twigs from the loppings stored in the field), which is a license to rob operations in the fields.

Besides the festivals noted above, the villagers especially women, observe certain fasts and *vratas*. The details of these fasts and *vratas* are given below :—

(1) *Vata Purnima*.—Full-moon day of the Hindu month Jyeshtha (June). The day is observed by a fast and worship of the banyan tree, or banyan twig installed in the house, by unwidowed Hindu women and distribution amongst unwidowed women of mango, jack fruit, Jambul, etc., and black beads (insignia of married life) woven in a string.

(2) *Ashadhi and Kartiki Ekadashis*.—The 11th days of the Hindu months Ashadh (July) and Kartika (October-November). These days are observed as fasts, specially by elders. Some go to Pandharpur Fair on the occasion.

(3) *Shravan Sankashta Chaturthi*.—The 4th day in the dark half of the Hindu month Shravan (July-August). On this day some persons worship Ganapati in the shape of a betelnut and observe fast.

(4) *Haritalika*.—The day, preceding the Ganesh Chaturthi festival in the month of Bhadrapad (August-September). This is a day of fast for unwidowed married women and girls of marriageable age. They observe it as a strict fast upto midnight during which period they avoid cooked or hard things. Some worship Haritalika.

(5) *Rishi Panchami*.—The day following the Ganesh Chaturthi. This day is observed as a fast by old women who are past the age of monthly menses. They take ritual bath on the day and avoid eating any article in the production, processing or transport of which cattle (bullocks) are employed.

Some very religious minded villagers observe fasts on all the Ekadashis in the year falling in every fortnight.

Muslim Festivals

The Muslims in the village observe the usual Muslim feasts and festivals. There is only one house of a Musalman in the village but there being no mosque they have to go to Savantvadi to offer *namaj*, which they rarely do. The Muslims in the village could not give details about observance of their festivals except that they observe fast for a month in the month of Ramzan.

Religion

(A) *Temples*.—(1) *Shri Devi Bhavai*.—The temple is said to have been established about 1,000 years back when Sawants are said to have settled in this village. Sid Sawant and Ragh Sawant Bhosales are said to have come over from Nagpur about 1,000 years back and settled in the village. They are said to have come over there due to rebellious situation. They are said to have settled in Survey No. 1, Parab Wadi, and settled along with them the Parabs, Gawdes, Sutar, Kumbhar, etc., required for community services. The Gawdes and Parabs dispute that the village was raised by the Sawants.

The old structure of the temple is said to have been replaced in 1942. According to Gawde representative the temple was established by Gawdes. The architecture of the temple is not note-worthy.

Management and control of the temple is with Ankush Shankar Parab (and other Parabs) as *Vahiwatdar*, by hereditary right.

The religious activities in the temple are as follows :—

(a) *Desrud*.—This is done on the Ashadhi Amavasya (new moon) day. The ceremonial image is taken to the temple and installed near the Pashan (idol), worshipped and offerings are made to it. *Avsar* (i.e. the person through whose medium god acts or speaks his mind), stands and gives blessings. A cock is sacrificed outside the temple limits. A *dadra* (i.e. a basket containing a burning earthen lamp, *panati*) and 12 leaf plates of cooked food which are offered to the goddess are then taken to the river between 8 and 9 p.m. and let into the flowing water. A torch

is then lit at old *chavata*, carried to the houses of Mankaris and let into the river before sunrise next day. This ceremony is performed to ward off evil spirits.

(b) *Cocoanut day*.—Sacred threads are worshipped by Mankari Sawants and Gaokar Parabs in the Shri Devi Bhavai temple. A sacred thread is then put on the Devi first, and then on other deities, by these Mankaris and Gaokars.

(c) *Samaradhana*.—In the Hindu month Bhadrapad there are *samaradhanas* in the temple. Five Brahmins are fed on the occasion.

(d) *Nava*.—On the day following the Ganesh Chaturthi generally, some paddy crop is cut from a prescribed field, brought to the temple, placed in front of the deity and worshipped. The stalks are then made into garlands which are fixed to the top of the door frame of this and other temples in the village. In case the crop is not sufficiently mature the ceremony is deferred to some later day.

(e) *Dasara*.—On the first day of the Navaratra a *ghata* is installed in the temple and worshipped for nine days. In the evening of the 9th day known as Khande Navami, the three *tarangs* (poles), representing Shri Ravalnath, Kalkai and Bhutnath in the temple of Shri Devi Bhavai, are dressed and taken to Bhut's temple and kept there for the night. There is a *jagar* (Puran and Bhajan) there at night. Formerly a *gondhal* used to be performed on this occasion. A *pancharati* (lit lamps) is waved in prayer of the deities in the vicinity, by all Mankaris.

On the Vijaya Dashami or Dasara day there is God's marriage in the afternoon (बीचलन). The images to be fixed at the top of the poles which are in the custody of Gawdes are fixed at their tops and a marriage of the poles representing Rawalnath and Kalkai is performed according to Hindu rites by the village Brahmin at 2 p.m. This is called *Shivalagna*. The marriage is celebrated in the open in front of Sateri temple. This ceremony, it is said, is not being performed for the last 10 to 11 years as Gawdes are not giving the images in their custody.

After the *Shivalagna* the function of "*sone lutane*" grabbing the leaves of Apta tree and distributing them, is there.

At night Puran is recited in the temple by a Brahmin and also Bhajan is sung by way of *Jagar*.

(f) *Diwali*.—On the Narak Chaturdashi day, (Ashvina Vad 14), lights are waved at the face of the God at night.

(g) *Tripuri Purnima*.—On the Tripuri Purnima (full moon day of Kartika) day the Lamp pillar in the temple premises is lighted and there is a *jagar* at night followed by *samaradhanas* to 5 Brahmins next day.

(h) *Kartika Vadya Navmi*.—There is the annual fair at the temple.

(i) *Thorli (Deo) Diwali*.—A coconut is offered to the Goddess at 2 p.m. and her blessings are invoked for the next season. Loppings are not cut prior to this. There is a Palakhi procession in the evening. On the previous night, there is a *jagar*. *Avsar* dances at the ceremony.

(j) *Mahashivaratri*.—On Mahashivaratri day a *galati* is suspended above the Tulasi plant in front of the temple, after filling it with water. There is a palanquin procession in the evening preceded by *jagar* on the previous night. An *Avsar* accompanies the Palkhi procession.

(k) *Shimga—Holi*.—During the Shimga festival there is *naubat* (beating of drums) in the temple every morning and evening by the Village Mahar and the Goddess is worshipped by Parabs. In the evening there is *sanj vat*, evening prayers.

(2) *Nagoji Vas*.—This deity represents the ancestor of Sawants who is said to have come to the village 1,000 years back. The management and control of the temple is reported to be with seven Sawant *vakaldars*.

Office bearers are all the seven Sawants. There is no religious activity in this temple on special occasions.

There is day to day worship by Sawants, by rotation, every two years.

(3) *Shri Devi Sateri*.—The temple is said to have been established at the same time as that of Shri Devi Bhavai. Control and management is with the same people. The religious rites on special occasions are God's marriage on Dasara, in the temple compound, erecting and lighting of Holi on the Holi day and the Hooda celebration on the 7th day of the Holi.

Prasads seeking God's blessing before undertaking any new work such as building a house, settling marriage, etc., are sought in this temple.

The procedure of seeking *prasad* is to set unpolished rice grains on the chest, forehead, the crest and the sword in the hands of the deity after pouring a jar-full of water on the image. After setting the rice grains on the body of the image the seeker of *prasad* prays for the dislodging of a particular grain, especially from the right side of the deity's body, and if that particular grain falls, the *prasad* is said to be favourable, otherwise

not. The *prasad* is sought through the medium of Parab Gaokars.

There is daily worship and light in the temple. There is no daily *naubat*. On Amavasya and Purnima days and days of feasts and festivals *naubat* is beaten at all the three temples of Bhavai, Sateri and Bhut, in the morning. On other days there is daily *naubat* only at the temple of Shri Devi Bhavai.

(4) *Bhutnath*.—This temple is said to have been also established at the time the village was settled. There is worship, *naivedya* and *jagar* on Dasara day.

(5) *Khatiya Vas*.—This is Sutar's temple. Only Sutar's worship the deity therein. There is no programme excepting daily worship. There is daily light in the temple.

(6) *Madval Vas*.—No activity but religious worship. This is a temple of Mad'als' (washermen's) ancestor.

(7) *Baracha Nitkari*.—No special worship.

(8) *Chavatekar*.—No special worship.

(9) *Purvichya Mharache Dewool*.—Daily worship is there by Mahars.

(10) *Linga's temple*.—Established along with Shri Devi Bhavai. Gurav attends to daily worship. *Devs* (Gods) are taken there after *shivalagna*. There is no ceremony or celebration on special occasions.

(11) *Brahmin Deoli*.—It is a small old temple. Palsacha Dala Sawants worship it. There is daily worship. No celebration. No new work.

(12) *Nhavi Vas Deoli*.—For Nhavi Vas Deoli there is daily worship by Nhavis.

(13) *Mahar Deoli*.—Daily worship. (This is in the house of a Mahar).

(14) *Kulachi Devli*.—Parabs worship this by turn. There is no activity but daily worship.

(15) *Hanuman Deoli*.—This is a private temple built by Vasudeo Vithal Swar.

(16) *Maruti, Pimpalwadi*.—This is also a small private temple in Pimpalwadi established by Sawants.

Ordinary worship of temple deities is by flowers and *naivedya* (offerings). On feasts and festivals *naivedya* of cooked food is offered. *Homa* (sacrificial fire) and *gondhal* are performed every three years, *homa* at Shri Patekar in Bhavai Wada and *gondhal* at Bhavai temple.

The Deosthans of Shri Devi Bhavai, Shri Deo Nagoji Vas, Shri Deo Bhutnath, Rawalnath and Kalkai, Shri Deo Ling, Shri Devi Sateri and Shri Deo Mharingan are reported to have been registered under the Bombay

Public Trusts Act and the local Mamlatdar in his capacity as Deosthan Superintendent supervises and controls their management with the help of a Deosthan Committee comprised of five members, Sarvashri Vasudeo Ramchandra Sawant of Pimpal Wadi, Shantaram Mukund Sawant of Bhavai Wada, Bhiva Dattaram Parab and Bombadji Mahadeo Parab of Parab Wadi and Sitaram Balkrishna Sawant of Palsacha Dala Wadi who constitute the present members of the Deosthan Committee.

The Deosthans hold 204 acres 5½ gunthas of Inam lands assessed at Rs. 128-1-0 in the village besides, some lands in the Amboli, Gele and Ghavnale villages, and also enjoy cash allowance. The day to day and other expenditures of the temples are met through the income of the above property and cash allowance. The accounts of income and expenditure are maintained by the Deosthan Superintendent. Out of the Inam lands in the village, 196 acres 6¼ gunthas assessed at Rs. 118-15-6 are held by Vahiwatdars in lieu of prescribed services at the temples and 7 acres 39¼ gunthas of land assessed at Rs. 9-1-6 as also the lands in the villages Amboli, Gele and Ghavnale are leased out and the proceeds of rent amounting to Rs. 590-15 are appropriated towards the temple expenditure under the control of the Deosthan Superintendent.

The details of the lands held by the different Vahiwatdars in lieu of rendering services to the temples are given in Table No. 4.22 on page 97.

The annual income of the Deosthan from the land at Serial No. 12 of the aforesaid table and income from landed properties of Amboli, Gele and Ghavnale and the cash allowances are as under :—

	Rs.
(1) Rent of land in the name of Deosthan Superintendent in Kunkeri village.	45-45
(2) Rent from lands in Amboli and Gele villages.	236-85
(3) Rent from lands in Ghavnale village.	307-85
Total	590-15
Cash allowances received from the Treasury—	
	Rs. a. p.
Itlakh ...	87 13 7
Gramkharach ...	9 11 0
Total	97 8 7

TABLE No. 4.22
Details of lands held by Vahiwatdars rendering services to the temples

Serial No.	Name of the Vahiwatdar	Area of land held	Assessment of land	The service to be rendered
1	2	3	4	5
		A. g.	Rs. a. p.	
1	Shantaram Bala Gaokar	91 22½	42 8 6	The annual expenditure of Shri Devis Bhavai and Sateri.
2	Shankar Babu Gurav	23 30½	9 10 0	The annual expenditure on account of worship and <i>naivedya</i> to Shri Dev Linga.
3	Sakharam Mahadeo Gawade	24 26½	10 10 0	The annual expenditure at the temple of Shri Dev Bhutnath.
4	Rajaram Govind Sawant	16 ½	30 11 0	The annual expenditure of Shri Devi Bhavai.
5	Bala Arjun Gawde	0 30	0 2 0	Supplying 2 Kudavs (4 measured payalis) of parched rice for the <i>jagar</i> in Shri Devi Bhavai Temple.
6	Appa Ragho Madval	6 12	0 11 6	Washing the Saris of Shri Devi Bhavai.
7	Arjun Narayan and Gopal Hari Kumbhar.	4 10½	2 11 6	Setting the tiles of the roofs of Shri Devi Bhavai temple, supplying deficit tiles, if any, and also supplying earthen wares required for temple work.
8	Rango Vashro Mahar	15 34	10 0 0	For daily <i>naubat</i> (beating of drum) and kindling fire in the temple of Shri Devi Bhavai.
9	Raghunath Vinayak Satavlekar	2 39	5 7 0	For <i>abhishek</i> in the month of Shravan and reciting <i>puran</i> in the temples of Shri Devi Bhavai, Bhutnath, Ravalnath, Sateri and Kalkai.
10	Sabo Babu Sutar and 2 others	8 7	5 4 6	For repairing the temples of Shri Devi Bhavai, etc., and decorating the Hooda pole.
11	Vishnu Gangadhar Bhat Satavlekar.	1 14	0 3 6	Supplying 4 Kudavs (8 measured payalis) of parched rice for the <i>jagar</i> in Shri Devi Bhavai temple in the month of Kartika.
12	Deosthan Superintendent, Savantvadi.	7 39½	9 1 6	For expenditure at Shri Devi Bhavai temple. (This land is leased out on rent.)

The rent above noted is collected by the Grama Sevaks of respective villages and credited to the account of the Deosthan. The amount of cash allowances is drawn by the Deosthan Superintendent and paid to the persons doing the particular work affecting the temples.

The details of the allowances are given below :—

Itlakh Allowance—

	Rs. a. p.
(1) For <i>nandadip</i> at Shri Devi Bhavai, paid to Deosthan Superintendent.	46 7 7
(2) For worship of Shri Devi Bhavai, paid to Radhabai Govind Parab.	21 12 0
(3) For worship of Shri Deo Ravalnath and Bhutnath, paid to Sakharam Mahadeo Gawde.	8 8 0
(4) For worship of Shri Deo Nagoji Vas, paid to Deosthan Superintendent.	8 8 0
(5) For worship of Mahar <i>sthal</i> , paid to Krishna Rama Mahar.	2 10 0

Gramkharach—

	Rs. a. p.
(1) For sweeping the floor of Shri Devi Bhavai temple and holding <i>chavri</i> , paid to Bhikale Bhavin mother Awde Bhavin.	2 6 0
(2) For blowing the horn at Shri Devi Bhavai temple, paid to, Laxman Devli.	0 13 0
(3) For annual expenditure at Shri Devi Bhavai and other temples, paid to Deosthan Superintendent, Savantvadi.	6 8 0
Total	97 8 7

No allowance is paid for the annual fair since 1955. Household deities are not worshipped in every house in the village. They are worshipped in the house of the senior member of the family, where others go.

(B) *Mosques*.—There is no mosque in the village.

(C) *Sects*.—There are no sects in the village.

(D) *Community worships*.—There are no community worships performed in the village except those performed by the Mankaris in the temples of Shri Devi Bhavai and Sateri on the prescribed occasions and annual fairs.

The Musalmans do offer community prayers but as there is no mosque in the village they have to go to Savantvadi for the purpose.

(E) *Consensus about supreme beings, other deities*.—They believe in Shri Patekar, Shri Devi Bhavai and Sateri as supreme. They seek *prasad* from the deity before any auspicious work such as house-building, marriage, etc. They have the same regard for other deities also.

Of natural phenomena, they have a taboo for an eclipse. They do not take food some time before and during eclipse. Family deities are kept in water during the eclipse and Mantriks, i.e., those using *mantras* for cure, dip themselves in water.

(F) *Life after death*.—If a man dies on auspicious day such as Monday, Thursday, Ekadashi day and during day time, he is believed to reach heavens, else condemned to hell. Those dying young and with wishes unfulfilled, and women dying in pregnancy or in child birth are deemed to take the form of spirits and haunt the living.

Village organisation

There are no village factions on the basis of territorial affiliation to different hamlets but there appear to be factions between Gawdes and Sawants on the issue of temple rights. Sawants in Bhavai Wada, Pimpalwadi and Madhli Wadi belong to the same ancestral family and they are on co-operative terms. The Gawdes who stay in Reveche Bhatle appear to be keeping aloof from village affairs, other hamlets appear to be freely intermixing.

The hamlets are not inter-dependent in the matter of obtaining sources of livelihood, employment, supply of labour and other matters. They stand on equal footing.

Rivalry for control and use of centres of common activities such as Village Panchayat, Development Centres, etc., is naturally there. It is between Gawdes on the one hand and other villagers on the other.

There are differences on the matter of temple rights; and as the Gawdes are not producing the ceremonial images of deities some rituals are not performed, it was stated.

Caste or Community Panchayat

Mahars, Bhandaris and Dhangars have their traditional Caste Panchayats and matters concerning caste are referred to them as explained in the brief note on each caste in Chapter III.

