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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME II

ANDHRA PRADESH

PART VI - VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

SERIAL No. 42

A MONOGRAPH

ON

LAINDIGUDA

(UTNUR TALUK, ADILABAD DISTRICT)

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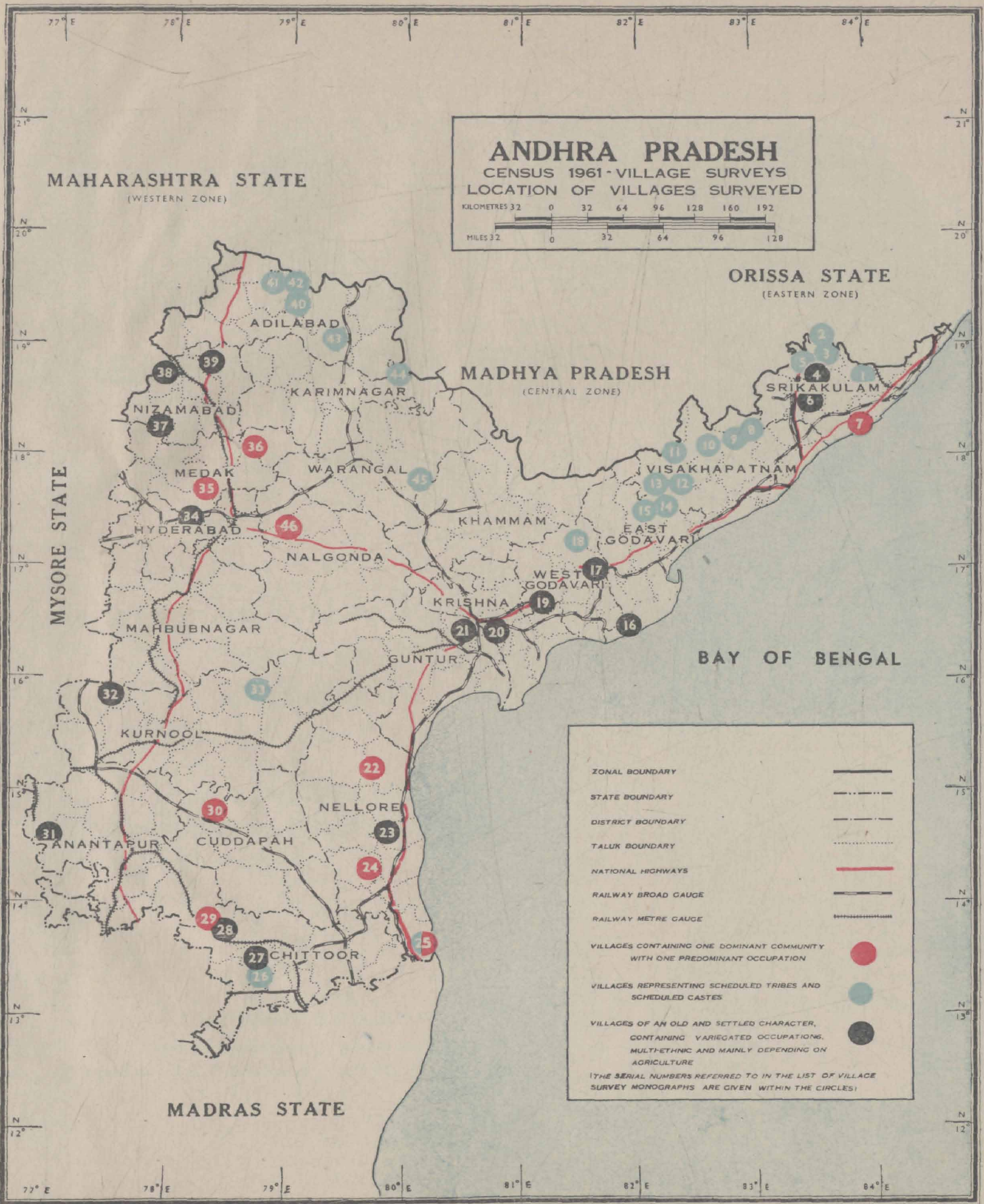
CENSUS OF INDIA 1961—VOLUME II-PART VI-LIST OF VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS—ANDHRA PRADESH

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

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



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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition.

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

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

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

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

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve : to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in Appendix III to Kotha Armur village monograph (Sl. No. 39).

NEW DELHI,
July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA,
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

In the Foreword, the Registrar General, India has kindly explained the scope and philosophy of the Village Surveys taken up as one of the important ancillary studies to the 1961 Census.

In this state 46 villages were selected for the survey, of which 9 villages fell under the category of villages each with one dominant community with one predominant occupation, 21 villages representing Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes (17 villages with Scheduled Tribes, 3 villages with Tribes not Scheduled, *viz*, Samanthus, Koya Dhoras and Mathuras, and 1 village with a Scheduled Caste, Dombs) and 16 villages were villages of fair size of an old and well settled character containing variegated occupations and multi-ethnic in composition. The village Laindiguda (No. 42 in the State Map before the Inner Title page gives the location of the village) covered by the present monograph falls under the second category, representing the Scheduled Tribe, Kolams.

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

In this State, we started off with our Village Surveys according to the original scheme of things, under which it was expected that one Investigator should be able to cover a village in about a week or 10 days' time. Naturally a very simple skeleton schedule was adopted under which mainly the social and religious customs and habits were studied in a general sort of way. We covered quite a few villages under this old scheme and the present village of Laindiguda covered by this monograph was one such village surveyed in 1961 itself canvassing this old skeleton schedules, a set of which is given as Appendix II to the Monograph No. 45, Mattewada village. As explained in the Foreword, the scope of the survey went on expanding and ulti mately on the basis of the conclusions arrived at the Study Camp held in New Delhi in December 1961, a very detailed set of Village Survey Schedules was drawn up. When we started canvassing this formidable set of schedules, we found that an Investigator was not able to cover more than one household per day. The progress was painfully slow. Even putting extra Investigators, it took several weeks to cover a village completely. As several villages had already been covered by the time the scope of Survey was enlarged we were able to cover only a limited number of villages canvassing this set of larger schedules which is given as Appendix III to the Monograph No. 39 Kotha Armur village. An attempt, however, was made to resurvey a few of the villages already covered so as to bring them under the new method. Fortunately, Laindiguda is one such resurveyed village. But the limitation of time made it difficult to resurvey all the rest as proposed. Therefore, the village survey monographs presented for this State will show two distinct patterns—one as covered under the old method and the other under the new expanded method giving very much more detailed statistical information.

Certain limitations to our efforts to achieve this ambitious task may have to be recognised. While the Investigators who were put on the job of canvassing the schedules were not specialists in any particular field, they were carefully chosen for their academic qualifications, experience in Community Development Organisation or their ability and aptitude to move closely with the rural and tribal-folk, to find out facts and record truthfully the first hand information. It is open to the specialists in a particular field to scan the material presented here and formulate their own hypotheses for further refined investigation.

The present monograph deals with Laindiguda, a tribal village in the pathless jungles of Utnur Taluk of Adilabad District. It is predominantly inhabited by Kolams, a Scheduled Tribe. Besides Kolams, Gonds (S.T.), Lohar and Muslims are also found in this village. The two tribes are practising settled agriculture leaving behind their traditional occupation, *kondapodu*. Both the tribals have got their own dialects and they also speak Telugu fluently. With the introduction of Panchayati Raj, old systems are giving place to new systems. Kolams are a conservative type of people and it is very difficult to change them. The study of Laindiguda village brings out a significant fact that tribals are not individualistic as that of plains; inter and intra-tribal relations are still playing an important role in the lives of the people.

This village was first surveyed by Sarvasri V. D. Chary and A. R. K. Murthy in April 1961. Later in May 1964 this village was resurveyed by canvassing the enlarged schedule by Sarvasri V. D. Chary, M. V. S. Rai and Ch. Purnachandra Rao, Economic Investigators of my office. First draft of the report was prepared by Sri V. D. Chary. The shaping of the report was attended to by an efficient team of my office led by the Tabulation Officer, Sri P. Pattayya and the Statistical-*cum*-Research Assistant, Sri G. Prakash Reddy, under the able supervision and guidance of the Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Sri K. V. N. Gowd. The preparation of Tables was supervised by Sri A. Chandrasekhara Reddy, Statistical Assistant. The credit for line drawings, maps, etc., goes to Sri M. Krishna Swamy, the Artist. The printing was supervised by Sri S. K. V. Gupta, Senior Proof Reader.

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR,

Superintendent of Census Operations,
Andhra Pradesh

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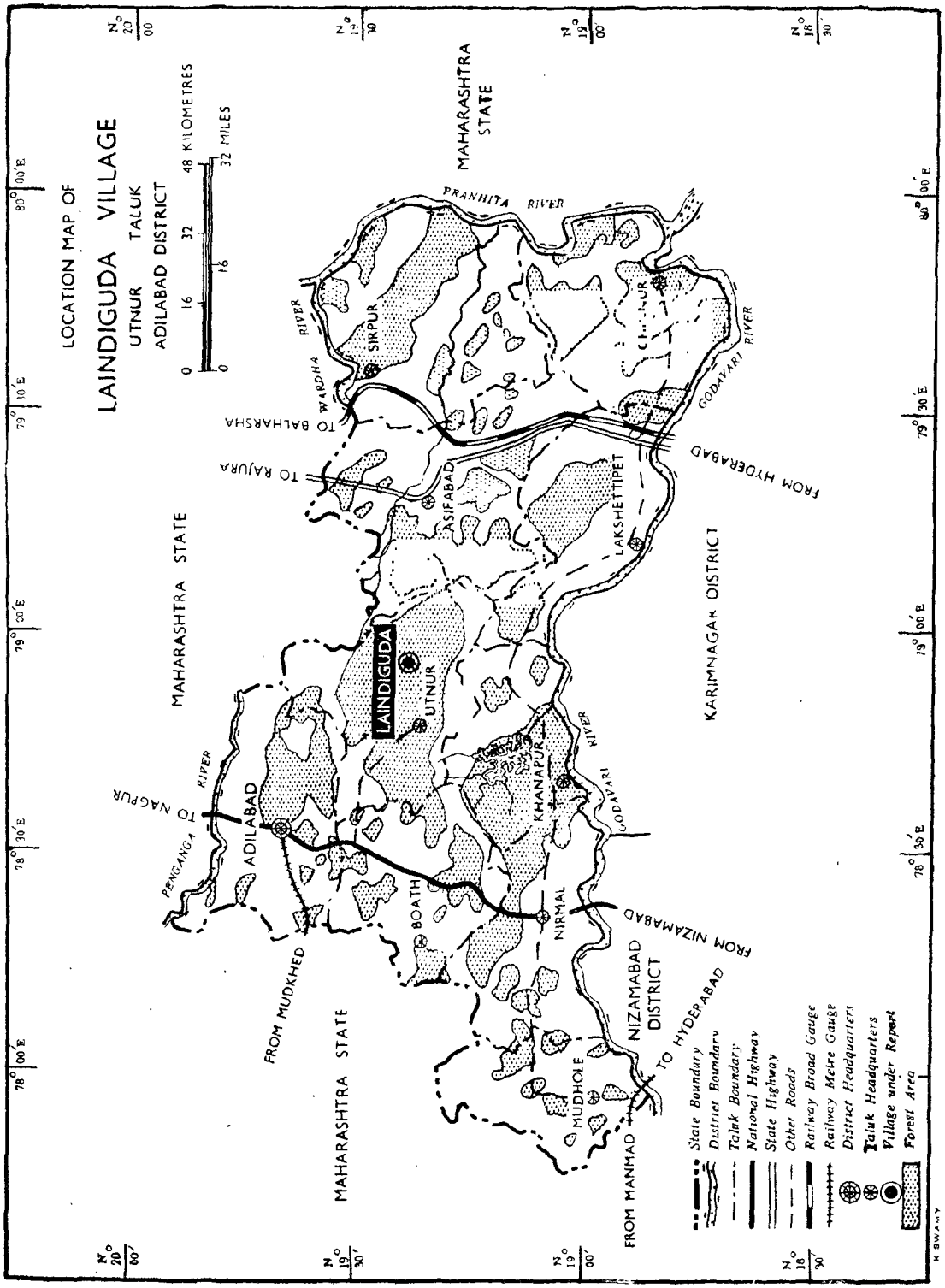
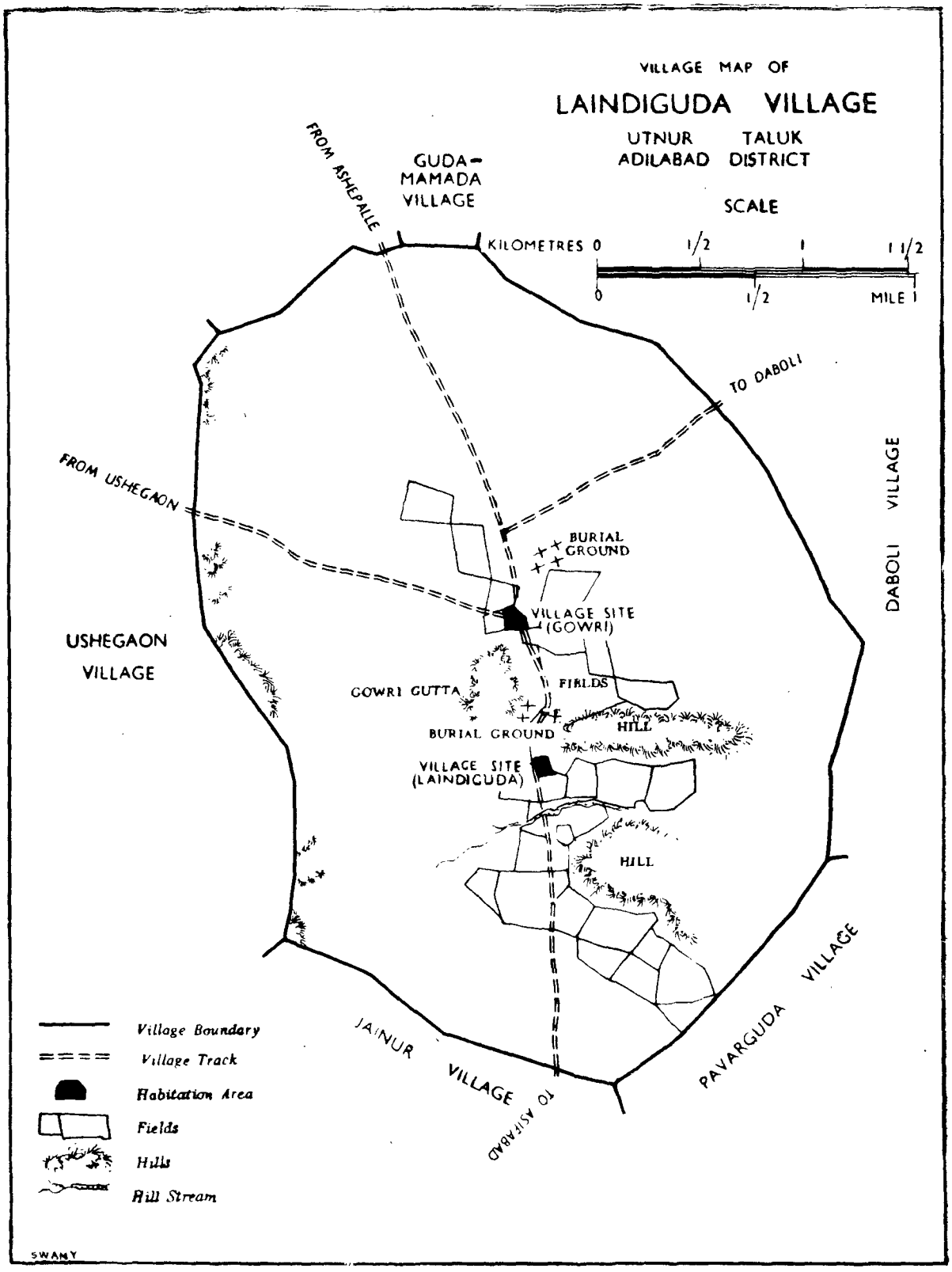
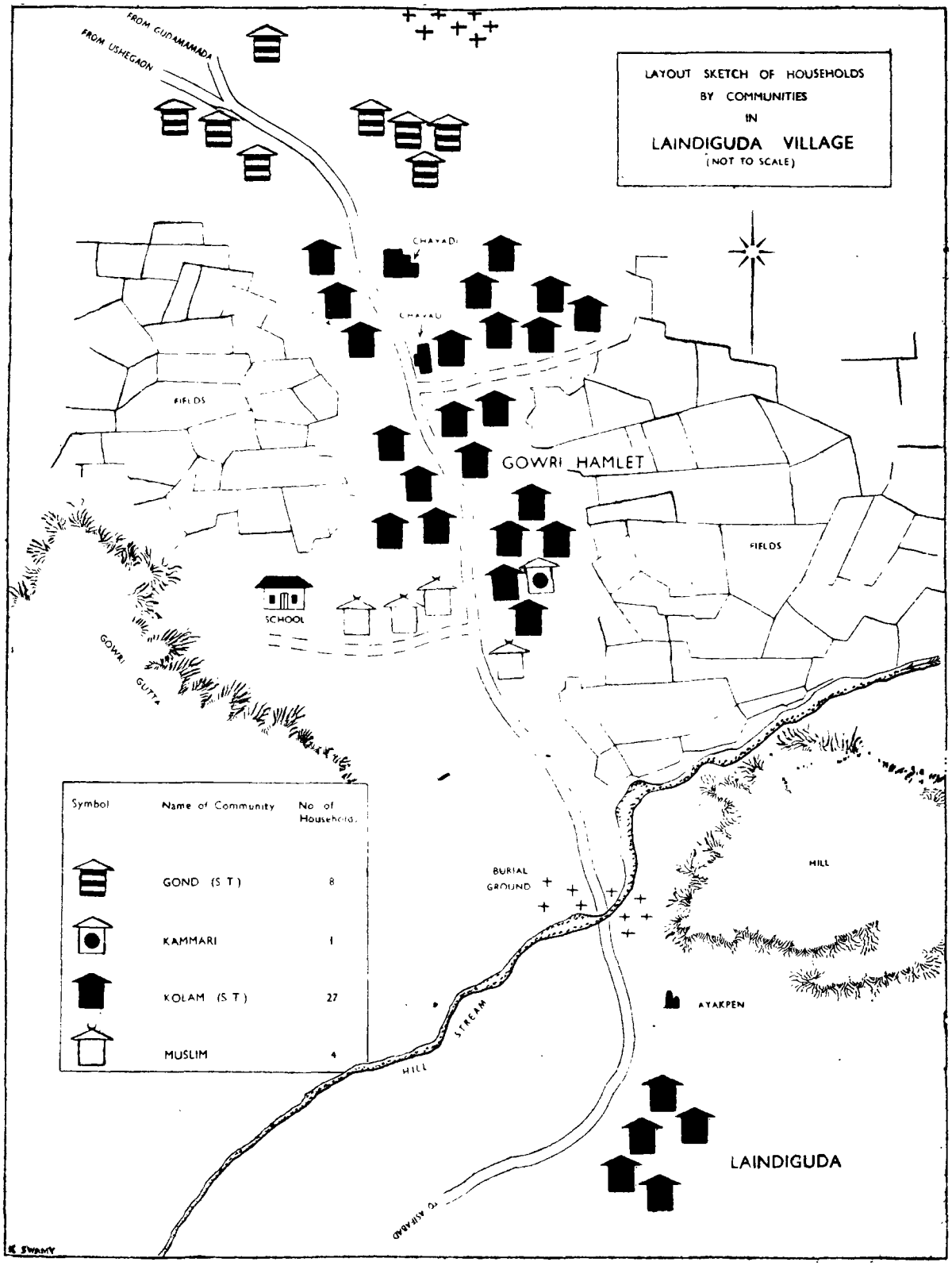
MAP I


