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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

VOLUME XII—PART VI—No. 2

ORISSA

Village Survey Series No. 2

A MONOGRAPH

ON

VILLAGE SIKHAPALI

(In Malkangiri Subdivision, District Koraput)

M. AHMED, I.A.S.
Superintendent of Census Operations
Orissa

VILLAGE SURVEY SERIES No. 2

A MONOGRAPH

ON

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(In Malkangiri Subdivision, District Koraput)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE STATESMAN LTD., CALCUTTA-1

AND

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, CIVIL LINES, DELHI

1965

Price Rs. 2,60 P. or 6 sh. 1 d. or 94 c.

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 decentralization 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, saltmakers, 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, multiethnic

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 extramural 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 organization 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 organized 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.

NEW DELHI
The 24th May 1962

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

Preparation of village monographs on selected villages is a special feature of 1961 Census. The scope, the aim and the background of the survey have been given by the Registrar General in his Foreword. Orissa has selected 15 villages for preparation of monographs and the present one relates to Sikhapali village in Malkangiri subdivision of Koraput District and is the second of the series.

The village Sikhapali is mainly inhabited by the Koyas, an interesting Scheduled Tribe of Orissa. The life of the Koyas as depicted in the monograph may be of much interest to the reader. Although the village is located in the remote interior and is somewhat isolated on account of poor communication, it has been exposed to the winds of social change for sometime. The village was chosen for survey primarily to register the changes that have been brought about in the social and economic life of its inhabitants.

Observations contained in this monograph are based on the results of local investigation carried out by an Investigator of this organization. I am grateful to the officers and scholars who helped in the preparation of this monograph as mentioned in the panel of Acknowledgment and to Shri J. Mahapatra, Deputy Superintendent, Headquarters, for making materials ready for the press.

CUTTACK
February 28, 1965

M. AHMED
Superintendent of
Census Operations, Orissa

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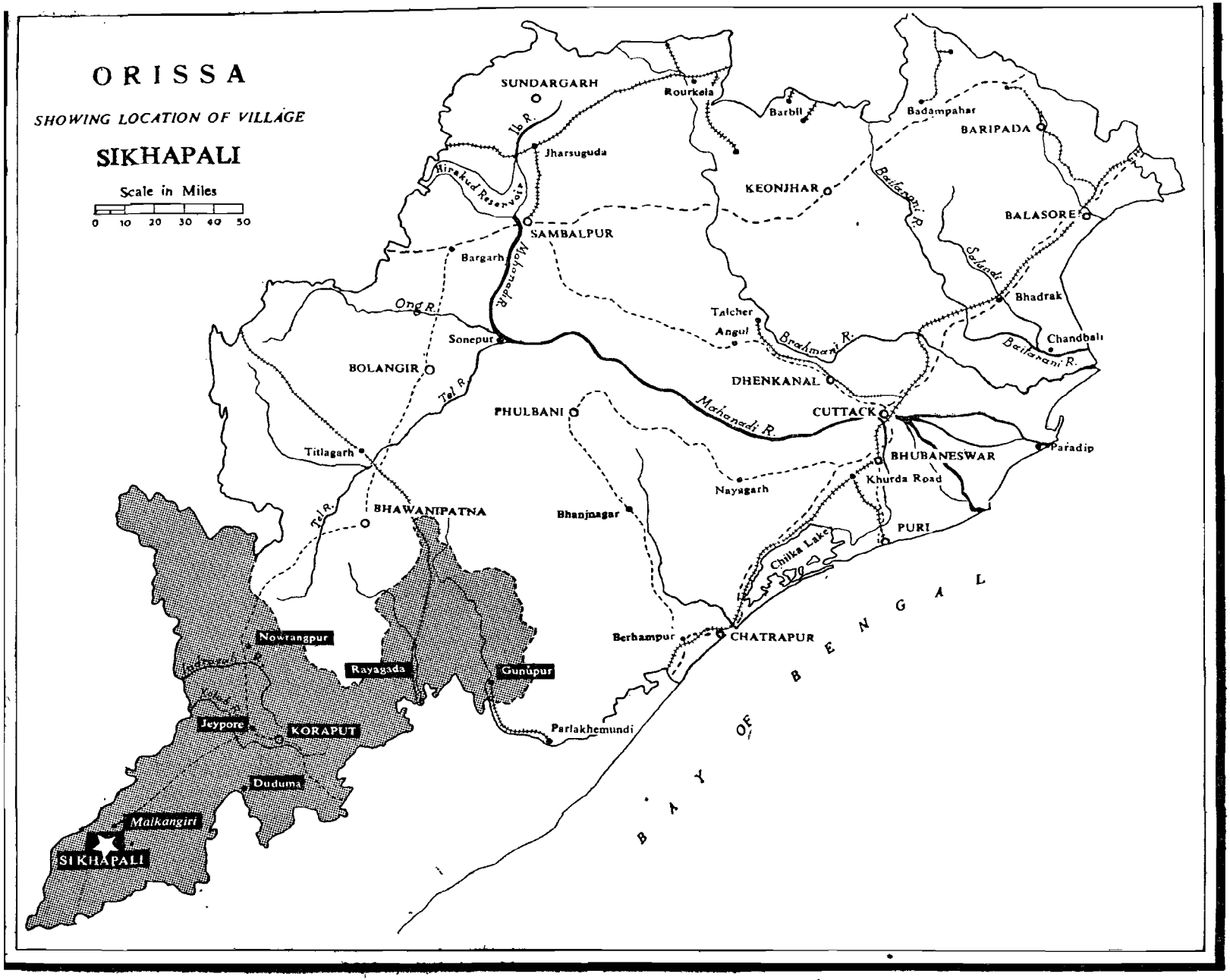
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ORISSA
SHOWING LOCATION OF VILLAGE
SIKHAPALI
Scale in Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
SUNDARGARH
Rourkela
Barbil
Badampahar
BARIPADA
Ib R.
Jharsuguda
Hirakud Reservoir
KEONJHAR
Baitarani R.
BALASORE
SAMBALPUR
Bargarh
Mahanadi R.
Sarlanadi
Bhadrak
Ong R.
Talcher
Angul
Brahmani R.
Chandbali
Sonepur
Baitarani R.
BOLANGIR
DHENKANAL
Tel R.
PHULBANI
CUTTACK
Mahanadi R.
Titlagarh
BHUBANESWAR
Paradip
Nayagarh
Khurda Road
Tel R.
BHAWANIPATNA
Bhanjnagar
PURI
Chilka Lake
Nowrangpur
Berhampur
CHATRAPUR
Rayagada
Gunupur
Jeypore
KORAPUT
Parlakhemundi
Duduma
Malkangiri
SIKHAPALI
BAY OF BENGAL



A SCENE OF THE VILLAGE

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

INTRODUCTION

Sikhapali village lies in Malkangiri subdivision of Koraput district, Orissa, at approximately 18·16° north and 81·49° east. It is 78 miles south-west of Koraput, the district headquarters. Jeypore, the biggest town and business centre of the district, is on the way from Koraput to Sikhapali and is 64 miles from the village. The police station, and the headquarters of the panchayat samiti and the subdivision are at Malkangiri, nine miles from the village.

REASON FOR SELECTION

2. Sikhapali is mainly inhabited by Koyas, a Scheduled Tribe of Orissa. Though somewhat isolated because of poor communications, it has been exposed to the winds of social change for some time. The village has a panchayat, a school, a subsidised residential colony, a grain gola and a co-operative society. All these facilities have been provided as a part of the Government programme for tribal welfare.

3. The village has been chosen for survey mainly to register the changes that have been brought about as a result of these developmental measures. Persistence of the traditional social pattern in spite of these measures is another focus of this study.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS

4. Sikhapali is in the plains, about 600 feet above sea-level, and gradually slopes towards the south. It is surrounded by forest, and the Siadimal and Malkangiri reserve forests are only three miles away. Silakota reserve, with peaks ranging from 1,250 to 2,223 feet, lies to the south of the village. Within four or five miles there is a hill stream on the northern side and a river, the Potteru, on the southern side.

CLIMATE

5. The climate of Malkangiri subdivision is considered unhealthy. The monsoon starts in early June and continues till the middle of October. The average rainfall ranges between 60 and 65 inches. In 1960-61 and 1961-62 the rainfall was, however, unusually heavy. The monthly rainfall recorded in the subdivision in this period is given below:

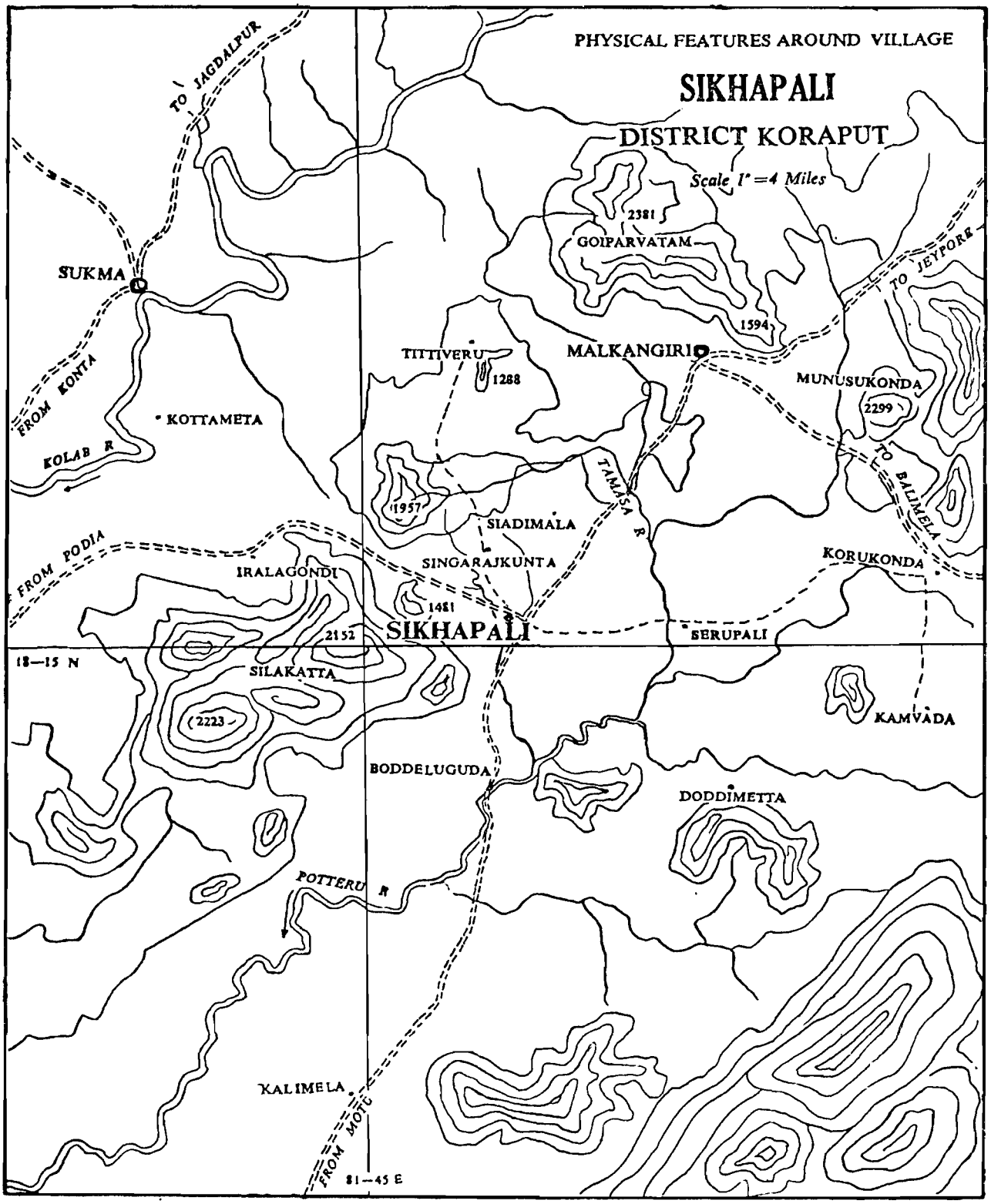
Month	Rainfall in millimetre in the year	
	1961	1962
1	2	3
January	19·8	—
February	13·0	1·6
March	—	—
April	44·6	20·6
May	37·4	60·6
June	189·6	193·4
July	621·2	839·6
August	540·7	417·6
September	297·8	434·0
October	200·2	98·2
November	51·6	48·4
December	—	31·2
Total	2015·9 or 79·37 inches	2145·2 or 84·48 inches

FLORA AND FAUNA

6. The forests around the village contain valuable timber trees, Asan (Terminalia tomentosa), Anla (Emblica officinalis), Bija (Pterocarpus marsupium), Bandhan (Ougenia dalbergiodes), Harida (Terminalia chebula), Bahada (Terminalia balerica), Mahula (Bassia latifolia) and different varieties of fruit bearing trees. Their wild life includes tiger, deer, bear, panther and forest cat besides numerous species of birds.

HOUSEHOLDS

7. The area of the village is 3·83 square miles. Of this the residential area occupies


PHYSICAL FEATURES AROUND VILLAGE
SIKHAPALI
DISTRICT KORAPUT
Scale 1" = 4 Miles
TO JAGDALPUR
SUKMA
FROM KONTA
KOLAB R
KOTTAMETA
2381
GOIPARVATAM
TO JEYPORE
1594
TITTIVERU
1288
MALKANGIRI
MUNUSUKONDA
2299
TO BALIMELA
TAMASA R
1957
SIADIMALA
SINGARAJKUNTA
FROM PODIA
IRALAGONDI
1481
SIKHAPALI
2152
SERUPALI
KORUKONDA
18—15 N
SILAKATTA
2223
KAMVADA
BODDELUGUDA
DODDIMETTA
POTTERU R
KALIMELA
FROM MOTU
81—45 E

17 acres and the rest is either under cultivation, grazing or fallow. The population according to the 1961 Census is 355, consisting of 169 males and 186 females. There are 64 individual households, of which 62 belong to Koyas and one each to a Boipari and a Gouda.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

8. These three communities live together. Their houses are built in clusters of 10 or 12. As the lay-out map of the village shows, the houses, except for 20 built in parallel rows of 10 each, are not symmetrically arranged. These 20, constructed in the last two years by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, are better designed and constructed than the rest. They are the only ones with tiled roofs, brick walls and cross-ventilation, and a road running between them.

COMMUNICATION

9. From the town of Jeypore to Malkangiri there is a 64-mile-long P.W.D. road. It runs right up to the bank of the river Potteru, which is about 14 miles away from the headquarters of Malkangiri subdivision. From this road a revenue road branches off about nine miles from Malkangiri and moves westward, connecting up with Sikhapali at a distance of about half a mile. The P.W.D. road is motorable throughout the year. From Malkangiri up to the river it is unmetalled and usable only during fair weather. In the rains, usually from the middle of June to November, it remains closed even to bullock carts. Another revenue road starts on the left bank of the Potteru and runs up to the southern border of the State.

10. The rivers Saberi and Sileru form natural boundaries between Orissa on the one hand and Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh on the other. Being so bounded, and without bridges crossing the river, the village has no direct approach from these two States.

PUBLIC PLACES

11. Sikhapali is the panchayat headquarters of 17 villages. It has a granary which is housed in the same building as the office of the co-operative society. The Sevasram school is located at the centre of the village. It receives financial support from the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department. About a mile north of the village, there is a rest room constructed by the Revenue Department.

12. There are two important places of worship. One, called Matagudi, is small and situated at the centre of the village, while the other, called Gumatali, is at the entrance. Chait Parba, the festival ceremony of the month of Chaitra, is celebrated at these shrines.

SOURCES OF WATER

13. Till recently, the villagers used to fetch drinking water from the neighbouring streams and mundas, the deeper parts of low-lying paddy fields. But the Government has now constructed a well and a tank which provide sufficient water for drinking and other domestic purposes. The stream and mundas are, however, still used for bathing and washing clothes and utensils.

HISTORY

14. The history of the village is shrouded in the past. There is no evidence to indicate its origin or age. But legendary importance is attached to its geographical position. It is said to be situated at a point in Dandakaranya where Rama lived with Sita during his exile. This belief is supported by two rivers nearby, the Saberi (Sarbari) and the Tamsa (Tamasa). These rivers are mentioned in the Ramayana.

SETTLEMENT

15. The oldest settlers in the village are the Koyas, and a number of them have lived there for generations. Of the 62 Koya households 21 are said to have been there for over five generations, 18 from four to five generations, 9 from two to three generations, 4 from the last one generation and the rest since the present generation. Five of the 10 households which have been living since the present generation migrated from different areas of Malkangiri taluk. Another four households migrated between 2 and 12 years ago from Madhya Pradesh. The Boipari and Gouda families migrated from Madhya Pradesh about 15 years ago. Table 1 in the Appendix gives the settlement history of the households of the three communities residing in the village at present.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

POPULATION

1. The Goudas and Boiparis are Hindus. The Koyas are animists, but they are gradually accepting the Hindu way of life, customs and practices. The table below shows the distribution of households by population and community :

Table 1

CASTE AND COMMUNITY

Caste/ Community	House-holds	Population			Remarks
		Male	Female	Total	
Koya	62	166	179	345	Scheduled Tribe
Boipari (Banjara)	1	1	4	5	Other backward classes
Gouda	1	2	3	5	Other backward classes
Total	64	169	186	355	

2. The Koyas have three subdivisions—Gumma, Madiyalu and Podala. The latter live in the region north and north-west of Malkangiri. As a result of frequent association with their neighbours they consider themselves superior to the other sub-groups. They have adopted Hindu ways more than these groups. Most of them do not know the Koya dialect and speak Oriya as their mother-tongue. Although there is not much difference in the social customs of the different Koya groups the Podalas do not marry Gummas and Madiyalus. The Gumma Koyas are found in the southern region of Malkangiri. Their mother-tongue is Koya, and only a few of them living in border villages know Telugu and Hindi. The Madiyalu Koyas live on the other side of the Saberi in Madhya Pradesh. They also speak Koya. There is practically no difference between their way of living and social customs and those of the Gummas. Yet these two groups do not intermarry.