Besides the Caste Panchayats above referred to, there is a Gao or Village Panchayat as distinct from the statutory Village Panchayat. Sarvashri Vasudeo Ramchandra Sawant of Pimpalwadi, Shantaram Mukund Sawant of Bhavai Wada, Bhiva Dattaram Parab and Bombadji Mahadeo Parab of Parab Wadi and Sitaram Balkrishna Sawant of Palsacha Dala Wadi, who are also the Deosthan Panchas nominated by Government under the local Deosthan Act, are Panchas of the Gao Panchayat. They have jurisdiction over the village and Deosthan matters. So far as the Deosthan Committee is concerned, the Mamlatdar can appoint and change it but he has no control over these members in their capacity of Gao Panchas as acclaimed leaders of the village. The Gao Panchayat exercises control over all castes and communities including Muslims. Petty matters such as letting loose cattle in other's fields, abusing, etc., are placed before the Gao Panchayat. Their proceedings are oral. If the offence is proved, the offender is ordered by the Panchayat to perform one or two *ekadashnis*, i.e., *abhishekhs* to God Shankar, or if he does not admit the guilt, to stand below the temple bell of Shri Devi Bhavai and deny it, which it is firmly believed no man will do unless he is really not guilty. No money fine or other punishment is inflicted. If the offender does not abide by the decision of the Gao Panchayat, the people do not co-operate with him in his work. It was stated that the person refusing to abide by the Panchayat's decision initially, comes round due to community's non-co-operation with him.

The village headman (Patil or Fouzdar as he is locally called), used to settle the village quarrels in the past. The village establishment included village headman, Gao-kar, the Fouzdar (village Police Patil), the Kulkarni (village accountant), the Potdar (Banker) and village servants called Ghadis, Deolis, Bhavins and Mahars. The village headman was hereditary and used to be consulted on all matters.

Of late the village headman does not exercise the former influence but still enjoys a special position of honour at village ceremonies, fairs, and on such holidays as Holi, Ramanavami, Dasara, etc.

Ghadis, Deolis, Bhavins and Mahars received from the people an allowance of grain and garden produce

Temple of
Shree Devi Bhavai



The " Hooda " pole



Shree Devi Bhavani





The Sarpanch and some members of the Grampanchayat

and were required to help the village headman and police officers in gathering revenue and other village matters. (*Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Vol. X—Ratnagiri and Savantvadi).

Statutory Panchayat

The village accountant and hereditary village police patil are no longer there, their place having been taken by stipendiary Talatis and stipendiary Police Patils. The Talati is also the Secretary of the Village Panchayat and also works as Gram Sevak guiding the villagers in development matters.

The village is within the jurisdiction of Kunkeri-Ambegaon Group Gram Panchayat with its office in a rented house in Bhavai Wada. The Panchayat was established on 28th January 1957. It has 9 seats, two seats being reserved for women.

The present body was elected on 5th September 1961. The list of members is given in Table No. 4.23 below.

The principal occupation of all male members is agriculture and of women members, domestic work.

The Panchayat has an annual income from taxes as under :—

	Rs. P.
House Tax ...	254.61
Hotel Tax ...	60.00
Shop Tax ...	12.00
	326.61

Besides it gets 30 per cent Land Revenue grant from Government.

The Panchayat has so far constructed roads in Bhavai Wada and Lingachi Wadi but they are not in repairs. The Panchayat has deepened and repaired the well in Harijan Wada. It has spent Rs. 500 for the school building at Ambegaon and Rs. 1,000 for the school building at Kunkeri village. The Panchayat also helps poor students by spending up to Rs. 15 annually on books, etc. Due to paucity of income the Panchayat does not appear to have done any other concrete work, though the present Sarpanch appears to be very energetic. The Panchayat is found to be participating in the various public programmes chalked out for the villages by Government annually. During the current year (1964) the Panchayat participated in the Taluka level sports under the auspices of the National Sports Festival. Nyaya Panchayat according to the new law is not yet formed. The Panchayat has a staff of only one Secretary who also works as Gram Sevak.

Due to limited resources and peculiar features of village habitation, wherein habitations are scattered over a large area, the Panchayat can do little by way of supplies and services for the village and so the response to the Panchayat in general, in this area, is slow. Despite the limited finances the villagers of the two villages in the Group Gram Panchayat are, however, thinking of having two separate panchayats as is natural.

Voluntary Organisation, Club, Library, etc.

The relationship of the Statutory Panchayat with the Gao Panchayat and other voluntary agencies and the Panchayat Samiti is cordial. The only voluntary organisations in the village are :—

(1) *The village library, named Shri Devi Bhavai Vachanalaya.*—There are 200 to 250 Marathi books in

TABLE No. 4.23

List of Members with their age, caste and educational qualifications

	Name 1	Age 2	Caste 3	Educational qualifications 4
1	Sakharam Laxman Kadam, Sarpanch ..	35	Maratha	Marathi IV Standard.
2	Bombadji Mahadeo Parab, Deputy Sarpanch ..	45	Maratha	Marathi III Standard.
3	Shankar Ramchandra Gawde, Member ..	45	Maratha	Marathi IV Standard.
4	Vasudeo Ramchandra Sawant, Member ..	39	Maratha	Marathi IV Standard.
5	Krishna Ramchandra Sawant, Member ..	35	Maratha	Marathi III Standard.
6	Narayan Bhanu Sawant, Member ..	40	Maratha	Marathi III Standard.
7	Laxman Sabaji Sawant, Member ..	37	Maratha	Marathi III Standard.
8	Sagunabai Khadapkar, Member ..	25	Maratha	Marathi IV Standard.
9	Draupadi Govind Sawant, Member ..	28	Maratha	Marathi I Standard.

the library, plays, novels, etc., which are issued out to members. The annual subscription of the library is annas 4 to 8. Besides the books, the library also subscribes to the Marathi daily "Loksatta", the local weekly "Vainateya" and the Ratnagiri weekly "Balwant" which are kept for reading in the library. "Loksatta" was also being sent by one man from Bombay. One of the village teachers was the Secretary of the library but since he left the village about a year back the library is not working. The library is given a grant by the Village Panchayat. About 15 persons are said to be taking advantage of it.

(2) *Bhajan Mandalis*.—There are Bhajan Mandalis in every Wadi. Out of these, the Bhajan Mandali at Bhavai Wada has only been subsidised from Block funds. The Bhajan Mandali in Bhavai Wada performs *bhajan* at the house where the Bhavani Devi is installed in the house of one Sawant, every Tuesday and on Ekadashi days.

The other Bhajan Mandalis perform *bhajans* in their respective hamlets. During the 10 days of Ganapati festival the Bhajan Mandalis visit other hamlets also to offer prayers (*arati*) to Shri Ganapati. They also go on invitation, to private individuals to perform *bhajans* on the occasion of Shri Satya Narayan Pooja or other occasions, such as naming ceremony of a child, etc.

All sections of the population participate in *bhajan* activities. The Mahars have their separate Bhajan Mandali.

There are no other voluntary organisations in the village.

Family Planning

The family planning clinic for the area is at Savant-vadi. No activities for family planning have been undertaken in the village so far excepting the oral propaganda made by the Gram Sevak. No awareness of the need of family planning appears to have been aroused amongst the villagers. They have only a faint idea that the families ought to be restricted in number but the object does not appear to have been placed before them seriously with the result that they are found to be not seeing eye to eye regarding family planning measures.

Of the 12 heads of households examined to study the attitude towards family planning, 6 of Marathas,

2 of Bhandaris, 1 of Vani, 2 of Sutars and 1 of Mahar, between the ages 31 and above 50, none wants more children. The above heads of the households are 3 in the age-group above 50, 1 Vani, 1 Bhandari and 1 Sutar; 4 in the age-group 41—50, 3 Marathas and 1 Bhandari and 5 in the age-group 31—40, 3 Marathas, 1 Sutar and 1 Mahar. Similar information in respect of women was not collected.

The above households are classified as under according to their income :

Income Group	No. of Households
Rs. 25—50 ..	8 = 6 Marathas 1 Bhandari 1 Mahar
Rs. 51—75 ..	4 = 2 Sutars 1 Vani 1 Bhandari

Removal of Untouchability

The Mahars are not now kept at arm's length as before. They are allowed on the verandahs of their houses by other Hindus and also to sit along with them but they have no entry in the interior of the house. They can enter now the public temples and places of worship but they themselves do not appear to take the initiative. They are not still allowed freely to draw water of wells where other Hindus draw water. The legislation prohibiting untouchability is known to the villagers.

The Village Panchayat celebrates the Harijan Saptah annually.

Other reforms and Development measures

The Village is included in the N. E. S. Block, Savant-vadi, started on 1st April 1958, and it was placed under the Gram Sevak Sangei, along with other villages. Later, on an application of the villagers, the village was grouped with the neighbouring village for the purposes of development work. Since 1963 January, however, the village is grouped with another neighbouring village, Ambegaon, a similar village, and they are placed under an independent Gram Sevak with headquarters at Kunkeri itself. No ostensible work was done by the Block at the date of the survey.

Other important aspects of social and cultural life

There are no other important aspects of social and cultural life.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Formerly on returning from the Bazaar or from any public place or on travel back home, a person, man or woman, could not enter the house without changing the wearing apparels and bath. The wearing apparels used to be washed before being carried into the house unless they were required for use next day when they used to be kept aside on the verandah where they could not pollute anybody. Even a touch of the Scheduled Castes was deemed to defile. Untouchability to this extent is not practised now and there is no changing of clothes, etc. as before. However, the people are not yet inclined to allow entry to the Scheduled Castes people into their houses and at social functions, though they do not mind their coming upto the verandahs of their houses. They may not mind the Scheduled Castes people having access to the public places, temples, hotels, wells, etc. But so far as temples and wells are concerned the latter themselves are not keen on enforcing their rights for fear of incurring divine displeasure and partly also for fear of offending the sentiments of the caste people. The cases are also not wanting where one could find separate cups being kept outside the village hotels for use of Scheduled Castes persons.

Regarding prohibition, the people are found to be apathetic on the whole. They certainly deem abstaining from liquor and other intoxicants a virtue, but they are lukewarm in their support to the prohibition policy and cannot be relied upon for its enforcement as they do not think there is anything unnatural in a man getting himself drunk once in a while, and as a matter of fact we could find very few who would resist the temptation of drinking during festivals like Holi and Dasara, and some social occasions, though they may not do so openly.

There is no change in the attitude of the villagers towards women. The women's sphere of activity is still deemed to be the kitchen and care of the household though in the set up of the rural society most of them have to help their menfolk in their economic activities. Higher education for women or for the matter of that all education, save elementary, is looked upon with suspicion as a force which would ultimately result in the disintegration of family life.

As already seen marriages are celebrated in the village at fairly late ages, boys between 20 to 25 years and girls

between 16 to 20 years, which is mostly due to reasons economic and not social. The villagers would like to marry their daughters before 16 and boys before 20.

Marriage is more a social concern than an individual one. The villagers are averse to the idea of inter-caste or inter-community marriages. The marriages are negotiated ones in which the boy's or the girl's father takes the initiative with a view to establishing contacts with another family with established relationship and status, being always anxious to maintain his social status in the society. The boy's or the girl's wish or other matters do not count much. A married woman is looked upon as an asset to the family, inasmuch as in her they get one more person to work in the family without payment of wages. The system of paying bride price (*Dej*) is therefore more common amongst the villagers than payment of dowry (*Hunda*) to the boy, which is given only if the boy is educated and earns his living principally by service or any other vocation save agriculture or agricultural labour. The villagers are aware of the changes in the Hindu Law but in practice they still treat the widow as entitled to maintenance only and do not give their legal share to daughters (married or otherwise), whose right also is deemed to be restricted to the marriage expenses being incurred from family property.

As stated earlier the villagers have only a faint idea about family planning but they have yet to go a long way towards the urgency of the problem. Of the 20 households who were interrogated on this point, all know that a man and a wife can prevent conception and 13 of them wish that they should have more children, four have no husband or wife and so the question of their practicing family planning measures does not arise. The remaining three do not wish to prevent conception or having no child so far. On the whole, the villagers are apathetic towards this urgent measure of social reform and a good deal of spade work requires to be done to inspire a faith amongst them regarding its utility.

The villagers are very much attached to their ancestral households and most of them wish at least someone from amongst their sons to continue the traditional occupation after them and keep up the continuity of family tradition. For the others, they would like them to go out to Bombay or elsewhere and earn their living

and also help the parent family in the village. Education is imparted with this end in view. There is no education for the sake of education. Regarding the girls, as already seen, their place in the family being confined to keeping the household and helping it in their traditional occupation, education beyond IV standard Marathi is deemed to be more than sufficient and we hardly find any girl beyond 12 years of age attending the school.

Gradually the villagers are realising the importance of education and it is worthy to note that at the time of re-visit to the village in 1965, 14 students from the village were found to be attending the High Schools at Savantvadi. There is however no girl student amongst them.

The most of the villagers excepting those who have to part with their lands, are happy about the Tenancy Legislation.

Some of them who were interrogated as to how they had benefited by the legislation however appeared to have no clear idea as to the implication of the legislation. They only stated the legislation had given them more scope for cultivation and they had benefited generally.

The scheme of consolidation of holdings is not yet drawn up in the village. As a matter of fact the work of consolidation has not yet started. The villagers however appeared to be conscious about the fact that their scattered holding is a great impediment in undertaking any scheme of land improvement and adoption of improved agricultural practices and methods, and stated so on being interrogated on the point.

The village has 8 hamlets which are scattered and it is difficult for the Village Panchayat to make any substantial improvements in the village due to physical features of the area and also its limited income. The present Panchayat, moreover, is not a sufficiently enlightened body which would render help to the villagers in other spheres, especially of economic and progressive value. Since its inception in 1957 till 1959-60 the Panchayat appears to have executed no work of public utility excepting one foot-bridge (Sakav) at a cost of Rs. 10.45 though it had a balance of Rs. 2,267.41. In the year 1960-61 also the only works of public utility executed by the Village Panchayat were expenditure of Rs. 6.82 on purchase of De Chane medicines and Rs. 92.06 on purchase of a spray pump. This may also be one reason for the general apathy of the villagers towards the Village Panchayat. The villagers in general, therefore, do not interest themselves so much in the affairs of the Village Panchayat. Of late they are found to be craving for a separate Panchayat for their village.

There is no Co-operative Society functioning in the village. There was one co-operative society in the village formerly but it has gone into liquidation. Efforts to establish a fresh Co-operative Society are afoot. It appears the villagers have lately realised the benefits of co-operation and have started grain banks and other institutions in different hamlets to provide credit facilities to individual cultivators.

There are no cultural activities in the village excepting the performances of the Bhajan Mandalis in the different Wadis, who perform *bhajans* on Thursdays, Saturdays and Ekadashi days and for a month or so during Ganapati festival, the annual Hooda and Holi festivals and the annual fair at Shri Devi Sateri's temple; and celebrations at the village temples on Hindu festive days. There have been no modifications in their programmes during the last 10 years.

Only 14 households—10 of Marathas, 2 of Sutaras and 2 of Vanis—in the village were found to be receiving newspapers and only 31 households—27 of Marathas, 2 of Sutaras and 2 of Vanis—were found to have had members who regularly read newspapers. There was a library and reading room in the village in charge of the local schoolmaster but it has stopped its working since the teacher was transferred from this village. The library used to keep two local weeklies and one Marathi daily in its reading room. There is no record to show how many villagers took benefit of the library. Regarding villagers' range of information we find on examining 19 selected families, that they all know the taluka and district headquarters. So far as matters of local interest are concerned the villagers appeared to be well informed.

There is no radio set in the village, private or public. The nearest Cinema Theatre is at Savantvadi, at a distance of about 4½ miles. Excepting those few with urban contacts the rest of the villagers do not have any interest in Cinema Shows unless some mythological picture is shown. Touring cinemas do not camp in the village.

The impact of the block activities on the villagers is on the whole poor. Of the 20 villagers who were interrogated on the point of their knowledge of the Block and its activities, and how far they had benefited by them only 16 knew that their village was in an N. E. S. block. None was, however, found to have derived any individual benefit from its activities and nine of the persons interrogated have stated so. The remaining 7 villagers who say they have benefited from the Block activities, mean the general benefit to the villagers, viz., the development of the village and availability of

Gram Sevak's advice. The villagers do not interest themselves with the development plan excepting in the field of education, water supply and road building. They are not keen on following the various improved methods in agricultural and other practices. Somehow, they do not appear to have faith in the new methods. They are still using their time-old implements and their own seeds and are averse to take to improved implements, practices, etc. No farmers' union is functioning in the village. The village has not yet drawn up its development programme. There is no record of experiments made in the village to demonstrate improved methods and practices in agriculture. Poultry keeping which should have no difficulty in thriving in the village, especially as the majority of villagers are non-vegetarians and keep fowls, does not appear to have caught up the villagers' fancy.

There is no increase in the area under crops during the last five years. Any increase in output of important village crops and corresponding rise in the standard of living is not visible.

In these circumstances agriculture is not profitable and there is a growing tendency seen amongst the villagers to be in search of non-farm employment which results in heavy migration to Bombay. It is only the sentimental attachment to one's homestead, reverence for the village deity and moral obligation the villagers still feel to stick to their traditional occupation and home, and last but not the least, the love of land, that has kept most of them in the village, in the absence of which the village would be deserted soon.

The village is in no way different from the neighbouring economic and social structure of the region.