LOCATION MAP OF
LAINDIGUDA VILLAGE
UTNUR TALUK
ADILABAD DISTRICT
0 16 32 48 KILOMETRES
0 16 32 MILES
MAHARASHTRA STATE
PRANHITA RIVER
WARDHA RIVER
SIRPUR
TO BALHARSHA
TO RAJURA
ASIFABAD
LAKSHETTIPET
FROM HYDERABAD
GODAVARI RIVER
KARIMNAGAR DISTRICT
LAINDIGUDA
UTNUR
ADILABAD
PENGANGA RIVER
TO NAGPUR
KHANAPUR
PENGANGA RIVER
GODAVARI RIVER
BOATH
NIRMAL
FROM NIZAMABAD
FROM MUDKHED
MAHARASHTRA STATE
MUDHOLE
NIZAMABAD DISTRICT
TO HYDERABAD
FROM MANMAD
State Boundary
District Boundary
Taluk Boundary
National Highway
State Highway
Other Roads
Railway Broad Gauge
Railway Metre Gauge
District Headquarters
Taluk Headquarters
Village under Report
Forest Area
K SWAMY

MAP II


VILLAGE MAP OF
LAINDIGUDA VILLAGE
UTNUR TALUK
ADILABAD DISTRICT
SCALE
KILOMETRES 0 1/2 1 1 1/2
0 1/2 MILE 1
FROM ASHEPALLE
GUDA-MAMADA VILLAGE
TO DABOLI
FROM USHEGAON
DABOLI VILLAGE
BURIAL GROUND
VILLAGE SITE (GOWRI)
USHEGAON VILLAGE
GOWRI GUTTA
FIELDS
HILL
BURIAL GROUND
VILLAGE SITE (LAINDIGUDA)
HILL
JAINUR VILLAGE
TO ASIFABAD
PAVARGUDA VILLAGE
Village Boundary
Village Track
Habitation Area
Fields
Hills
Hill Stream
SWAMY

MAP III


LAYOUT SKETCH OF HOUSEHOLDS
BY COMMUNITIES
IN
LAINDIGUDA VILLAGE
(NOT TO SCALE)
FROM GUDAMAMADA
FROM USHEGAON
CHAVADI
CHAVADI
FIELDS
GOWRI HAMLET
FIELDS
SCHOOL
GOWRI GUTTA
BURIAL GROUND
HILL
AYAKPEN
HILL STREAM
LAINDIGUDA
TO ASIFABAD
Symbol
Name of Community
No of Households
GOND (S T) 8
KAMMARI 1
KOLAM (S T) 27
MUSLIM 4
K SWAMY

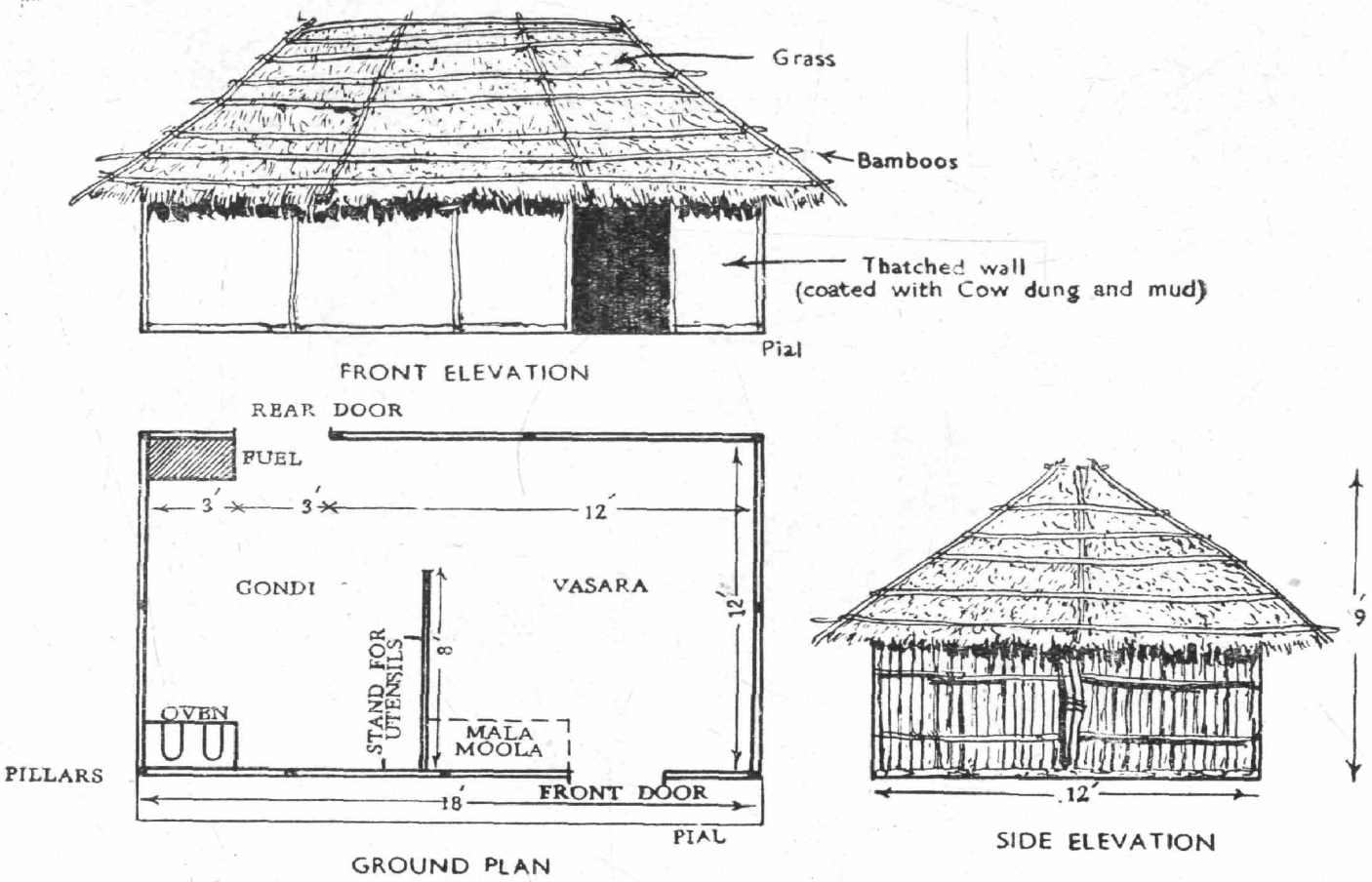


Fig. 1 Ground plan, front and side elevation of a typical house (*Chapter II—Para* 42)

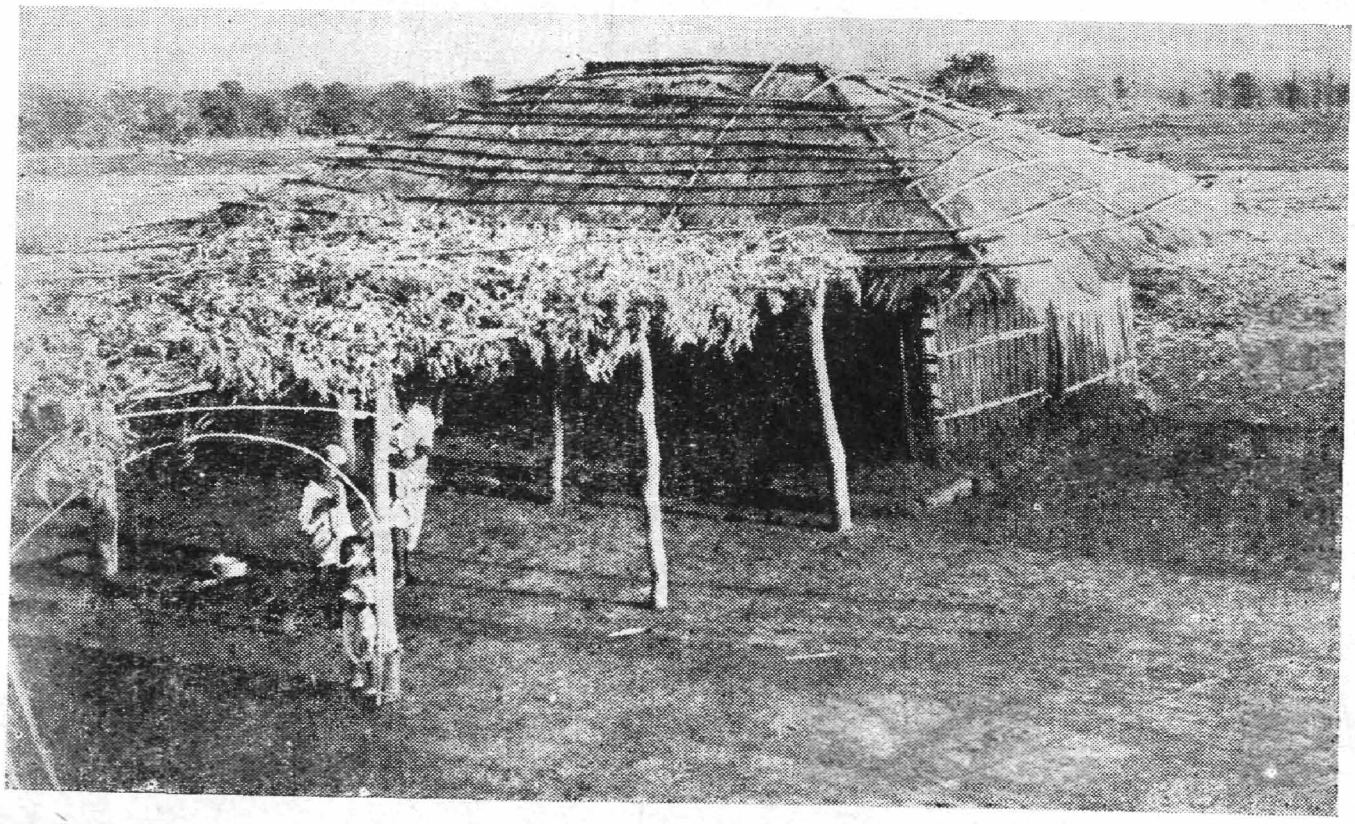


Fig. 2 A typical Kolam house (*Chapter II—Para* 32)

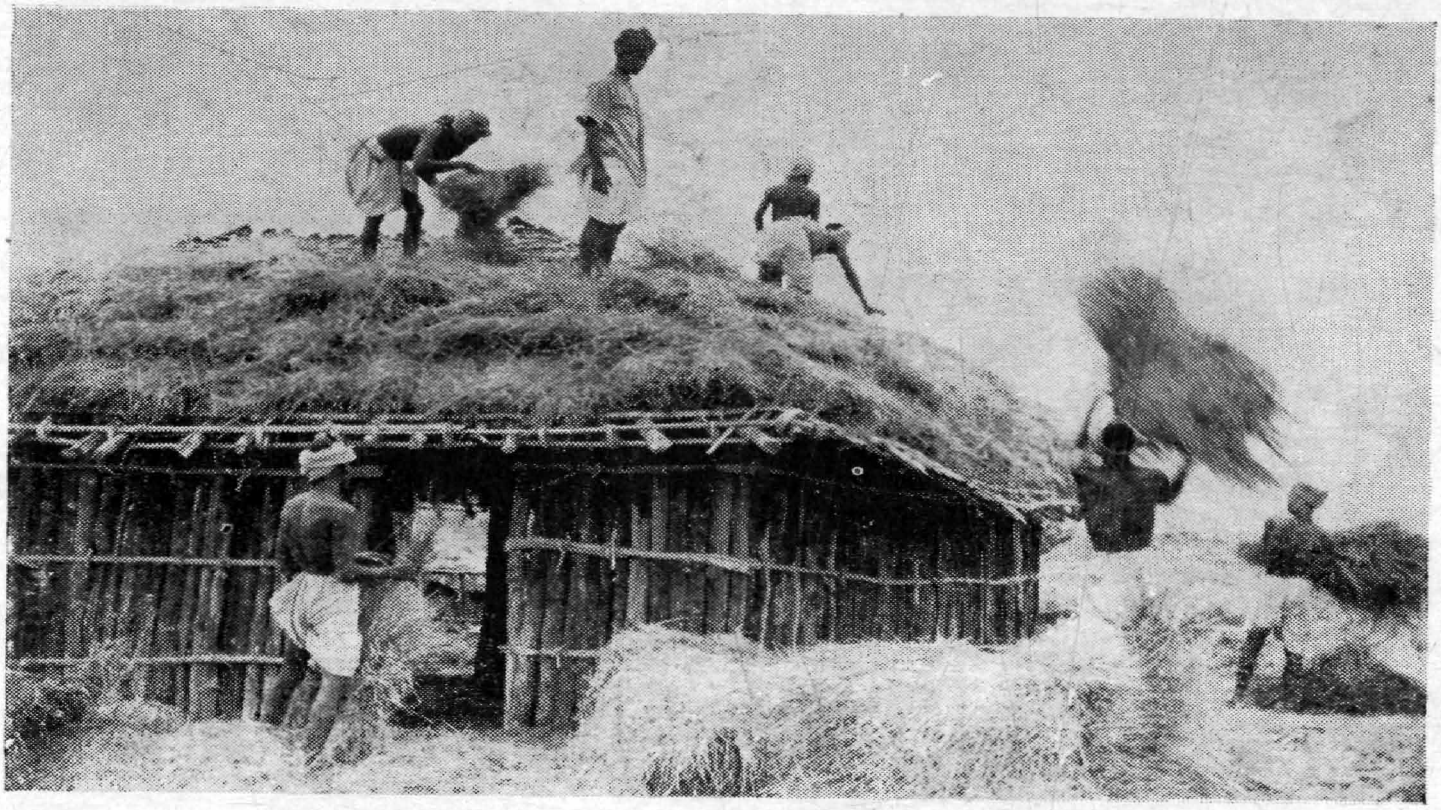


Fig. 3 Thatching the roof—Community help in operation (*Chapter II—Para* 36)