3. There are five gotras among the Koyas, and they are common to all three groups. The gotras are Madi (goat). Madkami (tortoise), Kowasi (tortoise), Sodi (buffalo) and Padiami. Like other tribal peoples the Koyas hold in reverence the animals which represent their totems. The names of these animals are used as surnames. Each gotra has its own belief about its totem. The Madis believe that God revealed himself to their ancestors and directed them not to sacrifice goats and sheep to him or eat them as they represent him. Since then they have adopted Madi as their totem though they still sacrifice and eat these beasts. The legend about the Madkami totem relates to two brothers, of whom the elder was married. The younger brother fell in love with his sister-in-law. When the elder brother came to know of this he was enraged and tried to kill them. The lovers, chased by the aggrieved brother, ran away and reached the bank of a river which prevented their flight. While they were planning how to cross the river a large tortoise came out of the water. On learning of their predicament he promised to help them on condition that neither they nor their offspring would kill or eat tortoise. The young couple agreed and were ferried by the tortoise across the river. In gratitude they adopted it as their totem. The Kowasis on the other hand adopted the tortoise as their totem because one of their ancestors married a Madkami girl. The Sodi group believes that one of their ancestors saw God in a dream with the head of a buffalo. Since then the Sodis have adopted the buffalo as their totem. The Padiamis have no specific totem.

HOUSES

4. There are 64 dwellings in the village. The houses are detached, and since each household owns a large homestead there are no regular lanes. Whenever a family is afflicted by misfortune it dismantles its house and builds a new one, the front of which points in a different direction from the one dismantled. When a son marries a separate house is constructed for him.

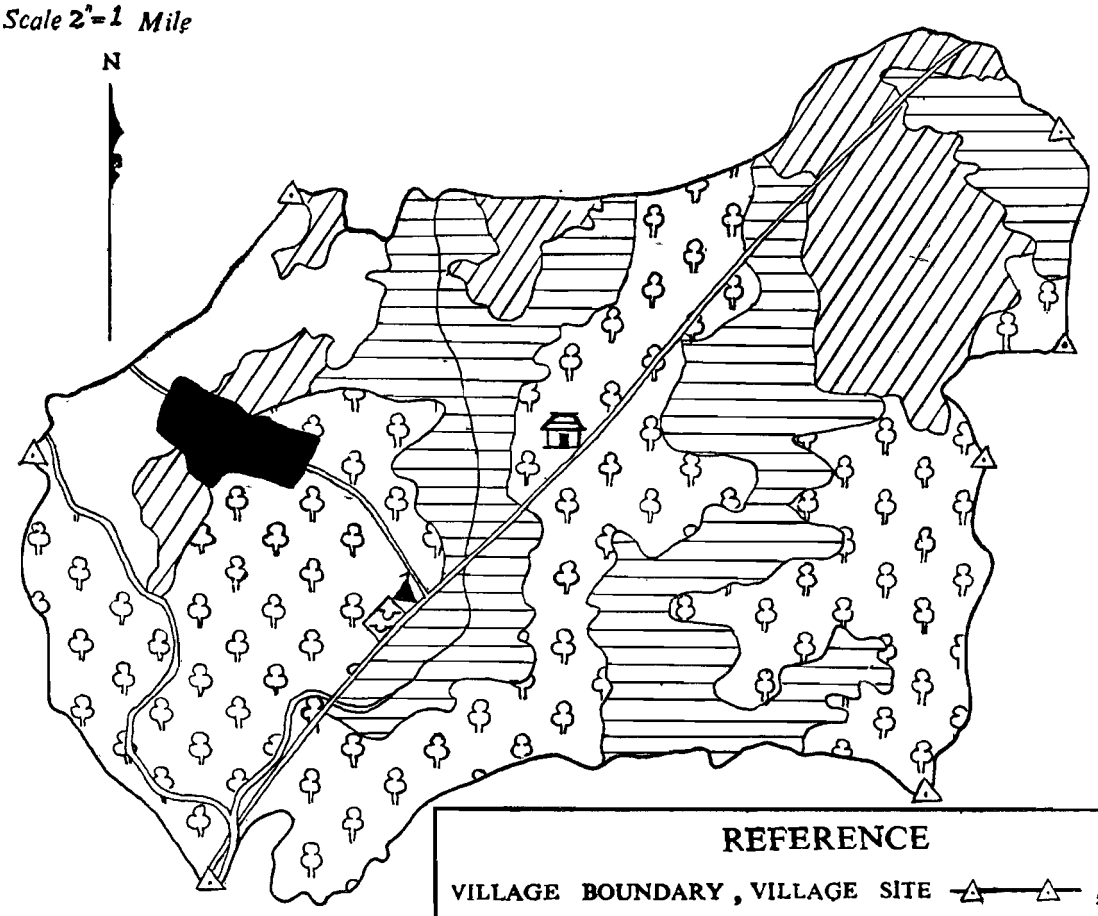
VILLAGE SIKHAPALI

P. S. MALKANGIRI

SUBDVN. MALKANGIRI

DISTRICT KORAPUT

Scale 2"=1 Mile



REFERENCE

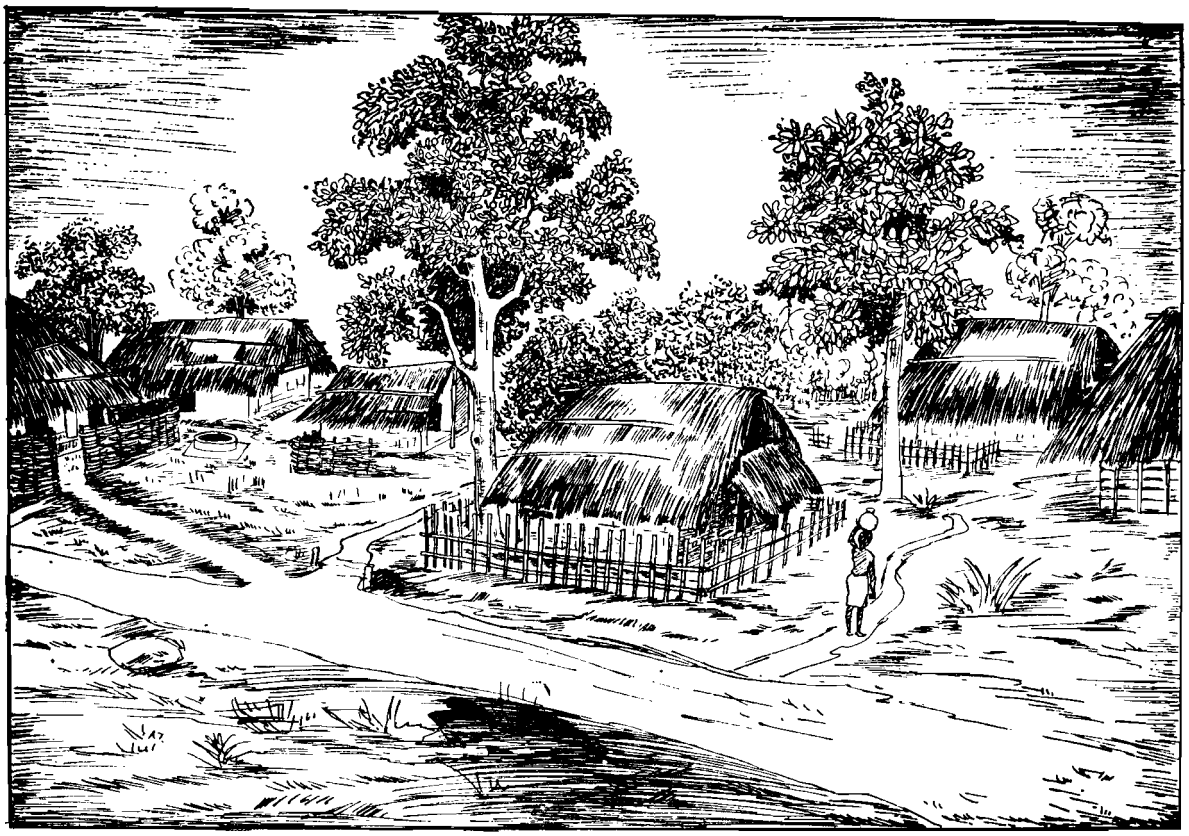
VILLAGE BOUNDARY , VILLAGE SITE ,

WET LAND , DRY LAND ,

GOCHAR , FOREST ,

ROAD , RIVER , BURIAL GROUND , ,

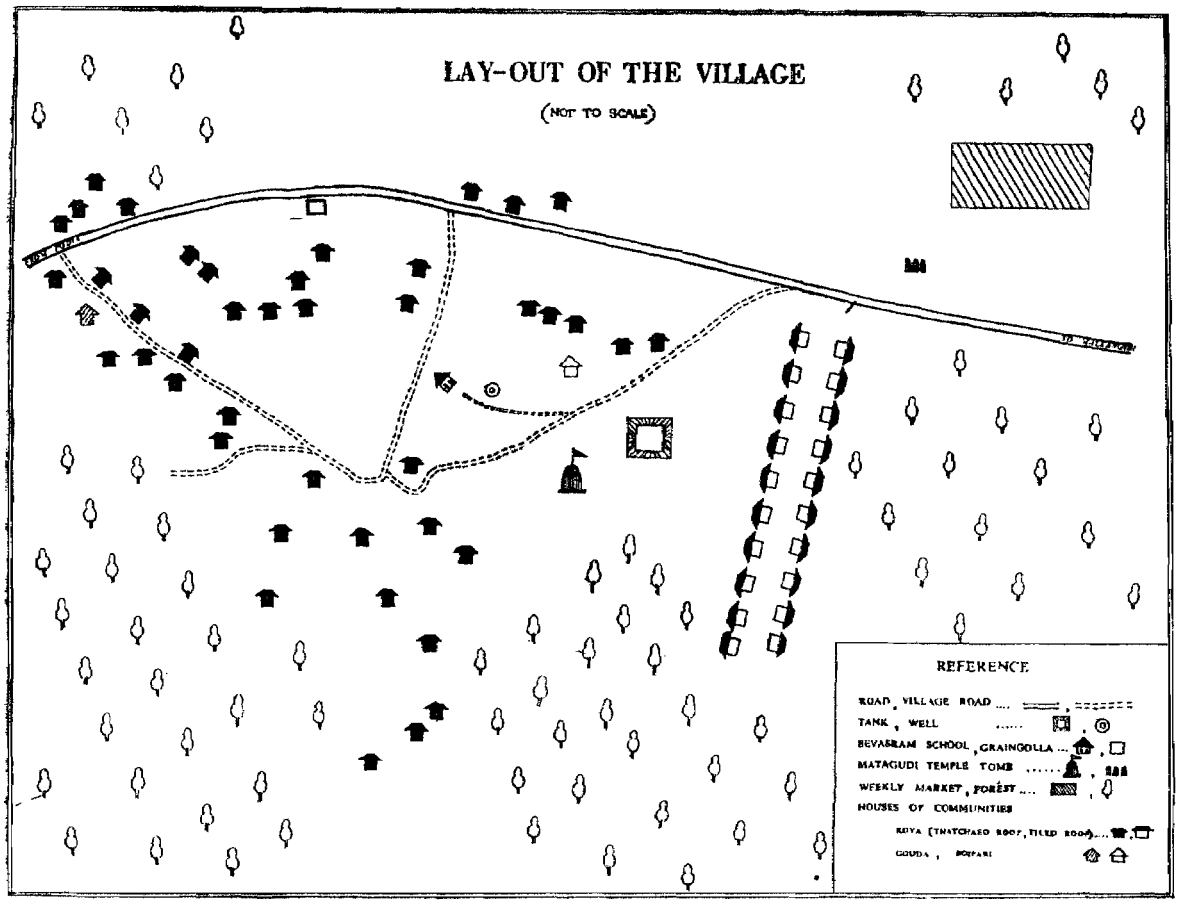
GUM ATALLI TEMPLE , REST HOUSE ,



STREET SCENE



FRONT VIEW OF AN OLD TYPE OF DWELLING



SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

5. Of the 64 households only one has a single member, 18 consist of two or three members, 24 of four to six, 15 of seven to nine and the remainder of 10 members or more. Table 2 below shows the size and composition of these households.

Table 2

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Members	House-holds	Persons		
		Male	Female	Total
Single	1	—	1	1
2—3	18	25	25	50
4—6	24	56	61	117
7—9	15	53	60	113
10 and above	6	35	39	74
Total	64	169	186	355

6. There are 13 houses which have only one room, 47 with two rooms, and only 4 with three rooms. The single-roomed houses are occupied by 49 persons, the two-roomed by 272 persons and the three-roomed by 34 persons. The arrangement of houses by the number of rooms and occupants is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

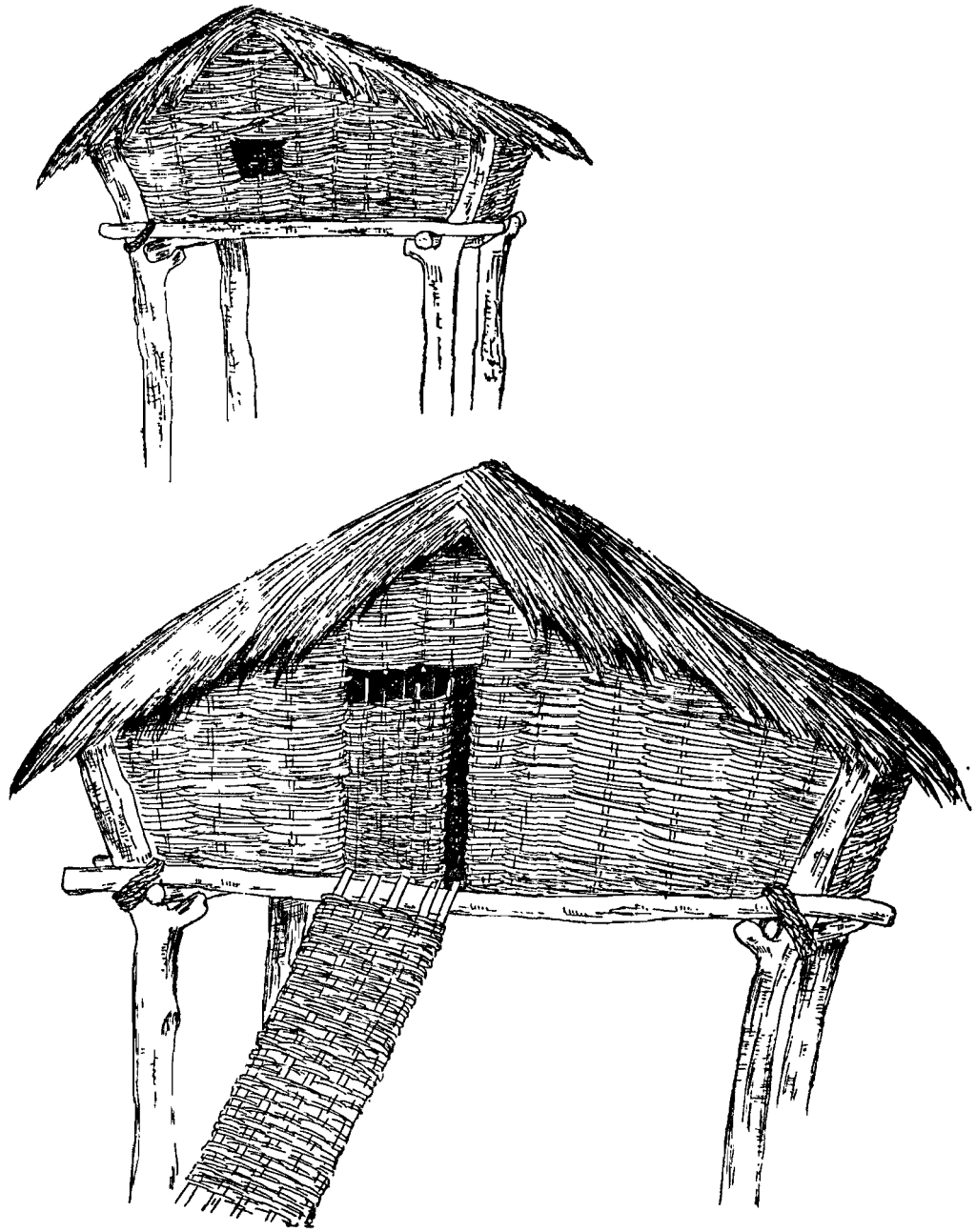
ARRANGEMENT OF HOUSES BY THE NUMBER OF ROOMS AND OCCUPANTS

Rooms	Houses	Occupants
Single	13	49
Two	47	272
Three	4	34
Total	64	355

House Types

7. The typical Koya house consists of two rooms, each measuring about 13′ × 13′. The average height of the walls is 9′, and that of the roof 12′ from the ground. The front room, used as entrance, cooking, dining and sleeping quarters has two doors, one of wattle and bamboo and the other of wooden planks. The second connects the front and inner rooms. The inner room has no other opening, not even ventilators, and therefore remains dark even by day. It is used chiefly to store grain, utensils and other valuables. Even though a fireplace is constructed in this room cooking is rarely done in it. The front room accommodates mortar and pestle for pounding rice and poultry and agricultural implements when they are brought back from the fields.