APPENDIX 1

**1961 POPULATION CENSUS
SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY**

STATEMENT OF HOUSEHOLDS

District	Name of Village
Taluka	Total Number of Households

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH

Serial No. of household	In case of sickness in the household what medical facilities are availed of	Which of the following articles household possesses:—Bedstead, khatia, chair, table, cupboard, bench, mirror, stool, wall-shelf	If household is using any kind of furniture first time during last five years, mention the articles	Which of the following articles the household possesses:—Bicycle, torch, tonga, sewing machine, gramophone, radio, clock, watch, crockery, lantern, petromax
1	41	42	43	44

Serial No. of household	Occupation Particulars						What kind of work would you like your son to do
	What is the principal occupation of the household	What are the subsidiary occupations, if any	What was occupation of the father of the head of household	If the head has changed his father's occupation, give reasons	Has the head of household changed his occupation from other kind of occupation	If yes, give reasons	
1	52	53	54	55	56	57	58

Does the household use toilet soap/washing soap (Yes/No)	Does the household use mosquito net	Does the household make flour at home or at flour mill	Is sewing of clothes done at home (Yes/No)	How many household members use foot-wear	Which form of tobacco is consumed in the household	Are clothes sent to washerman for washing (Yes/No)
45	46	47	48	49	50	51

Land owned or held from Government	If cultivating land			Remarks
	Land taken from others for Payment in money, kind or share	Total land cultivated	Land given to other persons for cultivation in money, kind or share	
59	60	61	62	63
A. G.	A. G.	A. G.	A. G.	

A-5—Describe the practices followed by the household in respect of—

1. Ploughing	...	...	...	...	...
2. Sowing	...	...	...	...	...
3. Transplanting	...	...	...	...	...
4. Manuring	...	...	...	...	...
5. Double cropping	...	...	...	...	...
6. Rotation of crops	...	...	...	...	...
7. Mixed crops	...	...	...	...	...
8. Terracing	...	...	...	...	...
9. Contour Bunding	...	...	...	...	...

A-6—Use of Improved Agricultural methods

	Improved seeds	Fertilizers	Farm yard manures	Others (specify)
1. Did you use last year ?	...	...	...	...
2. If yes, for which crop or crops ?	...	...	...	...
3. How much quantity ?	...	...	...	...
4. Area covered in acres and gunthas	...	...	...	...
5. From where did you obtain ?	...	...	...	...
6. If you have not used give reasons	...	...	...	...

7. Has it been possible for the household to secure the following facilities during the last five years :—

(a) better seeds	...	...	(Yes/No)
(b) better type of cattle	...	...	(Yes/No)
(c) better implements	...	...	(Yes/No)
(d) better irrigation facilities	...	...	(Yes/No)
(e) better manure	...	...	(Yes/No)
(f) more land for cultivation	...	...	(Yes/No)
(g) use of pesticide	...	...	(Yes/No)
(h) improved method of land cultivation like Japanese method.	...	...	(Yes/No)
(i) Adopt land improvement methods like land reclamation, soil conservation, consolidation of land, etc.	...	...	(Yes/No)

(If 'No' state reasons also).

8. Has there been any increase in yield of crops noticed during the last five years ?	...
9. If yes, give the extent of increase in yield for each crop raised by the household	...

A-7—Agricultural Labour

1. Do you usually employ hired labour for Agricultural work ?
2. If yes, do you employ the same person from year to year on—

(a) annual basis

(b) casual basis

In either case, why ?

3. Number of labourers employed last year and their wages (give details in the following Table) :—

3. Number of labourers employed								
	No. of labourers	Nature of work	Wages paid			Other perquisites		Total
			Cash	Kind		Description	Value	
				Commodity	Value			
From the village	...							
From outside the village	...							

A-8—Purchase and Sale of assets during last 3 years

Sales					Particulars	Purchased			
Place of Sale	To whom sold	Area/ No.	Sale price	Reason for Sale		Purchase price	Area/ No.	From whom purchased	Where purchased
					Land				
					Livestock				
					Buildings				
					Farm and non-farm implements and tools				
					Ornaments and Valuables				
					Investments, Securities (National Saving Certificates, Shares, etc.)				

A-9—Fruits and Vegetables

1. Do you grow fruits and vegetables ?
2. If not, give reasons ?
3. If yes, type of fruits and vegetables grown ?
4. Is it mainly for domestic consumption or for sale ?
5. If for domestic consumption, is it sufficient ?
6. (a) If for sale, how much did you earn last year ?

(b) What is the quantity of fruits and vegetables sold ?
7. Who were the buyers ?

A-10—Production of Crops

Crop	Area					Production		Other receipts (kind, rent, seeds, gifts etc.)		Stocks before arrival of new crop		Total receipts	
	No. of plots	Irrigated		Unirrigated		Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Total
		A	G	A	G								

A-11—Disposal of Crops

Crops	Household Consumption		Sales		Where sold		To whom sold (1. Trader, 2. Consumer, 3. Artisan)	How sold (Cash payment/ Credit)	Other disposals		Total disposal		Balance	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Inside village	Neigh- bouring village			Nature	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value

SECTION B—Household Industry

Name of the Household Industry (write in block letters)

- How long you are in this Industry ?
- If you have started it recently what was your previous occupation ?
- Which of the following types of activities form your main work—
 - Independent production for the Market
 - Contract work supplies
 - Customary Service
 - Service on contract
- If services are rendered, give following particulars for the last year—
 - Number of households served ..

Inside the village	.....
Outside the village	.....
 - Wages received ..

(i) In Cash	.....
(ii) In Kind	.....
(iii) Total Value	.....
 - Basis of payment
- (a) Have you adopted any new tools or instruments for running this industry? If so, name the details of the tools and instruments, and the purpose for which it is used.
 (b) Give a list of tools and implements possessed with the following details—

Name of implement or tool	Home-made		Purchased		Brought from outside	
	Number	Present value	Number	Present value	Number	Present value
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						

SECTION B—Household Industry—contd.

- What are the raw materials and fuel required ?
- How do you obtain these raw materials and fuel ?
- Produced by self
 - Purchased within the village
 - Purchased outside
- Give the quantity of raw material used last year

Raw material used	Quantity	Value
1		
2		
3		
4		
- Did you hire any labour during the last year ? (Yes/No) if yes—
 - state the number of labourers employed
 - the months during which they were employed
 - wages paid in cash or in kind
 - wage-rate for different types of labour
- What are the finished products usually sold by you ? Give details of such product, with design, if possible—
 - where are these products sold ; inside the village/outside the village (specify)
 - to whom sold—(i) trader
 - consumers
 - how these products are sold (i) Cash/barter/credit ?
- What is the amount realised by sale of products during last year ?
- Name the art and craft in which you have earned proficiency.
- Do you consider further training in your industry necessary ? (Yes/No)
- How many family members are working in your industry ?
- What is the present investment in your industry ?

SECTION C—Trade and Commerce

- What is the type of your business ? (write in capital letters)
- Do you conduct business in your house or in a separate place ?
- How long you have been in this business ?
- If you have started it recently, what was your previous business ?
- Why did you start this business ?
- From where did you get your capital ?
- What is your present investment in this business ?
- Do you sell only to the people of the village, or also to the outsider ?
- What commodities do you sell, to—
 - People of the village
 - Outsiders
- Where do you buy commodities ?
- What commodities do you buy in the village itself ?
- How frequently do you buy commodities from outside ?
- How much worth every time ?
- What transport do you use to bring the commodities from outside ?
- Whether the transport is owned by you or by some one from the village ?
- Do you also buy commodities in the village for the purpose of sale outside ? If yes, what commodities, and what is its approximate worth annually ?
- To whom do you sell these commodities ?
- On what terms ? Cash payment, on credit or in exchange for payment in kind ?
- Do you sometimes buy or sell goods on contract ?
- What is your approximate sale per month ?

SECTION D—Transport

1. Nature and number of transport carriers—

Type of Transport	No.	When purchased	From where purchased	For how much purchased Price in Rs.
Bullock cart				
Donkey				
Horse Carriage (Tonga)				
Motor Vehicle				
Camel				
Others Specify				

2. If not purchased, have you made the cart or carriage yourself ?
3. If not, did you purchase raw materials and get it prepared by artisans ?
4. Do you carry goods only/passengers only/both ?
5. What market places did you visit last year ?
6. For how many days last year did you get sufficient work ?
7. During what months ?
8. What was your income last year from—
 - (a) carriage of goods ?
 - (b) carriage of passengers ?
9. Do you generally carry goods/passengers (a) from village to outside/(b) from outside to village/(c) both ways/(d) within the village only ?
10. What are the commodities you carry—
 - (a) from village to outside ?
 - (b) from outside to the village ?
 - (c) within the village only ?
11. (a) Do producers and traders in your village generally use hired transport carriers ?
 - (b) If not, then how do they carry goods ? (by head load, by owned carriages, or other, specify)

SECTION E—Professions or Services

1. What is the nature of your work ?
2. Where is your place of work ?
3. Is your work regular or casual ?
4. If regular, what is your monthly income ?
5. If casual, how much did you earn last year ?
6. If you are a money lender, do you generally lend to persons in the village or to outsiders also ?
7. To which particular group, do you usually lend—
 - (1) farmers, (2) traders, (3) artisans, (4) labourers, (5) others, specify ?
8. If you are a contractor, what types of contracts do you generally undertake ?
9. What was the volume of business you executed last year—
 - (1) in the village, (2) outside the village ?
10. Do you get adequate labour within the village or you are required to obtain labour from outside ?

SECTION F—Labour

1. Are you a permanent or casual labourer ?
2. Are you employed by the same person from year to year ?
3. How long you have been working with your present employer ?
4. What is the nature of your work ? (skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled)
5. Describe the actual work you are doing
6. If casual, how many days were you employed last year ?
7. What was your total wage last year ?—
 - (i) Cash
 - (ii) Kind-Commodity
 - (iii) Other perquisites (give description)
8. If permanent, did you also participate in the domestic work of your employer ? (Yes/No)
9. What was your place of work last year ? In the village or outside the village ?
10. Do you cultivate land ? If yes, how many acres ?
11. If no, would you like to do it ?
12. If you are a casual worker, would you like to become a permanent one ?
13. In either case, give reasons
14. Would you like to get a job in the factory (Yes/No)—
 - (a) if not, why ?
 - (b) if yes, will you permanently move from the village with your family ?
15. (1) Are you trained already for any factory job ? If yes, what is the nature of training that you have received
 - (2) Will you like to get yourself trained for a factory job ? If yes, what exact factory work you prefer for training ?

SECTION G—General Information

G-1—Food Habits

1. What is the staple food of the household ? (Name the cereals)...
2. What are the other items of food commonly taken ...
 - Pulses, Vegetables, Beef, Bacon, Chicken, Mutton, other kinds of Meat, Fish, Milk, Milk-products, Eggs, Sweets, Spices, Oil, Ghee, Vanaspathi Oil (Dalda).
 - (Strike out whichever is not applicable.)
3. How many times a day do the members of the household take their meals ?
4. Are special preparations of food made on festive and ceremonial occasions ?
5. Name the items of food prepared on such occasions
6. What fat or oil is commonly used for cooking for—
 - (i) usual meals
 - (ii) ceremonial feasts

G-2—Utensils

1. What utensils are used for preparing food ?
2. What utensils are used for storage of drinking water ?
3. Of what material are important utensils made ?

G-3—Dress

1. Give list of items of dress worn by Males and Females
2. What are the items of special dress worn at the time of festive or ceremonial occasion for Males and Females and material from which they are made ?

G-4—Ornaments

1. Give the names of ornaments commonly used and of what metal they are prepared
2. Are the ornaments prepared in the village or bought from outside ?
3. Attach the design and fashion of ornaments, in a sketch, if possible

G-5—Amusements

1. Does the household members go for cinemas, if so, at what intervals ?
2. Does the household go for dramas, and if so, at what intervals ?
3. Does the household participate in the other amusements, and if so, what are such amusements and at what intervals ?

G-6—Medical Attention

- Are the maternity cases of the household usually attended to—
 - by taking the woman to the hospital for confinement
 - by calling a doctor at home
 - by calling a qualified midwife
 - by calling an unqualified midwife
 - without any assistance
- Which, if any, of the following is the system of treatment adopted when members of household fall sick :—
 - Allopathic
 - Ayurvedic
 - Homoeopathy
 - Any other system
- Is the consultation done by going to—
 - Public Hospital or dispensary
 - Private Hospital or dispensary
 - Private Physician
 - By getting a physician at home
- Have the members of the household been vaccinated, if so, at what intervals ?

G-7—Household Expenditure

A. What is the monthly expenditure of the household on the following :—

Item of Expenditure	Monthly expenditure incurred in	
	Rs.	P.
1. Food—		
Foodgrains—		
(a) Rice, wheat, cereals, etc.		
(b) Vegetables—		
1. Potatoes		
2. Onions		
3. Coconuts		
4. Root Vegetables		
5. Other Vegetables		
(c) Meat—		
1. Beef		
2. Mutton		
3. Chicken, Duck, Bacon and other kinds of meat		
4. Fish		
5. Eggs		
(d) Condiment—		
1. Chillies		
2. Tamarind		
3. Others		
(e) Ghee and Oils		
(f) Salt		
(g) Sugar		
(h) Coffee and Tea		
(i) Tobacco		
(j) Other foods—		
1. Refreshments		
2. Pansupari		
3. Others		
(k) Milk and Milk products		
2. Housing—		
1. Rent of the house		
2. Light		
3. Fuel—		
(a) Kerosene		
(b) Wood		
3. Other incidental expenditure—		
1. Dhobi or Laundry Charges		
2. Barber		
3. Amusement		

Total monthly expenditure of the household

B. What is the Annual Expenditure of the household on following items :—

	Annual expenditure	
	Rs.	P.
1. Education		
2. Medical fees and medicines		
3. Religious observances		
4. Payment of Debt		
5. Remittance to dependents living elsewhere		
6. Any other item		
7. Cultivation done by the household		
8. Industry run by the household		
9. Business run by the household		

Total Annual expenditure of the Household

G-7—Household Expenditure—concl.

Income Pattern—

- What is the monthly income of the household ?
- What is the annual income of the household, under following items :—
 - Salary and wages
 - Industry run by household
 - Business run by the household
 - Rent from land
 - Rent of houses
 - Pensions
 - Dividends
 - Gifts and Presents
 - Help from relatives
 - Other sources of income

Income
Rs. P.

Total Annual Income

- Is the annual income of the household sufficient to cover the expenditure ?
- How is the expenditure not covered by income met ? (Note.—To be answered only in respect of households the income of which is less than the expenditure)
- Is the household in debt ? If so, what is the extent of debt ? How much of this debt was incurred during last three years ?
- From whom the loan is taken—Relatives/Money lender/co-operative society ? What is the rate of interest charged for such loans ?

Debt—

7. What is the extent of debt incurred for following purposes :—

- Purchase of land
- House construction or repairs to the existing building
- Marriages
- Funerals
- To give dowry
- Sickness
- For household cultivation
- For household industry
- For business run by the household

Total Debt

- How far the household has cleared any debt, by now ?
- How was the debt cleared ? Is it from income of the household/Sale of property/others (specify) ?

G-8—Animals

1. State the number of animals in possession of household (at the time of survey)—

Animal	No.
Cow	in Milk Others
Bulls	working Others
She Buffaloes	in Milk Others
Buffaloes	
Goats	
Sheep	
Pigs	
Fowls	
Ducks	
Horse	
Donkey	

- Was the household required to bring bullocks from others for Agricultural operations last year (Yes/No) ? If so, how many and for how many days ?
- Did the household lend Bullocks to others for cultivation, if so, how many and for how many days ?

G-9—Opinion Survey

- (a) Does the head of the household know—Name of the Taluka/Tahsil/District in which his village is situated ?
- (b) Does the head of the household know names of the principle rivers flowing through the district ?
- (a) Do you think that abolition of Zamindari and intermediary rights has resulted in any good to you ? (Answer Yes/No)
- (b) If yes, indicate how you have been benefited
- (c) If no, why have you not been benefited ?

G-9—Opinion Survey—concd.

3. If you are a share-cropper—
(a) Has the proportion of crop payable to the landlord ever been changed ?
If so, when and why ?
(b) Have you been evicted from your land as a result of recent land legislation ?
(Answer Yes/No) If yes, give particulars ?
(c) Has there been consolidation of holdings in your village ? What was the
mode of compensation for exchange of lands and did you consider it
equitable ?
4. (a) Have you benefited from any scheme of land reclamation or land develop-
ment (Answer Yes/No) ?
(b) If yes, explain how are you benefited ?
(c) Does any member or members of the household take active part in
politics, if so, how many ?
5. (a) Is there a co-operative society in your village ? (Answer Yes/No)
(b) If yes, are you a member ? (Answer Yes/No)
(c) If no, why are you not a member ?
6. Is there an N. E. S. Block in your area ?
7. (a) Have you benefited from the N. E. S. Block ? (Answer Yes/No)
(b) If yes, how have you benefited ?
8. (a) Has any caste or tribe of your village got a separate Panchayat of its own ?
(Answer Yes/No)
(b) If yes, what are the main functions of this caste or tribal Panchayats ?
(c) Since the statutory Panchayats are functioning, why do you think these
caste or tribal Panchayats should still continue ?
9. (a) Do you know that man and wife can prevent conception of a child by
deliberate means, if they wish to do so ?
(b) Is there a family planning centre in your area ? (Answer Yes/No)
(c) Does the head of the household wish that no more children were
born to him ?
10. Does any member or members of the household visit places of public worship
and if so, how many and at what intervals ?

SECTION H—Survey of Consanguineous Marriages

(Use separate column for each marriage including for more than one wife or one husband)

Question	First married Male (Head of household, if male)	Second married male	Third married male	Fourth married male	Fifth married male
1	2	3	4	5	6
A. HUSBAND—					
1. Name					
2. Relationship to head of household					
3. Age in completed years					
4. Married for how many years					
5. Place/Village/Taluka, be- fore marriage.					
6. Mother-tongue					
7. Religion					
8. Main Caste/Tribe					
9. Sub-group within Main Caste/Tribe.					
10. Gotra/Kul/Totem or other similar sub-division.					
11. Other marriages of hus- band, if any.					