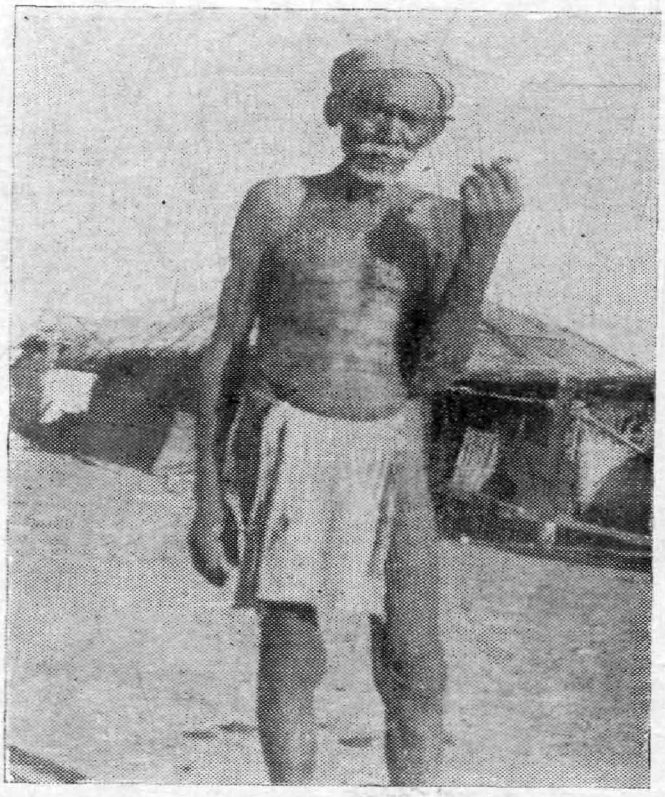


Fig. 4 A Kolam of the old type (*Chapter II—Para* 43)



Fig. 5 Kolams with their usual dress and head gear (*Chapter II—Para* 43)



Fig. 6 Hair style and ornaments of ear and nose (*Chapter II—Paras* 47 *to* 49 & 51)



Fig. 7 Dress and ornaments of neck and hands (*Chapter II—Paras* 45, 47 & 48)



Fig. 8 Domestic utensils (*Chapter II—Para* 52)

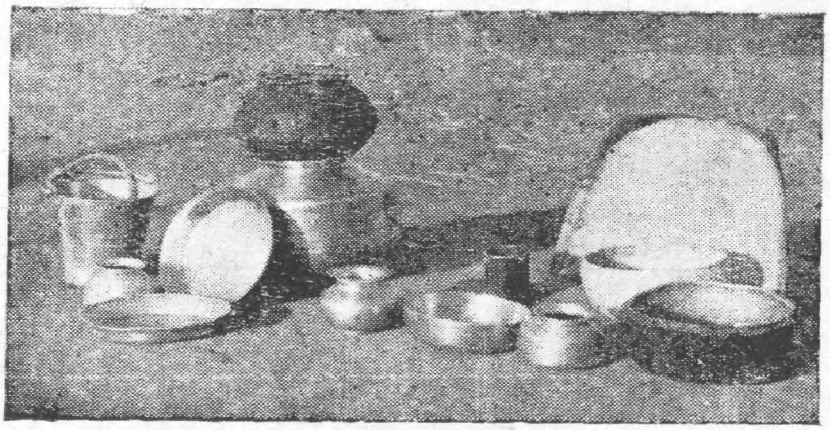


Fig. 9 Domestic utensils (*Chapter II—Para* 52)



Fig. 10 Proud of her youth—A young Kolam woman wearing saree in the traditional way (*Chapter II—Para* 45)



Fig. 11 Young newly married Kolam couple



Fig. 12 A Kolam woman working in the field in hot sun (*Chapter IV—Para* 34)

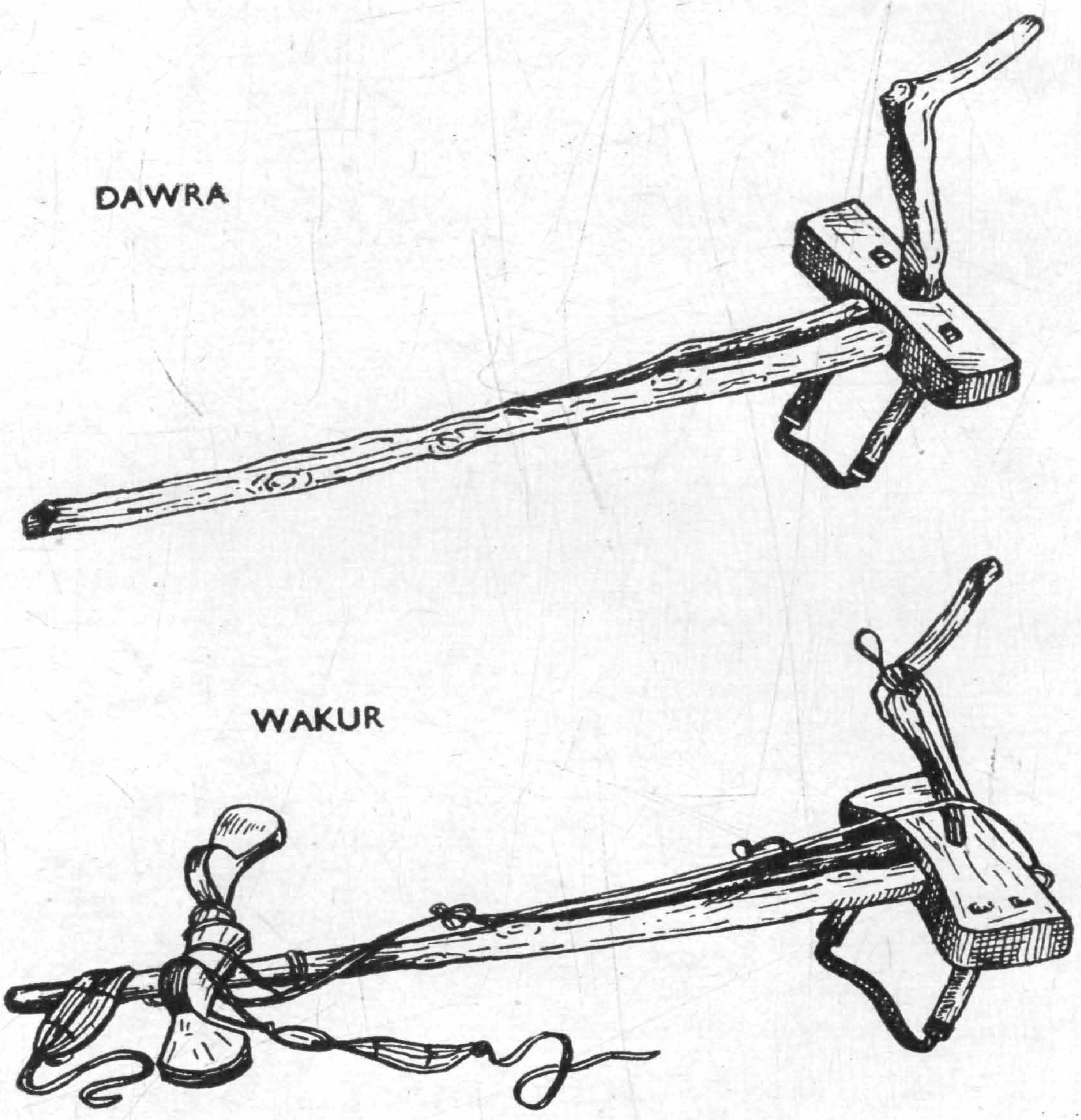


Fig. 13 Agricultural implements (*Chapter IV—Para* 34)

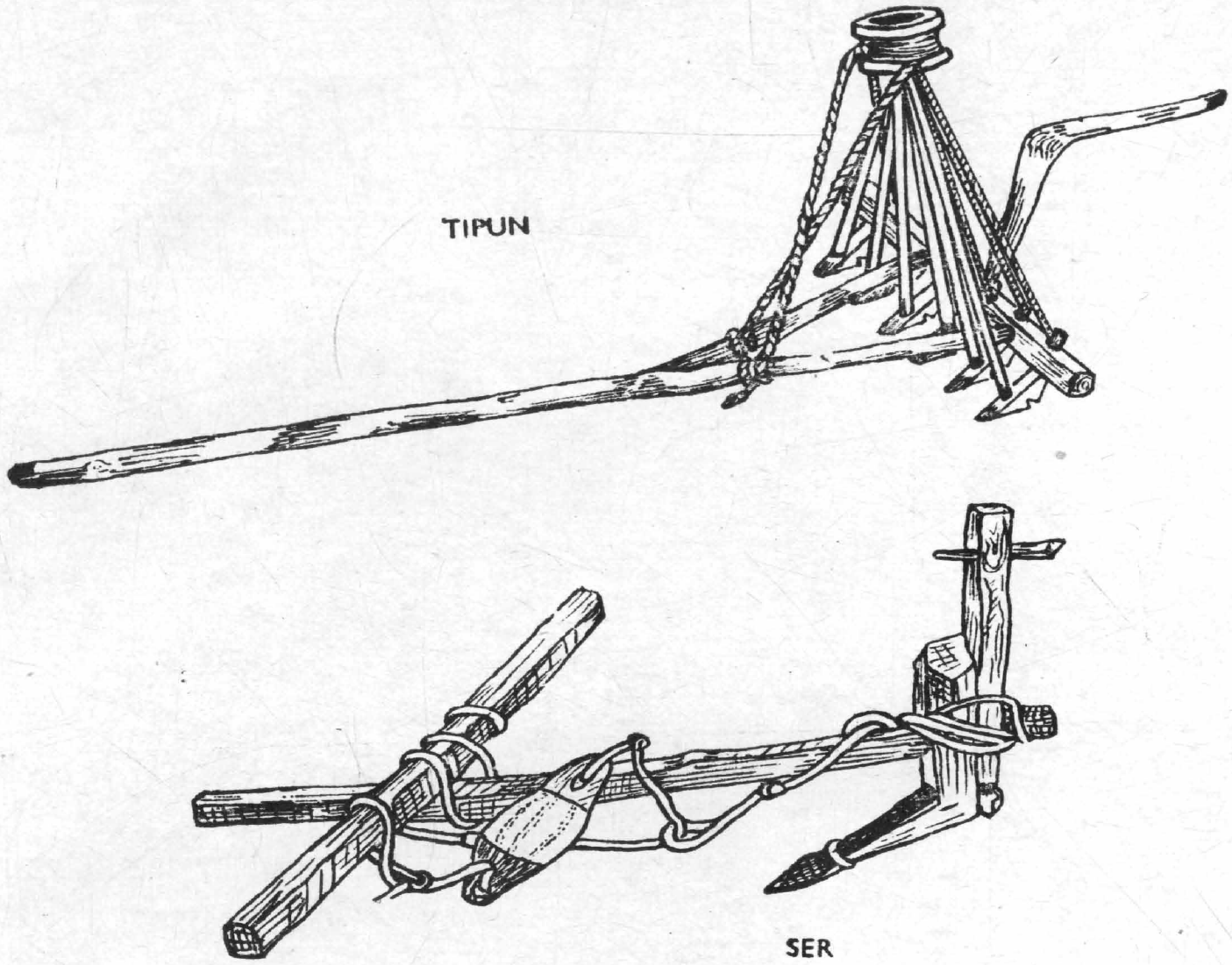


Fig. 14 Agricultural implements (*Chapter IV—Para* 34)



Fig. 15 *Manche*—The guarding platform (*Chapter IV—Para* 48)

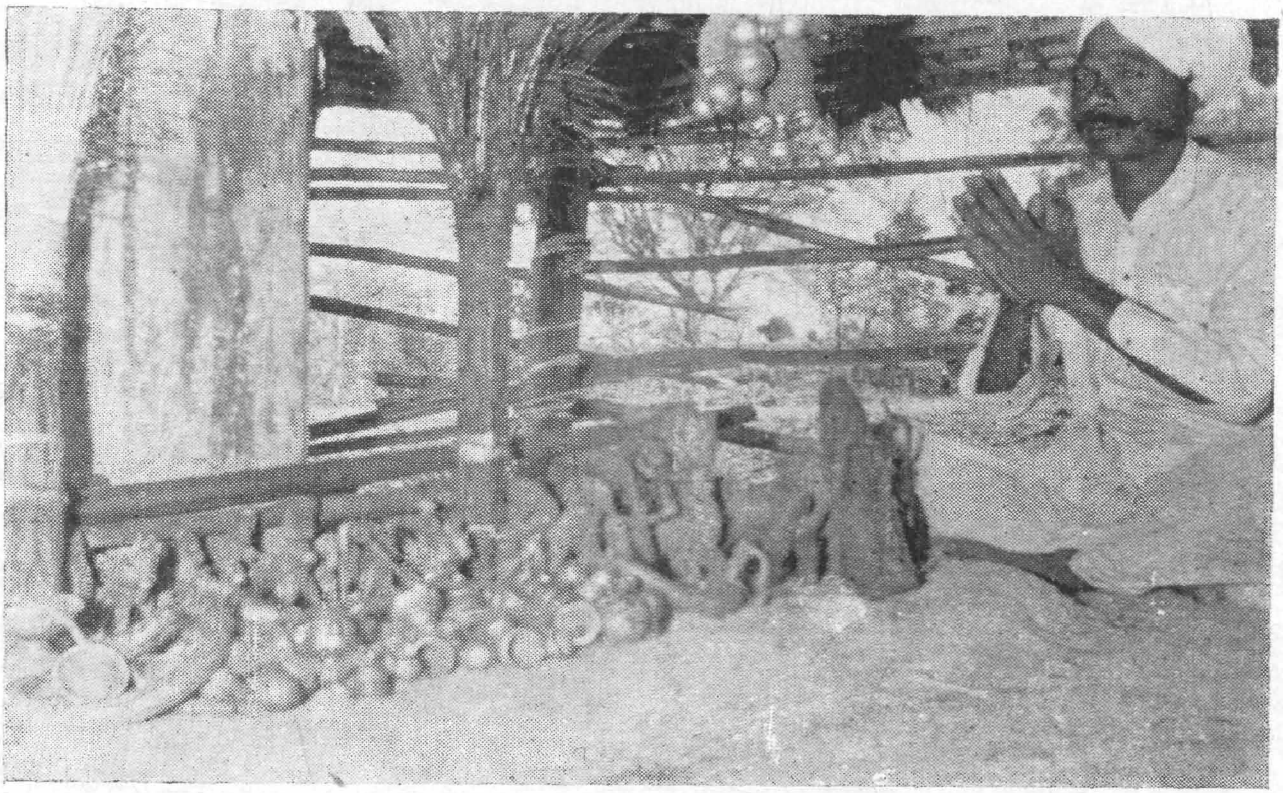


Fig. 16 Ayak—The principal deity of Kolams (*Chapter V—Para* 11)