8. Goats are kept in elevated out houses made of wooden poles with wattled bamboo



RAISED HUTS FOR GOATS AND SHEEP

sides and thatched roof. These sheds are generally constructed in front of the house or at its side so that the inmates can keep a watch on possible intruders. The goats are led up to the room on wooden ladders which are lowered for this purpose. Pigs are sheltered in sties located close to the dwelling houses. But no shelters are provided for cattle, which are tethered in front of the house. Pigeons are reared in raised cotes.

9. The dwellings are not fenced, but the cultivated portion of the homestead where tobacco, beans, gourds and other vegetables are grown is enclosed with wooden or bamboo fencing.

10. The three sides of the front room are enclosed with closely woven split bamboos which are not even plastered with mud. The other room is walled with split bamboos and Karada twigs. To strengthen the walls wooden poles are securely fastened to them and the inner sides plastered with mud. While no foundation is laid for a house the floor of the inner room is raised slightly above ground level. The roofs are gabled and constructed of thatch from the leaves of smaller varieties of date palms, which are plentiful in the neighbouring jungles. Thatching is done every two or three years. The estimated cost of a house of this type is about Rs. 100. Usually no cash expenditure is involved as the Koya men and women build their own houses with the assistance of relatives and neighbours.

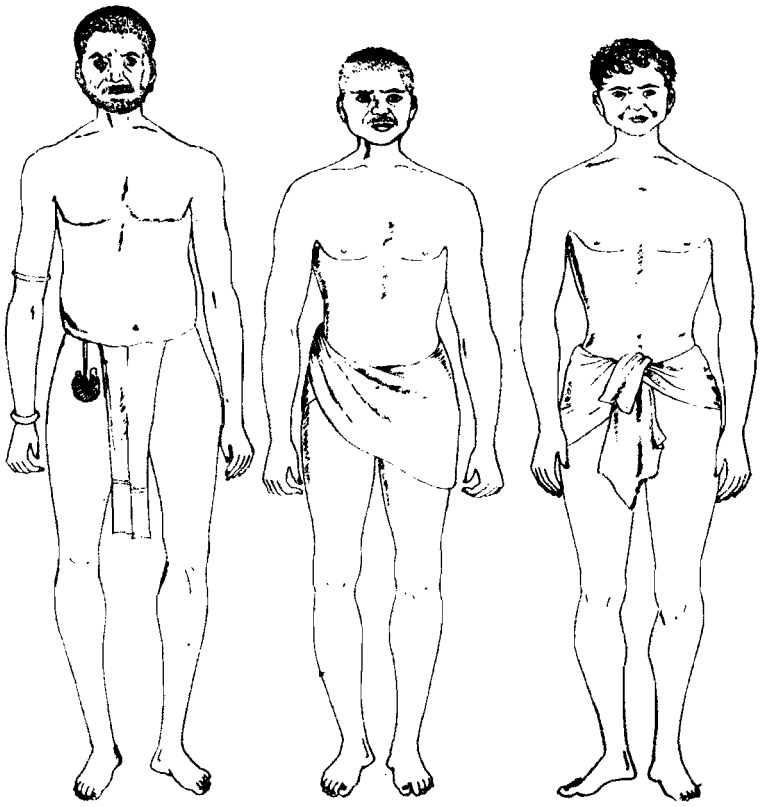
11. The 20 houses built with Government aid cost Rs. 750 each and consist of two living rooms and a kitchen. The walls are made of sun-dried bricks. Each house has four doors and four windows. The front and rear portions are enclosed by verandahs. The size of the front and back rooms and the kitchen is 13′ × 12′, 12′ × 9′ and 9′ × 3′ respectively. The front verandah measures 13′ × 3′. The height of the house is 14′ from ground level. Construction of these houses started in 1959 on Government wasteland. On completion they were allotted to 20 Koya families. which had earlier, before they were ready, refused to live in them. But as soon as the new houses were available for occupation even those families not on the allotment list wanted similar accommodation.

House Construction Ceremonies

12. The Koyas observe a simple ceremony when constructing new houses. The Wadde, the village soothsayer, is first consulted regarding an auspicious day to start construction. If the Wadde spots a certain star near the moon this is considered inauspicious and the family concerned is advised not to build that month. If the star is spotted at a distance from the moon construction is undertaken. On the Wednesday following receipt of the favourable signal the head of the family visits the site and offers rice to the Earth goddess. A wooden pole is driven into the earth at the centre of the site. Actual construction starts a few days later. To begin, wooden poles and karada twigs are planted vertically and the frame for the roof built of wood and bamboo. This frame is thatched with piri grass. The inside walls of the house are plastered with mud and cowdung and the floors levelled and smoothed with cowdung wash. The door frames are made by the Koyas themselves from timber growing in the adjoining forests. The inner door, made of rough wooden planks, rotates on wooden sockets. Iron hinges are used very rarely. The outer door, made of split bamboo, is fastened with rope to the wooden door frame. The family moves into the new house on a Wednesday morning when cow's milk mixed with turmeric powder is sprinkled on the floor. The household articles are shifted into the house in the evening. The old house, unless required by any member of the family, is dismantled.

DRESS

13. The Koyas, men and women, dress scantily. Children are unclothed until they approach puberty. The usual dress of the men is a langoti. Towels or pieces of cloth are used as langotis. Short dhotis are occasionally worn when men go to town for marketing or attending the law court. Some young men wear banians and black waistcoats at all times. The women wear towelling around the loins and cover their breasts with



MALE DRESS



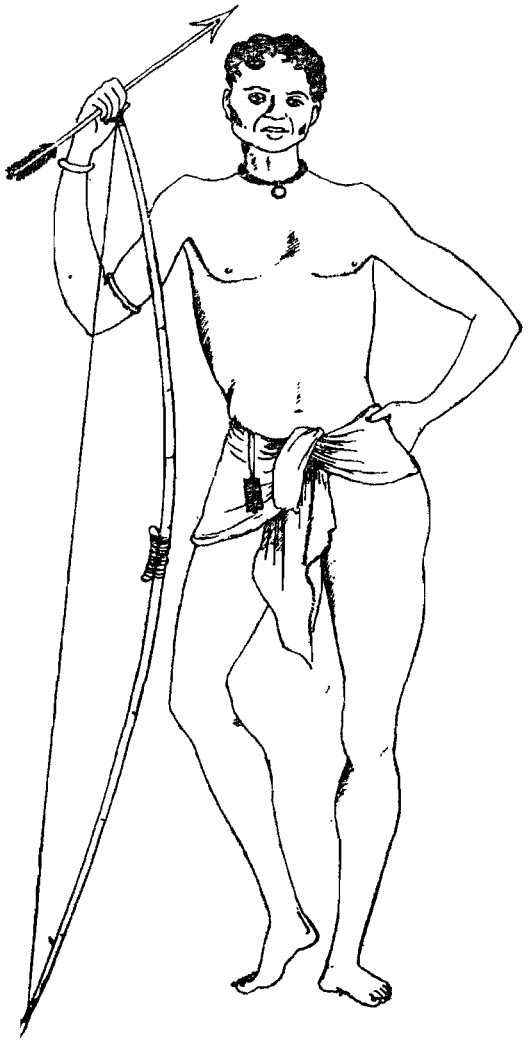
FEMALE DRESS

another piece of the same material by slipping one end under the right armpit and looping the other end round the left shoulder. But women generally do not cover their breasts. Some of them possess millmade sarees, but not being accustomed to cover the upper parts they usually roll the long ends of the saree round their loins. Wearers of sarees cover their breasts only when they go to market or meet outsiders. To be bare-breasted is not considered immodest among the Koyas.

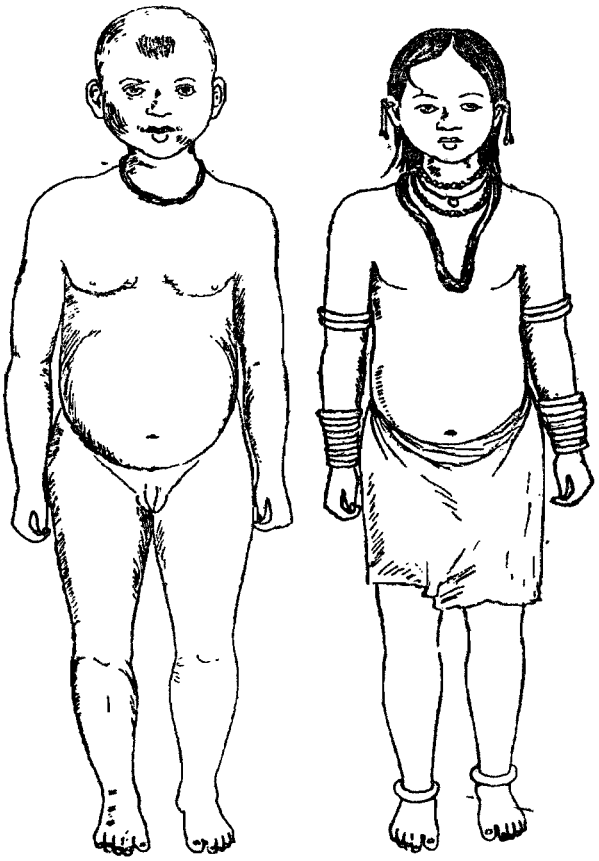
14. In the cold season they sleep round fires specially lit for this purpose. They sleep so close to the fire that practically nothing is required to cover the body. A few Koya women have cotton shawls, and these are worn on special occasions like journeys to distant places.

ORNAMENTS

15. Both men and women are fond of wearing many ornaments. Earrings made of brass or aluminium are worn by men. The lower and upper ear lobe rings are called mudal and verpamu respectively. Aluminium bangles, called badas, are worn on both wrists and aluminium mudi on the forearms. A silver rupee sewn as a pendant with black thread and called rupu pusti adorns the neck. The women use seven types of ornaments. The total number of such ornaments run into 50 to 60 pieces. These are made of brass and aluminium. Mudals are worn on the lower



KOYA MALE

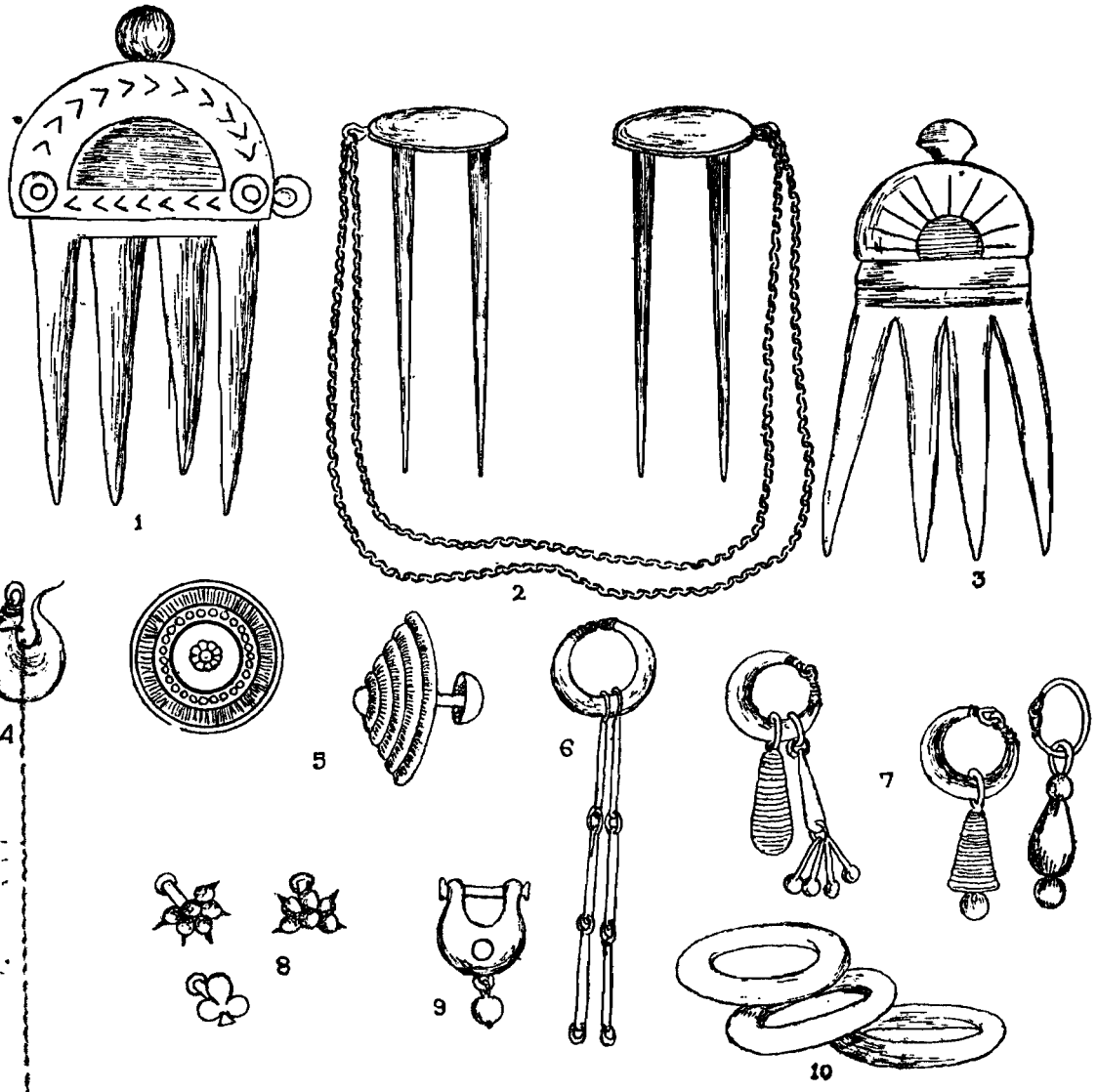


KOYA CHILDREN

ear lobes and patis on the upper lobes. Two small ornaments called mukupala are worn in the nostrils. Adu basiki, another ornament, hangs from the centre of the nose. Neck and breasts are covered with ornaments called tiya, pusti and nedek.

16. The tiya is a circular ornament of solid aluminium which is slipped round the neck and kept in position by hooking its ends. Tiyas of different sizes and designs are often worn at the same time. The pusti, made of rupees and smaller coins stitched together with coloured thread, is worn as a necklace. The nedek is made of several glass bead chains of different colours and sizes, and is cheaper than other ornaments. Nedeks serve as a covering for the breasts.

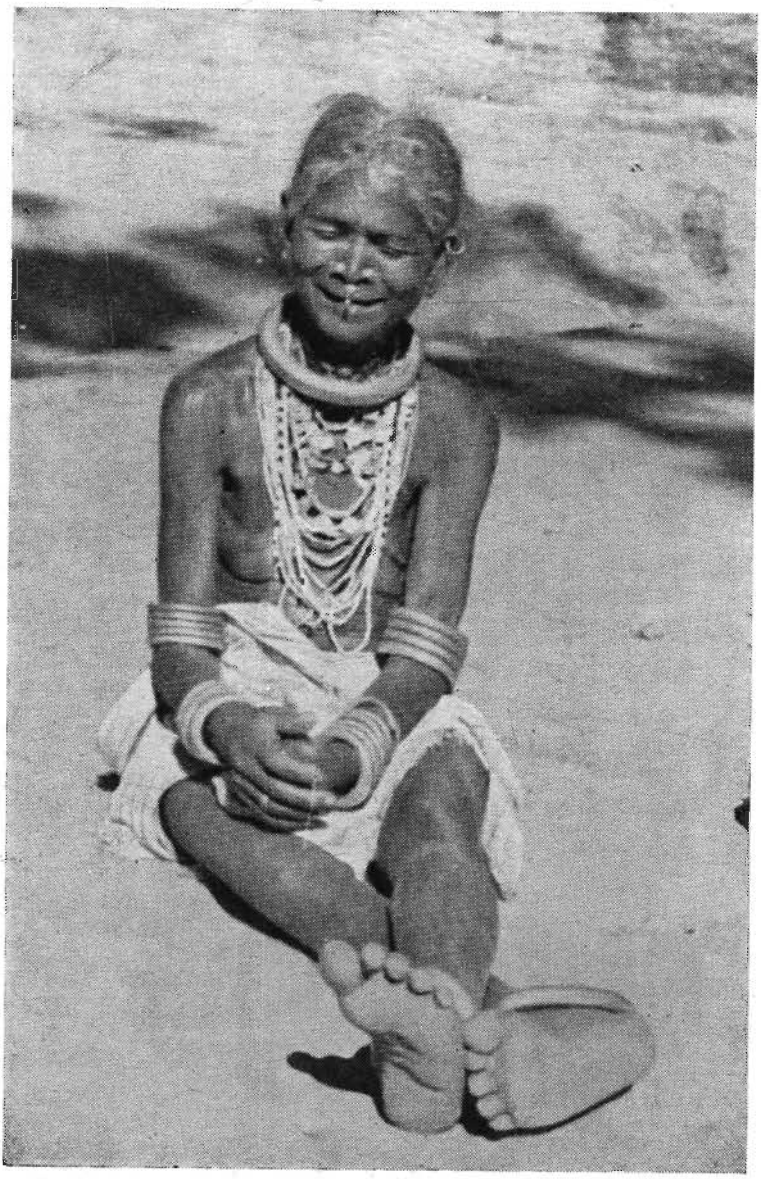
17. The forearms are profusely covered with aluminium bangles called dandakadi and mudi. Aluminium rings called mudas are worn on all the fingers and toes. Anklets called pairi, made of aluminium, are also worn.