SECTION H—Survey of Consanguineous Marriages—contd.

(Use separate column for each marriage including for more than one wife or one husband)

Questions	First married male (Head of household, if male)	Second married male	Third married male	Fourth married male	Fifth married male
1	2	3	4	5	6
B. WIFE—					
12. Name					
13. Age in completed years.					
14. Place/Village/Taluka, before marriage.					
15. Religion, before mar- riage.					
16. Main Caste/Tribe, before marriage.					
17. Sub-group within Main Caste/Tribe, before marriage					
18. Gotra/Kul/Totem or other similar sub-division, before marriage.					
19. Age at first marriage					
20. Duration of present marriage.					
21. Other marriages of wife, if any.					
C. RELATIONSHIPS—					
22. Are the husband and wife related in any way ?					
23. If "Yes" whether the relationship is a blood relationship (having common ancestors) ?					
24. If the answer is "Yes" for C-23, give in a condens- ed form, the informant's statement regarding the blood relationship, and draw the pedigree (with abbreviated names wher- ever mentioned by the informant) against the appropriate relationship among those given below:—					
(a) Whether married to his own sister's daughter (husband and wife's mother being brother and sister having both parents same) ? (Diagram a of Instruction 16).					
(b) Whether married to his own brother's daughter (husband and wife's father having both parents same) ? (Dia- gram b).					
(c) Whether married to his mother's own sister (hus- band's mother and wife having both parents same) ? (Diagram c).					

SECTION H—Survey of Consanguineous Marriages—contd.

Questions	(Use separate column for each marriage including for more than one wife or one husband)					
	First married male (Head of household, if male)	Second married male	Third married male	Fourth married male	Fifth married male	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
(d) Whether married to his father's own sister (husband's father and wife having both parents same)? (Diagram d).						
(e) Whether married to his mother's own brother's daughter (husband's mother and wife's father having both parents same)? (Diagram e).						
(f) Whether married to his father's own sister's daughter (husband's father and wife's mother having both parents same)? (Diagram f).						
(g) Whether married to his mother's own sister's daughter (husband's mother and wife's mother having both parents same)? (Diagram g).						
(h) Whether married to his father's own brother's daughter (husband's father and wife's father having both parents same)? (Diagram h).						
(i) Whether married to his step-sister's daughter (husband and wife's mother having only one parent in common)? (Diagram i).						
(j) Whether married to his step-brother's daughter (husband and wife's father having only one parent in common)? (Diagram j).						
(k) Whether married to his mother's step sister (husband's mother and wife having only one parent in common)? (Diagram k).						
(l) Whether married to his father's step sister (husband's father and wife having only one parent in common)? (Diagram l).						
(m) Whether married to his mother's step brother's daughter (husband's mother and wife's father having only one parent in common)? (Diagram m).						

SECTION H—Survey of Consanguineous Marriages—concl.

Questions	(Use separate column for each marriage including for more than one wife or one husband)					
	First married male (Head of household, if male)	Second married male	Third married male	Fourth married male	Fifth married male	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
(n) Whether married to his father's step-sister's daughter (husband's father and wife's mother having only one parent in common)? (Diagram n).						
(o) Whether married to his mother's step sister's daughter (husband's mother and wife's mother having only one parent in common)? (Diagram o).						
(p) Whether married to his father's step brother's daughter (husband's father and wife's father having only one parent in common)? (Diagram p).						
(q) Whether there is any other blood relationship, not specified above, between the husband and wife?						
25. If answer is 'Yes' for C-22 but 'No.' for C-23, ascertain whether the relationship is one of the following :—						
(a) Elder brother's widow.						
(b) Younger brother's widow.						
(c) Wife's sister						
(d) Daughter-in-law						
(e) Mother-in-law						
26. Name and status of informant.						

APPENDIX 3

Extract from the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Volume VIII—1907, 1908, 1909.
(Pages 498 to 520)

"SAVANTVADI CASTES AND VILLAGE COMMUNITIES"

by

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA, B.A., LL.B., Chief Judge, Savantwadi

INTRODUCTION

When we look beyond the bustle and rush of life in cities and railways and the commercialism of modern life in India and peep into the state of its society, what strikes us most is its slow changing conservative caste system and village communities. These features are strongly marked all the more in the Savantvadi State than perhaps any other part of Western India, because it lies somewhat out of the way of the rush of modern civilization and it has for seventy long years been under British administration pledged to maintain its old institutions and usages. Savantvadi is a Maratha State created about the middle of the 17th century by Maratha Savant Bhonslays by bold successful insurrection against the Bijapur rule and by conquest of the old Gaud Sarasvat Kudal-deshkar dynasty of Chiefs, Sar Desais of Adilshahs of Bijapur. Since that time the Maratha dynasty had to maintain a continuous struggle for its existence against external enemies and internal commotions. The Marathas constitute about one-half of a population of 217,732 souls and once included the main agricultural landlord and peasant proprietors. But the Gaud Sarasvats have stepped into their shoes as landlords of the greater portion of the agricultural lands in the village. In several villages the Gaud Sarasvat has become a Khot, in a few a Gavnkars, the village headman, representing the original landlord settler and village administrator. The Marathas are, however, still Gavnkars and Mankaris in most of the villages, with all the *matman* and *dev devaski* (honours and religious privileges) appertaining to the position, though with loss of most of their lands. The Marathas still hold sway over the lower classes with the Mahars at the bottom of the grade. The constitution of the village communities thus presents three main tribal strata. viz —

- (I) The Gaud Sarasvats (about 10,000 out of about 14,000 Brahmins), as pure Aryans as any in India.
- (II) The Marathas—Aryo Scythians or Aryo Dravidians—with kindred castes of Vanis, Bhandaris, Gabits, Devils, Sutar, Chamars, etc.
- (III) The Mahars generally believed to be Dravidians or pre-Dravidians.

We shall mark in the first instance the striking features of the leading Savantvadi castes, tracing their connection with the village communities, and then try to trace constitution of the village communities with their religious practices. In doing this, we may be enabled to put to test the theory about the origin of the constituent racial elements of Indian village communities, which is summed up as follows :—

“ The village communities of India were not Aryan in origin, but were formed by a pre-Aryan race, who having been conquered by the tribal Aryans had thus super-imposed upon them the Aryan overlordship, with its fixed notions, sacredness in kinship and in domestic worship. In India these Aryans and non-Aryans exist side by side, the contribution of each to the building up of the Indian form of village community being still stamped with the impress of race.”*

*Gomme--The Village Community

PART FIRST

Survey of the Leading Castes and Communities

Gaud Sarasvat Brahmanas

(1) Kudaldeshkars	..	..	2,102 Males. 2,226 Females.
			<u>4,328</u>
(2) Shenvis	..	..	2,425 Males. 2,495 Females.
			<u>4,920</u>
(3) Bardeshkars	..	..	237 Males. 214 Females.
			<u>451</u>
(4) Shenvi-paikis	..	..	1 Male. 4 Females.
			<u>5</u>

The dominant community in the Savantvadi State is that of the Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans. A Brahman Desai of the Kudaldeshkar Gaud Sarasvat community was the chief of the present territory of the Savantvadi State, three tarafs of the Ratnagiri District, the Vingorla port and four sub divisions of the Goa territory : Pedne, Bicholi and Sanquelim ; which province the Desai held under the kings of Bijapur as Kudal Prant and Mahalainhai. As early as the year 1261 A. D., we find a Chalukya king bestowing a village in the Ratnagiri Taluka on certain Brahmans, including one Keshav Prabhu of the Bharadvaj lineage, who was evidently a Gaud Sarasvat of the Kudaldeshkar community (see the copper-plate translation on page 381 of the *Savantvadi Memoirs*). There is also an interesting copper-plate of the year 1436, which proves the existence of a Gaud Sarasvat dynasty of chiefs in Southern Konkan about the beginning of the 15th century. The founder of this dynasty is stated in the copper-plate to have expelled the Marathas, who had usurped the power of the Kadambas (*Savantvadi Memoirs*, page 298). It is probably to this dynasty the Gaud Sarasvat Desais of Kudal belonged, who were tributaries of Bijapur about the close of the fifteenth century. The Kudal Brahman Desai was taken captive by Lakham Savant (ancestor of the present Sar Desai of Vadi) and afterwards put to death (about the year 1640 A.D.) and thus ended the Brahman dynasty.

Lakham Savant was about the year 1650 confirmed as Sar Desai of the whole South Konkan. According to the Hindu codes, Brahman murder being a very heinous crime, the present ruling family has since the Kudal Desai's death being considered as obnoxious to the implacable vengeance of the murdered Desai, particularly excited by using the seal of the Kudal province; which is assigned as a reason of its being never affixed by them, but by the hand of another person, in general a Brahman, who by his sanctity, is supposed to be less liable to the spirit's revengeful malice (*Savantvadi Memoirs*, page 154). The original seal is now, it appears, kept as a relic in the Walawal temple. The family

of the Chitnises holds the hereditary right of affixing this seal of the Sar Desai. This family belongs not, however, to the Kudaldeshkar Gaud Sarasvats but the community which goes generally by the name of *Shenvis*. The Shenvis Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans have been holding all the important posts under the State, the keeper of the privy seal, the chancellor, the treasurer, the custodian of military stores, manager of State *paga* and village accountant. Hence the names of Chitnis, Sabinis, Potnis, Kotnis and Pagnis, so common among the Shenvis of Vadi, while the names common among the Kudaldeshkars are Desai, Samant and Prabhu, none of them signifying the ministerial posts held by the Brahmans under the Sar Desai of Kudal. The Kudaldeshkars are Gavnkars in some of the villages of Kudal and Vadi pethas (towards the west) of this State, while the Gaud Sarasvat Shenvis are Gavnkars in the villages of Shivapur, Sateli, Satosem, Azgaon and were once Khots in Parpoli and a few other villages.

It may be interesting to note that in Savantvadi and in Goa the claim of the Gaud Sarasvats as full fledged Brahmans has never been seriously questioned as in Bombay. On the contrary, in one of the grants as early as 1261 A.D., which traces their emigration from Northern India, one of them is credited with eight sacerdotal duties. This only furnishes additional proof in support of the contention I have urged in *The Indian Castes, Vol. I.—Konkani or Goan Castes* (1904), that the Gaud Sarasvats are not a whit less entitled to the status of Brahmans than any other community in India that claim or pass to be Brahmans. They have attained to an eminent position of affluence and influence and have succeeded in becoming the largest and most powerful village landlords. The Shenvi Gaud Sarasvats have largely taken to the clerical or writer's profession, though they are "non-clerical" inasmuch as few of them care to be professional priests. Cultivation and trade have a larger attraction for the Kudaldeshkars than the clerical profession. The few Bardeshkars in this State are mostly traders.

Marathas and Kunbis

Marathas .. Males 56,557 ; Females 60,911.
Kunbis .. Males 54,767 ; Females 58,955.

One seldom or never hears the name Kunbi applied to Maratha Shudra cultivators or used by them in Savantvadi. In the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. X, Ratnagiri and Savantvadi), a separate caste of Kunbis is mentioned as existing in the Savantvadi State. Here many communities, which in the Ratnagiri and other neighbouring districts are classed separately from Marathas, namely, Kunbis and Bades, Ghadis, Lads, Bhavins, Guravs, rejoice in the name of Maratha. In most of the villages Marathas hold the high position of Gavnkars or headmen. The following families of Marathas are arranged according to the number of villages from 30 to 1 in which they enjoy this position, namely :—

Savant, Gavas, Parab, Gavda, Ravul, Naik, Dharne, Dharni, Rane, Dharni, Ghadi, Gurav, Paste, Aier, Mhadgut, Jadhav, Dhavel, Terse, Chowgule, Warang, Naik, Teli, Ravul, Lad, Sail.

There are high class Marathas who claim to be Kshatriyas. They may be divided into the following classes :—

- they may be divided into the following classes—
- (1) The Sar Desai and the cadets of his family. They are Savant Bhonslays, connected by marriage with the Gaekwar, Scindia and the Dhar Chief, and several other noble Maratha families.
 - (2) The Maratha Sardars (called Mehmans), who are descendants of cadets of noble Maratha families of the Ratnagiri, Poona and Satara districts, Inamdars of the Satara Rajas and the Peshvas. These cadets and their descendants, connected by matrimonial alliances with the Sar Desai, found fields for military service in his wars against enemies from outside and during internal troubles. They are represented by the Patankars, Nimbalkars, Surveys, Ghadges, Khanvilkar, Shirkeys, Mohites.
 - (3) Maratha Sardars, not connected by marriage with the Sar Desai—Dalvis, Savant Bhonslays of Mangaon and other villages, Desais of Parma (Gavas) and some others.

Yd 4740-11

The *gotras* and *devaks* of the high class Maratha families are given below so far as can be ascertained :—

Family	Gotra	Devak
Sar Desai (Savant-Bhonslay)	Kaushika	Kadamba.
Patankars	Bharadvaj	Vad.
Surveys	....	Vad.
Ghades	Kashyap	Surya-Kantachaful.
Savant Bhonslays of Mangaon	Kaushika	Kadamba.

In a case from the Ratnagiri District (Appeals 619 of 1883 and 12 of 1884), the District Court of Ratnagiri held that the Maratha Surveys were Kshatriyas, though through ignorance or poverty or disinclination of Brahmans they could not get all the ceremonies required of the twice born performed. The same view was taken of Savant Bhonslays of Mangaon in a judgment of the Kudal Court in the Savantvadi State in 1901. The Munsiff expressed the opinion that the Sardars might be degraded Kshatriyas, but that their high origin could not be questioned. The authorities and evidence, however, on which the judgment is based, appear to me to be somewhat irrelevant and weak, though I do not challenge the soundness of the conclusion arrived by the learned judge. The Maratha Sardars do not perform *upanayana* and are not taught the Vedas or the Gayetri. They are given a sacred thread to wear at the time of marriage and the rite of sanskar by way of giving *dakshana* to Brahmans, etc., is called *churika bhandav*, which is a rite prescribed by the Shastras for Shudras of the higher class.

Apart from the agnatic kinsmen of the Sar Desai and the Sardars and other high class Marathas, the Marathas in general may, though provisionally and subject to revision, be classified according to social position as follows :—

1st class.—Savant, Rane, Dalvi, Jadhav, Adve, Pawar, Satam.

2nd class.—Parab, Chawan, Dhuri, Palav, Paste, Sail, Naiks.
3rd class.—Rayol. Kadam. Nikam. Simde, Gurav.

"Savant" stands one of the highest among the Marathas. "Samant" is surname of some of the leading families of Kudalदेशkar Gaud Sarasvats (but not of the Kudal Desais). It seems that the Maratha "Savant" is derived from "Samant" as "Parab" the surname of one of the Maratha kuls is a corruption of "Prabhu", a common surname among Kudalदेशkar Gaud Sarasvats. The honorific surnames "Rane" and "Ravul" are connected with "Rai", "Rau" (Latin *Rex*, kin). The "Ravul" "Ravul", however, stands rather low in the grades of Maratha kuls. The Gaudas appear to have been once an important clan in the State and had been Gavnkars in several villages, in which their place has been taken by other kuls. The name appears to be derived from the Kanarese word "Gavda", headman, a name which is borne by Kanarese cultivators in Kanara and by cultivating class in the Ratnagiri district and in Goa. The title "Naik" meaning "leader" is another Kanarese word.

Intermarriages between the several grades of kuls are not absolutely prohibited, but it is natural for a Maratha to seek alliances with as high a kul as possible. While the Savant Bhonslays of Kalmist (Tambulkar Desais) would seek marriages with only Sardar families, the Savant Gavnkars of the village marry with the kul Paste. The Parabs, who are Gavnkars in the villages of Tulas, Matond and Talavda, which are close to one another, will not intermarry, as they say they are "varas", that is related to one another. But they can marry with Parabs of Ajgaon and Charata villages, which are distant. In the village of Parpoli the Gavnkars have got girls from, or married their girls to, Ravuts of Amboli, Ravuls of Malgaon and Kalmist and Dalvis of Hodavda. The Parab Gavnkars of Charata have intermarried with Maratha Guravs of Otoana.

In general it may be said that the marriage and death ceremonies of the higher and lower classes of Marathas resemble those of the Marathas (the warrior class) and Kunbis respectively described in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIV (Kolhapur).

The only *devak* known among the Kunbi Marathas of the Savantvadi State and also the taluka of Vengurla is that of Kadamba or Kalamb, which they have adopted, I fancy, from that of the ruling family of the Sar Desais. None of the Kunbi families appear to have any recollection of what might have been their original *devak* (or kul as it is called), supplanted by the *devak* Kalamb.

Bhavins and Devlis

(1,105 males and 1,437 females)

Every village has its Bhavins and Devlis—temple servants. The principal duties of the former, female members, are to sweep and coddling the floors, clean and light the lamps, while Devlis (the males born out of Bhavins) carry lights at processions, perform the plays at jattras and do other such duties. When dedicated to temple service, the girls undergo either the *shensh* ceremony of marriage with the dagger before the principal village god (with many of the ceremonials that are performed at an ordinary Maratha wedding) or the more simple ceremony of pouring over her head oil from the god's lamp. The temple Bhavins enjoy *nemmuk*s from the State and hold sometimes inam or service lands. Bhavins and Devlis are drawn out of Marathas and Bhandaris and observe their caste distinctions and customs rigorously. One interesting peculiarity of the laws of succession among them is that all unmarried daughters are allowed to inherit the estate of their father or mother equally with the male children.