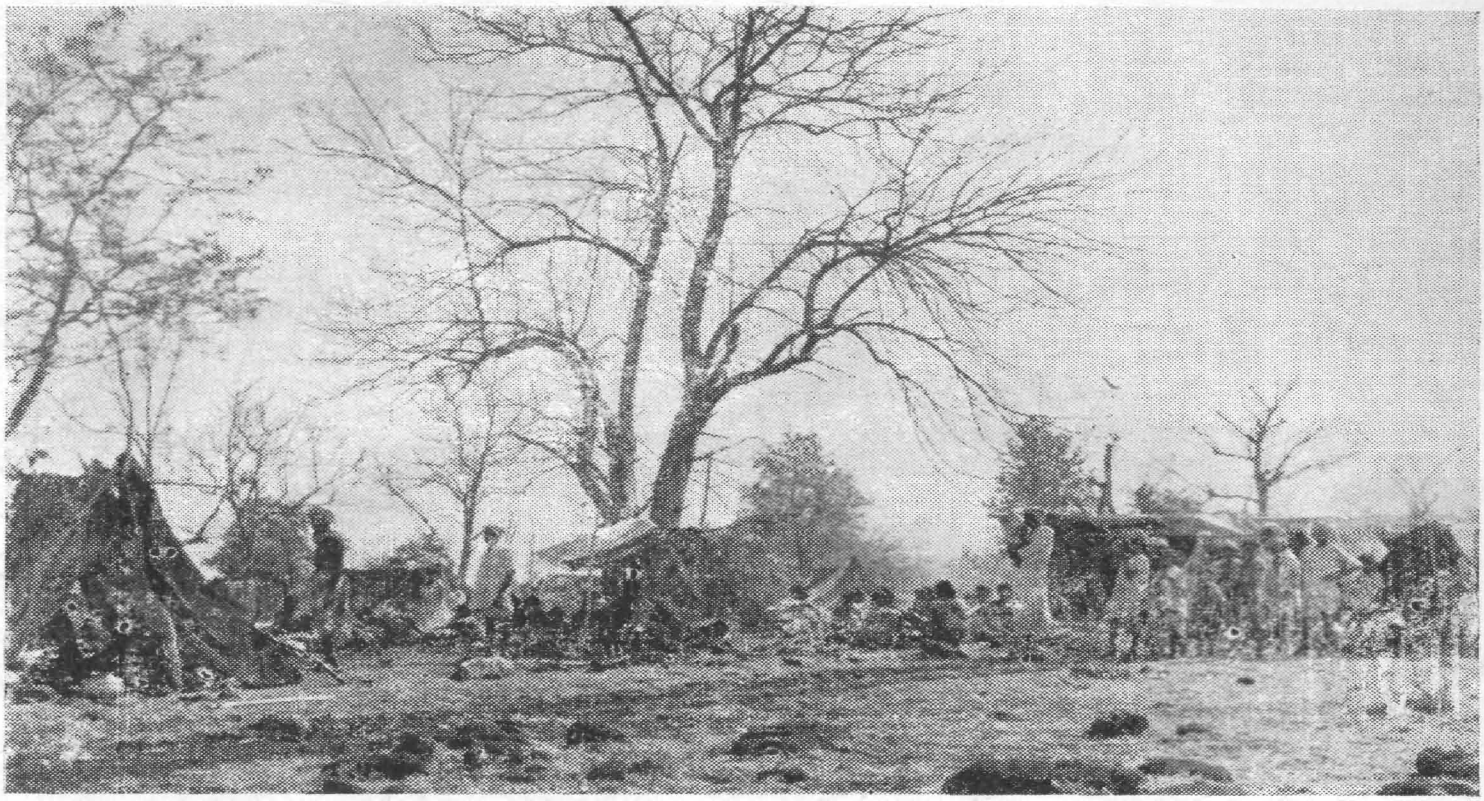


Fig. 17 Polakamma Devara—Open cooking (*Chapter V—Para* 16)

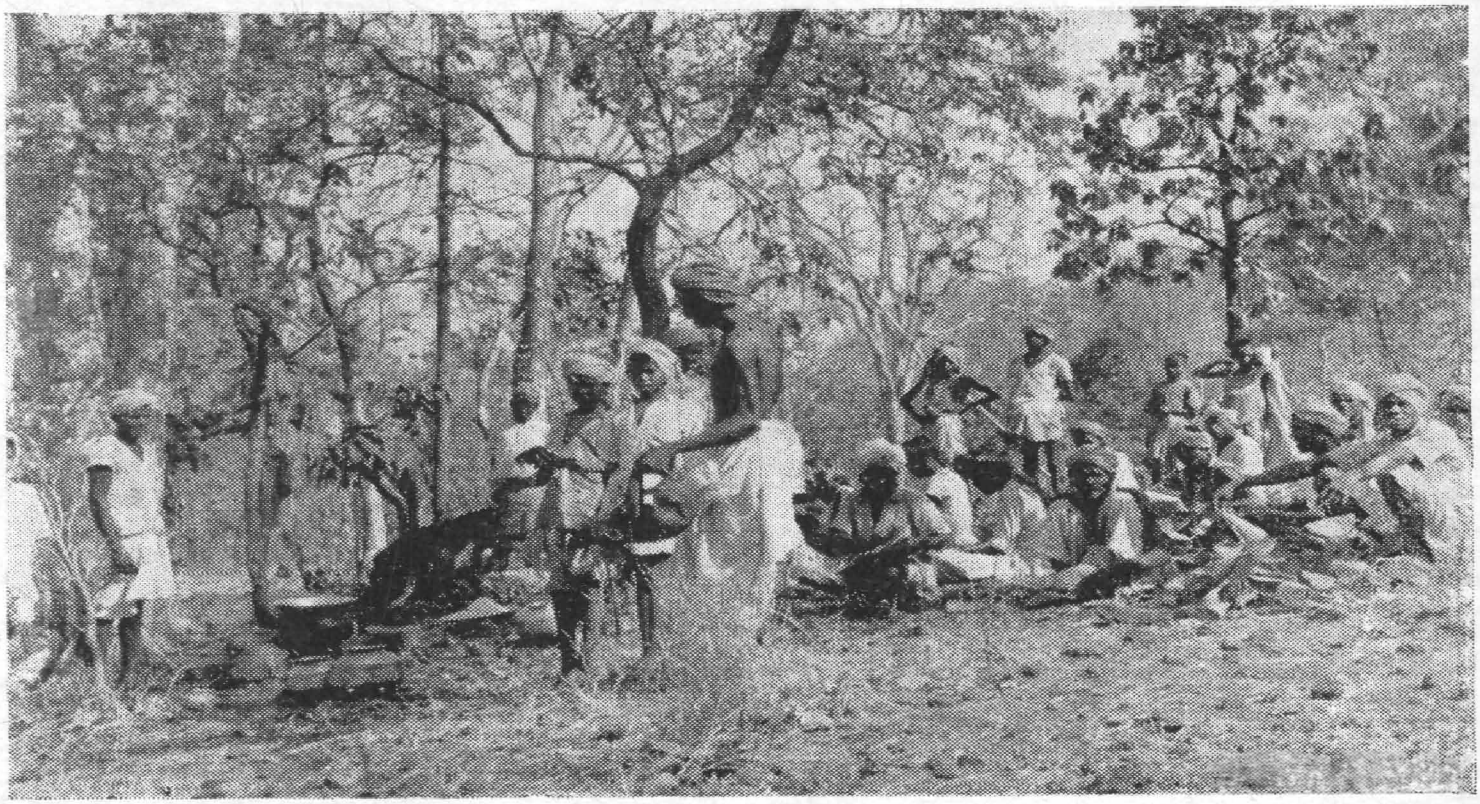


Fig. 18 Congregation of Kolams and Gonds for the worship of boundary deity (*Chapter V—Para* 21)

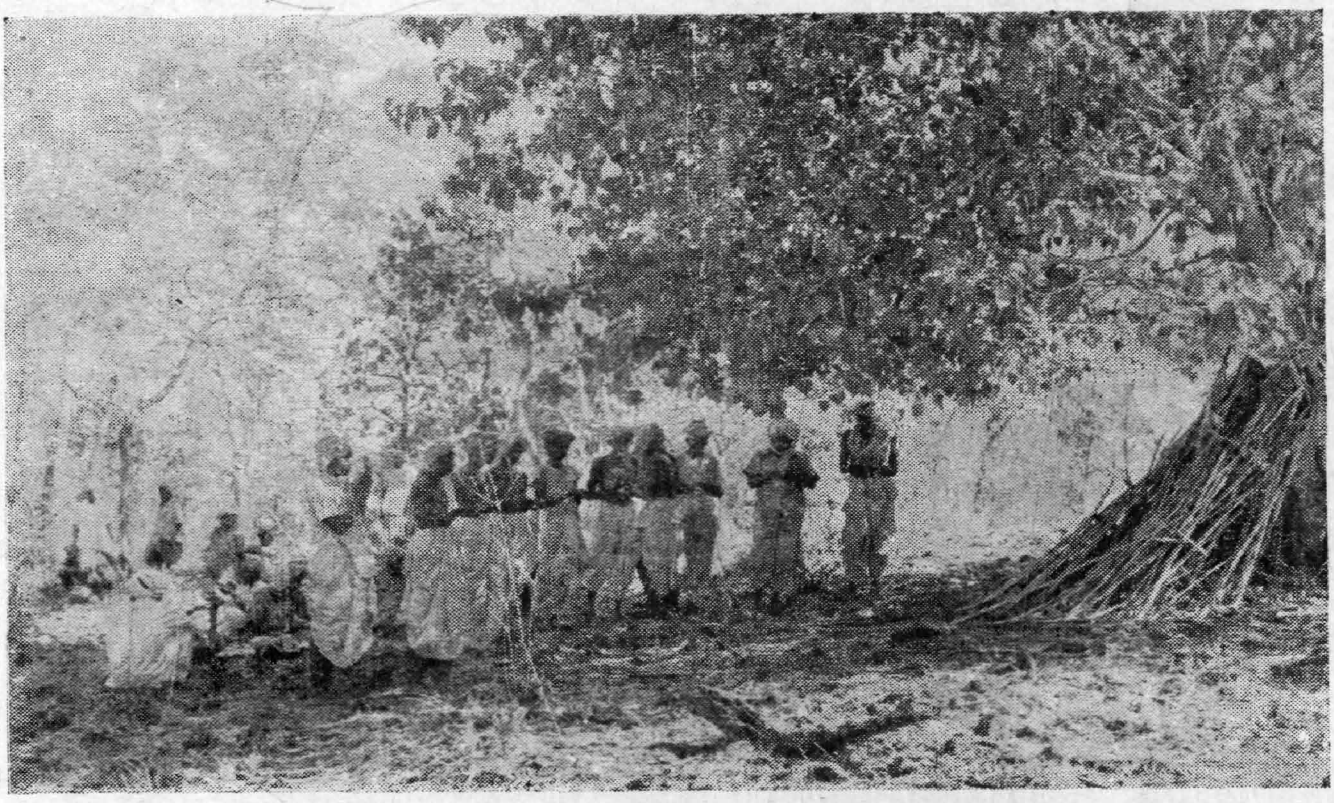


Fig. 19 The Gonds and Kolams standing in a semi-circle with great reverence to propitiate the boundary deity (*Chapter V—Para* 22)



Fig. 20 Delak testing the satisfaction of the deity (*Chapter V—Para* 22)

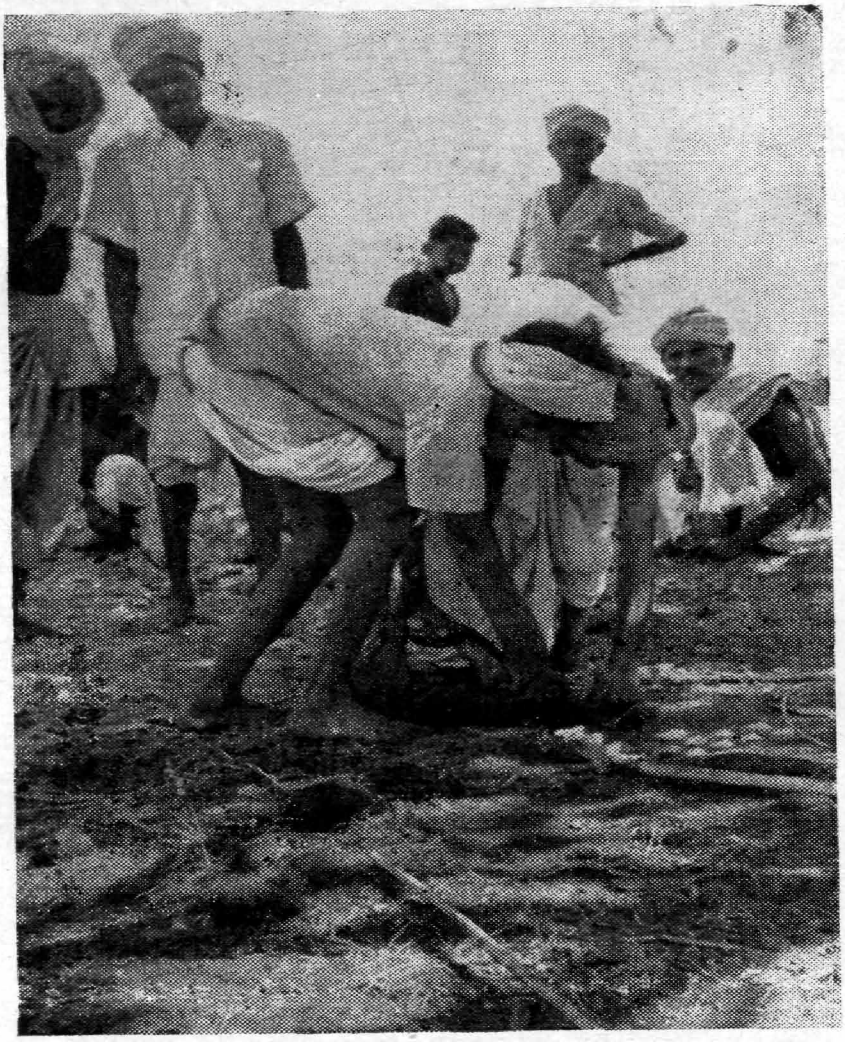


Fig. 21 Sacrificing a pig to the deity (*Chapter V—Para* 22)



Fig. 22 Burri Devara—The village deity (*Chapter V—Para* 23)



Fig. 23 Dandari dance (*Chapter V—Para* 39)



Fig. 24 **Dandari dance** (*Chapter V—Para* 39)



Fig. 25 Ghusari—The clown (*Chapter V—Para* 39)

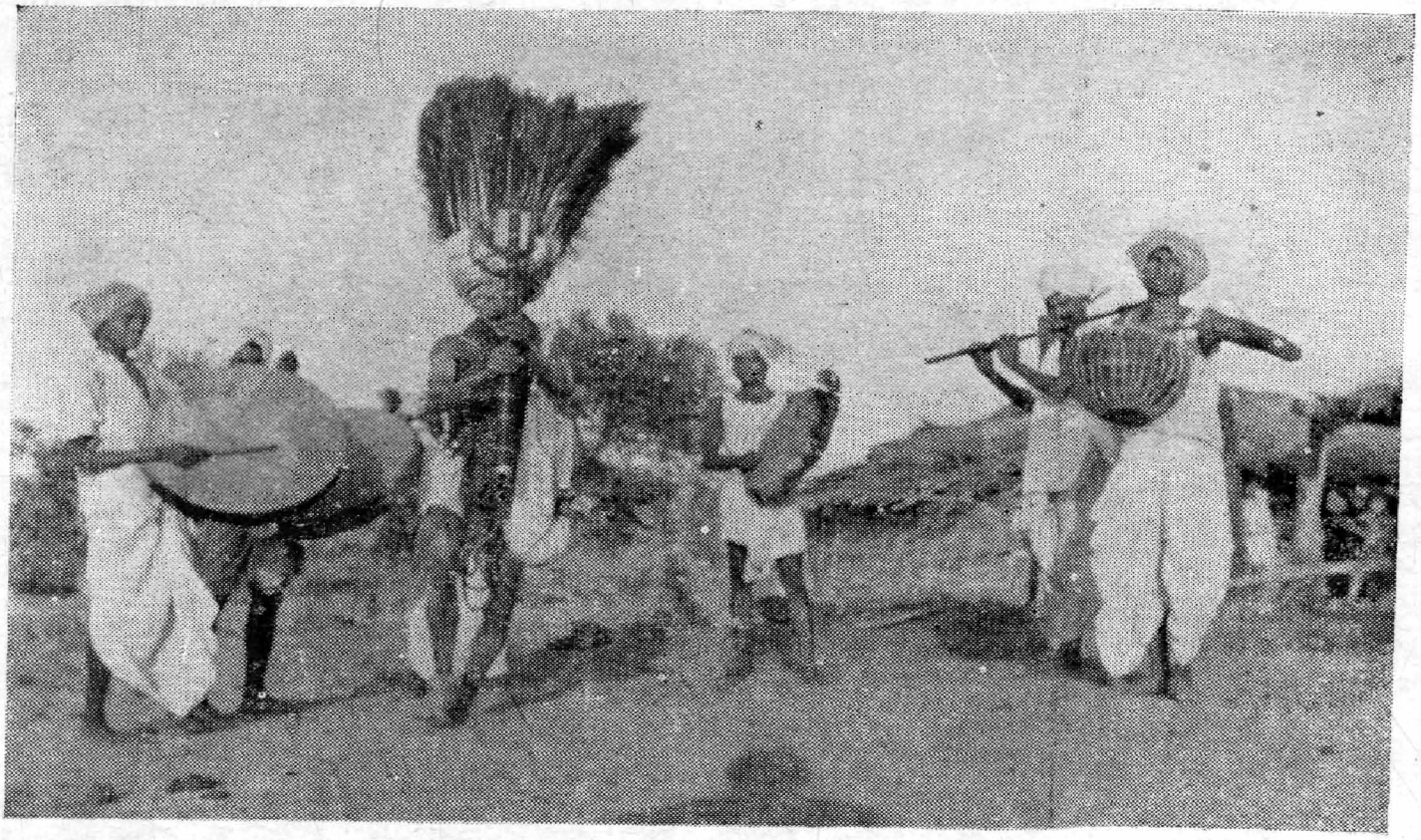


Fig. 26 Ghusari—The clown in action (*Chapter V—Para* 39)



Fig. 26 Ghusari—The clown in action (*Chapter V—Para* 39)

Chapter I

THE VILLAGE

Introduction

Lying on 19°-23'-26" north latitude and 78°-55'-30" east longitude, Laindiguda is a village in Utnur Taluk of Adilabad District. The unique character of the Utnur Taluk in the cultural milieu of Adilabad District in particular and Hyderabad in general is evident from the presence of numerous and different tribals like Kolams, Gonds and Pradhans in that area. Utnur with its pathless jungles was taken as their abode by many a tribal at a stage when they were simple food gatherers. Kolams were one of the original residents of this taluk. They are however not as numerous as their fellow tribals, the Gonds.