ORNAMENTS

1. Padia
2. Sarani
3. Padia
4. Mudal
5. Pati
6. Verpamu
7. Madikayyalu
8. Adubasiki
9. Mukupala
10. Mudi

Office of the Registrar General India



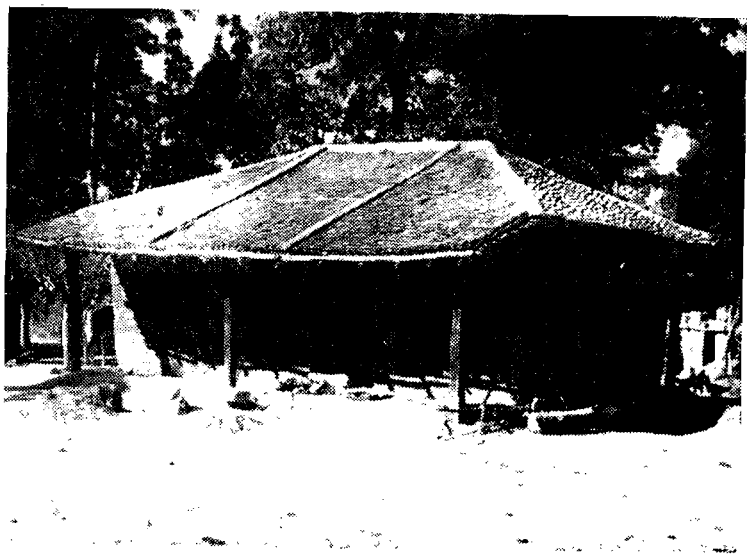
A KOYA WOMAN WEARING ORNAMENTS



KOYA FEMALE



THE WADDE, THE VILLAGE SORCERER



FRONT VIEW OF A NEW TYPE OF HOUSE

Pairis are of two types, one round and solid and the other oval and hollow with stone or metal balls attached to make a tinkling sound.

Hair Styles

18. The Koya men shave a part of their heads, leaving a bunch of hair on top of the skull. This bunch is dressed with wooden combs and knotted. The wooden comb is tied to the loin cloth and is very often used to keep the hair tidy. Male children are also shaved, but they do not tie their hair in knots. On the other hand the top hair is closely cropped and left uncared for.

19. The girls devote much attention to their hair, which is anointed with mahua seed oil, combed periodically, tied into a knot and



ORNAMENTS

1. Bada
2. Bada
3. Dandakadi
4. Bedi
5. Pairi
6. Tiya
7. Nedek
8. Pusti
9. Pusti

enlarged with black thread or pieces of cloth. The knot is decorated with a chain of brass (sarani) and a small aluminium comb called padia.

Tattooing

20. The women tattoo their faces before they are married. These marks are not elaborate or intricate but are dots on the forehead and over the bridge of the nose.

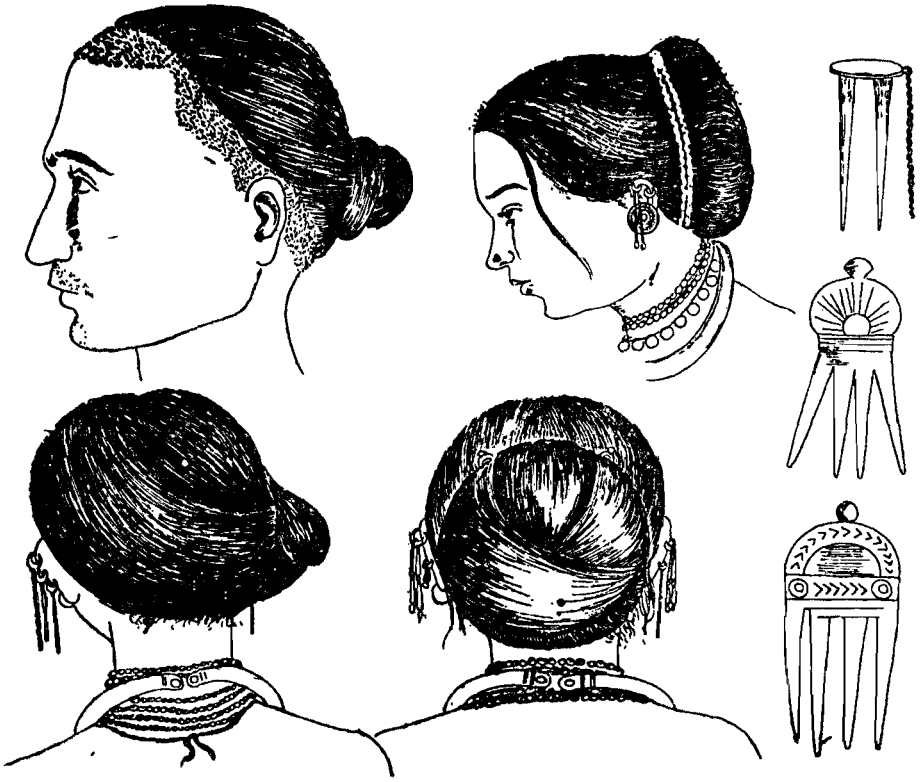
FOOD HABITS

21. The Koyas eat rice throughout the year. It is their staple food, and is eaten hot or cold. Very often ragi flour is added to the rice when it is cooked. In summer pure ragi gruel is eaten instead of rice.

22. Adult Koyas have two meals a day, at noon and in the evening, but children eat more often. The morning meal consists of cold rice, boiled in the previous night, to which a little formented starchy liquid is added, and boiled green leaves, vegetables, roots and tubers. Or the rice is eaten only with salt, onions, chillies and tamarind. The evening meal consists of freshly cooked rice, curry or tamarind, salt and chillies. Different varieties of wild roots, fruits, tubers, mushrooms and green leaves collected from the jungles are also taken at this meal. At times, when rice is not cooked, these are eaten alone.

23. Every household preserves mango stones and tamarind seeds for eating in the off season. Mahua flowers are also collected in large quantities and are mostly used to make cakes or liquor.

24. Occasionally mutton or fish curry is cooked. The Koyas do not eat domesticated animals and birds, and goats, sheep, pigs and fowls, ducks and pigeons are reared for sacrifice. They eat almost any bird except the eagle and the crow. Excluding the tiger, bear, buffalo, cow and snake they eat most animals, including squirrels. They also eat termites. But eating dead birds and animals is forbidden. The neighbouring jungles provide more than sufficient seasonal fruits, roots, mushrooms, bamboo shoots and edible green leaves which are consumed fresh or dried. Some of these items, and meat are dried and preserved in packets of leaves.



HAIR STYLES OF KOYA MALES AND FEMALES



TATTOO MARKS ON A KOYA FEMALE

25. At feasts the menu generally consists of rice, dal and mutton curry. Mutton curry and alcohol i.e. drinks are always served at social and religious functions.

26. Landa is the most important drink of the Koyas. They also drink the juice of the sago palm, the date palm and liquor brewed from mahua flowers. For this purpose they grow sago and date trees and tend mahua trees carefully. Landa is prepared from ragi, rice and maize. Ragi is wetted and kept in the shade for two to three days till it sprouts. The seedlings are dried in the sun and powdered. Rice flour is boiled and dried in the form of small balls. Some ragi flour is put into the pot in which the balls of rice are kept. The pot is filled with cold water, covered with a piece of cloth or siali leaves and kept in the

house for four or five days, by which time the contents ferment. The fermented fluid is called landa. It is served as drink as well as food. Rice prepared from boiled paddy is supposed to be defiled when touched by a person of another caste. Hence the Koyas use arua rice generally prepared by the women of the household.

PREPARATION OF FOOD

27. Wooden mortars and pestles are used to husk paddy and other cereals as well as to make ragi and rice flour. Cereals, such as suan are also boiled and eaten hot or cold like rice. Vegetables, roots, leaves and flowers, bamboo shoots and mushrooms are similarly boiled and eaten with salt and chilly powder. Some roots, tubers and mushrooms are baked and eaten with or without rice. Fish and meat are boiled with turmeric powder. Neither oil nor spices of any kind are customarily used in curries. But occasionally a few well-to-do families extract oil from mahua seeds for use in mutton curry.

28. Wood for fuel is plentiful in the adjoining forests. Fires are generally lit by rubbing two pieces of split bamboo together and hence matches are a rare commodity in the village.

FURNITURE AND OTHER CONSUMER GOODS

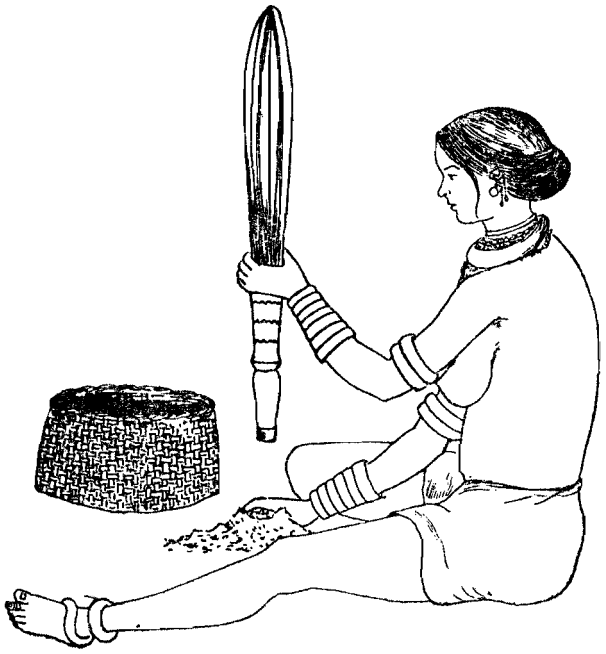
29. Table 4 below shows the household furniture in use. Most households do not have more than charpoys and cots and stools. Charpoys consist of a wooden frame laced with siali rope or split bamboo. The stools are constructed like the charpoys.

Table 4

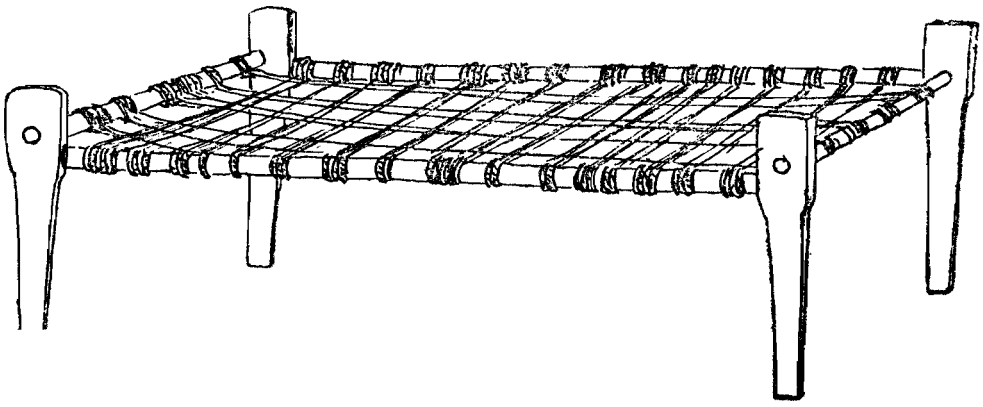
POSSESSION OF FURNITURE

Community	*Households*	*Charpoy*	*Stools*
Koya	62	22	11
Boipari	1	1	1
Gouda	1	—	1

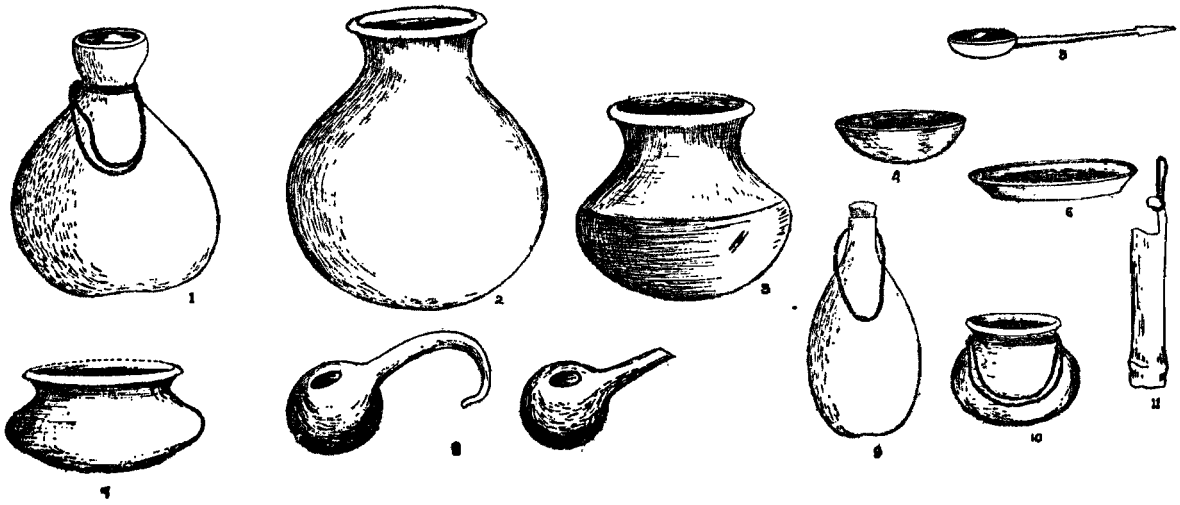
30. Household utensils of earthenware are very important, being used for cooking and storing grain and water. The top of a gourd



A KOYA WOMAN HUSKING PADDY

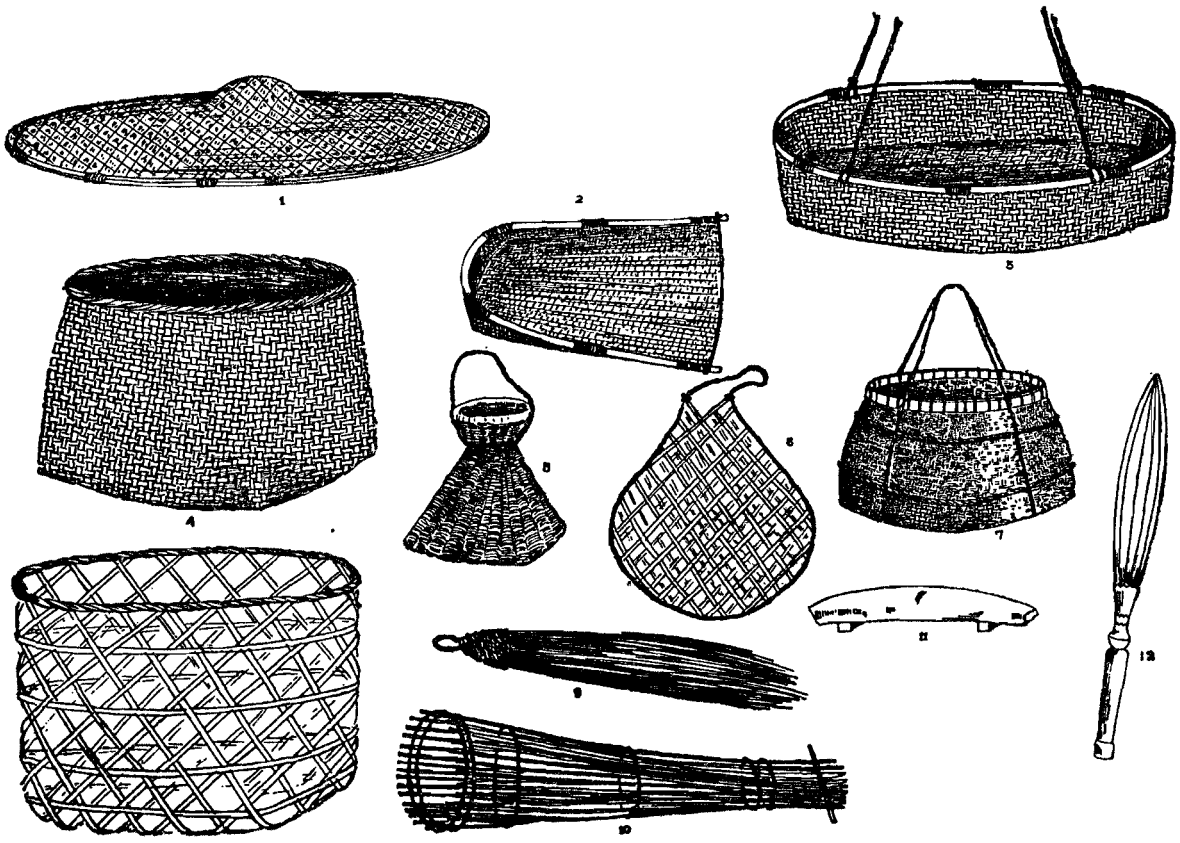


KATUL



UTENSILS

1. Buruka
2. Kund
3. Gurudi
4. Gine
5. Ukudu
6. Tali
7. Ţelei
8. Buriyam
9. Burukha
10. Gurgu
11. Tika



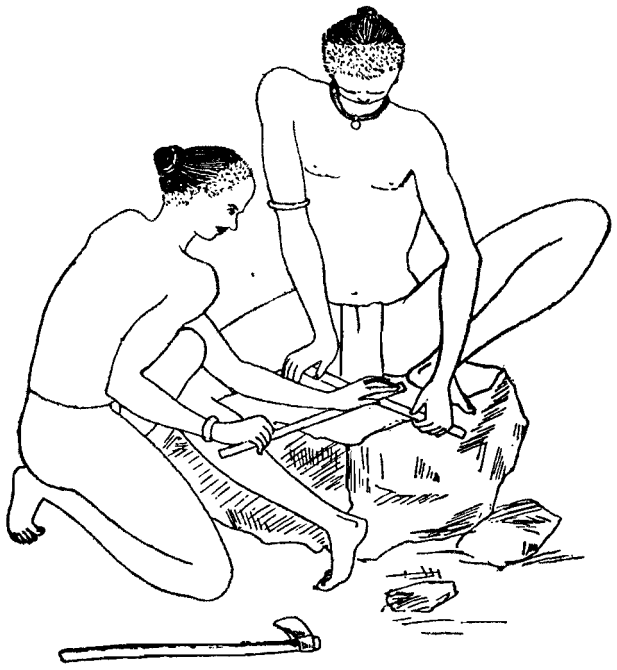
HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

1. Erek
2. Etu
3. Ukad
4. Buti
5. Kikebuti
6. Marsu
7. Buti
8. Tir
9. Epur
10. Juad
11. Kutul
12. Uswal

is opened and the seeds are removed. The shell is thoroughly cleaned and dried for use as a container for water or food. Small gourds are also used as ladles. At times these containers are lined with siali leaves and bound with string for additional strength. They are not only light and economic but last longer than earthen pots. Every household, therefore, grows gourds.