In the *shensh* performance, when the girl was brought in a temple before the village deity, she was in some villages placed on the thigh of one of the village Gavnkars and all further ceremony was performed in the presence of the deity. This meant, it is explained, the creation of a parental relation of the village people towards the girls, forbidding the bodily connection with any of the village males, but allowing the same with a man of another village. This was a custom formerly observed, but appears to have died away with many other such "good" customs.

The Devlis of the Savantvadi State are returned as 1,105 males and 1,436 females, which leaves a margin of 1,436 minus 1,105 or 331 excess of females over males, which number, I suppose, constitute the unmarried Bhavins. The Devli population of the Savantvadi State constitutes, it is interesting to note, about one-fifth of the whole total number of Devlis in the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency.

Bhavins and Devlis are found in the four districts of Goa (Novas Conquistas), which formerly belonged to the Savantvadi State. Their customs and manners resemble those of the Savantvadi State, with this exception that, under the Portuguese law, the females are not prohibited from going through the *shensh* ceremony before the age of sixteen, as in Savantvadi and in British India. Taking advantage of the Portuguese law, occasionally young girls of the community, it is said, cross the frontier, undergo the *shensh* ceremony in Novas Conquistas and return as full-fledged Bhavins.

The community is also found in the talukas of Vengurla, Malvan and Devgad in the Ratnagiri District, numbering 637 males and 769 females.

In fact, this interesting community of Bhavins and Devlis has been in existence from times immemorial in the old Kudal or Savantvadi, principality consisting of the present State of Savantvadi, the Vengurla, Devgad and Malvan Talukas, and the province of Novas Conquistas of Goa. They have no connection whatever with the Devlis in the rest of the Presidency.

Mahars

Mahars (5,742 males and 5,847 females) are divided into two endogamous sub-divisions, Bele and Pan Mahars. The Bele Mahars are found in the southern two-third portion of the State, while in the northern parts the Pan Mahars generally predominate. Mahars are serfs perpetually bound down to the villages and sub-divided into exogamous classes according to the villages they are attached to. Their surnames are taken after their villages: Vadkars, Chowkulkars, Mangankars, etc. Mahars hold a *man*,

that is, enjoy honors along with other higher village and temple dignitaries. In some villages they enjoy *two mans* probably for the two sections of the Mahars, Pan and Bele. But as in most villages only one section of them exists, the two honors are enjoyed by one and same section. There are a number of *devaks* held in veneration by different families, the well-known being *kalamb*, *kasav* (tortoise), *tambet* (a grass), *vad* (banian tree), *naga* (cobra), *nandruk*. A *devak* is respected by its bearer by refraining from killing the animal, burning the tree, wearing the flower, which is the *devak* of his family. Two parties having the same *devak* do not appear to be barred from marrying one another. Mahars have their own caste Joshis or Gosavis for celebrating marriages and performing religious ceremonies. Mahars are entitled to several perquisites in the village to which they belong, being one class of the balutedars. The vatandar Mahars of a village have the exclusive privilege of taking away the carcasses of dead cattle, but are bound by long usage to sell the leather to the Chamars of the village.

PART SECOND

Village Communities

Villages with completely organized corporations were discovered in Goa (the territory adjoining the Savantvadi State in the south) by Alphonso Albuquerque*. That great statesman maintained the institution of these village communities almost intact and shortly after his death in 1526, a survey called *Foal de Usas e Costumes*, describing the peculiar usages and customs of the communities was published, which served as a guide-book to subsequent administrators. The original land-hold founders of villages were called Gavnkars, that is, those belonging to a village. The descendants of the original landlord settlers in each village, even those dispersed far outside Goa are still entitled to a *hak* called *zan*, the share of the rent of the common estate embracing a large portion of the village lands (the *gavik samaik* property), which a Gavnkars is entitled to as a single *zan* meaning persons.

The joint income of the villagers is subject to various charges on account of repairs of village churches and public works, construction and maintenance of village roads, etc., and certain Government imports. There is regular staff of village servants, but no village headman. On questions affecting the interests of a whole village, a sort of *panchayat* or council is held, composed of one or more members of each class (*Vangar*) and the decisions are determined by the majority of votes. The village community system is confined only to *Velhas Conquistas*. The village administration is placed under the supervision of an officer called *Administrador das Comunidades*, appointed by Government for each district. In the *Novas Conquistas*, the districts conquered from the Savantvadi Bhonslay, the old village community system prevailing in *Velhas Conquistas*, if it existed at all, has practically died out, and no attempt was ever made to maintain it in its primitive condition. The literature on the subject of the Goa village communities is a library by itself. But a brief and lucid historical and descriptive survey of them will be found in *Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades Agricolas de Goa* by Filip Nery Xavier.

In the south of the Ratnagiri District, the Revenue officers of the Bombay Government discovered, as early as the year 1818, peasant held villages, which were managed and out of which the revenue was collected by headmen called *Gavnkars*, who enjoyed from ancient times an hereditary *Gavnkari vatan*. They also overlooked the religious rites and enjoyed special social and religious privileges, which they valued much. At the same time they had to pay their share of the revenue like ordinary land owners and could enforce no fresh cess without the landholders' consent.†

In the State of Savantvadi, we find from early times the same class of village headmen called Gavnkars, who were managers of the villages and enjoyed not only the right but were burdened with the responsibility of collecting the land assessment due to the Sarkar.

Both in Ratnagiri District and the Savantvadi State, one or more members of the Gavnkars family or families pass annual *Kabulayats* to the authorities, undertaking to collect the revenue

*Danvers.—The Portuguese in India (Introduction); Rulers of India, Albuquerque, p. 159.

†Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. X, (Ratnagiri and Savantvadi).

of the village at a fixed percentage on the total assessment collected. While a Patel is only liable for reasonable service, a *Kabulayatdar* Gavnkars is bound to collect the whole revenue fixed by the State and is responsible for the deficiency. If the deficiency cannot be recovered from him and his surety, the whole village is liable to make up the balance. The relation therefore between the *Kabulayatdar* Gavnkars and the other villagers has been treated as equivalent to that of superior and inferior holders respectively. As superior holders, the former are entitled to recover arrears of assessment from the villagers by a summary process through the Revenue Courts under Sections 86 and 87 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879. A question was, however, raised some years ago in this State as to whether *Kabulayatdar* Gavnkars are superior holders. The doubt has been set at rest by legislation in favour of the claim of Gavnkars.

A Gavnkars' obligation to pay the assessment of his village arises from the *Kabulayat* he passes. *Kabulayats* were, however, not always taken formerly; they are now taken presumably with a view to distribute and fix the responsibility on particular Gavnkars or Gavnkars by rotation and to secure the payment by means of sureties. The right and obligation are, however, inherent in the Gavnkars families as descendants of the original landlord settlers, which are suspended in most villages by none of them coming forward to undertake the collection owing to their increasing difficulties in realizing the revenue, the degradation of their once high position by loss of their private as well as joint holdings and their pecuniary embarrassments.

The right to pass *Kabulayats* was at times a subject of dispute, which was carried into courts of justice. It was contended that relief in such cases was not obtainable by a civil action; but the jurisdiction of civil courts to entertain suits for determining, conflicting claims to the dignity of *Kabulayatdar* has been upheld by the highest court of justice.

A village includes nearly a complete establishment of occupation and trades to enable the communities to continue their collective life without assistance from outside. Besides, the Gavnkars headmen, Khots as they are sometimes called, we find the Brahman accountant (*Kulkarni*), an important personage among an unlettered population, the Sutar or carpenter, the Gurav (worshipper in the temples), the Ghadi (who kills the animals offered), the Devli (male menial temple servant), the Bhavin (female temple servant), Hajam (barber), the Parit or Madwal (washerman), the inevitable Mahar all holding lands in service tenure or paid by an allowance of grain or cash. The Gavnkars are the trustees and managers of the principal village temples. They enjoy special privileges—*matman*—at the periodical village festivals, jattras and gatherings.

The Gavnkars and sometimes the Mahars are divided into two classes—the *kulkars* and *thalkars*. The idol of the *clan* or *kul* god of Gavnkars is in charge of the *kulkars*, while the other village gods are in the custody of the *thalkars*. Gavnkars are again divided into *rajastha*, that is those who manage the affairs of the village and its temples, and *purvastha*, those who carry out their directions and attend generally to the worship of the gods.

In former times, as even in these days, cultivated lands were occasionally abandoned by their holders. These deserted lands, called *gatkul*, passed under the management of the Gavnkars and were disposed of by them as if they were their joint property (Gavik *samaik* estate), until the year 1853; when a rule approved by Government and the Court of Directors was proclaimed throughout the Savantvadi State to the effect that "Gavnkars" are to be allowed the full latitude sanctioned by usage to make any arrangement for the cultivation of deserted land for the period of their own individual responsibility to pay land revenue under their *Kabulayats* but for no longer duration, and in case of more permanent arrangements being made necessary to induce cultivators to take up the lands, they must apply to the "Political Superintendent". Deeds executed by Gavnkars in defiance of this rule are held void by the Courts and it is also held that the said rule only formulated a principle already sanctioned by usage and did not prescribe any new law. Gavnkars in fact are allowed to arrange for the cultivation of *gatkul* lands, but they have not as Gavnkars any proprietary right in them.

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The question of the power of a village community to borrow money for village purposes and mortgage *gavik samaik* land was the subject of a prolonged litigation in the Savantvadi Courts in a case arising in the village of Kalsuli.

The principle enunciated in the final decision is instructive and deserves to be quoted here:

"A village community is under that native system of Government regarded for many purposes as a *corporation* having rights in common lands vested in the body of the inhabitants, who are collectively liable for the demands of the State. To enable the community to discharge this common duty or obligation, it may as a corporation borrow money from a banker and in taking such a course it may be represented by the Gavnkars and principal men of the place."

The Marathas are Gavnkars in about 200 out of about 225 villages of which I have made a list, the Gaud Sarasvats in 12 villages, the Bhandaris in two and the Mahars in two. The Mahars got the Gavnkari right in the villages of Zarap and Mandkuli in succession as the only heirs through illegitimate children by a Maharin to a Parab Gavnkars. It has yet to be ascertained whether the Mahars were the original Gavnkars of any villages. They play yet an important, though inferior, part in the village administration.

In dwelling at this length on the Gavnkari tenure, I wish to draw attention to the following points:—

(1) The tenacity with which the Marathas have clung to the old privilege of Gavnkars in most of the villages, that is, about two-third of the total number of villages in all the three pethas, in the face of the rivalry of the more enterprising and educated classes, is indicative of the latent vitality of the caste, which is sure to be resuscitated into renewed energy with progress of education in the community.

(2) In reviving the village community system into an useful institution, it is of importance to bring and associate together the new landlord classes, generally the Gaud Sarasvats, that have supplanted the old Gavnkars as landlords almost everywhere.

PART THIRD

The Religious Practices of the Villages

We shall now try to throw some light on the formation of the several racial strata in the villages of the State by evidence of the religious practices of the villagers.

Jainism was once the prevalent religion of the people in this corner of India. Its only vestiges now are the broken Jain images found thrown about outside the village temples and the Guravs, who are strict vegetarians and are worshippers in the principal temples in several villages of the State.

Mementoes of an extinct religious system are traced in two sorts of tablets with slight variations found generally outside village temples and in many a temple in some out of the way corner of it. The *first* is divided into two parts. In the upper part is an indistinct representation of the sun and below it is an arm issuing from a pillar and bent at the elbow. To the right of the arm is the moon and to the left the *linga* of Mahadeo. In the lower part are three figures, two of females and one of a male. All are sitting and the female on the right has her hands clasped and is apparently engaged in prayer. The male is armed and holds a sword in his right hand.

The *second* is divided into three parts. In the first or uppermost part are representations of the sun and moon and somewhat below them is the *linga*, which is being worshipped by a man who holds in his right hand a censor and in his left a bell. An arm bent at the elbow and issuing from a pillar is seen on the right of the part of the tablet. In the second or central part is a palanquin in which are two persons who are being carried by two bearers. In the third part four men are standing each with a weapon in his hand.

Except a few villages, where the gods of the Hindu Triad are worshipped, all the villages have preferred to dedicate their best temples to their incarnations, *gans* (attendants) or demons. Among whom the best known is :—

Ravalnath.—This god is generally wearing a crown which is surmounted by a representation of "kirti mukh" or the grinning face. He has ornaments in his ears and a medallion on his breast. He moreover has a garland around his neck and "Khadawas" or sandals on his feet. This god is fully armed and holds in one hand a "damaru", in another a sword, in the third a trident and in the fourth a bowl, while alongside is a horse fully caparisoned and decorated with a "tura" or crest. On the right is a warrior, who is also armed and carries a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left. This deity is believed to be one of the three hundred "gans" or hosts attending on Siva.

The most important of the temples dedicated to Ravalnath is the famous temple at Otoana, built by the Sar Desais. Ravalnath is the family god of the chiefs of Savantvadi. The god's worship was carried, it appears, from their original village Matond to their new seat Otoana. The Sar Desai is the principal worshipper of the god as well the Gavnkars of the village. Otoana is situated on the Terekol river in the midst of the most charming surroundings. The grand natural and historical associations of the village attract crowds of worshippers to the temple. The Otoana god is largely consulted by all classes for omens and for a peep into the secrets of the future as well as the present and past.

The administration of the principal temples dedicated to these gods is in the hands of Gavnkars, who enjoy the highest *man* or honour at the religious festivities and assemblies. The honours are distributed among the other villagers and servants according to their rank. They are so much valued that they are the source of controversies and strifes, which end sometimes in finding their way to criminal or civil courts.

Besides, the abovementioned deities, there are a number of ancestral gods, worshipped in every village, the spirits of original settlers and their servants. They go by the name of *Baracha vansh*, the ancestors of the twelve, that is the principal families of Gavnkars and village servants. For instance take the town of Banda. Among its many temples, one can boast of the following gods :—

- (1) Parab Vansh } Representing the Maratha Parab and
- (2) Gavda Vansh } Gavda Gavnkars families now extinct ;
- (3) Baracha Vansh—Representing the "twelve" ;
- (4) Purvasthal Khamba ;
- (5) Kulachi Purvansh ;
- (6) Mayecha Vansh ;
- (7) Naik Vansh—Representing the Maratha Naiks ;
- (8) Kumbar Vansh—Representing the Kumbar ;
- (9) Nitkari (a police officer) ;
- (10) Kamda (another officer) ;
- (11) Ghadi (representing the Ghadi, who takes part in the worship of gods) ;

In addition to the twelve ancestor gods (*Baracha Vansh*), there are five gods or spirits worshipped in every village, the "*Panch*" (the Five) as they call them. In the prayers addressed to the village gods worshipped on important festivals, we hear the following :—

"Bara-Panch raji kar,"

"Bara-Panchachi samjut gal".*

Who these *Panch* are is an interesting question, on which there are conflicting opinions. Some say that they are the principal gods in the Savantvadi State, Ravalnath, Vetel, Sateri, Pavnai and Ling or any other combination of five gods. There are others who surmise that the *Panch* represent the ancestor of five menial

*Reconcile us with the Twelve-Five,

servants, including Parmar and Nirankar—Police sepoy of two grades. I have found in several temples a single image representing the *Baracha Vansh*, but none for the *Panchacha Vansh*. It seems to me that the *Panch* are the principal gods worshipped in each village, like the five higher gods worshipped by the Brahmans.

We shall record now a few curious religious beliefs and practices in connection with the village gods.

Near the town of Vadi on the Amboli Road, there is an enclosed spot with two conical stones, which is believed to be the meeting place of the goblins of the 360 villages of the State, as it was comprised of before the conquest of its four districts by the Portuguese and the cession of the coast portion to the British. All these goblins still own allegiance to a supposed main spirit of the State, the *Uphral* demon, and meet for feasting and entertaining themselves at his hospitable board. We hear most interesting stories of strange incidents occurring at the place, curious pranks played by the spirits on human beings, wonderful cures effected, miraculous protection of the State from dangers and so on. A collection of these legends would be an useful addition to the folklore of this country. It is said that the gratitude of the Savantvadi Darbar for a miraculous escape from danger was given a solemn public expression to by the performance of a *deopan* in 1817 at the cost of the State, by offering to the demons 12 candies of rice, 360 goats, 360 cocks, 360 cocoanuts, 360 rupees and 360 vidas. The goats and cocks were slaughtered and their legs and heads were buried in the ground, cooked rice besprinkled with blood was thrown round the shrine and the meat heaped about, only a little of the food having been served to the men present. After the people had left, the place was strictly guarded against intruders. On the assembling at night of the spirits of the 360 villages, they did, of course, full justice to the magnificent feast.

The ceremony of hook-swinging, so common among the Dravidian tribes of Southern India,* was also once in vogue in several villages of the State. A Mahar was employed for undergoing the cruel torture, which it is said, he bore generally with wonderful patience and cheerfulness. The custom was stopped about fifty years ago by the authorities on account of the death of a Mahar by accident at the ceremony in the village of Pavai near Kudal. It survives now in the Mahar going round the old hook-swinging post with a hook tied or hung on his back. The object of this old Dravidian custom is said to be to propitiate the evil spirits of the village.

In the village of Jambhawde, there was once the custom of offering twelve buffaloes to the goddess Bhagvati just before the sowing season, every year, but at present only two are sacrificed. At the festival of this sacrifice the Gavnkars and Ryots of the surrounding villages assemble near the temple at night. After the usual prayers and mantras, the principal devotee, who holds the tarang and in whom the goddess is supposed to enter, drives a large knife right into the heart of the buffalo standing before him. The hot blood rushing out is caught in a vessel and mixed with boiled rice kept ready close by. The rice so mixed is scattered over the ground around. The people then disperse. The next morning not a grain of the rice is left by the goblins. This practice with slight variations is found to exist in several other villages.