2. The village Laindiguda is selected under the category of villages representing a Scheduled Tribe, namely, the Kolams. This village, predominantly inhabited by Kolams, can very well be taken as the central point for 12 to 14 Kolam villages located within a radius of 6 to 8 miles. The study of a tribe without reference to its cultural history will have little meaning. The cultural practices and the mode of living of the tribals are inextricably interwoven and any attempt to separate them would result in mutilating the different parts in an integrated whole. An attempt has been made in the present monograph to present the social, cultural and economic life of the tribal population of Laindiguda village.

3. Laindiguda, a settlement of Kolams is surrounded by thick forests and forest clad hillocks. This village is divided into two distinct parts with a distance of half a mile in between, which are closely related to each other. The first settlement which is wholly inhabited by the Kolam households is known as Laindiguda while the other inhabited by Kolams (S. T.*), Gonds (S. T.), Muslims and a Lohar (Kammara) is known as Gowriguda. The latter, located on an elevated place (on the top of a hill), affords a panoramic view of the wild nature, while the main village, Laindiguda is situated at the foot of the hill.

*S.T. = Scheduled Tribe

Location

4. The modern amenities like roads, post office, etc., are yet to be established in this settlement. This is one of the far flung pockets of the aboriginals to which the influence of modern civilisation has not yet fully penetrated. This village is situated at a distance of 18 miles to the east of the taluk headquarters connected by a meandering cart track and about 30 miles by a circuitous way but served by a road under construction upto Jainur village. The district headquarters, Adilabad is about 40 miles to the north of the village. From Adilabad to reach the village, one has to touch the taluk headquarters. The first route though difficult is the nearest and is to be covered only by walk or by a peculiar small wheeled low bullock cart of the region known as *rengi* passing through the dense forests and hills. The route being infested with wild animals is however not generally favoured by the strangers. The second route, though circuitous, is considered safe. After alighting at Gadihatnur on the Hyderabad - Nagpur National Highway on which deluxe buses ply regularly from Hyderabad to Adilabad, one has to proceed to Utnur by the buses of the R. T. C. All the buses bound to Utnur either from Nirmal—another taluk headquarters or from Adilabad pass through Gadihatnur. The metalled road to Utnur branches off from the Hyderabad-Nagpur (*via* Adilabad) National Highway at 170th milestone. A road to Asifabad branching off from the Utnur-Gadihatnur road at about the 4th milestone from Utnur is under construction. Hasnapur at a distance of 12 miles and Jainur 18 miles away are two of the villages on this route under formation, though at present the road Transport Corporation operated buses ply from Utnur upto Hasnapur only. After alighting at Hasnapur, one has to cover a distance of 6 miles by walk or cart to reach Jainur from where Laindiguda is another 3 miles away to the north. The village is bounded by the villages Jainur in the south, Gudamamada in the north, Daboli in the east and Ushegaon in the west (Map I).

5. The entire taluk of Utnur is covered by the Utnur Panchayat Samithi. The village Laindiguda falls in the Marlavai Revenue Firka. The headquarters of the Village Level Worker is also at Marlavai who seldom stays there. This village comes under the Daboli Panchayat group. The nearest hospital and post office are at Utnur and the nearest railway station is Adilabad which is the terminus of the metre gauge line that branches off at Mudkhed Junction on the main line of Hyderabad–Manmad metre gauge section of the Central Railway. There are no telegraphic facilities even at the taluk headquarters and the people of this taluk are forced to depend on Adilabad for these facilities. At present, the postal authorities at Utnur are accepting telegrams which are dispatched by post to Adilabad. The mobile medical unit attached to the Panchayat Samithi, Utnur is the only nearest medical centre which renders medical assistance. Buildings of the Primary Health Centre are under construction at Jainur and in a couple of months the dispensary starts functioning here. When the Health Centre is opened, it forms the nearest place of medical assistance to the tribals living in the interior parts of this taluk. Except the primary school run by the Social Welfare Department, there are no other public institutions. The village has neither industrial significance nor commercial importance.

Physical aspects

6. The soil of this region is black cotton. There are about 14 settlements of Kolams encircling Laindiguda like a ring. As mentioned earlier, the village Laindiguda is divided into two distinct habitation areas. Some four decades ago one Kolam household came and settled at Laindiguda and later many Kolam families and other communities migrated from the neighbouring villages and settled. When they gave up *podu* cultivation, they acquired flat lands by felling the forest near the present habitation area of Gowri. Those who acquired lands nearer to this habitation area have shifted from Laindiguda to Gowri.

Flora and fauna

7. A decade back there was quite an extensive forest around the village. But today, there is a considerable decline in the forest area due to rapid deforestation. Numerous are the varieties of trees found in this forest. Of the innumerable varieties of trees the following are commonly found.

(1) *Teku* (tectona grandis)
(2) *Ippa* (bassia longifolia)
(3) *Nalla maddi* (terminalia tomentosa)
(4) *Tellamaddi* (terminalia arjuna)
(5) *Kodisa*
(6) *Tirman*
(7) *Andugu*
(8) *Medi*

(5)–(8): Varieties of trees (Botanical names not available).

(9) *Cheronji* (buchnania latifolia)

8. As regards the fauna, the forest is infested with wild animals such as cheetahs, tigers, wild boars, deers, sambars, wild goats and wild buffaloes and birds like peacocks, parrots, pigeons and sparrows, etc.

Climate

9. The climate of Adilabad in general and Utnur in particular is considered to be not congenial. All the seasons are found in extreme. The heat during the months of April and May is unbearable. The monsoon sets in the month of June. Rainfall is caused by south-west and north-east monsoons. It is not uncommon to find crops getting damaged due to excessive rains.

Size

10. According to 1961 Census, there were 39 households with 193 persons. But at the time of survey during May 1964, there were 40 households with a population of 223 persons. Thus there is an increase of one household and 30 persons in the population within a period of three years. The average size of the household is about 5·57 persons. The total area of the village is 1,836·80 acres and the density of population is about 64 persons per square mile.

Residential pattern

11. The residential pattern in both the habitation areas is neither regular nor planned. in Laindiguda, the main village, the houses are in a circular way with an openyard in the middle. In Gowri, the hamlet, the houses are constructed on either side of the road. The houses of the Kolams are on low level while those of the Gonds are on an elevated place. The houses of the Muslims are very near to the houses of Gonds. The houses,

though constructed in a haphazard way, are broadly speaking, clustered on a community basis. The houses of the people of other ethnic groups are built outside the settlement of Kolams which is clearly demarcated by the four stones in four corners of the Kolam settlement (Map III). And no other ethnic group is allowed to build a house within the limits of a Kolam habitation area. These four stones are considered to be the guarding stones of their habitation area. While fixing these stones, some kind of leaf is kept in the pit and a buffalo is sacrificed to the guarding stones. Once in a year they worship these stones by sacrificing a buffalo.

Places of worship

12. The idol of Hanuman is seen at the entrance to the hamlet, Gowri. Except the village deities and the idol of Bheemana *pen* (deity) or Ayak towards the south of Gowri which is housed in a thatched hut, no other important places of worship are there in this village. There are no historical monuments either in the village or anywhere in the vicinity.

Crematorium

13. No separate cremation or burial ground is earmarked as such. The inhabitants of the Gowri hamlet, irrespective of caste and community bury or cremate their dead in the nearby forest towards north of the village while those of Laindiguda bury or cremate the dead in the forest towards the east of the habitation.

Source of water

14. In Laindiguda, the main village, the people get water from a small pit, dug in the hill stream that runs on the north of the village. This source of water supply is not hygienic since it is polluted by the cattle of the village as much as by the residents of the village who wash their dirty linen in this perennial water source.

15. In this aspect the hamlet Gowri is better placed as it has a well on the banks of the hill stream in the east, from where all the people of this hamlet fetch water for drinking. Though it is a bit far, water is available in plenty in all the seasons. A drinking water well was under construction in the village itself at the time of resurvey. After its completion, it will satisfy the long felt need of the people for a hygienic source of drinking water.

Markets

16. There are no marketing facilities anywhere around the village for marketing their produce. Once in a year after harvest, the viliagers visit Adilabad, the nearest marketing place for marketing the cotton they grow. They get most of their requirements from the weekly *shandies* held every Friday at Sirpur, six miles away from this village or on Saturdays from Jainur which is 2 miles away. Generally the villagers visit both these places according to their convenience.

History of the village

17. As the Kolams are the *podu* cultivators for generations, they often select a steep hill side for their settlement which is suitable for their cultivation. All the inhabitants including people of other communities are immigrants from the neighbouring villages. A few decades ago one or two Kolam families came and settled at Laindiguda as they found it convenient for hill slope cultivation. The word *laindi* means 'eugenia jambolane' (*neredu*) in Kolami language, which is commonly found on the banks of the hill streams. It seams that there was a wild growth of this eugenia jambolane trees on the banks of the nearby hill stream which is known as *lanka* and thus the settlement came to be named as Laindiguda. Even today a few *neredu* trees are found near this hill stream. As days rolled on, a few more families of Kolams immigrated to this place and settled. Then some families moved away to the present habitation area of Gowri for the hill slope cultivation. Here also the first settler is a Kolam who found the Gowripur (boundary deity) near the hillock on the eastern side which is also known as Gowrigutta and he named this habitation after the deity, as Gowri. Even today both Kolams and Gonds worship this deity for Dasara festival by sacrificing a goat.

Settlement history

18. Table 80 clearly gives the details of settlement history of the present households in Laindiguda village. Of the 40 households, 5 (one Gond+4 Kolams) have reported to have immigrated 2 to 3 generations back, while 10 households of Kolams have immigrated one generation back only. The remaining 25 households have come during the present generation. Of them, 7 households belong to Gonds, one household to Kammara (Lohar), 13 households to Kolams and the remaining 4 households to the Muslims. The original and the first settlers of the village Laindiguda are Kolams. All the others had immigrated to this village only after them.

Chapter II

THE PEPOLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Ethnic composition

The ethnic composition of the village is divided into two tribes, one caste and the Muslim community. According to 1951 Census, there were 29 households with a population of 171. During the resurvey in May 1964, there were 40 households with a population of 223 comprising 110 males and 113 females. An increase of 52 persons has thus been registered in the total population within a span of 14 years. The increase in the population is attributed not only to high birth rate but also to the large scale immigration from the surrounding villages. The number of households in each ethnic group together with their population is given below:

STATEMENT I

POPULATION BY SEX, CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY AND HOUSEHOLDS

S. No.	Name of Caste/Tribe/Community	No. of house-holds	Males	Females	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	Kolams (S.T)	27	70	71	141
2	Gonds (S.T.)	8	27	25	52
3	Kammari (Lohar)	1	1	5	6
4	Muslim	4	12	12	24
	Total	40	110	113	223

2. A brief discription of each of the communities inhabiting the village, is given in the following pages.

Kolams

3. The Kolams are a minority Tribe in Adilabad District. They are mostly found in the taluks of Utnur, Boath, Adilabad, Chinnur, Asifabad and Sirpur of this District. The Kolams call themselves as Kolawars while the Gonds call them as Pujaris. In Telugu they are called as Mannevarlu and in Urdu as Kolams. The history and the origin of Kolams is shrouded in obscurity. There is a mythological story popular among Kolams accounting for their origin.

4. The general presumption that lies at the bottom of all such mythological narrations of most tribes is that, they were the first-born on the universe. It is true in the case of Kolams too.

5. There were Jalaguru and Girijaguru. Jalaguru had one son by name Bhagwan and two daughters called Gandhari and Kothmia. Girijaguru had a daughter called Parvathi who later on was married to Bhagwan, the son of Jalaguru. The two daughters of Jalaguru, Gandhari and Kothmia soon came of age and were married to Dhrutharastra and Pandu Raju respectively. Bhagwan once set out on a world tour. During his travels, he called on his sisters, Gandhari and Kothmia. When he came to his sister's house, Kothmia was out for fetching water. When, after mutual enquiries, Bhagwan expressed his desire to continue his travel, Gandhari expressed her anxiety about their future in Kaliyuga. Bhagwan, realising his sister's anxiety, took out 21 grains of rice from his pocket and gave them to Gandhari instructing her to share them equally with her sister Kothmia. The evil minded Gandhari decided to have all the 21 grains for herself and took them. Kothmia returned with a pot of water and was told that her brother Bhagwan had come. Then Kothmia became impatient and asked her sister why he had gone so soon and enquired whether he had given them anything. Gandhari replied that nothing had been given to her. Hearing these words, she grew still more impatient and ran in search of her brother Bhagwan whom she met on the way. She requested him to show them a way of life. Then Bhagwan, without disclosing the gift he had given to Gandhari, took out 5 grains of rice from his pocket and gave them to Kothmia and asked her to take them with a pint of water and proceeded

on his journey. Neither Gandhari nor Kothmia revealed to each other the nature of gifts received from their brother. Days and months rolled on and the two sisters gave birth to sons. Gandhari gave birth to 21 sons while Kothmia to 5 sons only according to the rice grains they had taken.

6. Incidentally, Gandhari finds mention in the Indian epic of Mahabharata in which she is referred to as a gem of a queen whereas the Gandhari of this Kolam story behaves quite unlike the character attributed to her in the great epic. Again Bheema according to the epic was the second son and Sahadev the last of the five sons while Arjuna was the third. But according to the Kolams, Kothmia, who is in all probability Kunthi (mother of Pandavas) of Mahabharata, gave birth, first to four sons, Dharmaraju, Nakula, Sahadev and Arjuna. Bheema is considered by Kolams to have been born after his four brothers. According to them Karna was born to Kothmia before her marriage from her *kanakhustal* (ear).

7. To continue the narrative, Bhagwan decided to enthrone one of the sons of his two sisters. To test their powers and to find out who should be crowned as a king, He called the assembly of Gods and arranged (1) *Hassilakna gadha* or a *gadha* (mace) weighing 10 lakhs of maunds, (2) *Nou lakna pher* or a belt of bells weighing 9 lakhs of maunds and (3) *thees lakna navari* or anklets weighing 30 lakh maunds, and made it a condition that whoever lifts these three at a time would be coronated. To this test, both Pandavas and 21 sons of Gandhari were invited as participants. Twenty-one sons of Gandhari came first. Later came only four Pandavas leaving Bheema behind at home who at that time was ailing. Unable to resist the temptation, Bheema came as an invisible man so that he might not be noticed and sat on the axle of the chariot on which the four brothers drove. The four Pandavas reached the assembly hall and paid their respects to their *mama* (maternal uncle) Bhagwan. Then started the trial of their prowess. All the 21 sons of Gandhari and 4 Pandavas tried to lift them but in vain. Then Bheema made his appearance to the surprise of all and lifted all the weights with ease. Bhagwan was very much pleased and took him into his lap. The 21 sons of Gandhari were however so bitterly jealous that they felt as if the ground beneath their feet had slipped out. Thus Pandavas with the newly acquired gifts of weights came to a town called Varunavathi. After propitiating the Gods, Bheema, wearing all these, set out on a tour round the world. Having traversed the whole distance in three strides, he kept them in a hut ; the anklets and belts in a pot with the *gadha* beside it. Even to this day they keep all the three in a hut and in the manner described above, which is their main deity known as Bheemana *pen.*

8. Dharmaraju, the eldest of the Pandavas, was enthroned. Bheema took to *podu* cultivation which had later come to be adopted by the Kolams. After preparing the hill slopes with a hoe and a stick (which later became the principal agricultural implements of the Kolams) he went to his cousin brothers, the sons of Gandhari for seeds. The jealous brothers and Ghandari gave him roasted seeds thinking that they would not sprout up and thus can foil the attempts of Bheema. Bheema was not a dull-witted fellow; he soon realised that the seeds were lifeless, and ate the roasted seeds and sowed the chaff, which miraculously sprouted and was harvested later. Gandhari and her sons were anxious to know whether their scheme was successful or not. When they found the good harvest, they had to rub their eyes with wonder. They began to plan for the physical elimination of Pandavas. They hit upon a plan. A lac house was built in which they wanted to give a banquet to Pandavas. Pandavas were accordingly invited to the lac house. But Bheema very soon realised the evil designs of the Dhartharastrulu (sons of Dhrutharastra). He took five *maredukayalu* (fruits of aegle mormelos) with him. The Pandavas were kept in lac house and the house was set on fire. The clever Bheema, while the whole house was slowly being consumed by fire, broke five *maredukayalu* one after another just to give an impression that all the Pandavas died one after the other (the sound produced out of that was taken by the 21 brothers to be the breaking of the heads of the Pandavas). Bheema struck his heavy *gadha* against the ground and the Mother Earth gave way, through which the Pandavas escaped into woods. They lived in the woods for about 6 years subsisting mainly on wild roots and fruits.