31. Very few households own brass or aluminium vessels. The Koyas mostly use cups and plates made of leaves. Sal and siali leaves are collected from the jungle and stitched together to form eating or drinking vessels. Grain is stored in baskets of split bamboo or containers of siali leaves. Other household articles are erek (leaf hat) and ukad (cradle made of split bamboo). Bamboo baskets called butis are used to keep grains, chillies and other foodstuffs. Tir is a large container for grass and leaves, juad, a trap made of bamboo for fishing, and kikebuti and marsu to collect fish that have been caught. Kutul, a low wooden stool, is reserved for visitors. A fan for winnowing and a broomstick are found in every household.

32. There are only three lanterns in the village, and the three Koya households who own them do not use them daily. They are lit only at marriages or other social functions. At other times the kitchen fires also serve the purpose of illumination.



LIGHTING A FIRE

LIFE CYCLE OF THE VILLAGE

Birth

33. Stoppage of menstruation is regarded as a sign of pregnancy. There are no restrictions on a woman's activities nor special rites to be observed in the pre-natal stage. Expectant women do not take special precautions about their diet or movements. But certain restrictions are observed on and after delivery.

34. Delivery takes place in a separate room, if available. Otherwise, the corner of the front room is enclosed with a bamboo mat. During labour pains the women of the family and an experienced dai attend the expectant mother. They also help her after delivery. A village "doctor" is sent for only in cases of severe pain and possible complications. He administers local specifics made of powdered pumpkin roots. This powder is mixed with water, into which a silver coin is dipped. In complicated cases the wadde is also called in. After delivery the dai cuts the umbilical cord with the sharp edge of an arrow or a knife and binds the opening with thread. The umbilical cord and the placenta are buried in the backyard. After some time oil and turmeric paste are rubbed on the bodies of both mother and child. They are then bathed in warm water. The clothes worn by the mother during delivery are washed by the dai or by an elderly woman. Delivery takes place in the house of the husband.

35. The mother is fed on freshly cooked, thick rice gruel and drinks tepid water. Mother and child are kept in the room or enclosure where the birth takes place for 15 or 30 days. A fire burns in it day and night to keep the place warm, even in the warm season. Throughout the period of confinement the mother is served only thick rice gruel twice a day. Every other day a small quantity of gingelly is boiled with the gruel. This is believed to increase the quantity of breast milk.

36. The mother and the baby are given a warm bath daily, and only women members of

the family are allowed to look at them during the period of confinement. The idea underlying this taboo is that the mother and her infant are outcastes till they have been purified. On the 15th or 30th day the purification ceremony is held and the pedda, the village headman, the wadde, the sira, the pujari, relatives of the household and the women who helped the mother in her delivery are invited. The mother and the baby are anointed with oil and turmeric paste and bathed in warm water. All the guests also bathe and then caress the baby. They are served rice and mutton or pork curry. When the ceremony is over the mother re-enters the household and resumes her normal duties.

37. The name-giving ceremony takes place when the child is a month old. Often this and the purification ceremony are held at the same time. At the time of baptism the infant is placed in a bamboo cradle. The maternal uncle or maternal grand-mother swings the cradle and sings to the baby. The song is a recital of ancestral names. The name which is mentioned as the child falls asleep is bestowed on it. If the baptism is held when the child is three or four months old a slightly different procedure is adopted. On a Wednesday all the women of the household and the maternal grand-mother anoint the child with turmeric paste and oil and bathe it. They then sit around the child on a bamboo mat. Some grains of rice are rolled in a kendu leaf and are placed on its right palm. They recite the names of its ancestors and the name recited as the child puts some rice into its mouth is chosen.

38. The mother suckles the child for two years. When the mother is busy with her domestic work the baby is placed in an ukad, a bamboo cradle, suspended from a beam.

Puberty

39. The Koyas attach much importance to the attainment of puberty by girls. They are considered defiled for eight days, during which they are secluded, for looking at a girl at this time is considered a sin. As soon as the first menstruation takes place the elderly women of the family and the friends of the girl rub turmeric and oil on her body. She is kept in a separate house or in a corner of the living room which is partitioned for the purpose. When her period is over she is taken to the nearby jungle by her girl friends. She spends the day there and returns home after sunset, unseen by men. A temporary shed or a raised tower is erected in the jungle for her stay with her friends. Their midday and evening meals are sent to them.

40. During the eight days during which she is kept apart she does not bathe, but is allowed to eat her normal food. On the ninth day she washes her clothes in a stream or pond and bathes after applying turmeric and oil on her body. She then returns home with her friends. The house is cleaned before their arrival with cowdung wash. The girl puts on her old garments once the purification ceremony is over. The Koyas believe that if the earthen pot in which the girl washes her dirty clothes on the ninth day breaks this is a bad omen for her. But no rituals are observed to avert the evil influences.

Marriage

41. Girls are considered marriageable after puberty, and boys when they have moustaches. Usually, however, girls marry after 15 and boys after 18. Most marriages take place between the ages of 15 and 24. At the time of this survey 83 men and 88 women were married. The excess of five married women is explained by the fact that some men had two wives each. Polygamy is not common. The Koyas think that it is not desirable. The bride's father is, in such a marriage, paid the bride money and the older men of the village are entertained with Landa. Unless these formalities are observed the second and subsequent marriages are not considered valid by the community. After the marriage the wife takes the husband's gotra. Women above 40 are not considered eligible for marriage, but there is no such age bar for men. Men over 50 often marry provided they have the means to support a family. Wives are considered partners in every activity. Besides domestic work a woman works in the fields. Marriage in the same clan is prohibited. Cross-cousin marriage is generally preferred and adhered to if marriageable boys and girls are available.

At times boys even marry cousins who are older.

42. There are different types of marriages. In the customary type the parents make the marriage arrangements. Love marriage takes place only when intimacy between a boy and a girl grows to the extent that they force their parents to consent by running away and living as husband and wife. Widow marriage and remarriage of divorced women is permissible.

43. Marriage negotiations are initiated by a boy's parents. In cross-cousin marriages although a formal proposal is made when the boy and the girl are sufficiently grown up the partnership is considered final. Negotiations are, therefore, not conducted elsewhere unless the families concerned are on unfriendly terms.

44. Marriages are generally solemnised in the months of Chaitra, Baisakh and Jaistha. The proposals are finalised a year earlier so that all the arrangements may be made in time. There are no special months for marriage negotiations. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays are, however, considered auspicious and, therefore, preferred for talks and coming to a settlement. The bridegroom's father makes the proposal. He meets the bride's parents in the company of other elderly members of the family. They take two pieces of new cloth for the bride and her mother and one or two pots of landa. If the bride's parents agree to the proposal they sit with the parents of the boy and drink landa. Negotiations centre on the quantity of rice, number of goats or pigs and pots of landa the groom's father has to give to the bride's father. After these issues are settled the wedding month is tentatively fixed. The parents and other members of the bridegroom's family then return home and start making preparations for the wedding.

45. The parties exchange frequent visits after the match is settled. The day for the wedding is fixed after consulting the waddes of both villages. The day before the wedding the bridegroom's father sends the bride's father five pots of landa, five manos (equivalent to 15 standard seers) of rice, a goat or a pig or both and some vegetables. A canopy of wooden poles, bamboo and green leaves is erected in front of the bride's house. When the party carrying the gifts from the bridegroom's party arrives, the women of the bride's village prevent it from going under the canopy. They make fun of the bearers of the presents and force them to give money for the privilege of entering the bride's house. After payment, which ranges from 25 paise to 1 rupee they smear turmeric paste on the body of the bride and carry her to the pandal. The bride and the other village women make three circles round a low wooden stool which is placed on a platform under the canopy. The bride sits on the stool and her companions bathe her. Each woman, including the relatives of the bride, pours a jug of water on her. The bride is dressed in new clothes, and the guests are then entertained with landa. The space under the canopy is used as a seat for the guests and for the feast that follows. The men and women guests dance and sing throughout the day with occasional drinks of landa. The bride joins the dancing party with her female friends. In the evening she is taken to all the village households by her friends to the accompaniment of songs. The bride pays her respects and bids farewell to the elders of each household by touching their feet. She receives gifts of cash or articles. She is also presented to outsiders if there are any in the village. After completing this round of visits the bride returns to her home. In the evening all the guests are entertained by the bride's father, after which the bride and her friends leave her father's house so as to reach the house of the groom the following morning.

46. On their arrival the party is accommodated in a separate house, where the bride and groom are rubbed down with oil and turmeric paste and bathed in cold water. They put on new clothes and eat in this house. Next they go in procession to the groom's house, where all the young men and women drink landa and dance. In the evening, a feast is given by the groom's father. The wedding function ends with the feast. Communion between the bride and the groom takes place, however, on the third day when the wadde is consulted about an auspicious time. The ritual followed is simple. The wadde makes

the newly married couple stand on a stick and pours water over them. All the elderly persons of the village are invited to the house of the groom to watch the ceremony and are served landa. After this the couple are allowed to live in a separate house as man and wife.

47. Love marriages are regularised at a meeting of the parents and other elderly relatives of both parties by imposing a fine on the young man. But no wedding ceremony is held.

Widow Marriage

48. A widow is generally married to the younger brother of her dead husband, if there is one, otherwise she is allowed to marry into a different household. If the widow has children they accompany her when she joins her new husband. They return to their own father's house when they are sufficiently grown up. No wedding is held for widow marriage. When a widow marries into a household not related to her husband her new mate must pay compensation, called randa. The amount is determined by the village elders at a special meeting. The widow returns her ornaments to the family of her dead husband before she remarries.

Divorce

49. Divorce, though discouraged, is permitted. Men are not penalised if they are responsible for breaking up a marriage. But a woman, if found guilty, is punished by the caste panchayat, and the penalty is generally borne by her parents or the man who marries her. This penalty is called sagartha, and it is generally double the amount spent by her former husband on their wedding. If a married woman is eloped or is enticed very few husbands go to a court of law for restoration of conjugal rights. But they do not forego sagartha in such cases. If, however, they fail to get this compensation by normal means they seek a settlement in a court of law.

50. Matrilocal marriages are of two kinds. The bridegroom generally lives in the house of his intended father-in-law for a few years before marriage and works for him. When the bride attains puberty the formal wedding is held. The groom may, if he likes, live permanently in the house of his in-laws and become a member of their household. Or he may work for five years or a longer period as may be decided by the father of his prospective bride. During this period he is treated as a member of the household and is allowed to meet his betrothed freely. After marriage the bridegroom is allowed to return to his own house with his wife only after fulfilling the period of service originally agreed upon.

51. All the heads of the 64 families who were interviewed were of the opinion that inter-caste marriage was neither desirable nor permissible. No marriage has yet been solemnised in contravention of the code of the community.

Death

52. As soon as a person dies the news is announced to the village by beat of drum. Drum beating at regular intervals continues till the body is removed from the house where the death occurred. The relatives of the dead person are informed immediately so that they may see about the cremation. They are fed by the neighbours before the body is taken to the crematorium. All the elderly men of the village assemble in the house of the deceased, and even women from other households join the mourners. The body is kept in the house until all the relatives have arrived. It is often kept more than 12 hours. Cremation is not done at night. Members of the family anoint the body with turmeric paste and wash it with cold water. The corpse is placed on a bier made of bamboo and covered with a new piece of cloth. The relatives also bring similar pieces and place them on the bier. The favourite articles of the deceased, his bow or flute and his clothes, are also placed on it.

53. The bier is then carried to the crematorium by the members of the family, assisted by other mourners. Some persons go ahead and arrange a pyre. The funeral procession reaches the crematorium and the bier is placed on the pyre. The relatives who had earlier placed pieces of cloth on the bier remove them. This cloth is preserved as mementoes of the dead. The body, whether of a man or woman, is placed with its head, face upwards, towards the east. The son-in-law or some relative

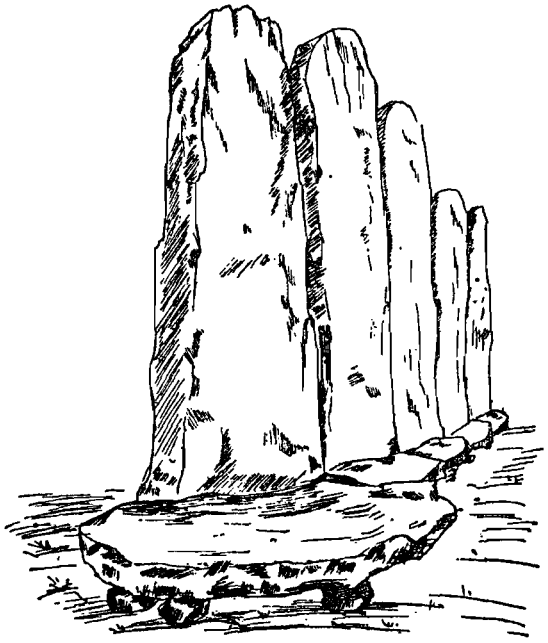
other than a son first sets the pyre alight and is followed by those assembled, except the sons. After the pyre is lit all the mourners return to the dead man's house, where they are given turmeric paste and oil to smear on themselves.

54. On the day a person dies no meals are cooked in his house. The members of the family are fed by the neighbours. The morning after cremation some persons go again to the crematorium to see whether the body has been completely burnt. If so, it is popularly believed that the soul has completed its journey and has reached God. It is considered a bad omen if the body is not completely consumed. It is believed that evil spirits have prevented the soul from leaving the body because of sins or misdeeds committed by the dead man. To drive away the evil spirits the wadde is invited to the crematorium. He chants mantras, after which the remains are set alight again. On the second or third day the males of the family and some relatives carry grain and a black chicken to the cemetery. The wadde accompanies them. He places the grains on a leaf and offers it to the chicken. If the chicken eats some, all is said to be well with the soul of the dead. If not it is said that the soul has fallen among evil spirits. In this event the wadde chants more mantras and offers the chicken the grain. He repeats this process till the chicken eats. When it does so the wadde kills it and buries it on the spot. The Koyas do not wish to leave the soul of the dead in perpetual suffering, and so, they offer worship and sacrifice for its salvation.

55. After the funeral rites are over, the mourners bathe and attend a feast given by the bereaved family. If the feast is not held on the third day because money is lacking it is postponed till the members of the family collect enough to do so. But the ceremony in any case must be held within a year of the death. The funeral observances end with a dinner to relatives. On this day no religious rites are held. The guests are served with rice and mutton curry. If the family is well-to-do it also distributes new clothes to near relatives.

56. Ordinarily no memorial stones are erected. But large stone slabs are, however, embedded in the ground when the pedda or wadde or sira dies of old age. Memorial stones of this type are visible on the outskirts of the village.

57. The Koyas generally cremate married people and bury the unmarried. If a pregnant woman dies her womb is cut open and the dead infant inside is taken out. Both bodies are then buried together. But Koyas of Sikhapali do not observe this custom. They cremate the dead woman.