In almost every village a festival generally known as "*Deashrudha*"† is performed once a year at the end of Ashad and before the beginning of Shravan, in order to propitiate ghosts and ward off evils. On the day previous to the festival a Mahar and a Ghadi go round the whole village to collect grain or bread from each household, however poor. As the *deshrudha* is intended for the common benefit of the whole village, every villager is bound to subscribe something, at least a handful of grain, towards its performance. The grain is then ground into flour, which is made into cakes. The people also open a subscription wherewith to purchase a goat or a pair of cocks for sacrifice. When the people gather in the temple on the night of the festival, a Ghadi takes out a plate made of bamboo, inside of which a new piece of cloth is spread. On that cloth some rice, a cocoanut, some betelnut and

*See Abbe Duboi's Hindu Customs and Manners.
†Literally meaning custom of the country.

betel leaves and some copper coins are placed. The Ghadi places the bamboo plate before the deity and offers prayers to the gods. After the prayers the Ghadi takes the plate on one of his shoulders and proceeds to the village boundary with the Mahars beating the drums, walking in front of him, while the other people walk behind him. At the boundary of the village, the cakes and the cocks are offered to the village ghosts with prayers. A piece of cake and one of the two cocks are thrown into the river for the ghosts. The other cock is immolated and the flesh of it is cooked and eaten up with rice flour cakes by all who go there. In some villages a goat is sacrificed. Brahmans and other high caste people do not take part in the ceremony.

The *deshrudha* festivities, the buffalo sacrifices before the sowing season, the hook-swinging, the offerings to the Uphral god, which I have referred to, all smack so much of Dravidian or pre-Dravidian and so little of Aryan spirit, that we should be justified in looking for their origin in the contact of the Aryans with older races. The Mahars probably represent the older element, the Mahars and the kindred castes, the admixture of these races and the Brahmans, the purer Aryan element. The harmonious co-operation and co-ordination of these classes in the village communities somewhat peculiar in Savantvadi and South Konkan with their curious privileges and customs, call for further research and study, which this sketch is only intended to stimulate.

APPENDIX 4

Extract from the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Volume IX—1910, 1911 and 1912

(Pages 344 to 358)

“SAVANTVADI VILLAGE GODS AND GHOSTS”*

By

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(Read on 29th November 1911)

In my paper on Savantvadi Castes and Village Communities, (vide Vol. VIII, No. 7 of Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay) I have shown how the villages in that interesting Maratha State contain well-organized communities, with a peculiar class of headmen called Gavnkars, enjoying special privileges, and how the religious practices of the villagers smack much of Dravidian or pre-Dravidian spirit. It is now my purpose to pursue the latter point further by going into more details about the village gods and ghosts and the religious practices prevailing among the masses of the villagers, without taking into account the Brahmanic festivals and ceremonies. I shall divide my note into the following parts:—

- Part I .. The Village Gods.
- Part II .. The Village Festivals.
- Part III .. The Ghost Worship.
- Part IV .. Consultation with Gods.

PART I

The Village Gods

The village gods may be classified as under:—

- (1) (a) *Aryan or Aryanized gods*.—Principally god Shiva having the names Rameshwar, Someshwar, Kaleshwar, Linga, Giroba; (b) the supposed incarnations of Shiva such as Ravalnath or Kedarnath; (c) the goddess Durga and Laxmi and their supposed incarnations having the names of Sateri, Bhavai, Bhagirati, Bhadrakali, etc.
- (2) *Dravidian gods*.—Gango, Khatya, Kul, Gavda, Nitkars, Jain gods, Mahar gods.
- (3) *Demon and ghost gods*.—Parmar, Chawatha, Bhadrakambha, Purwachari, Vetat, Vitthala Devi, Bhutnath, Sambandha, Devchar.
- (4) *Ancestor gods*.—Representations of the founders of the villages and ancestors of the families such as Vans, Gavdevans, Ghadvans, Talkhambha.

In each village there are supposed to be twelve secondary gods and five principal gods respectively known as Bara and Panch. The gods constituting the number Bara Panch may not be the same in every village, still the number Bara Panch seldom exceeds.

The word “Panch” is interpreted in different ways. Some say that the word “Panch” includes five principal gods, viz. Linga (symbol of Mahadev), Ravalnath, and three others. Some say that the Panch are the five elements, i.e., earth, water, heat, ether, and the sky. Others think that the word “Panch” refers to the five ancestors of the servants of gods such as Gurav, Ghadi, Ravul, and the Mahar. The same idea which is involved in the Bara Balutedars, i.e., the twelve servants of the village, is involved in the number Bara. Some of the Balutedars are the worshippers of several gods and some are the servants of the temples. The twelve Balutedars appear to be the following:—

- (1) Gurav, (2) Ghadi, (3) Gramopadhyas, i.e. village priest,
- (4) Gramjoshi, i.e. the astrologer, (5) Bhavin, (6) Devli,
- (7) Madval, i.e. washerman, (8) Sutar, (9) Nhavi, i.e. barber,
- (10) Chambar, i.e. shoe-maker, (11) Bele Mahar, (12) Pan Mahar.

*For the materials for these notes, I am greatly indebted to Mr. S. K. Nigudkar, Pleader, Kudal.

The duties assigned to several of these in connection with gods and the temples are the following:—

- Gurav*.—Worshipping several gods.
- Ghadi*.—Worshipping gods, especially Gango; sacrificing fowls and offering prayers.
- Gramopadhyas*.—Worshipping the principal deity and god Brahman, especially in the month of Shrawan, and reading Puranas.
- Gramjoshi*.—Reading the Panchanga before the deity on the new year's day.
- Bhavin*.—Cleaning and cowdunging the floor of the temples and lighting lamps.
- Devli*.—Blowing of trumpets and holding the *abdagir*.
- Madval*.—Washing god's clothes.
- Sutar*.—Repairing god's temples.
- Nhavi*.—Showing a looking-glass to the god.
- Bela and Pan Mahars*.—Beating of drums (*dhol*) in the temple.

The arrangement of Bara and Panch is supposed to be like a council, the Panch or principal gods acting as president and the Bara as councillors. The Panch and Bara must agree upon a certain affair referred to them by the village devotees. The god Baracha Purvas is supposed to be secretary or mediator between the Bara Panch and the people.

We shall describe now briefly some of the principal village gods in their original conditions or aryanized or brahmanized with legendary lore borrowed from Aryan myths mixed with local traditions.

Ravalnath.—This god is represented by a stone image of a powerful human being, wearing a crown, which is surmounted by a “*kirtimukh*” or the grinning face. He has ornaments in his ears and a medallion on his breast. He has also a garland around his neck and sandals on his feet. The god is fully armed and holds in one hand a *damaru*, in another a sword, in the third a trident, and in the fourth a bowl, while alongside is a horse fully caparisoned and decorated with a *tura* or crest. The god Ravalnath is to be found in almost every village in South Konkan. In some villages he is looked upon as the principal deity, while in others he is considered as next to the principal god. He is described in the Skandha Purana as the incarnation of god Shiva. He is sometimes spoken of as one of the three hundred *gans* of Shiva. But a different account is given of his origin and position in a work called Kedar Vijaya, in Marathi verse, which is a store of legends about god Ravalnath or Kedarnath. Ravalnath is not generally known beyond South Konkan and the State of Kolhapur. The story of his birth is thus described in Kedar Vijaya. There was a great *rishi* named Pangand, who had a wife named Vimalambuja. She practised austere penance in order to ensure the birth of a famous and powerful son. The three gods of the Hindu Triad (Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva) placed their essence in her womb and became incarnate in her, and a son was born to her. The great Agasti and other *rishis* came and congratulated the parents of the child upon their having a boy, and prophesied to them that the boy would be powerful, would remain a bachelor, and hold the weapons of sword and trident and would destroy the mighty demons Ratnasur and Raktabhaja on the Sahyadri

mountains. He was given the name Ravalnath, having the symbols (*traya*) denoting thereby Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. He fought with Ratnasur and destroyed him on the mountain of Sahyadri, whence thence came to be called Ratnagiri. Then he destroyed Raktabhaja near Karvir (Kolhapur). He was attended by many female deities to assist him while fighting with the demons. Some of the images of female deities are made to stand near the image of Ravalnath in many temples, such as Mangalai, Tukai, Pavnai, Mhashai. He also destroyed a number of other demons near Kolhapur. Ravalnath thus became famous to the western side of Ratnagiri along the Sahyadri hills and came to be worshipped and honoured in every village in South Konkan.

Pavnai is a goddess generally represented as wearing a crown and ear ornaments, with four arms. In one is a sword, in another a trident, in the third a bowl, and in the fourth the weapon discus.

Vetal is a fierce, powerful god, supposed to be the head of demons and an attendant on Mahadev. He is decorated with snakes after the manner of his master, and a string of human skulls around his neck.

Sateri has an image resembling that of Pavnai generally. She is represented sometimes as trampling to death the demon Mahisha.

The principal deity in each village is called the Purvai or deity of the Purwasatha. To the right side of the principal deity, there stands near or at a distance a round stone or a stone image either on horseback, or standing on the legs, with a crown on the head, having two hands, one holding a sword, and the other a shield. He has the usual ornaments in his ears and also wears a scarf. This god is called the Baracha Purvas. To the left side of the deity, there stands a simple round stone or a stone image similar to that of Baracha Purvas, representing the Mayecha Purvas. This deity is supposed to be neutral to all, doing neither good nor bad to anyone, but only pressing the deity to fulfil the wishes of all devotees.

There is also a stone or stone image, with folded hands facing the principal deity, to represent the ancestor of the worshipper called the Vans.

We find also a stone near the deity to represent the *chala* or collection of ghosts which are supposed to be the servants of the god, executing his orders. Each of the gods has a separate *chala* of ghosts. On certain days of the year, goats or cocks are sacrificed to the *chalas* of ghosts and not to the gods themselves.

Another satellite of the principal deity is Nitkari, the god of morality, represented by a simple round stone or a stone image seated on horseback, and holding in his right hand a spear. If the villagers resolve upon a certain course of conduct and wish not to deviate from the same, they place a coconut before the god and make a declaration to that effect, in order to secure the grace of perseverance. The god is worshipped by a Gurav or Rawal.

One or more of the following satellites round the principal deity are also found in many village temples:—

Gavda.—This god consists of a pair carved in stone—a man and a woman. The male holds a sword in his right hand and the woman holds a small pot. This is a representation of the first settlers in the village. The god is worshipped generally by a Gurav.

Gango.—It is made of a simple round stone or a stone image. This is the god of the Ghadis, who worship him and offer him sacrifices of fowls. There is also a round stone near the god, to represent the ancestor of the Ghadi, called the Ghadvans.

Khatya.—This is a god of mechanical industry. The god is represented by a stone image having two hands, near the image are carved the instruments of a carpenter, viz., anvil, bellows, hammer, and wood-cutting instruments. This is the god of hammers, who worship him. Near this image is a stone to represent the ancestor of Sutar, called the Sutarvans.

Madval.—This is the god of cleanliness, and is represented by a stone or a stone image with two hands. The Madval, i.e., washerman, worships the god. Near the god there is another stone called the Madvalvans to represent the ancestor of the Madval.

Jain god.—Wrongly so called and is represented by a Linga carved in stone. On either side of the Linga are supposed Jain worshippers with their heads shaved throughout. On the same stone there are carved pillars, from which issue some human hands, the sun, the moon and the stars. These gods are now discarded and have fallen into disuse. They have been removed from the temples and placed outside the temple. Nevertheless there is found inside the temple a stone representing the Jain god. Lingayat Gurav worships this god, but where there are no Lingayat Guravs, it is worshipped by a Maratha Gurav. The villagers still offer prayers first to this god at the beginning of the monsoons.

Bela and Pan (Mahar gods).—These are two flat stones kept side by side, on one of which there is a figure marked by a Bela, i.e., a thin piece of bamboo, and on another stone a figure of a Palus leaf.

In the village gods we have described above, we find instances (1) of remarkable heroes deified, that is, as put by Sir Alfred Lyall, “ascending until they become gods” and “descending again as embodiments of the divinities”, witness Ravalnath; (2) of local village gods treated as attendants of the higher deities, though originally mere demons or ghosts; for example, Vethal; (3) of spirits of ancestors, tribes, castes or families, like Gavda, Madval. The supreme gods of Hinduism are absent in most villages, though Mahadev is worshipped everywhere in the shape of the *linga*.

PART II

Village Festivals

In the month of January or February, the agriculturists commence the lopping of jungle trees, which, when dried up, are burnt in April in fields for the purpose of manure. Before, however, the villagers begin with the cutting of *kavals*, the leading members of the village community gather in the temple and offer prayers to the gods, requesting them that no obstacles of any sort should occur to them in the business of agriculture. This ceremony is called the “Dalap”. The Mankari Gavnkars must join in the ceremony and must begin the offering of prayers.

The religious rites of “Dalap” are required to be performed before commencing the cultivation of the year. In some villages a goat is sacrificed on the occasion to propitiate Bhogunath.

At Skimga, on the 15th Falguna, the *holi* is put up, that is, a large mango tree, as large as can be found, is felled and its trunk is carried in procession with tom-toms beaten by Mahars to a remote place where the trunk is erected. It is worshipped for five days during day and night. On the first night, a big fire is lighted up round the *holi*, and people shout out in abusive and obscene language. The lower class of people drink much. On the fifth day, dust is thrown at the *holi* and the religious rites are then over. The post is cut down on the 15th Shuddha of the following month.

The third important festival takes place when it is time to sow seed. The Gavnkars as well as the temple servants and other village people gather at the temple. The Gavnkars place before the deity a coconut or a leaf of a Dinda tree and pray that the twelve and five gods (Bara Panch) should agree and protect the crops, give them success, and protect their children and cattle. They then come home and begin to sow seed.

In the month of Ashad comes off the ceremony of Deshrudha. The day is settled by the Gavnkars. On the previous days, a Mahar and the Ghadi of the village go round throughout the village to collect some grain and money required for the purpose. Every household, however poor, contributes at least some quantity of grain, as the ceremony is to be performed for the good of all. The grain is ground and the flour is made into cakes and the money is utilized in purchasing a goat or cocks. On the night of that day, the Ghadi takes out a shallow plate (*pardl*) made out of bamboo fibres and places in it some quantity of rice, betel-nut, betel leaves, some copper coins, turmeric roots and lighted torches. The whole is then waved round the deity by the Ghadi, while reciting the prayers and amid the beating of drums. This being done, prayers are again offered.

The Ghadi comes out of the temple with the *pardi* in his hands and walks towards the boundary of the village, while the people assembled there and the Mahars beating the drums follow him. While going, the Ghadi utters the words "Let all miseries go off out of the village". When they reach the boundary mark, the Ghadi places the *pardi* down and prays to the gods and ghosts that all the troubles, miseries, and evils to men and cattle may perish and men be happy. He then immolates the cocks; and their heads and the *pardi* are thrown into the stream of a river. The flesh is cooked there and eaten with cakes by those assembled. This ends the ceremony.

The next ceremony is of Bhawai, which is generally celebrated at the end of the month of Ashad or at the beginning of Shrawan. When the work of sowing is over, the villagers in an evening come to the temple, and the Mankari Gavnkars place a coconut before the goddess Bhawai and offer prayers to her. After the prayers are over, the young agriculturists come out of the temple and form themselves into rank and file, sit down on their knee-joints and begin to root out the grass grown round about the temple amid the beating of drums. This being done, all of them bathe in water, return to the temple and eat cooked rice which is brought there on Karmal leaves. All of them then go home. This ceremony is also called Chikhali Bhawai. It indicates that the work of ploughing and transplanting is over and that of rooting out grass in the fields which obstructs the growth of crops commences.

Then comes the Dasara festival, which is one of the grandest in the year. On the first day of Ashwin, the leading Gavnkars of the village come to the temple and with the assistance of the village priest go through the ceremony of Ghatasthapana, i.e., the placing near the deity, on an altar of earth, of a copper or brass vase full of water with a betel-nut, a turmeric root, and a copper coin. The mouth of the jar is covered with a twig of a mango tree and a coconut is placed on it. Round about the jar, a mixture of eight kinds of grains, viz., paddy, wheat, gram, pea, udid, etc., is sown and watered every day. The jar is worshipped in the ordinary way. A lamp is lighted and is worshipped in the same way. The lamp is kept burning continuously for nine days and nights. On the ninth or tenth day (according to the customs of village) the jar is taken out and the water in it is poured in a plate and sprinkled upon the Gavnkars by means of leaves of a mango tree by the village priest with the recitation of mantras. The young plants of the grains are taken off and offered to the deity. The Ghadi sacrifices a goat in front of the deity and some fowls are immolated to goddess Vithla Devi. The ninth day is called the Khandenavmi. On the evening of the tenth day, almost all the people, including women and children, go to the temple to celebrate the Dasara holiday. The mask of the god, which is generally made of brass, is cleaned and neatly dressed and placed in a palanquin, which is carried in procession round the temple. The procession takes one or three rounds about the temple and sometimes goes to a distant temple in the same village and returns. The Gavnkars thereupon worship the Apta tree or some branches of the same tree fixed in the ground with the assistance of the priest. After the worship is over, the Gavnkars take off some leaves of the tree; whereupon the people assembled pluck off the remaining leaves. They offer the leaves to the deity and also distribute them among their friends and relations calling them gold. The people then consult gods on their own affairs.

The ceremony of Tripuri is performed on the 15th day of the bright half of the month Kartik. The leading members of the village community attend the temple at about eight in the evening and prayers are offered to the deity. It is a night of grand illuminations. Some days previously a subscription is raised for purchasing sweet oil which is put in small hollow burnt pieces of earth called *pantis*, cotton wicks are put in them and lighted. The *pantis* are placed in a row round about the whole temple-building and are also placed on the stone pillars with projections specially made for placing lamps outside, but in front of the temple facing the deity. These pillars are called *dipamala*. A Pura is read by the priest and at the close sweetmeats are distributed to those assembled.