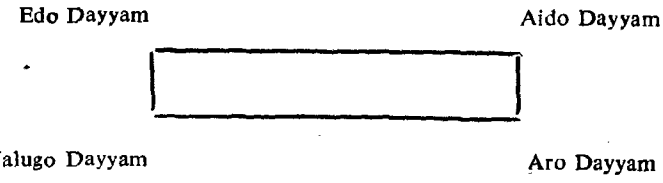
9. There was one Raja called Drupada and he had a daughter known as Draupadi who had come of age. Drupada Raja announced the marriage of his daughter but he put one condition that whoever shows his skill of archery by shooting a fish seeing its shadow in the plate of water below would win the hand of his daughter in marriage.

10. Princes from all corners came as contestants. Pandavas in the guise of Brahmins also

went to the Court of Drupada Raja. All but Arjuna failed in their attempts. Arjuna won the hand of Draupadi. Pandavas returned to the forest along with Draupadi. They told their mother Kothmia that they had brought a fruit for her. Kothmia advised her sons to share it equally among themselves. Thus Draupadi became the wife of the five Pandava Brothers. After leading a strenuous life for about 6 years, they came back to tneir town, Varunavathi. The 21 brothers came to know of their arrival and once again revived their old jealousy. This time they took counsel of Sakuni, the evil genius of the Court. Sakuni suggested *juwa* or *judam* or chess of which Dharmaraja was a great lover. They thought that this can be the last nail in their coffin. They invited Dharmaraja to the game in which he lost his property, his brothers and his wife Draupadi too. Not content with this, the sons of Gandhari tried to put Draupadi to utter shame by stripping off her clothes. The Pandavas had to leave the Kingdom and live in forests for 12 years. Pandavas, leaving Draupadi behind, left the country. The grief-stricken Draupadi went in search of her beloved Pandavas. On her way she met a peacock whom she asked whether she could throw any light on the whereabouts of her husbands, the Pandavas. The peacock feigned her ignorance. On this Draupadi grew angry and cursed the peacock saying that it (peacock) would conceive a child without mating.

11. She left the peacock and continued her journey. On her way she came across a banyan tree. Draupadi requested the tree to tell her the way the Pandavas had gone. The banyan tree gave the same answer as the peacock. This incensed Draupadi, who in her wrath cursed the tree to bear fruits without flowers. (The common observation of the banyan tree shows that it bears fruits without flowers). She continued her search till she saw the Pandavas at a distance. She assumed the shape of a cucumber and went rolling on to Dharma Raja. The cucumber was shining with great brilliance and attracted the eye of Dharmaraja who took it into his hands. Draupadi assumed her human form and thus was taken back by the Pandavas. (The reason for doing so, it is said, is that Draupadi feared that Pandavas might shun her presence if she would come in human form). The Pandavas with their wife, Draupadi at last reached a village and became guests of a Brahmin. In that village the people were in the grip of a great fear of being devoured by a demon called Bakasura. To escape the wrath of that Eakasura, the villagers had promised that they would send 2 buffaloes and a cart load of food for his daily meal. The Brahmin's turn came. Then Bheema said that he would meet the *rakshasa* (demon) by taking the food and buffaloes. The Brahmin implored Bheema not to go, but he went and fought the *rakshasa* and killed him. Thus Bheema set the people free from the *rakshasa*. The promised period of exile came to an end and the Pandavas returned to their place Varunavathi. They approached the 21 brothers (sons of Gandhari) and requested them to give back their share of the Kingdom. The greedy brothers refused their request bluntly. Pandavas were determined to take away their share by waging a war. Thus the way for the great epic battle of Kurukshetra was paved. The war resulted in the total annihilation of the Kingdom. Pandavas were left as rulers of a depopulated country. Bheema then appealed to Bhagwan to create people so that their country would become populous and prosperous again. Bhagwan made two dolls–one male and one female and infused life into them. Thus two human beings were created, but as brother and sister. Bhagwan sent the two (brother and sister) into a room which, in Kolami is called *koli* where they remained for few days. The reason for doing so was perhaps that Bhagwan intended to see the reaction of one to the other which would pave the way for future procreation. As expected, the two people came out and declared that they were no more brother and sister and instead they were man and woman. Later they were blessed with 4 sons and four daughters. This gives us a clue to the etymology of the word Kolawar. It is said that they were called Kolams or Kolawars from the day the sister and brother were sent into *koli* or room. (Kolawar means people who emerged out of a *koli* or room). Out of the four sons, one was called Devar or Delak (the priest) and the other Naikoon (the village head) who even to this day hold these offices. The first one is Delak, the officiating Pujari or priest while the second, Karobari acts as a principal adviser and negotiator among the Kolams. As days passed on, the marriage of their sons and daughters became a problem. Bhagwan came to their rescue and sent all the four sons and four daughters in batches of two (one male and female) to four different corners of the world who later on returned as men and women. The problem of expanding the Kolam tribe was thus finally solved. The origin of 4 different *jats* or *gotras* or phratries

coincides with the four corners to which four batches were sent. Each one of them was given a separate name. They can better be illustrated thus :



Though the above story is lacking in its coherence, the unique quality of the lore of this tribe lies in the fact that it is a blend of myth and the great epic story Mahabharata.

12. It is curious enough that the Kolams have much in common with Gonds in matters of *jats* or *gotras* or phratries. Many of the customs and practices of Gonds were grafted as it were. In this connection Prof. Haimendorf says,

> "The adoption of certain customs and ceremonies seems to have long preceded economic assimilation, and in some aspects of their social life, it is difficult to discern under the veneer of Gond influence the traits peculiar to Kolam culture." 1

13. The Kolams, like the Gonds, are organised in exogamous clans, and most of these have names identical with those of certain Gond system of seven-brother clans, six-brother clans, five-brother clans, and four-brother clans. Among the Kolams also these groupings have got mythological sanction, as narrated above and there is also a probability that they (Kolams) might have been formed by the co-ordination of existing exogamous units with the Gond clan system. Just as in Berar and part of Kinwat, the Kolams have adopted Marathi sept names, the Teluguised Kolams have house names (*inti perulu*) like their Telugu neighbours. Basing on the similarities of *gotras* between Kolams and Gonds it cannot be surmised that both the tribes are more or less the same. The Kolams never admit any affinity with the Gonds and on the other hand they are proud of announcing themselves as a separate tribe. In many ways the Kolams differ much from Gonds and are distinct in their language. As in the case of Gonds, no particular man belonging to a particular clan or phratry is superior among this tribe and all are treated equally on the same footing.

14. Each phratry is divided into a number of *paris* or clans as in the case of Gonds. The number of clans in each Dayyam is given blow.

I. Edo Dayyam (Seven Gods phratry). The names of the clans (*paris*) are :-

(1)	Madavi	(5)	Purka
(2)	Mesram	(6)	Kursinga
(3)	Sayam	(7)	Jugnak
(4)	Marsukula	(8)	Dhurne

II. Aro Dayyam (Six Gods phratry) clans :-

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

III. Aido Dayyam (Five Gods phratry) clans :-

(1)	Godam	(4)	Kursinga
(2)	Kurma	(5)	Kinaka
(3)	Kanaka		

IV. Nalugo Dayyam (Four Gods phratry) clans :-

(1)	Posam	(4)	Doram
(2)	Madpachi	(5)	Kove
(3)	Pusram	(6)	Talanda.

1 C. v. F. Haimendorf. *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad* (London : 1948), p. 35

15. In this village the Kolams of Edo, Aro and Nalugo Dayyams are found. Following are the names of the clans to which people of this village belong.

STATEMENT II

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS BY PHRATRY AND CLAN

S. No.	Name of phratry	Name of clan	No. of households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Edo Dayyam	Madavi	4
2	Aro Dayyam	Atram	12
3	Nalugo Dayyam	Doram	11

16. All the Kolams irrespective of phratry or clan worship Ayak (Bheemana) the principal deity of the tribe. They do not have the clan deity as in the case of Gonds. People falling within the same phratry are considered to be siblings and the marriages are always contracted outside the Dayyams or phratries.

Gonds

17. The Gonds trace their history from their deities. The legend of their origin presented in the village survey monograph of Bhurnur bearing Serial No. 40 gives the detailed picture of this tribe. They are divided into four exogamous groups called Sagas *viz*, seven, six, five and four brothers phratry. Each phratry is divided into a number of clans (*paris*). In this village, Gonds belonging to seven, six and five brothers phratry are found.

Lohar

18. The one Lohar (blacksmith) household is a migrant from Yeotmal District of Maharshtra State. The members of this household came to this place two years back to eke out their livelihood. The tribals have also encouraged this family to stay on in the village for attending to their agricultural needs. The family has acquired a few acres of land and is practising agriculture in addition to its traditional occupation of blacksmithy. The head of household could not give any details of the sects, etc., among his caste. According to him the surname plays an important role in the social organisation of this community.

Muslims

19. There are four Muslim households in the village and all of them are migrants from the neighbouring state of Maharashtra. As a matter of fact these people have come to this district some two or three decades back and were settled in the plains areas either attending agriculture or doing business. Their visits to the tribal villages during the course of their business transactions enabled them to gain acquaintance of the tribal people. And as a result, a few Muslims have settled down as agriculturists in the tribal areas of this district. The same is the case with regard to the migrants of this village. The four Muslim households now living in Laindiguda came during the period of last four to six years to eke out their livelihood by cultivating lands. Only one household of this community is engaged in business in addition to agriculture. There are two sects among the Muslims *viz*, Shia and Sunni. All the four households of this village belong to Sunni sect.

Social status

20. The social status of a tribe *vis-a-vis* other tribes and people of other communities is generally determined by the attitude of the tribes towards other people with regard to their movements, habits and customs and also by concentration of economic and political power. Kolams generally live in a fortified village. It is fortified in the sense that they clearly demarcate the boundaries of their settlement with small stones within which other tribes are not allowed to build their houses. The Gond settlement in this village is situated outside the premises of the Kolams settlement. Their attitude to other low caste people like the Harijans is interesting. No Harijan is allowed to pass through the village driving a bullock cart. As he enters the portals of a Kolam village or settlement, he has to get down from his cart and walk. With regard to taking food, Kolams never partake from the hands of others except Gonds. Regarding marriages Kolams strictly confine to their own tribe and the violation of this is considered as an offence. In this connection, the observation made by Prof. Haimendorf is relevant. He observes,

> "Despite the difference in language and generally also in economic status, Kolams and Gonds consider themselves related communities. Kolams eat freely in the houses of Gonds and many Gonds partake without hesitation of the food of Kolams. Others adopt a stricter view and emphasize that they are of superior caste and therefore debarred from sharing the food of Kolams. Cases of inter-marriage between Gonds and Kolams are rare, and are considered irregular by both tribes." 1

1 C.v.F. Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 37

Language

21. People of the two tribes–Kolams and Gonds and the caste Lohar and the Muslim community can speak Telugu besides their mother tongues, Kolami, Gondi. Marathi and Urdu respectively. The Kolami and Gondi dialects have no scripts.

Population by sex and age group

22. Table 5 gives details of the population by age groups and sex. The population is evenly divided between the two sexes. Of the 223 total population, 110 are males and the remaining 113 are females. The age group of 0–14 years accounts for nearly 50% of the total population. The age groups 15–24 years and 25 to 59 years (107) may be construed as working population and form 48% of the total population. The remaining population comes under the age group of 60 years and above. On the whole the working force in the village is less than the dependents. Those in the age group of 0–14 years are technically considered to be dependents, but in reality they are not. In the villages children more than 10 years of age are generally engaged in minor economic activities and it is more so among the hill-folk. The children are engaged either in looking after their cattle or in assisting their parents in sundry agricultural operations. Females generally attend to the household work from very early age.

Population by community

23. Among Gonds 27 are males and 25 are females out of 223, the total population of the village. Of the 27 males, 14 fall under the age group 0–14 years, 4, 7 and 2 fall under the age groups of 15–24 years, 25–59 years and, 60 years and above respectively. Of the 25 females, 13 are under the age group of 0–14 years and the remaining 1, 9 and 2 fall under the age groups of 15–24 years, 25–59 years and, 60 years and above respectively (Table 5).

24. Among the Kammaras one is a male and the remaining 5 are females. Of the total 5 females 2 fall under the age group of 25–59 years and of the remaining 3 one each in the age groups of 0–14 years, 15–24 years and, 60 years and above (Table 5).

25. Among the Kolams, 70 are males and 71 are females. Out of the total 70 males, 34 of them fall under the age group of 0–14 years, 9 under the age group of 15–24 years, 26 in the age group of 25–59 years and the remaining one falls under 60 years and above age group. Out of the 71 females, 34 are under the age group of 0–14 years, 10 are under the age group of 15–24 years, 26 are under the age group of 25–59 years and the remaining one female falls under the age group of 60 years and above (Table 5).

26. Out of the total population of the village 12 males and 12 females are Muslims. The 12 males are equally distributed in the age groups of 0–14 years and 25–59 years. Out of the 12 females, 7 are under the age group 0–14 years and 4 are under the age group 15–24 years and the remaining one falls under the age group of 25–59 years (Table 5).

Marital status

27. The proportion of the un-married is nearly 49% to the total population who mostly fall in the tender age group of 0–14 years. Equal percentage of the population falls in the category of married, while only 2% of the total population are widowed and divorced or separated. There is only one female who is divorced and she falls in the age group of 25–59 years. Of the 109 never married, only 5 males and one female fall in the age groups of 15–24 years and 25–59 years respectively, while the remaining fall in the age group of 0–14 years. Again out of the 109 married people only 2 males and 4 females are in the age group of 0–14 years and the remaining fall in other age groups of marriageable age. Generally the people of this village perform marriages after their children come of marriageable age. Though a few cases of child marriages are found here and there, they are quite insignificant. Similarly there are in the village only 4 widowed persons, of whom one is a male and the rest are females. Out of them, the one widower and the two females fall under the age group of 25–59 years while the remaining one female falls in the age group of 60 years and above. Analysing the marital structure of the males and females separately we find that 51·8% of the males are not married as against 40% of the females Females get married earlier than the males (Table 6).

Literacy

28. Table 8 clearly gives the educational standards of the people of Laindiguda. Only 8·07% (18) of the village population are literates. The level of literacy among the males is higher than among the females. 91·93% of the population are however illiterate. Out of 18 literates, only 4 are females

and the remaining are males. All the literates come under the primary or junior basic levels. In the age group of 0-14 years 91·74% of the persons are returned as illiterates. Of 109 children in this age group, 100 children do not attend the school. Though the Government have initiated the compulsory education programme long back for the education of these people no appreciable progress is achieved, which speaks of the indifference of these people in the field of education. The crux of the problem is the poor economic condition of the people coupled with their ignorance about the importance of education. They would prefer their children to stay at home and contribute their mite to the economic betterment of the family by participating in agricultural operations and in other household works than going to school. Against this overall picture of the literacy standards of the village, it is interesting to study the standards of the literacy among the various communities in the village. There are only 8 literates (5 males and 3 females) among the Kolams who are numerically the largest group in the village. There are 5 literates each among Gonds and Muslims. There are no literates in Lohar caste (Table 7).

29. The village is inhabited by two Scheduled Tribes, one Scheduled Caste and a Muslim Community. The Statement given below clearly gives the population composition of the two Scheduled Tribes *viz*, Kolams and Gonds in the village.

STATEMENT III

POPULATION BY SEX, TRIBE AND SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Name of Tribe	Population			Total	Average size of household	Average size of household in the village as a whole
	No. of households	Males	Females			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Kolams	27	70	71	141	5·22	5·51
Gonds	8	27	25	52	6·5	

30. There are 35 households of tribes in the village. Out of them 27 households belong to Kolams and 8 to Gonds. The total population of the tribals is 193. As regards the composition of the households the percentage of females is a little more among the Kolams whereas males outnumber the females among Gonds. The difference between the two sexes is comparatively more in the case of Gonds than among the Kolams. The average size of a Kolam family is 5·22 whereas that of a Gond family is about 6·5. In both the cases the size of household is more than the average size of the household of the village, which is only 5·51. As already indicated the sex ratios among the two tribes present a contrast, *i.e.*, in the case of Kolams for every 100 males there are 101 females whereas among the Gonds for every 108 males there are only 100 females.