STONE SLABS USED AS MEMORIALS

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

1. Cultivation is the major source of livelihood, followed by the gathering for sale or personal consumption of forest products like timber, bamboo, firewood, thatch grass, leaves and edible fruits, roots, mushrooms, honey, mahua flowers and seeds. Hunting of birds and animals is also common.

2. The area of the village is about 2,550 acres, of which about 600 acres are cultivated. The residential area occupies 17 acres and grazing ground about 138 acres. Under the Dandakaranya development scheme about 930 acres are proposed to be reclaimed for resettlement of East Pakistan refugees and local landless Adivasis.

Livelihood Classes

3. The village population may be conveniently placed in seven groups—cultivators, agricultural labourers, traders, servicemen, students, household workers and dependants. Rearing of livestock or collection of forest products do not provide full-time occupation. These are followed only as subsidiary occupations. The Table 5 below shows the division of population by family occupation, age and sex.

4. Among the families of cultivators and agricultural labourers females exceed males. From the point of view of the Koya way of living this is a definite economic advantage, for the male is inclined to pass on the hard tasks of cultivation to the women folk. Agricultural labourers work on daily wages. Two of them, one aged 10 and the other 18, are, however, employed as gothis, labourers on a yearly basis. They work for the village headman, the pedda, and his son. Both are Koyas by caste, and have been staying in the houses of their employers for the last two or three years. They work and take their meals with the members of their employers' families. They are also provided with clothes, but they get no wages in cash or kind. It was stated that they were apprentices, learning the art of cultivation, and that their training would end when they grew up and were fully competent. Both employer and employee denied having entered into any service agreement. But they were apparently unwilling to reveal the true facts since under the Debt Bondage Regulations the gothi system has been declared unlawful. Under this system a person indebted to another, usually a moneylender, is obliged to serve him or his nominee till the debt has been fully repaid. In some cases the period of such service is specified and the annual remuneration, if any, is adjusted against the debt.

Table 5

DIVISION OF POPULATION BY FAMILY OCCUPATION, AGE AND SEX

Occupational group	Below 14 years		Above 14 years		Total		Grand Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Cultivator	15	15	84	80	99	104	203
Agricultural Labourer	7	6	10	14	17	20	37
Trader	—	—	1	—	1	—	1
In service	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
Student	38	5	—	—	38	5	43
Domestic servant	—	1	—	1	—	2	2
Dependant	12	46	1	9	13	55	68
Grand total	73	73	96	113	169	186	355

Trade

5. The only person engaged in trading is a Boipari. He is a pedlar, selling cloth, salt, and other simple consumer goods. His major source of income is, however, dealing in cattle. He does not usually invest money in this business. He gets the cattle on credit from the intending seller and trades them for cash. The supplier is paid the agreed price and the Boipari retains the difference. At times he acts only as a middleman or an agent between the two parties and draws a commission.

Service

6. The only inhabitant of the village in service is a cowherd. He is a Koya, and his father is an agricultural labourer. Since the father's earnings are insufficient for the domestic needs the boy has to work. He is paid in kind once a year—when the crop is harvested.

Students

7. There are 43 children, including five girls, who attend the Sevashram School. All are below 14.

Household Workers

8. All housewives attend to their domestic work, but only two devote themselves exclusively to house work.

Dependants

9. Dependants comprise 13 males and 55 females. Most of them—12 males and 46 females—are below the age of 14, and they neither attend school nor they perform household work. The other dependants are over the age of 58, and most of them are disabled.

Land ownership and Utilization

10. The pattern of land ownership is indicated in the following table. It will be seen that 10 Koya families and one Boipari (also called a Banjara) family own no land. Almost all the cultivable land is owned by 52 Koya families. The only other owner of such land is a Gouda, whose holding is only about four acres. Compared with this, the average holding of the 53 families with land is about 11 acres.

Table 6

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Acres	Households			All households
	Koya	Gouda	Boipari	
None	10	—	1	11
1—2·4	4	—	—	4
2·5—4·9	11	1	—	12
5—10	15	—	—	15
10 and above	22	—	—	22
Total	62	1	1	64

11. Over the present generation there have been changes in ownership. Twelve Koya families have acquired titles to land during this period, but 25 Koya families and the Gouda family have, on the other hand, lost their family holdings. Only 15 families have not been affected.

12. Paddy, the major crop, is sown in June or July and harvested in November or December. But early paddy is harvested in October. The fields are generally cultivated with rain water. There are two categories of cultivable land—paddy and dongor—and they are further divided into three sub-classes, *Paddy I, Paddy II, Paddy III, Dongor II and Dongor III.* Paddy is sown only once a year. Rabi crops, such as maize, horse gram, black gram, green gram, mustard and gingelly are grown on dongor land. Tobacco, chillies and some vegetables are grown on homestead lands, classified as *Dongor I.*

13. Ragi is sown on dongor land in July and harvested in October. Green gram is sown in July and harvested in November. Mustard is grown on dongor land and sown in October and reaped in February. Chillies, tobacco, beans, maize and gram are watered regularly and grown mostly for home consumption.

The acreage under different crops in 1961 was:

Paddy	316
Mandia	150
Pulses	50
Chillies	10
Oilseeds	12
Other miscellaneous crops.. ..	50

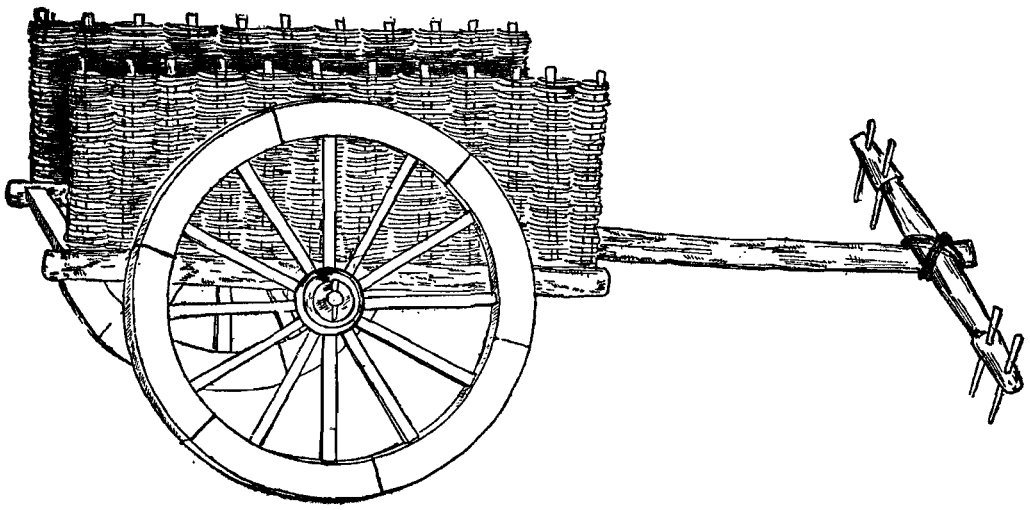
Agricultural Practice

14. After the first shower of the year fields are ploughed three times. Tilling with wooden ploughs is done jointly by the male and female members of the family. Buffaloes, bullocks and cows are generally used as draught animals. Transplantation is unknown in this village and after paddy seed has been broadcast the Koyas give the fields scarcely any attention till the crops are ready for harvesting. This operation is performed jointly by males and females. The sheaves are collected on the nearby threshing floor, and cows and bullocks tread on them to separate the grain from the chaff. The grain is then taken home in baskets carried on the head or slung over the shoulders or on small wheeled bullock carts.

15. The Koyas do not weed the cultivated fields, into which grass seed comes from the adjoining jungles. The grass grows almost to the height of the paddy. Tree stumps are frequent in the fields. The Koyas do not uproot them, nor do they level the land. To protect crops from damage caused by birds and wild animals the farmers watch their fields from *manchas,* raised towers built on wooden poles or erected among the branches of a tree. Wooden bells are placed at the end of a field for the same purpose and are agitated with ropes. Hollow logs of wood are also beaten to drive away intruders.

16. The Koya farmer is usually occupied in agricultural operations for about eight months a year. But even during this period there are slack times. Paddy is harvested by the end of December. From then till the end of February rabi crops and vegetables are cultivated. From February to June there is practically no work. As a result the productivity of labour is generally low, and there is much underemployment which can be lessened only by the introduction of a small village industry.

17. Soon after the harvest Chait Parab is celebrated. This festival is observed on a Wednesday in Chaitra when the pedda, the pujari, the wadde and all the cultivators of the village collect paddy and other grain. The pujari and the wadde store the grain for eight days in the temple of Gumatali, where it is sanctified by performing rituals and pujas. The



BULLOCK CART

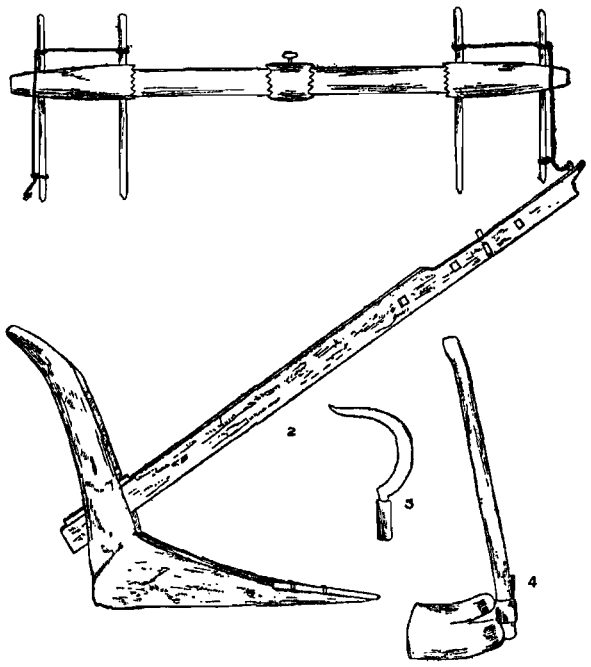
grain is then distributed among the cultivators, who mix their share with other grain.

18. There is another ceremony which is performed when paddy is sown.. After the field has been ploughed and set for sowing the farmers clear an area of about one square foot and cover it with cowdung. A circle is drawn in this area, and two horizontal and two vertical lines are marked with rice flour inside the circle. A handful of arua (uncooked rice) coloured with turmeric powder is piled on one side and another handful blackened with charcoal powder on the other. A chicken or an egg is next offered to the earth goddess to ensure a good crop. Paddy seed is broadcast soon after the ceremony.

19. The agricultural implements used by the Koyas are few. Some of them, like wooden ploughs and yokes, have been traditionally in use for generations. The farmers make them from Kusum, Jamun and Mahua wood, plentiful in the nearby forest. Another traditional implement, a wooden plank with projecting sticks, is used to smoothen the loose surface soil after sowing. Iron spades, axes, crowbars and sickles are also used. These are purchased at the weekly trade fairs in the village or in the neighbourhood.

Livestock

20. A Koya's wealth is judged by the number of cattle he owns. Most Koyas accordingly invest their money in livestock even though they may not be needed for cultivation. Besides cattle they rear sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, pigeons and ducks mainly for domestic consumption. Table II in the Appendix shows the number and distribution of livestock. Fortyone households own 378 bullocks, cows and buffaloes. Of this stock 109 are draught animals owned by 33 households and 32 are milch cows owned by 15. Cows and she-buffaloes are seldom milked because the Koyas traditionally believe, it is wrong to deprive calves of their legitimate food. This tradition is now dying out, and many cattle owners are selling milk to increase their earnings. Some of them also prepare ghee, which is sold. There is enough fodder for the village livestock in the neighbouring jungles.



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

1. Kandu 2. Ente 3. Badhia Kaseru 4. Gudad

Domesticated animals are taken there to graze, and in general they appear on this account healthier than their counterparts in other parts of Malkangiri.

Forest Products

21. The Koyas collect from the neighbouring forests not only timber, bamboo and thatch grass to construct dwellings, fencing for farm land and to fashion agricultural implements but also different types of roots, shoots, edible leaves, flowers, fruits, and honey, materials to make rope for productive and domestic purposes. Surplus products are sold. It is estimated that forest produce contributes about half the income of a Koya family.

Village Industries, Trade and Commerce

22. There are no village industries. The few agricultural wooden implements fabricated in the village are used by their makers in cultivation.

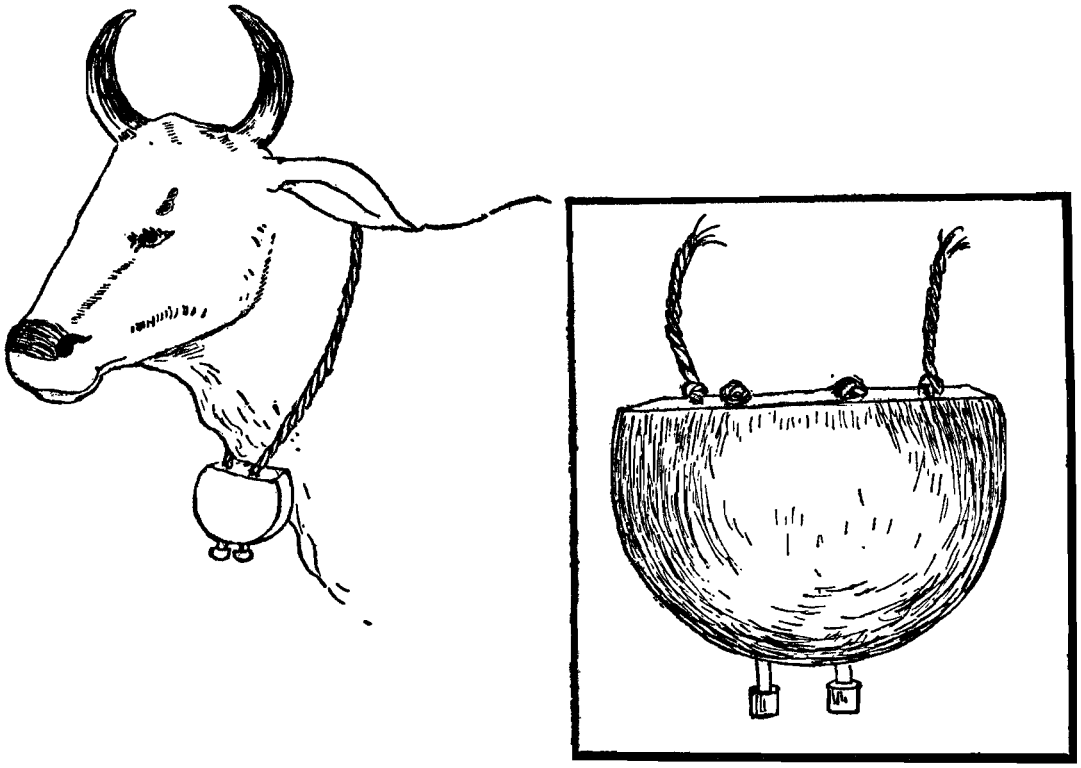
Marketing Facilities

23. There are no shops in Sikhapali. The villagers make their purchases and sell their produce at the fair held in it every Wednesday. Sometimes they go to Malkangiri, where the fair is on Tuesday. The weekly market in Sikhapali is held on open ground. When crops are harvested and brought to the market the attendance is usually large. Business is slack at other times especially during the rains. Traders from Malkangiri, Mathili and Jeypore come to the market with cloth, aluminium utensils, plastic and stone beads, mirrors, combs, fancy and utility goods, tobacco, salt, dried fish and sweets. The villagers offer them their surplus produce, mostly vegetables, pulses and chillies in small quantities. Fowls are brought to the market both for sale and to organise cockfights.

24. Metric weights and measures are not used. The standard unit of measurement is the mana, equal to three standard seers. Twenty manas make a puti. Paddy is measured in putis.

Income and Expenditure

25. Table III of the Appendix shows the distribution of village households according to



WOODEN BELL

occupation and income. It shows that the monthly income of 36 households is less than Rs. 25, of 19 households between Rs. 26 and Rs. 50, and of another 4 households between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75. The remaining 5 households earn between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 a month. The major occupation of families earning more than Rs. 50 a month is cultivation. Table IV of the Appendix shows the average monthly expenditure of the village households. The expenses of the lowest income group varies from Rs. 13 to Rs. 18, that of the next from Rs. 23 to Rs. 28, followed by Rs. 50 and Rs. 66 for the two top groups.

Indebtedness

26. Debts are generally incurred to meet marriage or funeral expenses or for everyday needs of the family. When a loan is taken a member of the family has to work as a gothi. Formerly even small boys served as gothis. Now this practice has been checked to a very large extent, mainly because of the Debt Bondage Regulation. Loans are mostly taken in kind as grain from the village moneylenders. These transactions are not supported by securities. They usually carry a high rate of interest, often exceeding 50 per cent a year.

27. At the time of this survey four Koya households and the Boipari household had incurred debts of Rs. 250 each, of which Rs. 40 was borrowed for funeral rites, Rs. 60 for meeting domestic requirements and Rs. 70 for business needs. These loans were obtained from well-to-do villagers, including the pedda.