The last important village festival is Jatra. Its chief feature is a country dramatic play popularly known as *dahikala* performed by companies known as *dashaytar* consisting mostly of *Devlis*, a few Marathas and Bhandaris.

On the morning of the day fixed, the company arrive in the village. The people supply them with rice, pulse, fuel etc. They commence the play at about 10 at night. Ganpati's part is played first by a boy who puts on a wooden trunk similar to that of an elephant, a crown and two additional hands and appears on the stage. Then comes Saraswati, the goddess of speech, riding on a peacock made of wood and coloured in blue with feathers all over. The Sankasur, i.e. a buffoon appears at intervals and provokes laughter by his wild gestures and display of wit and fun. After about midnight, a selected place from Ramayan in which demons play a prominent part is acted till daybreak.

PART III

Ghost-Worship

Savantvadi people share the universal prevalence of the belief in ghosts or spirits of the departed from this world after a career of extraordinary good or evil or under tragic circumstances, of women dying during pregnancy or within a short time after delivery or of persons dying without fulfilling a fond yearning of their heart.

There are several kinds of ghosts. Male Brahmins whose spirits are turned into ghosts are known as *sambandha* and *mahapurush*. Women who die within ten days of their delivery or during their pregnancy and who are turned into ghosts are called *alwant*. A strong and powerful ghost of a Shudra male is called a *devchar*. A collection of ghosts is called a *chala*.

Every village is generally divided into several hamlets or vadas which are called "awaths". It is believed that there exist in an awath and the surrounding fields some goblins and a *devchar* or *mahapurush*, who are looked upon by the people living in the awath as their protectors against every sort of danger. To propitiate a *devchar* or *mahapurush* and the other minor ghosts, the people of the awath feed some Brahmins in the fields under a tree once a year and in a case of *devchars*, in the evening of the same or any other day some cocks or chickens are immolated. In some places a goat is sacrificed. This propitiating ceremony is known as *vadwal*. It is a firm belief of the people that if this kind of ceremony be not performed once a year, some calamity or other will surely befall them through the wrath of the ghosts. A mango tree or any other tree is generally assigned to the *devchar* or *mahapurush* for its residence. The tree can under no circumstances be removed or felled.

The following remedies are tried by Marathas and other low castes for expelling ghosts :—

(a) A Ghadi prays to the ghost to leave the person affected by it and waves a ball of rice reddened with turmeric powder round his person. A Mahar then takes a chicken, offers it to the ghost and says, "This is for you", and immolates it.

(b) A small puppet is made out of flour of rice by a Ghadi to which are applied turmeric powder and soot of a lamp. A wick of cotton is prepared, dipped into oil, and thrust into a ball of rice which is also reddened with turmeric powder. The wick is lighted and placed near the flour puppet. The puppet is then waved three times round the person haunted by a ghost while the Ghadi repeats some prayers mixed with threatening words addressed to the ghost. It is then carried to a distant place, where a cock and some chickens are offered to the ghost and killed. Immediately after the Ghadi goes out of the house with the puppet, the door of the house is shut up and the lamp is put out, under the belief that the ghost has left the place.

(c) An enchanter of ghosts called a Panchakshari is sent for, and when he comes, a plate made out of a bamboo, called a *pardi*, is procured. A new piece of cloth is spread therein and on it are placed a quantity of rice, some lemons, a coconut and a small puppet made out of flour and some lighted torches. He then takes up the plate and waves it round the person afflicted by the ghost, and while waving he mutters some enchanting and threatening words addressed to the ghosts. The plate with all articles placed in it, is then taken out to a distant place where it is kept and some cocks are immolated.

In case of strong and powerful ghosts, goats are sacrificed.

It is the common belief of the ignorant villagers that ghosts and goblins are the source of all the calamities which befall them. If anyone falls ill or if any epidemic happens to break out in the village they attribute it to ghosts which, they suppose, have wonderful powers in such matters. They have so much faith in them that instead of going to a doctor or a physician for treatment, they will run to the enchanter of ghosts for curing the complaint. They have very little or no confidence in medicines, which they say are only secondary remedies. Every village has its thousand-and-one ghost stories, told with a firm belief that most of them are founded on facts.

PART IV

Consultation with Gods

Gods are consulted by two ways : (a) by *Prasad* and (b) by *Avsar*.

Consultation with Gods by Prasad

One wishing to consult gods on any affair, requests the Gurav and Ghadi to do so for him. The Gurav takes ten or more unbroken grains of rice or flowers or leaves of certain trees and applies half of them to the right side of the principal deity and the remaining half to the left side in a row by means of water, and prays to him to indicate by the dropping of the things, in certain order, the course of the future. The uneducated masses and some

educated people too, have so much confidence in these *prasads*, that they will not venture to do anything without first consulting gods in this way.

Consultation with Gods by Avsars

This is done rather on a larger scale. The Gavnkars are required to attend the temple. The several tarang* holders and the Mahars are sent for. When they come, the tarang holders take the tarangs and stand in a row. The Mahars beat drums and incense is burnt before the tarang holder. In a short time, some of them begin to move their heads, tremble and shiver all over the body, indicating thereby that each becomes possessed by the spirit of the deity of the tarang he holds. The devotees who desire to consult the gods put queries to the men possessed. As a rule the bearer of the tarang of the Bharacha Purvas or the principal deity answers all the questions for the rest.

I have given briefly an outline of the religious life of the village people so far as it is found, little or in no way affected by Brahminism. With a vague belief in the higher Hindu divinities or an Almighty Divinity, the simple folk, however, self-reliant and courageous, find themselves helpless against the forces of the elements, diseases and evils beyond human control, rely for immediate help in their pressing necessities more on their local guardian spirits, demons, and ghosts. This is a characteristic of humanity not only in the savage state but even in the highly developed stage of civilization.

* Tarang is a pole on which hangs a plate image of a god dressed in robes.

APPENDIX 5

सावंतवाडी, त्या प्रांतातील गांवची देवस्थाने व ग्रामव्यवस्था

“श्री विविध ज्ञानविस्तार”, पुस्तक १८, अंक ४, एप्रिल १८८६ (पाने ७३ ते ८३) यातील उतारा:

વાડી વિસ્તીર્ણ જાડી હય રય નવલે જેથ ગાડા ન ગાડી ॥

सिंधूलागूनि खाडी तडिस धडकती पोफळी ताड माडी ॥

देवांची थोर आडी' प्रतिगृहि वसती जाणते भक्त घाडी ॥

दिल्ली फावें न पाडीस नयनिं दिखिली खेमसामंतवाडी ॥ १ ॥

या श्लोकात वर्णन केल्याप्रमाणेच वाडी शहराची व वाडी प्रांताची स्थिती सन १८३७ सालपर्यंत होती. सन १८३८ साली (वाडी * प्रांत) त्या प्रांतात पोलिटिकल अम्मल सुरू झाला, तेव्हांपासून रस्ते वगैरे सुधारण्यास सुरुवात झाली. वाडी शहरातही त्याच सालापासून रस्त्यांची वगैरे सुधारणा होण्यास आरंभ झाला; आणि गेल्या दहा वर्षांत त्या शहराचे स्वरूप अगदी बदलून गेले आहे. दहा वर्षांपूर्वी वाडीस भईकुट किल्ला होता, पण तूतंचे वाडी शहर पाहणारास तेथे किल्ला होता असे सहसा वाटणार नाही. किल्ल्यात ज्या पूर्वीच्या इमारती होत्या त्यातच हल्लीचे पोलिटिकल सुपरिन्टेन्डेन्ट साहेब कर्नल वेस्त्राप यांणी असा काही फेरफार केला आहे की, पाहणारास त्या फार शोभिवंत दिसतात. नवीन दरबारवाडा हा भव्य व सुंदर बांधला आहे. ह्या इमारती तलावाच्या पूर्व बाजूस, दक्षिण बाजूस पोलिटिकल साहेबांचा बंगला व इंग्रजी शाळेची सुंदर इमारत, पश्चिमेकडे बाग व उत्तरेकडच्या बाजूस म्यूझियम (अपूर्व वस्तुसंग्रह), लैबरी (ग्रंथालय), शाळा वगैरे इमारती आहेत. तलावाच्या चौफेर बांधणावळीचे काम वीस हजार रुपये खर्च करून फार सुरेख केले आहे. येणेकरून तलावावर पश्चिमेस उभे राहून पाहिले असता फारच मनोरम दिसावा नजरेस येतो. या कामासाठी पैसा फार खर्च झाला असेलच. आणि कित्येक लोक कर्नल वेस्त्राप साहेबांस पैसा खर्च करून तिजोरी रिकामी केली म्हणून दोषही देत असतात; पण झालेली कामे पाहिली आणि पैसा संस्थानच्या लोकांतच मजुरीच्या रूपाने वांटल्या गेला हे मनात आणले, तर झाल्या कृत्याबद्दल खेद मानण्याचे यत्किंचितही कारण नाही. वेस्त्राप साहेबांनी केलेल्या या कामांत जिकडे बराच वेळ चिंत वेचले जावे असे काम म्हटले म्हणजे म्यूझियम होय. हे सरकारी कचेरीच्या जुन्या बंगल्यात केले आहे. त्या कामास ती इमारत योग्य होण्यासाठी तीत बराच फेरफार करावा लागला. यात वाडी प्रांतात उत्पन्न होणाऱ्या सर्व जिनसांचा संग्रह केला आहे. धान्ये, कंदमूलादि, तेल काढण्याचे जिन्नस, लॉजिज पदांची, अनेक प्रकारचे दाग, वगैरे अनेक जातीचे पक्षी व जनावरे यांची चामडी, व वाडी प्रांतात जी हत्यारे पूर्वी वापरीत असत ती सर्व तेथे पाहावयास मिळतात. सावंतवाडीकर भोंसल्यांत जयराम सावंत म्हणून एक मोठा बलिष्ठ

^१ समुदाय. ^२ योग्य होईल. ^३ बरोबरीस.

* યા પ્રાંતાંત્રે પૂર્વેનિ નાંવ કુઝાઠ પ્રાંત વ મહાલ અસે જુન્યા કાગદાત આઢઠતે, વ ત્યાત મળેરી, પોંડે, ઢિંચોલી, સાંઘડી વ પેઢળે હે પાચ મહાલ ; એક ચિલીત—ઝાંડે ; બારા તર્ફા—તર્ફ આજગાંવ, સાતઢે, તઢવઢે, પાટ, મનોહર, માળગાંવ, હવેલી, કઠ-સુલી, ઢોઢેંવં, વરાઢ, માલઢ વ મરુરે ; ઢોન કર્યાત, નાઢર વ પાટગાંવ વ એક બંદર—ઢેંગલે ; હતકયા પ્રદેશાંચ સમાવેશ હોત અસે.

पुत्र होऊन गेला, त्याचे चिलखत व त्याचा आंगरखा तेथे पाहा-
याला सापडतो. वाडीत होणारे अनेक तऱ्हेचे कारागिरीचे पदार्थ,
रंगीत व पारा चाळलेले ; वाळपाच्या पेट्या, पंखे, पडदे वगैरे हे
सर्व तेथे दृष्टीस पडते. वाडी प्रांतात देवाचे माहात्म्य विशेष
असल्यामुळे प्रत्येक गांवात अनेक देवांची लहानमोठी देवळे
आहेतच. त्या देवळांजवळ देवाच्या राई आहेत. या राईत
जीर्ण झाल्यामुळे, व असे दिसते की, धर्मक्रांती झाल्यामुळे, जुने देव
काढून ठेवलेले होते. त्यांतून बहुतेक देव वेस्त्राप साहेबांनी त्या
म्युझियममध्ये आणून ठेवले आहेत. जे साधारण लोक तेथे
पाहायला जात असतील त्यांना त्यात काही विशेष वाटणार नाही ;
आणि वेस्त्राप साहेबांनी हा खटाटोप का केला याबद्दल चमत्कारही
वाटेल. पण घर्मासंबंधी आपल्या देशाचा इतिहास शोधपाच्या
गृहस्थांस त्या मूर्तिवगैरे पाहून मोठा आनंद होईल ; आणि
डाक्टर भांडारकरासारख्यांना तर लोकांस माहिती देण्यासारखे त्या
अनेक तऱ्हेच्या मूर्तीत पुष्कळच साधन सापडेल.

वाडी प्रांतातील गांवची देवस्थान व्यवस्था :

वर लिहिलेल्या म्यूसियममधील देवांवरून, वाडी प्रांतातील गांवांतून देवस्थानचा प्रकार काय असावा हे जाणण्याविषयी इच्छा सहज उत्पन्न होते. सांप्रत तिकडच्या गांवच्या देवस्कीची स्थिती अशी झाली आहे की, हल्ली जी गांवच्या लोकांची पिढी आहे तिच्या आपआपल्या गांवच्या देवतांची नावेही ठाऊक नाहीत.* ते गांवची देवस्की म्हणून काही करतात, पण त्याचा अर्थ काय हे त्यांना माहीत नाही. पूर्वीचे लोक अमूक करीत आले तर ते करावयाचे, याच्या पलीकडे त्यांची माहिती जात नाही, व असल्या देवस्कीवरून हल्लीच्या लोकांची श्रद्धाही कमी झाली आहे. ज्यांना माहिती होती ते पूर्वीच्या पिढीचे लोक, त्यांतून कोणी राहिला नाही, यामुळे वाडीत म्यूसियममध्ये ठेवलेल्या मूर्तींवर नावेही झलतीच पडलेली आहेत. अशा स्थितीत जी माहिती मिळाली ती येथे देत आहो. उद्देश इतकाच की, या संबंधाने ज्या कोणास विशेष माहिती मिळेल त्याणी ती प्रसिद्ध करावी.

वाडी प्रांतात प्रत्येक गांवात देवतांची निदान बारा तरी स्थळे असायची. गांवच्या मुख्य देवालायात जी मुख्य मूर्ति अगर ज्या मूर्ति अस्ततात, त्यावरून सर्व प्रांतात लिंगरूपाने अथवा पर्यायाने शिवाची पूजा आहे असे दिसते. म्हणजे गांवचे मुख्य देवालय जरी शिवालिंगाचे नसले तरी ते कोणत्याही शिवावताराचे, शांभवी शक्तीचे अथवा शिवावतार व शांभवी शक्ती यांचे असायाचे. याच देवळांत बहुतकरून ब्राम्ही शक्तीचेही स्थापन झालेले असावे.

* ते आपल्या पूर्वजांची पूजा करितात, असा लेख ग्यासेटियर-मध्ये आला आहे.

तिला कालिका अगर काळकाई म्हणतात. क्वचित् या देवीचे वेगळेही देऊळ असते. विष्णुशक्तीचे देऊळ असते, व ती मूर्ति बहुतकरून भगवती या नांवाने प्रसिद्ध आहे. शिवावताराच्या मूर्ति चतुर्भुज असून उजव्या बाजूच्या एका हातात खड्ग व एका हातात त्रिशूल, आणि डाव्या बाजूच्या एका हातात पानपात्र व एका हातात डमरू असतो. शिवशक्तीची मूर्ति असेल तर तिच्याही चार हातांत वर लिहिल्याप्रमाणेच आयुधे असतात. कालिकेचीही मूर्ति चतुर्भुज असून तिच्या डाव्या बाजूच्या एका हातात पात्राएवजी चक्र असते. भगवतीची मूर्ति चतुर्भुज असूनही महिषासुरमथनीसारखी असते.

मुख्य देवालयालील देवास 'पूर्वी' अथवा पूर्वसत्तेचे स्थळ असे म्हणण्याचा प्रघात आहे. याच देवळात नवलाई म्हणून एक दगड पुजलेला असतो. हे स्थळ ज्याकडे असते, ते बहुतेकरून मराठे असून त्यांस 'परब' असे म्हणतात. काही थोड्या गांवांत हे स्थळ पुजारे अगर राऊळ नांवाच्या मराठ्यांकडेही असते. याच देवळात हात जोडून उभी अशी एक मूर्ति असते; तिला ज्याकडे हे स्थळ असते त्यांचा बंस म्हणतात. याच देवळात गामाऱ्याच्या द्वाराच्या दोहोबाजूस थोड्यावर बसलेल्या, उजव्या हातात तलवार व डाव्या हातात ढाल घेतलेल्या, अशा दोन मूर्ति असतात. उजव्या बाजूच्या मूर्तीस 'बारांचा पूर्वस' व डाव्या बाजूच्या मूर्तीस 'मायेचा पूर्वस' असे म्हणतात. बारांचा पूर्वस यास 'नितकारी' असेही म्हणण्याचा प्रघात आहे. नितकारी म्हणजे गांवच्या लोकांनी एकदा नेम करून तो न मोडण्याविषयी ज्यांच्यासमोर नारळ ठेवून शपथ घ्यायची तो. या मुख्य देवळात शिवपूजा असते असे वर सांगितलेच आहे, त्यापशी देवळात गणपती असायाचाच. शिवाय देवाचा काळा म्हणून देवळाबाहेर असतोच, व त्याला काही तरी नांव दिलेले असते. देवळाबाहेर असतोच, व त्याला काही तरी नांव दिलेले असते. देवाच्या नांवाने बली वगैरे घायाचा तो बारांचा अथवा मायेचा. देवाच्या नांवाने बली वगैरे घायाचा तो बारांचा अथवा मायेचा.