31. Of the 40 household heads, only 5 are literates and the rest are illiterates. Except one female, all the remaining household heads are males. Analysing this further on the basis of community, out of the 8 household heads in Gond tribe only one is a female. Two male household heads are literates. Similarly out of the 27 household heads of the Kolams, all are males and only two are literates. In the same way, all the four Muslim household heads are males and only one among them is a literate. The remaining one Lohar household head is an illiterate male (Table 9).

House types

32. The houses in the village are small rectangular structures with stake walls and low roofs covered with grass, with two doors–one opening into the street and the other opening into the backyard. The houses do not have windows (Fig. 2). A few houses especially of Kolams have one shelter locally known as *manduva* at the entrance which serves as a place for taking rest as well as tying the cattle in the night. Nearly 20% of the households are having such shelters. They preserve fodder on the top of this *manduva* so that the cattle may not spoil the fodder.

33. The mode of construction and the use of the materials do not differ from community to community or tribe to tribe. People who are economically well off or having more family members generally construct big houses of the same type. There is only one big room inside, which is partitioned into two or three portions with a *tatti* wall.

One room serves as kitchen which is locally called *gardi* while the other bigger portion serves as a living room known as *vasara*. There are no separate dormitories for women and children. All the members sleep in one room only. During summer season, they sleep outside in the openyard on *palang* or *mancha* (cot). They either keep all the utensils in the kitchen on a wooden stool or in an *utti*. The hearth is of three simple stones arranged in the form of hearth. The interior of the house is dark and dingy, enough light is not admitted through the openings, and the entrance is also very low. White washing is almost unknown and the soot emitted from the hearth keeps on depositing on the walls and on the roof. Except plastering the walls with dung and clay once in a year, they do not decorate with any sort of paintings. In the living room they keep all other household materials like clothes, boxes, either wooden or bamboo-woven as the case may be, containing the jewellery and grain pots.

34. Table 84 gives the details of the households with the number of rooms. In the 40 houses, there are 82 rooms and are being used by 223 persons. On average each house is having two rooms. Of 40 houses 2 houses are with no regular rooms, 9 are with only one room while 15 households are having two roomed houses. There is only one household with a four roomed house while 13 households are having three roomed houses. All the houses in the village are thatch-roofed with four slopes. The material used for walls is either of *tatties* prepared out of bamboo or wooden rafters closely arranged with each other and plastered with clay and dung. 36 houses are having the walls of latter type while only four are of the former type (Table 86). Again of these 40 houses, 36 are purely used for residential purposes, and one household of Kammara caste is using the house as a residence-*cum*-workshop while the remaining 3 are used as residences-*cum*-cattlesheds (Table 87).

35. All the materials that are required for the construction of a house are procured from the forest. An annual customary sum of Re. 1 and a fowl are given to a forest official by each household for getting the fuel and other timber required for agricultural implements. If they want to acquire timber for the construction of a house, the house-owner has to pay something more than the customary payment to the concerned official. The rate is between Rs. 5 and Rs. 30 depending on the material used for the construction of a house. All these payments are collected by this petty forest official without any receipt. In addition to these cash payments, a little quantity of pulses and other grains that are produced in the village are also given to him.

36. It is a common practice in and around Laindiguda to requisition the help of all relatives and friends irrespective of phratry or clan to construct a house. With the changing times when individualism is prominent, people in the plains are no more interested in collective activities. This change can be seen even among some of the tribals of this area. But this evil has not yet completely penetrated into the interior parts (Fig. 3). On the days when the community help is required the prospective house owner has to feed all those who attended in his work. Probably this might be the main reason for the inter-tribal co-operation still in vogue. In this village the tribals helped Muslims and Lohar also in the construction of a house and were served tea during the construction. They were not given food because of the reluctance of the tribals to accept food from the hands of the other communities.

37. Sons or daughters, whether married or not are not provided with separate rooms in any community or the tribe in the village. Generally the old people sleep outside on the verandah locally known as *arugu* and the young married people sleep in the room. The houses are maintained cleanly and the frontyards are daily swept, but not sprinkled with water. The houses inside are cleaned thrice in a day by the womenfolk among all the communities in the village. Once in a week on any day, the floor of the house is smeared with cow dung. The hearth is daily cleaned and smeared with dung among the Gonds, Kolams and Lohar, but not among Muslim community who simply remove the ash from the hearth. Generally once in a year before the monsoon sets in, the inhabitants repair their houses with the help of other community people. The house type among the Kolams is known as *gudisa yella* while among the Gonds it is called as *ron*. Some of the main doors of the houses among the tribals are faced towards the south while there are few houses facing east and west. They do not have any rigidity nor sanctity attached to this. But among Muslims, it is reported that except south they can face their main door in any direction. The Kolams have their own names to the direction *viz*, north is called as *kalan*; south as *telaganam*; east as *palamvai* and west as *daravai*. The rubbish is collected in the backyard known as *veda* where they raise maize.

Selection of house site

38. Most of the people are reported that they do not observe any ceremony while selecting sites for their houses. But a few elderly Kolams reported that they do attach some importance to the selection of the houes site. After having selected a piece of land for the construction of the house, the owner keeps a little quantity of jowar in a heap in the middle and a circle is drawn around it with turmeric powder. On the following morning accompanied by a few people the owner visits the house site to see whether the heap is intact or is disturbed. If it is found intact the site is considered an auspicious one and if it is disturbed they search for another site which stands for the test. Enquiry revealed that a good number of Kolam households did not observe this ceremony. The Muslims and the Lohars have reported that they did not observe any kind of ceremony for the selection of the house site. The Gonds observe the same method as narrated in Bhurnur Village Survey Monograph (S. No. 40). There are no specific months as such, considered as auspicious for the construction of a house. The general prevailing practice is that the houses are constructed or repaired in the summer season by all the communities in the village. Muslims start construction on any day. The Kolams and Gonds consider Thursdays and Fridays as auspicious for the construction of a house.

House construction

39. Except fixing up of the pillar in the north-eastern corner locally known as *dayyalamoola*, no other ceremony is observed by the Kolams. They do not keep coin or any other material in that unlike in the case of Gonds. But at the time of arranging the ridge piece which is called *venugarra*, a turmeric root, a little quantity of rice and two paise are tied in a piece of new cotton cloth and tied in its centre. Three Muslim households have reported that they have also done in the same manner.

House-warming ceremony

40. On a Thursday, after completion of the construction of the house, the owner of the house along with his wife who carries a pot filled with water enters into the house which is kept smeared and cleaned. Vegetarian meal is prepared and served to all the community people and thus ends the ceremony among the Kolams. The Muslims, on this day, prepare sweetmeats and offer to God known as *fateha*. The Lohar household has not observed any sort of house-warming ceremony.

Expenditure on construction

41. The expenditure on construction of a new house depends upon the economic position of a person and also upon the extent of the community help he receives. Usually the expenditure on a new house varies between Rs. 100 and Rs. 250. The houses are repaired once in a year and the expenditure on repairs varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 80.

Description of a typical house

42. One Sri Atram Gangu, a Kolam is having 40′ × 20′ homestead area. The plinth area of the house is 18′ × 12′ which is common in the village, though a few households are having houses of more than that area. Generally an average family will have a house of the above measurements. After selecting the house site, the length and breadth of the proposed house is marked out with the help of a rope. Ten pillars are raised as shown in the sketch which is known as *pade* in Kolami. On these pillars wooden beams known as *doolalu* are placed breadth-wise. In the middle two small pillars are fixed opposite to each other which are called *nitrallu*. On these *nitrallu* a wooden beam is placed which acts as a ridge. From this ridge *vasalu* (small bamboo beams) are so placed as to slope downwards in all directions on to the lengthwise beams. This is finally thatched with grass. It is partitioned into two rooms with *tatties*. The front pial is known as *arugu* which is used for entertaining the guests. The main room is known as *vasara* where all their belongings are kept in one corner and is also used for sleeping etc. Just adjacent to this, there is another room known as *gondi* which is exclusively used for cooking. In the *vasara*, the women in monthly course sit in a corner towards the west known as *maila moola* (Figs. 1 and 2).

Dress

43. A Kolam of the bygone days used to wear a narrow *langoti* drawn between the legs and tucked into his waist thread in front and behind (Fig.4) while his wife used a saree. The use of a blouse or *revika* was not known to them. With the passage of time they have also changed their mode of dress. This change is clearly perceptible both among males as well as among the females. Now-a-days Kolams try to appear fully dressed with a dhoti, a shirt either with sleeves or without them and turban as head-dress. This head-dress is conspicuously present on every one. This is a voluminous white cloth tied round the head leaving the tail end of it hanging on

his back (Fig.5). Women are no less responsive to the changes taking place outside their settlement. They have changed their way of dressing, appear like plains women, but with their characteristic ornaments. Wearing blouse is not popular among the old women even now. The young women are wearing them which are called *polka*. The Gonds also dress in the same fashion. The Muslim men wear *lungis* or pyjamas and shirts. The women wear sarees and bodices.

44. Possession of more number of dresses invariably depends upon one's purchasing power as well as on the taste. Generally people possess a pair of dresses.The annual requirements of the clothes are not purchased at a particular time but are usually purchased on festive occasions. The cloth requirements both for males and females are purchased at weekly *shandies* at Sirpur. Of course a few people do purchase at Adilabad or at Asifabad whenever they visit for the selling of cotton. Ordinarily the male members possess a pair of dhotis of 8 yards which costs roughly about Rs. 8 and one or two shirts known as *kudtha* or *angi* and each one costs about Rs. 5. They do not generally get them stitched but purchase them readymade. Poor people do not even wear shirts. Others too who possess do not wear when they are in the village. They wear shirts only when they go out. Headgear known as *rumal* is worn by the males which will be either white or coloured measuring about 6 yards in length and costs about Rs. 10. Though footwear is not a taboo among this tribe, it is rarely found. The poor economic condition of the people is the only factor for the unpopularity of the footwear. We can count on fingers the tribals using footwear which are purchased at Sirpur *shandy* at a cost of Rs. 3 per pair. Almost all the elderly males of the Muslim community are in the habit of using *chappals*. The tribals, both Kolams and Gonds, who are using *chappals* do not enter into their houses wearing them which is considered a taboo. Even other communities also observe this rule strictly.

45. The women-folk in all the communities wear sarees of 9 yards in length which is known as *pat*. However, there is a difference in wearing of sarees by the tribals from that of other community people who wear just like other plains women of the area. The tribal woman wears the saree above the knee. The saree is taken round the hips and the one end is taken between the two legs and tucked at the back, while the other end is thrown loosely on the left shoulder. Poor people sometimes make two pieces out of this saree (Fig. 10). Blouses which are locally known as *polka* are worn by all the women except old people. The wearing of blouses is the result of cultural contact with plains people. The business men are partly responsible for creating the desire for blouses among the tribal folk by getting them for sale in the local *shandies*. The women belonging to other castes also dress in the same fashion. All these requirements are purchased at Sirpur weekly *shandy*. The cost of a saree ranges from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 and that of a blouse about 0·75 P. to Rs. 1·25 depending on the colour and variety of the cloth. The minimum amount required for the dress of a woman is about Rs. 25 to Rs. 30. Generally the women-folk do not put on blouses when they are in the village or at work in the field (Fig. 10). When enquired why they do not regularly wear blouses, a Kolam woman remarked that it will tear away due to sweating. Economic stringency is also one of the main causes for not using the blouses regularly. The male children wear shirts and shorts and in case one cannot afford, he manages with *gochi*. Generally upto 4 or 5 years, they do not wear any clothes. Those who can afford, use petticoats and frocks for the female children. It is a common habit among the tribals to purchase readymade goods. They very rarely get their clothes stitched because of non-availability of a tailor nearby.

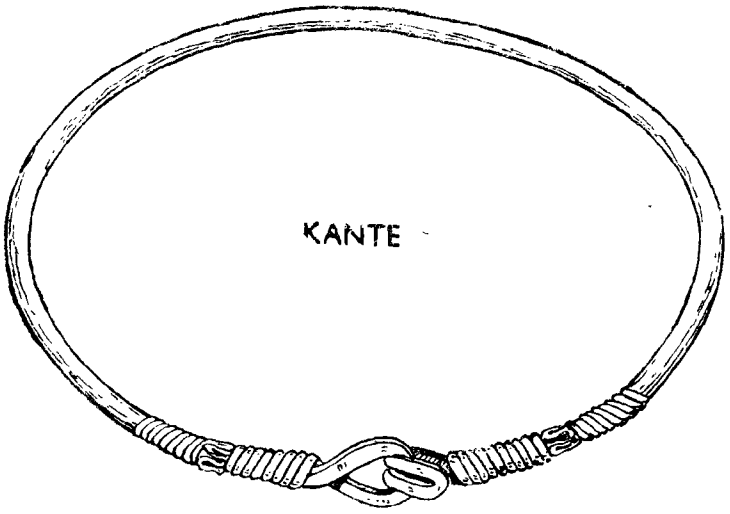
46. Except wearing the new clothes, which is not compulsory, there is no special dress for any festival among all communities in the village.

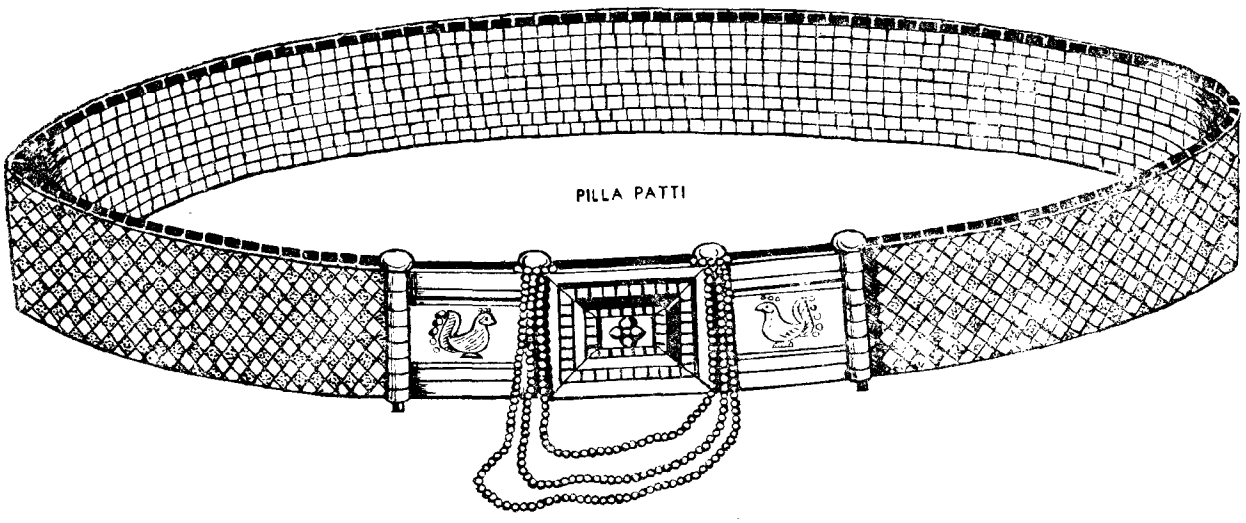
Ornaments

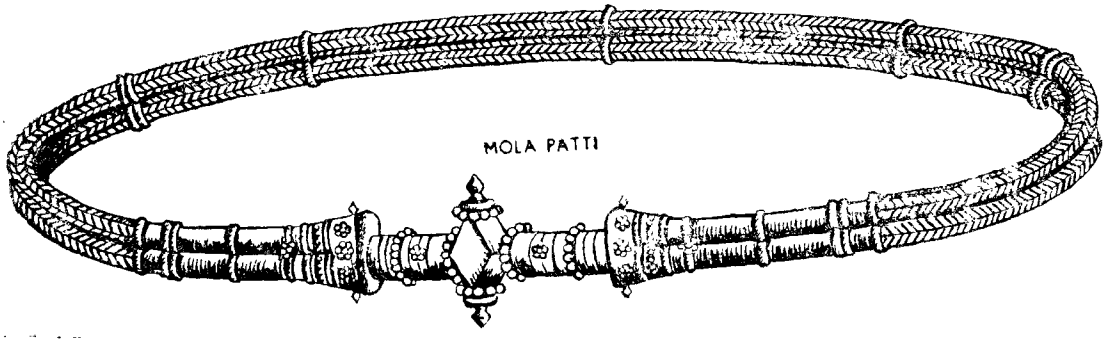
47. The Kolams like Gonds adorn themsleves with many ornaments. They get their ornaments from the same professional silversmiths as the rest of the rural population, and ornaments of men and women do not vary much and most of them or similar to those of Gonds. In addition to ornaments of silver and rolled-gold, other inferior type of ornaments are also used. The itinerary merchants have made the rolled-gold ornaments popular in these tribal tracts. To-day most of the tribal *shandies* are fully invaded by the plastic and rolled-gold ornaments which are mostly used by the sophisticated people of the plains. The poor satisfy their urge for possession of ornaments by purchasing aluminium ones at Keslapur fair. Bead necklaces are very common among the people.