Land Settlement History

28. The Orissa Estates Abolition Act was enacted in 1952. Before that the whole of Koraput district constituted the zamindari of the Maharaja of Jeypore. The land revenue of the village was collected by the zamindar's officials and paid to his estate. The system was called mustajhari and the functioning intermediary was known as the mustajhar. Generally the head of the village was appointed to this position, and in Sikhapali the pedda held it. He collected the entire revenue of the village in a single instalment and deposited it at Malkangiri thana. After the abolition of the estate the mustajhars functioned for some years, but today the cultivators pay their land dues directly to the revenue inspector.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

1. The average Koya family comprises husband, wife and unmarried children. The Koyas prefer to live independently instead of as a joint family. Only one Koya household in the village was living under the joint system at the time of the survey.

Inter-family Relations

2. Elderly members of a family are held in great respect by the younger ones. Though women enjoy equal social status they generally accept the guidance of the elderly males. In house work the daughters and daughters-in-law defer to the older female members of the household. Children are treated with affection. They have full freedom to play and move about the fields and jungles at will.

Inheritance

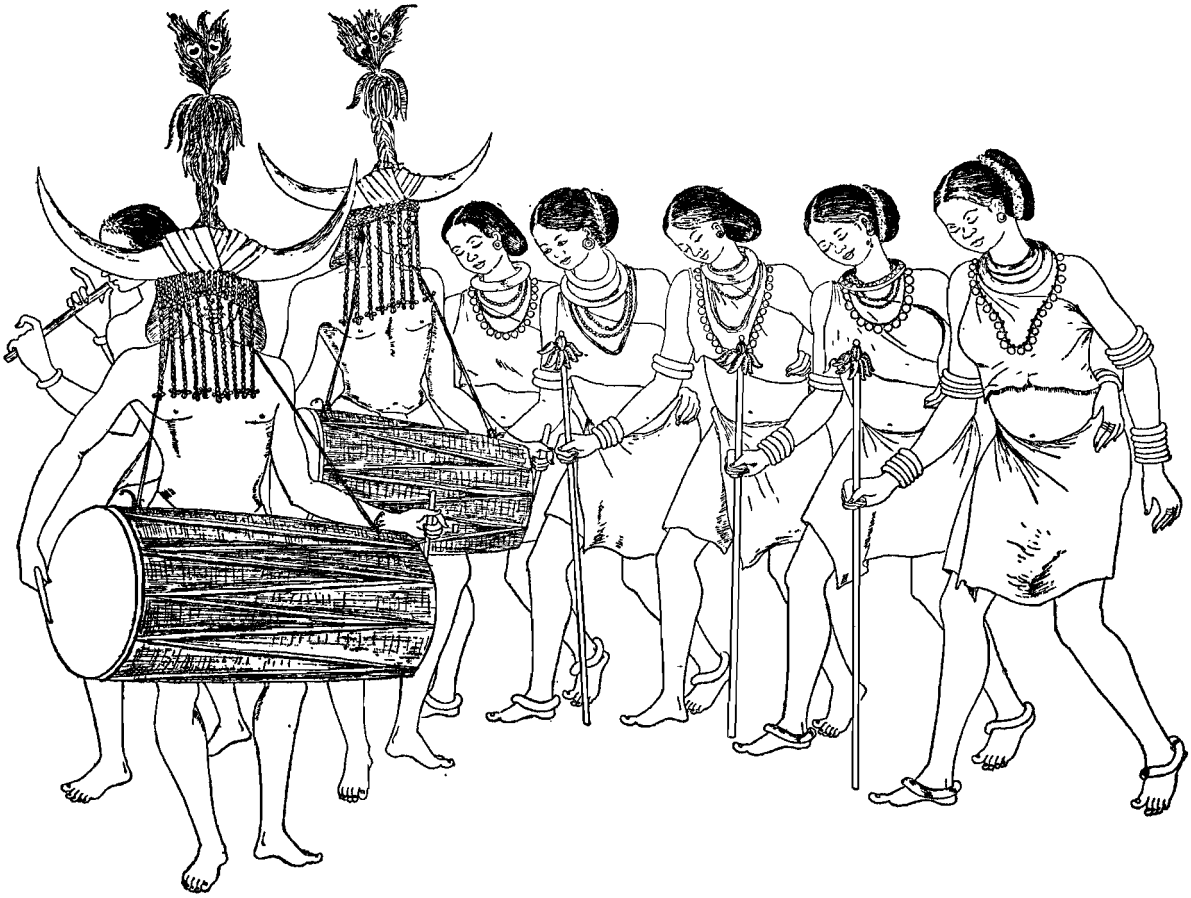
3. Although families related by blood live independently their immoveable property is held in common. The father or the head of the household generally does not allow division of landed property among the sons during his lifetime. The sons, therefore, work jointly in the fields and the crops are shared equally after harvest. Those needing more than they are entitled to are often given extra from the pool. After the death of the head of the family land and other property, both moveable and immoveable, are shared equally by the sons. The daughters inherit no part of the paternal property. If the only child happens to be a daughter her husband inherits the property of his father-in-law provided he resides in the village. The property of a person who dies without heirs is parcelled out among his brothers. There is no record in the village of anybody dying without a relative to claim his property.

4. Of the 64 families interviewed, 59 Koya households and the two Boipari and Gouda households were of the view that only sons should inherit property. The remaining three families could give no definite reply. Almost all the Koya families favoured the idea that the eldest son should inherit a larger share than the other sons. Only one family thought that daughters should share the inheritance equally with the sons. All 64 families were in favour of wives acquiring an interest in their husband's property only if they were childless and refrained from remarrying.

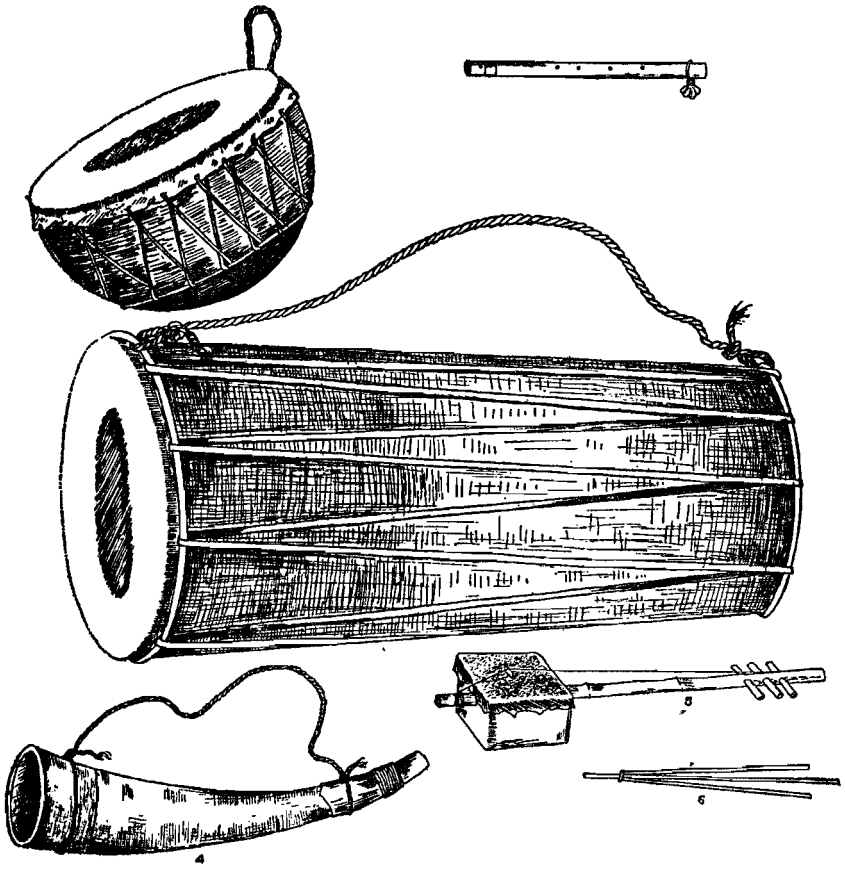
Leisure and Recreation

5. The Koya men are hardy but inclined to take life easy. When they have no work in the fields they either remain indoors or go hunting. Boys up to the age of 10 play jirits or hide and seek. Another popular game is farmer and hare, in which one boy is chosen to be the hare and another the farmer. The other participants sit in a circle representing the fence of a ragi field. The hare moves within the fence seemingly eating ragi, and the farmer moves outside shouting that his crop is being eaten away. To catch the hare the farmer circles several times and then climbs over the fence and chases it out. The hare jumps over the fence and tries to escape, but the farmer catches the hare and symbolically kills it. The game is repeated by others, who take turns to play the role of the hare and the farmer. The grown-ups watch the game and cheer the youngsters.

6. Among the grown-ups the most popular recreation is community dancing, in which all participate. A dance is announced by beat of drum, and at its sound all move to the open space where these performances are held. The women wear their usual clothes but put on head-dresses made of brass plates. They carry iron rods called gujidi, about four feet high, which give a tinkling sound when pounded on the ground. This enables them to maintain the rhythm of the dance. The men wear headgear of bison horn bedecked with peacock plumes and shells. Chains of shells hang down from the headgear and veil the faces of



KOYA DANCE



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1. Tudubudu Baja
2. Asar
3. Dhol
4. Akum
5. Kengod
6. Tendod

the wearers. With the horns they make stabbing gestures as bison do in fights. Some of the male dancers carry long wooden drums and bamboo flutes. But most of them carry sticks or fancy articles of wood. The women interlock their left hands and dance in couples while holding the iron rods in their right hands. They stand in an arc and move round and round. They put their right feet forward and retrace them while the march is kept up by the left. At times they bend slightly forward. The men move in front of the women and encircle them. The women sing in chorus during the dance. At marriages, when such community dances are performed, some women carry umbrellas instead of iron sticks.

7. In another dance men and women interlock their hands and move forward from the right in a zig-zag. They are led by a man or a woman and shout at regular intervals while drums and flutes provide music. These community dances are called *dhemsa nach.* The women take no active part in any other form of recreation. The young men and women sing melodious choruses while dancing. They often compose songs to suit the occasion. Some folk songs are given in the Appendix.

8. Cock fighting is another form of recreation popular in the cold season. Cocks are carefully bred for this purpose and cost about Rs. 20 each. It is customary to hold cock-fights on the weekly market days or at other specified times. These fights draw visitors from the neighbouring villages, some of whom bring birds to enter the contests.

9. A community radio set given to the grama panchayat is a source of recreation. Another favourite pastime is asking riddles. Though often repeated these riddles provide much amusement.

Religion and Religious Practices

10. The Koyas believe in one God, Deudu, who they think lives far beyond the skies. He is formless and is not worshipped ritualistically. The sun and the moon are considered the gods of Day and Night. The sun is worshipped with offerings of eggs at important festivals, but the moon is never worshipped. The earth is revered as a goddess and is worshipped when sites for new constructions are selected or seed sown.

11. The soul is believed to be immortal. The concept of rebirth runs through their religious faith. While they do not worship Hindu gods and goddesses they have faith in Lord Jagannath and Lord Siva. There are two places of worship in the village, one on the eastern side about a mile from the village, the other at the centre of the village itself. Both these places are dedicated to the worship of certain goddesses. The former is a thatched shed, about 12 feet long, 6 feet wide and 5 feet high. The deity worshipped is Gumatali, who has no form. She is worshipped twice a year, once in Magh after the harvest and again in Chaitra during the Chait festival. The other institution, called Matagudi, is a thatched square shed with a ground measurement of three feet and four feet high. The deity is called Mats. She is formless and is worshipped at Suan Parab celebrated in Kartik, at Chikudu Pandugu, the Bean Festival, in Pausha and at Chait Parab. Special offerings are made when there are epidemics.



VILLAGE DEITY

Beliefs

12. Untimely death of disease leads to reconstruction or change of dwellings. In

selecting a new site the village priest is consulted. The appropriate time for laying its foundation is determined by observing the movement of a star. The greater the distance of the star under observation from the moon the more auspicious the time to build the house.

13. During labour pains, silver coins issued in the reigns of Queen Victoria and King Edward VII are washed in a liquid in which a powder has been dissolved. This is drunk by the women in labour as a pain reliever. Similarly, when standing crops are infested with pests, a silver coin wrapped in cloth stained with turmeric and bound to a stick is placed in the field in the belief that it will act as a pesticide.

14. Belief in evil spirits is also widespread. The Koyas think that all disease is caused by evil spirits. The wadde is therefore asked to drive them away with his chantings. If the ailment is not cured even then it is believed that the spirit of an evil wadde is causing mischief. In such cases the life of the victim is left to chance.

15. If the traditional festivals, specially Chikudu Pandugu and Withulu Pandugu, are not observed in time and in accordance with accepted practice it is believed that a villager will be carried off by a tiger. If a person is killed by a tiger his soul is believed to follow the tiger and wander in the jungles. In death by drowning the soul is believed to stay under a tree near the bank of the river where death occurred and clean the grass and weeds in the river bed.

16. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are considered auspicious days and marriages and other functions are celebrated on these days. The month of Magh is held auspicious since most of the crops are harvested at this time. Marriages are performed in Chaitra, Baisakh and Jaistha.

17. Before setting out on long journeys a Koya goes to the pedda and asks his blessing. At the start of such a journey, particularly one in connection with marriage negotiations, the sight of a woman with a pot full of water on her head is considered very auspicious. Seeing a tiger or hearing a cock crow at such times is also considered a good omen. Snakes, peacocks or broken branches of a tree are on the other hand considered bad signs and the journey is therefore postponed.

Festivals and Community Worship

18. The Koyas observe five festivals yearly—Kurumi Pandugu, Chikudu Pandugu, Bijaya or Bimudu Pandugu, Marka Pandugu and Chait Parab. The Oriya name for the first named festival is Suan Parab. It is observed on an auspicious day in Kartik when fresh suan and early paddy are cooked and consumed. Grain is collected from each household and offered for worship the following morning at the Matagudi by the pujari. A fowl or an egg is also offered as a sacrifice and the grain is left at the temple till the festival is over. The festival is simple, and there is no music. Eating of fresh grain is forbidden before this festival.

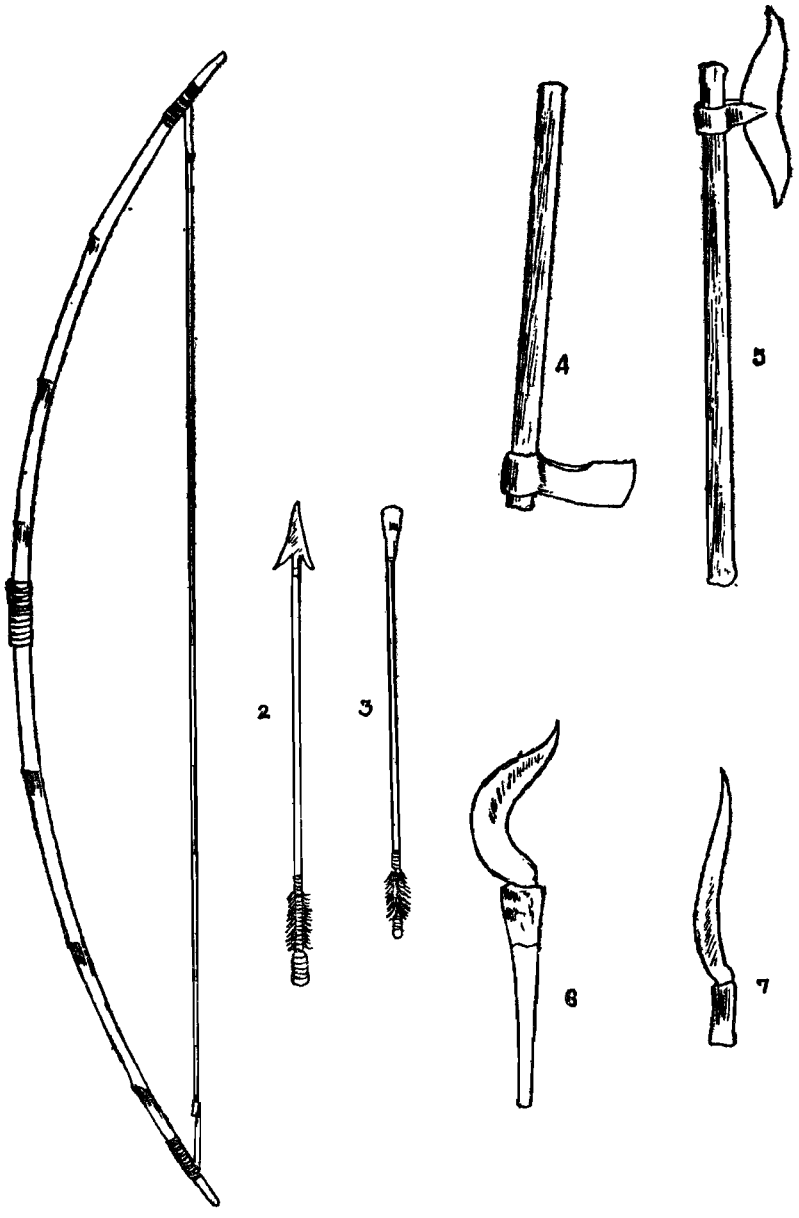
19. The festival of Chikudu Pandugu is held in Paush to celebrate the harvest of the bean crop. The pujari and the village elders visit the Matagudi temple and worship the deity by offering a chicken or an egg.