गांवदेवस्कीत दुसरे स्थळ राजसत्तेचे. या स्थळास 'बिठला-
देवी' असे म्हणतात. या स्थळात मुख्य देवता भगवती. ही
मूर्ति कशी असते हे वर लिहिलेच आहे. ह्या मूर्तीजवळ दुसरी
मूर्ति कशी असते, तिला विठ्ठलादेवी अथवा चाळा असे म्हणतात. या
चतुर्भुज मूर्ति असते, तिला विठ्ठलादेवी अथवा चाळा असे म्हणतात. या
मूर्तीच्या उजव्या बाजूच्या एका हातात तलवार व दुसऱ्या हातात
डमरू व डाव्या बाजूच्या एका हातात पानपात्र व एका हातात
त्रिशूल, अशी आयुधे असतात. ज्यांच्याकडे हे स्थळ असते
यांचा 'वंस' म्हणून जवळच एक दगड पुजलेला असतो. या देवीस
बली अर्पण करतात.

देवस्कीत तिसरे स्थळ 'गावडा'. यात पुरुष व बायको अशा दोन मूर्ति असतात. पुरुषाच्या उजव्या हातात तलवार व डाव्या हातात खांद्यावरून टाकलेले वस्त्र, आणि बायकोचा उजवा हात मोकळा असून डाव्या हातात पानपात्र असते. जवळच बाजूस ज्याकडे हे स्थळ असते त्याचा 'वंस' म्हणून एक दगड पुजलेला असतो.

असतो. देवस्कीतील चौथे स्थळ 'गांगो'. हा एक दगड पुजलेला असतो ; व हे स्थळ घाडी म्हुटलेले मराठे यांजकडेस असते. येथे बली अर्पण करितात. " न मयारदेव. यात नवरा व

पांचवे स्थळ " खातया ". हा सुतारदेव. यात नवरा व बायको अशा दोन मूर्ति असतात. नवऱ्याच्या उजव्या हातात तलवार व डाव्या हातात ढाल असून उजव्या बाजूस हातोडा व

डाव्या बाजूस चिमटा अशी आयुधे असतात. बायकोचा उजवा हात सरळ सोडलेला व डाव्या हातात पात्र असते. हे स्थळ सुताराकडे असते व त्या मूर्तीजवळ 'सुतार वंस' म्हणून एक दगड पुजलेला असतो.

साहावे स्थळ 'मडवळ' ! हा एक दगड पुजलेला असतो, व ते स्थळ घोब्याकडे असते.

सातवे स्थळ 'जैन'. यात शिवालिंग मुख्य देव असून नंदी, गणपती हे असायचेच. शिवाय एक अथवा अधिक पुरुषांच्या मूर्ति आसन मांडी घालून हात जोडून ध्यानस्थ बसलेल्या आहेत, अशा स्थितीत, एक अथवा अधिक बायकांच्या मूर्ति वर लिहिलेल्याच स्थितीत; व एक अथवा अधिक पुरुषांच्या उभ्या, हात सरळ सोडलेले अशा, पण सोम्य मूर्ति असतात. यात ध्यानस्थ बसलेल्या एका मूर्तीस जैनांचा 'बस' अथवा नितकारी असे म्हणतात. नितकारी म्हणजे काय ते वर लिहिलेच आहे. हे स्थळ बहुतेकळून लगायत गुरव यांजकडेस अथवा जंगमाकडेस असते, परंतु वाडी प्रांतात या लोकांची वस्ती थोडी असल्यामुळे ही स्थळे कित्येक गावांत राऊळ उपनांवाच्या मराठ्यांकडे ठेवणे प्राप्त झाले असावे. सांप्रतची देवस्थानव्यवस्था अमलात येण्यापूर्वी हेच स्थळ पूर्वीच अथवा पूर्वेसतेच असावे असे वाटते. कारण गांवदेवस्कीत मुगांरपूंसचे काम देवाला नारळ नाणे वगैरे ठेवून राखणेच व सुरक्षीतपणे लावणीचे काम पार पडण्याचे गाह्याने देतात, ते बहुत करून एकंदर गांवात या देवळात प्रथम देतात.

आठवे स्थळ 'ब्राम्हण'. हा एक दगड पुजलेला असतो व हे स्थळ सांप्रत कऱ्हाडे ब्राम्हणांकडे असते.^१

'हा' शब्द कानडी आहे, याचा शब्दार्थ 'शुचिर्भूत'. हा शब्द पर्याप्त लावतात.

१ कुडाळ प्रांत व महाल यांमध्ये ग्रामजोशीपणाचा हक्क किरवंत जोशांचा. त्यांची तीन घराणी होती. एका घराण्याकडे महाल ; दुसऱ्याकडे बांदे विलात, आजगांव तर्फ, सातडें तर्फ, तळवड तर्फ व पाट तर्फ ; व तिसऱ्याकडे माणगांव तर्फ, मनोहर तर्फ, नाऊर कर्पात, हवेकी तर्फ, व बोडेंयें तर्फ, वगैरे प्रदेश होती. पहिल्या व दुसऱ्या घराण्यांचे पुरुष आपला हक्क अद्याप घेतात. तिसऱ्या घराण्यात (सन १७०९ च्यानंतर) एक पुरुष राहिला. तो काशीस जाऊन तिकडेच राहिला. यावेळी दुसरे फोडसांवत यांची कारकीर्द होती. त्याणी त्या ब्राम्हणास दोन हजार रुपये देऊन त्याची वृत्ति विकत घेतली व प्रत्येक गावात आपले स्वामित्व ठेवून कऱ्हाडे ब्राम्हणांस ती वांटून दिली. हे स्वामित्व हल्ली बाडीच्या जमाबंदीत सायर बाबीखाली जोसकी म्हणून जमा होत असते. दुसऱ्या घराण्यातील जोशांच्या आश्रयास कित्येक चित्पावन ब्राम्हण पूर्वी होते. पण इसवी सन १७५५ च्या पुढे जेव्हा (राजश्री) राजे खेमसांवत अल्पवयस्क होते त्यावेळी राज्याची सर्व व्यवस्था सोमसांवत उर्फ आबासाहेब हे चालवीत. त्यांना ब्रम्हकर्माचा फार नाद अस. ते कऱ्हाडे ब्राम्हणांनी त्या नादाला भर देऊन त्यांची मर्जी मिळवून घेतली, आणि त्यायोगाने तेथील बहुतेक चित्पावनांवर अनेक युक्तींनी काही आरोप आणून, त्यांना असं जबरदस्त दंड ठरविले की, त्यांना त्या दंडाच्या भीतीने तो देश सोडून पळून जावे लागले. सांप्रत त्यांची वस्ती तेथे फारच थोडी आढळते. आणि तेव्हापासून कऱ्हाडे हेच चित्पावनांच्या जागी जोशांचे आश्रित नवून राहिले आहेत.

ओळीवर मध्ये पालखी, त्यात एक बसलेला, पालखीचे भोई व मागे पुढे शिपाई ; त्याच्या खालील ओळीवर घोडेस्वार हातात ढालतलवार घेतलेले ; त्याच्या खालील ओळीवर ढालतलवार घेतलेले पायदळ ; याप्रमाणे असते. पहिल्या पाषाणावर हात असतो याचा अर्थ काय हे समजत नाही व त्याला काय म्हणतात ते माहित नाही ; पण वेळगांव जिल्ह्यातील पश्चिम दिशेच्या बहुतेक गांवी जे असे पाषाण आहेत त्यांना तिकडील लोक वरुणाचा हात किंवा वरुणखांब म्हणतात, म्हणून आमचे मित्र रा. रा. भि. गुंजीकर यांनी सांगितले. वाडी प्रांतात सर्वतोमुखी अशी कथा आहे की, हे दोन्ही पाषाण जैनांच्या वेळचे. अर्थात् जैनांच्या वेळची ग्रामव्यवस्था व देवस्थानाची व्यवस्था जेव्हा मोडली गेली, त्या वेळी हे काढून ठेवलेले असावेत' त्यात पहिला पाषाण हा पूर्वसत्तेचा देव असावा असे वाटते. कारण, सांप्रतच्या शिवालिंगाच्या देवळातील मूर्तीची व्यवस्था वर दर्शविल्याप्रमाणेच असते. मेद इतकाच की, त्या पाषाणावर दाखविलेला हात हल्लीच्या देवळांत नसतो, आणि ह्या पाषाणावर दाखविलेल्यापेक्षा अधिक एक गणपति या देवळांत असतो, तेव्हा तर तो पाषाण पूर्वसत्तेचा देव असेल, तर लावणीच्या देवस्त्रीच्या वेळी प्रथमतः शिवालिंगाच्या देवळात नाणे ठेवण्याच्या कारणाचाही खुलासा होतो.

दुसरा पाषाण हा त्या वेळी राजसत्तेचा देव असावा असे मानण्यास कारणे आहेत. एका गांवात सांप्रत राणे उपनांवाचे मराठे खातेली म्हणजे धारेकरी आहेत. म्हणजे ग्रामव्यवस्थेत त्यांस त्या गांवात काही मानपान नाही. अर्थात् ते इतर कुळांसारखे होत. असे खातेली असतात त्यांचा 'वैस' म्हणून कोण-त्याही देवळात दगड पूजलेला नसतो. पण त्या गांवात मुख्य देवळात 'राणे-वैस' म्हणून वर लिहिलेल्या दुसऱ्या तऱ्हेचा पाषाण पुजलेला आहे. त्या गांवात पहिल्या तऱ्हेचाही पाषाण गावड्याच्या स्थळांत ठेवलेला आहे. पण त्याविषयी असे सांगतात की, तो अगोदरपासून देवळात होता, तो आहे इतकेच. पण दुसऱ्या-पाषाणास 'राणे वैस' कां म्हणतात, याबद्दल कोणी काही सांगू शकत नाही. दुसरे, हल्ली त्या गांवात ज्यांकडे गावड्याचे स्थळ आहे, त्यांच्याकडे विठ्ठलादेवीचे म्हणजे राजसत्तेचे स्थळ आहे, अशी व्यवस्था कोठे दुसऱ्या ठिकाणी नाही ; आणि त्यांकडे राजसत्तेचे स्थळ आहे तरी राजसत्तेचे मुख्य मान, लावणीच्या देवस्त्रीत नाणे उचलून ठेवणे व देवाच्या सावजास सुरी लावून देणे, हे त्या गावच्या कुळकर्ण्याकडे असून ते कुळकर्णी गावचे पटेलही आहेत. राणे हे अद्यापपर्यंत त्या गावचे पटेल आपण म्हणून तक्रार सांगतच असतात. ह्या सर्व गोष्टी मनात आणल्या म्हणजे दुसरा पाषाण हा पूर्वी राजसत्तेचा देव असावा असे वाटते. असाच प्रकार दुसऱ्याही बऱ्याच गांवांत आढळतो.

याप्रमाणे वाडी प्रांतातील गांवांची देवस्थानव्यवस्था व ग्रामव्यवस्था आहे. देवस्थानव्यवस्थेत एक देवी काही थोड्या गांवांत आढळते. तिचे नाव सांतेरी. कोठे वाडलेले असते त्यास सांतेरी म्हणतात ; पण कित्येक ठिकाणी ही मूर्ति आहे. ही मूर्ति कोणत्या तऱ्हेची आहे हे हा लेख लिहिणाराच्या आता लक्षात नाही ; पण या देवीबद्दल जी दंतकथा आहे ती

'सुमारे सन ९५० पासून सन १११० पर्यंत कुडाळ प्रांत व कोकण यांत जन मताचे प्राबल्य होते. व जैनमूर्ति सन १११० पासून सन ११८८ च्या दरम्यान काढून टाकल्या असाव्या असे शाक्य भोवदारकरकृत दक्षिणच्या इतिहासावरून वाटते.

येथे नमूद करितो. असे सांगतात की, सांतेरी हा शांतादुर्गा शब्दाचा अपभ्रंश आहे ; व ज्या काली शेणवी ब्राम्हण (कुडाळ-देसकर) यांनी कुडाळ प्रांतात वसती केली त्यावेळी त्यांनी आपली देवते मंगेश (लिंग) व शांतादुर्गा यांचीही कित्येक गांवात स्थापना केली. कदाचित् शांतादुर्गा शब्दाचा अपभ्रंश सांतेरी शब्द असेल ; पण वरील दंतकथेत तथ्यांश कितपत आहे हे सांगत नाही. कुडाळदेसकर शेणवी यांची मोठी वसती आजगांव व त्या तर्फेतील काही गांवांत, व पाट, पुरुळे, म्हापण, केळूस, काळसे, धामापूर, नेरूर व वालावल या गांवांत असून, हवेली व माणगांव तर्फेतील दुसऱ्या काही गांवांत थोडी आहे. या गांवांतील काही गांवांत नांवावरून अगर गांवावरून नावे पडलेली अशी महादेवाची देवालये आहेत खरी, पण त्या सर्व गांवांत सांतेरीची देवदे आहेत की काय हे माहीत नाही. कवळें येथील शांतादुर्गा देवीची मूर्ति चतुर्भुज असून मागल्या उजव्या व डाव्या हातांत शिव व विष्णू यांच्या मूर्ति त्यांच्या शेंड्या धरलेल्या अशा आहेत. तेव्हा जर कदाचित् वर लिहिलेल्या गांवांपैकी कोणत्या गांवात सांतेरीची मूर्ति असेल तर ती वर लिहिलेल्या प्रकारची आहे की काय ते कळले पाहिजे. वालावली येथे नारायणाची मूर्ति असून उत्तम देवालय आहे व त्या ठिकाणचे महाजनही कुडाळदेसकर शेणवीच आहेत. शेणवी ब्राम्हण देसाई यांचा वतनाचा गांव हाच. ती मूर्ति पंढरीच्या विठोबाच्या मूर्तिसारखीच वाडूची आहे. तिच्याविषयी अशी आख्यायिका आहे की, कित्येक शतकांमागे कोणी व्यापारी द्वारकेहून दक्षणेकडे जात असतां हरमल गांवच्या सुमारास त्यांचे जहाज फुटले, व ही मूर्ति बाह्यात येऊन या लोकांस मिळाली, व त्यांनी तिची स्थापना आपल्या वतनी गांवात केली. पंढरपूरचा विठोबा जैनमूर्ति म्हणतात, त्याचप्रमाणे या नारायणाची मूर्तिही जैनमूर्ति असल्याविषयी तिकडे लोकांचा समज आहे. नेरूर गांवातही कुडाळदेसकर शेणवी ब्राम्हणांची बरीच मोठी वसती आहे. व त्या ठिकाणी पुष्कर क्षेत्रावाचून हिंदुस्थानात कोठेही नाही असे म्हटलेल्या ब्रम्हदेवाचे देवालय असून त्यांत चतुर्भुज मूर्ति स्थापिलेली आहे.

कुडाळदेसकर शेणवी ब्राम्हण यांची त्या देशात फार जुनी वसती असावी, याविषयी आणखी एक प्रमाण असे आहे की, शेणवी ब्राम्हण या नांवाखाली येणारे लोक रत्नागिरी जिल्ह्यात सुमारे चार पांचशे वर्षांमागे पुष्कळ येऊन राहिले. व तसेच कारवार व त्याच्या दक्षणेसही त्याच काळाच्या सुमारास पुष्कळ गेले. (त्यांना तिकडे सारस्वत म्हणतात). यांचा व वाडीप्रांतांतील

'मागल्या उजव्या व डाव्या हातात अनुक्रमे पाश (चाप) व शर, व पुढल्या उजव्या व डाव्या हातांत अंकुश व पानपात्र असेही दुर्गेचे ध्यान दुर्गामाहात्म्यात सांगितले असून उत्साहमूर्ति तशीच असते.

'इसवी सनाच्या बाराव्या शतकात कुडाळचे देसाई यांनी सर्व कोकणात पुष्कळ दूरपर्यंत स्वाऱ्या केल्या होत्या असे समजते. (मु. ग्या.) याचवेळी रत्नागिरी जिल्ह्यात शेणवी ब्राम्हणांची वसती झाली असावी. राजापूर व रत्नागिरी तालुक्यांत ह्या लोकांकडे कित्येक गांवांची राजसत्ता आहे, कित्येक गांवांत हे खोत आहेत. व त्यांजकडेस देशपांडे, देशकुळकर्णी, महाजन, देसाई, पोतदार, पतकी इत्यादी वतन असून, तीं अब्जल इंदिक, झाहीपासून आहेत असे त्यांजकडील सनदांवरून समजते,

कुळकर्णी शेणवी ब्राम्हण यांचा तूत पंक्तिव्यवहार होत नाही, पण असे सांगतात की, शंभर सवाशे वर्षांमागे माहिती काढली तर असे आढळून येईल की, त्या सर्वांचा परस्परांत पंक्तिव्यवहार होता इतकेच नाही, पण शरीरसंबंधही होता. आणि हे उत्तरेकडचे व दक्षिणेकडचे सर्व शेणवी ब्राम्हण अद्यापि आपल्या देवांच्या दर्शनास म्हणून केळोसी कुशस्थळी या ठिकाणी गोमांतकांत जात असतात. हा प्रकार कुडाळदेसकर व पेडणेकर यांत मुळीच नाही. ज्या गांवांत ते राहातात त्या गांवाचा देव तोच त्यांचा कुळस्वामी असा

प्रकार झालेला आहे. यावरून ही त्यांची कुडाळ प्रांतांत वसति फार जुनी असावी.

रत्नागिरी जिल्ह्यांत पुष्कळ गांवी पटेल, खोत, देशमुख, वगैरे उत्तम कुळीचे मराठे आहेत, पण वाडीप्रांतातील देवस्थान व्यवस्था तिकडे दृष्टीपत्तीस फारशी येत नाही. तेव्हा ती व्यवस्था वाडीप्रांतांत मराठ्यांनी सुरू केली असे म्हणवत नाही. कुडाळ-देसकर शेणवी ब्राम्हण यांनीच ती प्रथम चालू केली असावी व तिचेच अनुकरण ज्या मराठ्यांनी गांव बसवले त्यांनीही केले असावे असे वाटते.

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