20. Bijaya Pandugu or Bimudu Pandugu is an important festival celebrated after the Magh crop is harvested. Each household carries some fresh paddy in a small leaf packet and pours it into a bamboo basket kept near the Gumatali. In addition each household brings a fowl, an egg or a goat, and offers it for sacrifice. The pujari and the pedda perform the rituals while the other villagers sit outside and watch. The observance continues till the following morning. Men and women wear new clothes and relatives are invited to attend. The festival is celebrated by drinking landa, dancing and singing.

21. Marka Pandugu is celebrated by eating mangoes. It is observed on a Wednesday in Chaitra. A pandal of green branches is erected in front of the shed of Gumatali and decorated with mango leaves. Each household brings mangoes, a chicken and two eggs for sacrifice. Some of them also bring goats and pigs. Before going to Gumatali, the pujari and some of the village elders sacrifice the chicken and offer coconuts and betelnuts to the goddess. At Gumatali the Pujari performs the necessary rituals and makes offerings. When worship is over the chickens are returned to their owners while the mangoes

are sliced and distributed to the gathering. This festival is followed by a special dinner in every household.

22. Chait Parab is the most important festival. It is celebrated towards the end of Chaitra when the Koyas are relatively free from agricultural operations. The festival also marks the end of the year. All types of grain are sanctified at this festival for sowing in the ensuing year. The celebrations, in which all the villagers participate, continue for eight days with much merriment. The men go hunting at dawn and return late in the evening with their bag. The women remain indoors and make merry with landa and dancing. The festival begins on a Wednesday in the period of bright moonlight in Chaitra. All the cultivators send seed in small bamboo baskets to the Gumatali where it is kept for



HUNTING WEAPONS

1. Wil 2. Kadu 3. Mita 4. Gade
5. Farasa 6. Erkemu 7. Kaseru

eight days or till the festival is over. The pujari sanctifies the seed in front of the shrine. Males, barring children and the infirm and old, are not allowed to stay at home during daytime while the festival is on. Both men and women, however, jointly celebrate the festival in the evening with drinking and dancing inside a pandal. Rice and mutton curry prepared the previous day are eaten in the morning. If game is available this is also added to the meal. On their return from the chase with full bags the men are warmly welcomed by the women. If on the other hand they come back emptyhanded they are jeered at, pushed and pulled about and treated as no better than women. At times stones and clods of earth are flung at them. This contemptuous treatment continues until the men are able to bring in some game on a subsequent expedition. If an animal is killed the men carry it on their shoulders and are greeted by the women at the entrance to the village. The carcass is taken round the village and is finally placed under the pandal in front of the Gumatali. The men drink and dance outside the pandal throughout the night. In the morning the meat is cooked and served to them with landa. On the first seven days of the festival the men are not allowed to return home till nightfall, but on the eighth day they may do so much earlier. After the festival the sanctified grain is taken back by its owners and mixed with other seed for sowing.

Village Organization

23. The village is administered through the usual official agencies. Revenue and general administration are looked after by the taluk and district headquarters, located at Malkangiri and Koraput respectively. Law and order are maintained by the police stationed at Malkangiri. Development activities are conducted through agencies of Panchayati Raj. The headquarters of the panchayat are located in the village itself. The panchayat samiti and zilla parishad headquarters are at Malkangiri and Koraput respectively.

24. Prior to integration of the Jeypore estate with the State of Orissa the zamindar of Jeypore was responsible for collecting land revenue. The village had traditional functionaries such as the pedda (headman), chinne pedda (deputy headman) and kotwal. These posts were hereditary. The pedda used to collect rents from the tenants and pay it to the zamindar after deducting his commission. Since the land had not been surveyed and the rents not fixed properly collection of revenue, rent settlement and evictions of tenants were made on the testimony of the headman. The headman therefore enjoyed much power and often used to employ it to his own advantage. After the estate was integrated revenue administration was taken over by the State, which has posted an inspector in the village for this purpose.

25. Under the zamindari system the pedda also acted as village spokesman. He used to assist the police by notifying them of crimes and helping them in the subsequent investigations. He was empowered to decide minor cases, both civil and criminal, and his decisions were generally obeyed. These functions of the pedda remain largely unchanged. Even now he decides minor disputes with the assistance of his deputies and a council of village elders. Though these posts and functions are not officially recognised, their holders enjoy the confidence and respect of the villagers.

26. The Koyas have three types of religious functionaries. The wadde and sira are sooth-sayers and exorcisers of evil spirits and the pujari is the village priest. The first two offices are not hereditary like the third. The persons chosen for the first two are supposed to be born with special qualities for these posts and are regarded as superior to ordinary people. The Koyas believe that those who have matted hair from childhood are destined to become waddes and siras. In some villages more than one sorcerer reside, but only the older experienced ones are honoured. In Sikhapali, however, there is only one wadde and one sira.

Statutory Panchayat

27. Sikhapali and 17 neighbouring villages were constituted into a panchayat in 1955. Two villagers have been elected to the panchayat and the pedda has been elected sarpanch. The village falls within the jurisdiction of the Malkangiri panchayat samiti. There is a Gramsevak at Sikhapali, and his main task is to create an interest among the villagers in

improved methods of agriculture. Besides a grant for building and maintaining the village roads the government has sanctioned the panchayat Rs. 2,000 from tribal and rural welfare funds to buy paddy to lend to cultivators. Excepting for road maintenance the panchayat has so far not undertaken any development work because funds are lacking. Since the members of the panchayat are not educated they prefer not to get involved in the complicated procedures of accounting and keeping records of the expenditure of Government funds. For this reason the construction of a water tank and of improved dwellings under the Government's subsidised housing scheme had to be executed through private contractors.

28. Of the households interviewed 52 reported that the establishment of a statutory panchayat had brought about improvements in communications and transport. Fifty-one reported that it had contributed to the improvement of agriculture, and only five felt that the main improvement has been in fish breeding.

Voluntary Organizations

29. There are no voluntary organizations in the village. Youth clubs, a mahila samiti and a children's club, which are normally organized in a community development block, are not found in Sikhapali. There are, however, two dormitories for young unmarried villagers and one of them is used for sleeping by males and the other by females. The two dormitories are about a furlong apart. The dormitories are social necessities and are maintained with the sanction and support of the village elders.

Co-operation

30. A co-operative grain golla society functions at the panchayat level. A large number of farmers are members of it and among the advantages they derive from membership are loans of paddy for eating as well as sowing.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL

Education

1. The first school in the village came into being in 1955. It is a sevashram institution of the primary grade run by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department of the Orissa Government. The number of pupils was 45 in 1955. At the time of this survey the number was 43, but figures of attendance were much below the number on the roll.

2. In spite of the best efforts of the sevaks and social workers there has not been much progress in persuading parents to send their children to school regularly. Free midday meals, besides free supply of uniforms as well as of reading and writing materials, have also been of no avail, chiefly because the parents prefer their children to help them in the fields or to look after their small brothers and sisters at home. Another important factor is that the medium of teaching, Oriya, is not understood by the village children.

Health and Sanitation

3. Normal facilities for proper sanitation do not exist. There is neither a sewage system nor a piped supply of drinking water. The houses, with the exception of the improved type built by the Government, are not properly ventilated. Cattle are tethered in front of the houses. Clothes and utensils are washed in the same pond which provides drinking water. Insufficient attention is paid to personal cleanliness and diseases, particularly of the skin, are common. Efforts are, however, being made to control skin disease. Injections are administered free of cost to sufferers by Government doctors. At the time of the survey none of the villagers were found to be suffering from yaws, once very frequent. Smallpox, malaria and influenza are, however, still common both in the village and its neighbouring areas.

4. The Koyas generally do not believe in medical treatment for yaws and smallpox. Government campaigns to induce them to accept such treatment has had mixed results. While they take medicine for yaws they still believe that smallpox is the result of heavenly displeasure, and the village deity is therefore worshipped for a cure. Medicine for common ailments such as fever, headache and boils are obtained from hospital at Malkangiri, usually on the weekly market days. For these ailments the Koyas also use herbal medicines. Indigenous methods of treatment which are less expensive than allopathic drugs, are still popular.

5. The treatment for fever, called edic in the Koya dialect, includes drinking tamarind water boiled with plenty of chilly powder. A paste prepared from garlic and mushrooms growing on kendu trees is another specific for this ailment. A paste prescribed for headaches is prepared from garlic and palumada roots and applied on the forehead. Wild brinjal roots are given for stomachache. In acute cases a vein near the stomach is opened by biting through it and is allowed to bleed. This operation calls for experience, and the person who performs it sucks blood from the wound. This is said to give instant relief.

6. For toothache the sufferer is generally told to smoke a cigar made of kendu leaves. The inside of the cigar is filled with a powder made of these leaves and the roots of the matei plant. Cuts and stab injuries are treated with a paste prepared from lime, common salt and the roots of a herb called ekal mada. The paste is kept on the wound till it heals. There are no village remedies for dysentery, diar-

rhoea and smallpox, but the pujari is invited to appease the spirits believed to be responsible for the outbreak of the diseases. He burns resin in a clay cup in front of the patient and chants a *mantra* in the local dialect. The goddess is invoked with the chanting of "O, Mother, I will offer incense, milk, jaggery, smoke (bidis), coconuts, betel-nuts to you and will collect new thatch grass for your temple if the patient is cured. So I pray you leave the village." The body of the patient is then brushed with peacock feathers several times. The pujari thereafter worships at the Matagudi with incense and sprinkles water on the patient with bael leaves.

7. The Koyas believe that spirits cause diseases if they are not periodically propitiated. They also believe that waddes and siras can bring on illness with the aid of malevolent spirits to take revenge on those who offend them. In such cases a wadde is invited to perform the necessary rituals. He sits on a low wooden stool in front of the patient, unlocks his matted hair and chants *mantras* to drive away the evil spirit. While he demonstrates his power to expel the spirit if it disobeys his orders he tries at the time not to displease it. Hence, he promises a fowl, egg and some landa to the spirit if it agrees to leave the patient. At times the wadde bites the affected part of the patient and removes objects like dead insects, hair, grain, and such other materials which are supposed to have been injected into his body by the spirits. When the patient recovers the promised offerings are made to the spirits and the local deities. Some waddes have outhouses to accommodate patients. If the illness is protracted the patient and his relatives are allowed to stay in it for a month or two. If the wadde fails to effect a cure another is called in to handle the case, and this process continues till either the patient recovers or dies.

Family Planning

8. The majority of the households interviewed reported against family planning. An agewise classification of the attitude of married men to family planning is given in the following table.

Table 7

ATTITUDE OF MARRIED MEN TO FAMILY PLANNING

Age (Yrs)	In favour	Against
Below 20	—	4
21—30	3	22
31—40	9	5
41—50	10	1
Above 50	4	—
Total	26	32

9. Among the women interviewed 32 between the ages of 16 and 40 wanted more children while 26 between 21 and 40 or above were against any increase in the size of their families. It was also observed that the higher the income of the household the less its desire for a larger family.

Social Consciousness

10. The villagers were in general found to be unaware of events outside their immediate surroundings. They were not aware of the social and other legislation passed by the State Government to improve their lot. That untouchability and the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages were offences was largely unknown to them. The existence of the community development block was known only to 34 villagers, of whom only four thought the agency of some use to them. So far as the panchayat is concerned, 40 of the households interviewed reported that it was a tax collecting agency; 31 thought it an agency to settle village disputes; 10 an agency to provide better communications, supply drinking water and irrigation facilities, and 6 to look after educational needs. The rest of the households considered it an agency to provide recreation to the villagers.

11. Social legislation relating to succession and inheritance have made no impact. The villagers follow their own customs and rules of conduct. The only change noticeable in recent years is that the women dress differently. The men too are gradually changing their dress. Their eating habits have also changed somewhat in the sense that urban products are slowly but steadily finding a place among their foodstuffs.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TABLES

Table I

SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF HOUSEHOLDS

Caste/Community	Total No. of Households	Number of households settled				
		Earlier than 5 generations	Between 5 to 4 generations	Between 3 to 2 generations	1 generation ago	Present generation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Koya	62	21	18	9	4	10
Boipari (Banjara)	1	—	—	—	—	1
Gouda	1	—	—	—	—	1
Total	64	21	18	9	4	12

Table II

LIVESTOCK

Caste/ Community	Cows, Bullocks and Buffaloes		Draught animals		Milch cows & Buffaloes		Goats and sheep		Pig		Fowl		Others	
	No. of house-holds owning	No. of live-stock	No. of house-holds owning	No. of live-stock	No. of house-holds owning	No. of live-stock	No. of house-holds owning	No. of live-stock	No. of house-holds owning	No. of live-stock	No. of house-holds owning	No. of live-stock	No. of house-holds owning	No. of live-stock
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Koya	40	372	33	109	15	32	29	90	34	75	27	42	9	15 (Ducks)
Boipari (Banjara)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gouda	1	6	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	2	1	4	—	—
Total	41	378	33	109	15	32	30	92	35	77	28	46	9	15

Table III

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY OCCUPATION-GROUPS

Occupation	Number of households in the monthly income groups of				
	Rs. 0—Rs. 25	Rs. 26—Rs. 50	Rs. 51—Rs. 75	Rs. 76—Rs. 100	Rs. 101 & above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Cultivation	28	16	4	5	—
Agricultural labour	7	3	—	—	—
Trade	1	—	—	—	—
Total	36	19	4	5	—

Table IV

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME-GROUP AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Income-groups														
	Rs. 0—Rs. 25			Rs. 26—Rs. 50			Rs. 51—Rs. 75			Rs. 76—Rs. 100			Rs. 101 and above		
	No. of households	Expenditure		No. of households	Expenditure		No. of households	Expenditure		No. of households	Expenditure		No. of households	Expenditure	
		Food	Others		Food	Others		Food	Others		Food	Others		Food	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Cultivation	28	13·00	2·00	16	25·00	3·00	4	45·00	5·00	5	59·00	7·00	—	—	—
Agricultural labour	7	12·00	1·00	3	21·00	2·00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trade	1	11·00	7·00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

APPENDIX II

KOYA FOLK SONGS

(a) NIMA INGA NIMALE
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

KAMALA WAYO NUNI
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

DAYA INGA DAYALE DAYLE NUNI
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

MANU KARMAME LOLE NUNI
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

PIDE TUMUDI GAMDO NUNI
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

GAMADENJO MINDELE NUNI
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

DATA INDE DATULE NUNI
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

PURMAL EKAM NUNI
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

EKAM TADE AYO NUNI
NUNILO WAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NIMALE.

In this song the maidens bemoan their ill fate being uncared for by their lovers. They say, "Let us sing melodious songs till our throats get soar. But who take notice of us ? Even beautiful and sweet fruits like oranges get rotten. So is our fate. Who cares to enjoy us ? There the young dandies are ; let us hurry up to dance around them and create noise like falling ripe 'kendu' fruits. Let us arrest their attention by trotting around them like peahens. We cannot delay, we pine for their caresses".

(b) NIMA INGA NIMA
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

KADEL UNDU KADO MAMA MELA
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

BESI KORA DENSU
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

RUNGA KALU MUTOLO
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

MUTOLO TORANJIWA
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

ASU PITE ASSAM
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

ASSAM ONJU WABELA
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

PIDI TUMORI GOMODE
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

PO YANJU KORKU BUDU
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

GUTATA DOYA ILE
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

GUDAT GUNDO ILE
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

GOTH KORU ILE
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

KUDUMAL MEKA ILE
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

MANDAT POTUL ILE
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

KOSU GULLA KODUMA
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

KUDUMA SIMA ANTA
O YAYO WAYA WAI
NIMA WAYA NUNI.

Here, a lover intending to go to Assam exhorts his beloved to follow him. He says, "We are facing bad days. Let us go to Assam and change our lot. It is a beautiful country with pleasant climate. We will travel in vehicles, which travel as fast as a stone thrown into the air. We will earn there enough and return home in plenty". His beloved disagrees and says, "You are as stupid as a hen. The small house is practically empty. There is no bullock. The pig sty is empty. There is neither a fowl nor a goat. Above all, there is none to look after the house. I cannot go".

(c) NUNILE YAYO NUNI, NUNILE YAYO NUNI

KORU LE GANDARU LE
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

MIRIAM MIRIAM MAMPULA KAMAK
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

DATALLI DATALU ANWAL
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

MANA LINGA MANA LINGA MANA
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

BESIKARA BESIKARA DESAM
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

TOTU KARA TOTU KARI PUSIR
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

PUSIR KICHA PUSIR KICHA JIBALE
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

POROSA KONDA POROSA KONDA RAIL
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

RAIL TARA RAIL TARA JIWA
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

GILI TOKA GILI TOKA ARR
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

ERA POSE ERA POSE ANELA
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

AL-LA-LA UL-LU-LU
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

DAYA INGA DAYA INGA
NUNILE YAYO NUNI
NIMA INGA NUNI.

This is one of the marriage songs in which the maiden friends of the bride, after their arrival in the village of the bridegroom for the wedding, jokingly threaten the young men of the village saying that they would return to their village with the bride. The maidens allege, "That these young men would give us nothing but chillies, tamarind and turmeric to eat with food, as they are so miserly, that they won't even purchase garlic and onion. The jungles in our village are replete with trees bearing edible fruits and flowers. Let us be back home to pluck varieties of tender green leaves and prepare delicious curry. The Railway line looks beautiful. The train moves like a centipede. Let us go home by train. No, Let us not delay any more; Let us go! Let us go!"