48. Women wear heavy embossed heart-shaped silver pendants with long chains attached which in Kolami are called *padaka sankalam*.

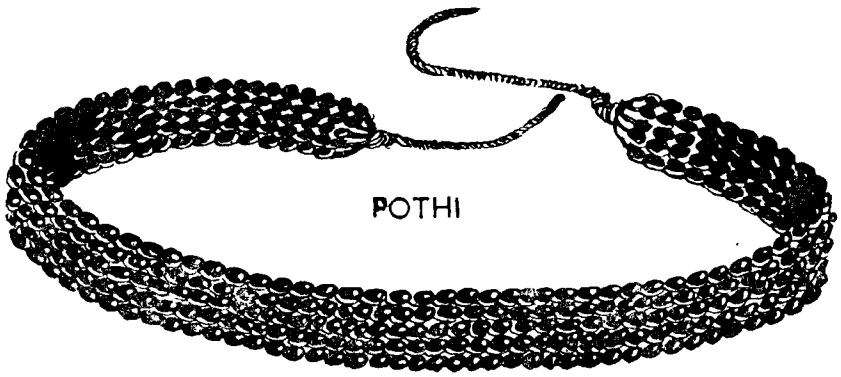
Silver necklaces fastened by hook, heavy anklets and armlets, are also used. *Kante* is also a kind of

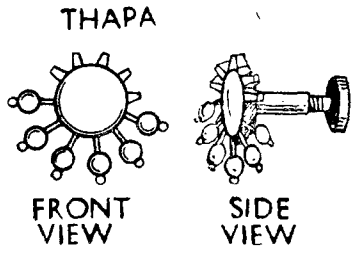


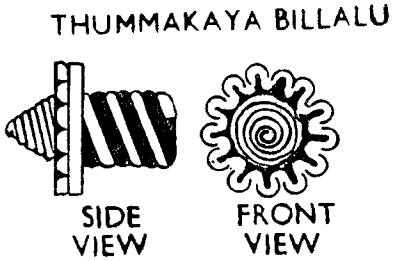


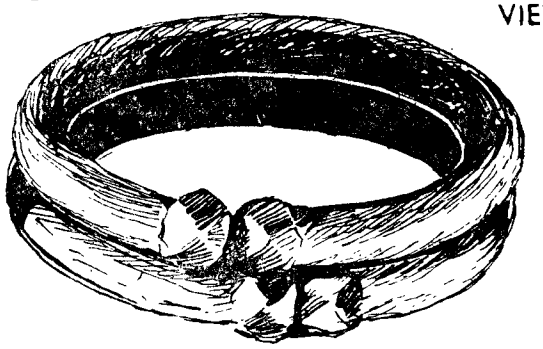


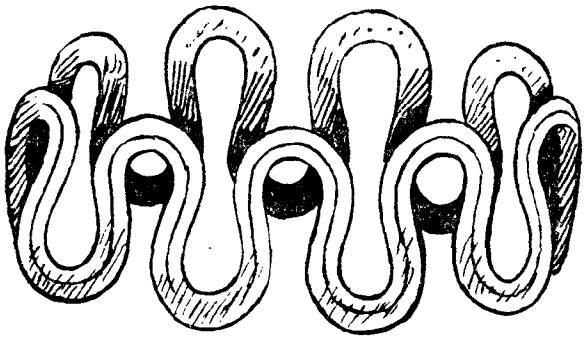
neck ornament. *Pothi* is a string of beads worn stiffly to the neck. Toe-rings and finger rings are called *ungaralu*; necklaces and bracelets are made with coins of various denominations. *Thapa* a flat brass ornament is worn to the nose. The most valuable possessions of both men and women are silver



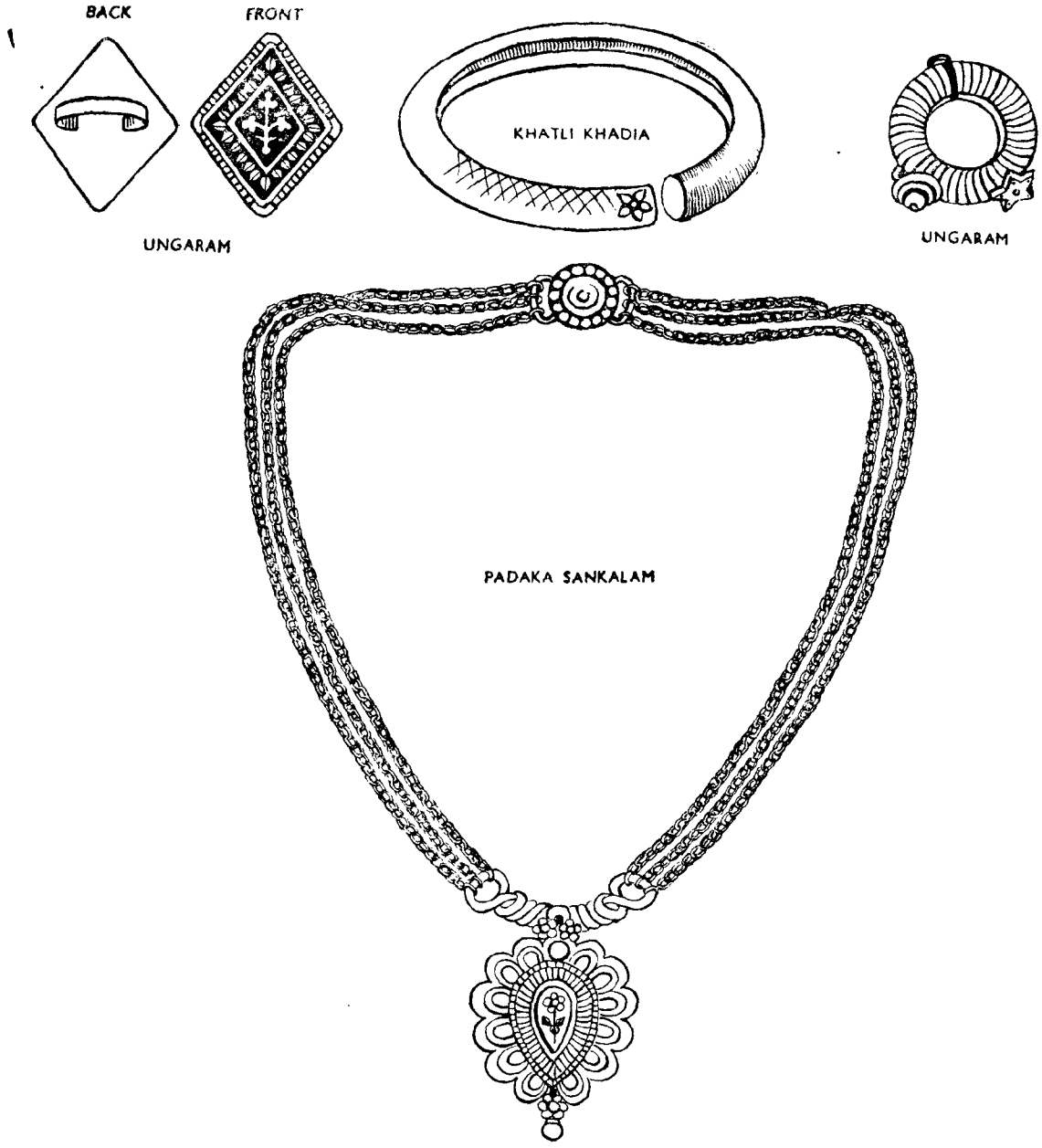








belts called *pilla patti,* if it is worn by a woman, or *mola patti* if it is worn by men, which are worn above the saree or dhoti. In case of males, this ornament will be like a rod. *Khatli khadia, danda kadia,* are ornaments made of German silver and *thummakaya billalu* are armlets made of silver. Anklets known as *kalla kadyalu* are also worn, which are often made of German silver.



The ornaments worn by women of Muslim community and of Lohar caste do not differ much. In addition, a few women are found wearing brass or German silver rings on the lobe of the ear. Necklaces of beads are also worn. The unmarried girls can wear all the ornaments. Except *potti* the

marriage badge, all the above said ornaments can be worn by the widow. Of course *potti* too can be worn by a widow if she remarries.



49. As already said, the silver ornaments are manufactured by the silversmith at Asifabad when the tribals of this village visit for marketing purposes. The making charges for the silver ornaments depend upon the weight. Generally 12 Paise are charged per tola. All the remaining ornaments of German silver and brass are purchased in Keslapur fair. Nowadays they are available at Sirpur *shandy* also. The women in their full jewellery can be seen in (Figs. 6 & 7). The cost of the German silver ornaments varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 5.

Tattooing

50. Tattooing is not a 'must' among the Kolams unlike in the case of Gonds. Every woman will have, however, tattoo marks on the forehead. Thotis from Nishani, a village in Asifabad Taluk, visit this village now and then and do tattooing. The payment is made according to the design. But the minimum payment is about 25 Paise or one *chitti* of any kind of grain. Some people also give food. This tattooing is done by the women-folk of the Thoti tribe. The men who get pains in joints will also have the tattoo marks which are supposed to give relief from the pain. Tattooing marks are only for decorative purposes. No significance is attached to them.

Hair style

51. The hair style of the women is very simple. They comb the hair and part it in the middle, take them in the back and knot it (Fig. 6). The Men have either a shaven head leaving a bit of hair in the centre or a modern crop. The latter is very popular among the younger generation. There is no barber in the village. The men assist each other in shaving or hair cutting. Only the younger generation who have adopted the modern hair style are utilising the services of the barber of Jainur or Sirpur. When they visit *shandy* they have the hair cut, by paying 0·25 P. The Muslims and the Lohar engage the services of the barber of Jainur village and pay 0·12 P. for shaving and 0·25 P. for hair cut. There are no washermen in the village and around. None in the village engages the services of a washerman. The women-folk wash their clothes themselves.

Domestic utensils

52. Earthen and aluminium vessels are commonly used by all the inhabitants irrespective of caste and tribe. Table 40 gives the details of domestic utensils used by the people of the village. Both Gonds and Kolams cook their food in earthenware known as *dutha*. Except one Gond household which is not using earthen-ware, all the remaining 39 households in the village are using them. For eating, brass or aluminium or bell-metal utensils are

used. 24 Kolam, 8 Gond and 3 Muslim households and the Lohar household are using brass vessels. Bronze plates are possessed only by 5 Gond and 2 Kolam households. Similarly aluminium vessels are being used in the households of 5 Gonds, 19 Kolams, 4 Muslims and 1 Lohar. It is evident from the above analytical discussion that the use of metalware is popular among all the communities in the village. The earthenware are purchased at Sirpur *shandy*. The cost of these earthen pots varies according to the size. The small one costs about 36 P. while the bigger one costs about Rs. 1·25 P. or so. The aluminium and other metallic vessels are mostly purchased at Keslapur fair (Figs. 8 & 9).

Fuel and lighting

53. The village being in the heart of the forest, the inhabitants do not feel the dearth of fuel. Once in a week or daily the required fuel is procured from the local forest and it is brought by the women-folk. They, however, reserve the fuel in sufficient quantity for the rainy season. They procure the fuel free of cost by paying Re. 1 *mamool* annually to the petty forest official. They use kerosene oil lamps locally known as *buddi* for internal lighting. Generally they do not keep the light burning for a long time during the nights. They purchase 12 P. worth of kerosene oil once in a week from the *shandy*. A few households have also reported that they get a kerosene tin when they visit Asifabad or Adilabad by selling cotton. Some poor people pull on without lighting also. Only two households, *i.e.*, one Kammara and one Muslim are in the possession of kerosene oil lamps which have been acquired during the last five years.

Bedding and furniture

54. The villagers are very poorly equipped with bedding materials and furniture. Every household in the village invariably possesses one or two cots which are manufactured by themselves and are knitted with coir prepared by them with the locally available grass. Whenever a guest visits they offer cot to sit or to take rest. The extra clothes, *i.e.*, sarees and dhotis are used as bedding during the night. In the winter season, logs of wood are kept burning inside the house to keep themselves warm. Bed sheets, carpets, etc., are not commonly used by the villagers. The *gone* prepared out of jute which is used for the transportation of cotton and other grains is also used as bedding material.

55. Table 38 clearly gives the distribution of bedding material and furniture among the communities of the village. Out of the 40 households in the village, 35 households possess cots which are locally manufactured. 7 households are having bamboo mats which are woven by Kolams, and 6 households are having quilts. 14 households are having blankets which are purchased at local *shandies*. 6 households have carpets, 2 households have beds, 12 households possess bed sheets and 3 households have pillows. Some of the above articles are purchased at Sirpur *shandy* or at Adilabad or Asifabad whenever they visit for marketing purposes.

56. Furniture in the sense we understand is almost unknown in this village. Except one Kolam household, others are having chairs. Only 18 households are using mirrors. Wooden and steel boxes are possessed by 11 and 5 households respectively. Again among these households, 4 have acquired them during the last five years. Toilet and washing soaps are being used by 15 households. Out of them, 9 households fall in the income group of Rs. 301–600 and one each in the income group of Rs. 1,201 and above and Rs. 601–900 while the remaining 4 households fall in the income range of Rs. 300 and below. Mosquito curtains and modern toilets are almost unheard of by the villagers.

Food

57. The staple food of the inhabitants is jowar, a coarse grain. A few households reported that they take rice and wheat on festive occasions. Redgram dal is the popular side dish among the villagers. All the households in the village are non-vegetarians and eat mutton and chicken, etc. Gond and Lohar households do not take beef. Eating of beef among Kolams and Muslims is permitted. Of the 27 Kolam households, only 11 households reported that they do not take beef which however does not seem to be correct because the Kolams sacrifice a buffalo or a cow at the time of Peddapanduga and is served to all the Kolams. Except the Muslim households, all the others reported that they take meat of the cheetah. Table 58 gives the details of the prohibited foods and drinks, etc.

58. Jowar is cooked and eaten by the Kolams and Gonds but it is made into bread by the Muslims and Lohars. The tribals also prepare jowar bread but only occasionally. In preparing jowar food, jowar is first ground into flour, put into boiling water and cooked. Onions, raw chillies are used as side dish. Vegetables are very rarely used. During

the rainy season, the greens which are available in the local forest are commonly used. Using milk and milk products is not common. In addition to this, Gonds and Kolams eat jungle roots. The following edible roots are available and are used during the rainy season.

(1) *Appagadda*: It is black in colour with delicate root hairs over it. The Gonds call it *nuskamati*. It is boiled with ash to remove the bitterness of this root.

(2) *Alkidigadda*: It is white in colour and six inches in length. It is eaten both raw and fried. Either pots or closed baskets are used for its preservation. In Gondi it is called as *thondrimati*.

(3) *Katengagadda* : Otherwise known as *thedremati* is white in colour and is eaten raw. In shape it resembles ladies fingers.

(4) *Duddemati*: It is black in colour and bulky in shape. It is eaten after frying.

(5) *Pokka* (Gulmohwa flower) : It is also eaten either after frying or after cooking in water.

59. There is a definite change in the routine food on festive occasions. On festive occasions, every household manages to have good dishes. The popular dishes among these people on such occasions are *garelu* a hot dish, prepared out of greengram dal or with maize as the case may be. *Boorelu*, a sweet dish, is prepared with wheat flour mixed with Bengalgram dal and jaggery. In addition, rice and meat are eaten on most of the festive occasions. The villagers take all kinds of pulses, greens and vegetables.

60. Table 55 gives a picture of the dietary habits of the inhabitants. Of the 40 households 15 reported that they take meals two times a day, while 5 households take breakfast, midday meal and supper and coffee or tea at any time during the day. 18 households take breakfast, midday meal and supper. There are 2 households taking meals two times with coffee or tea at any time.

Drink

61. Drinking of intoxicants is common among all the communities in the village. But they know only toddy and the country liquor which is very popular in this region. There are no liquor or toddy shops in the village nor does one find any regular drunkards among the tribes or castes. Generally, majority of the people in the village do not take drinks due to their poor economic condition. Those who are willing to enjoy, mostly fulfil their desires on *shandy* day at Sirpur where there are regular liquor and toddy shops.

Tobacco and other habits

62. The habit of smoking or chewing tobacco seems to be not very common among the people of this village. Table 59 clearly gives the incidence of smoking and chewing habits among the people of the village. Only about 30·49% (68 persons) of the people acquired the habit of smoking either *beedi* or cheroot and the former is very popular. Only five women chew tobacco. The habit of smoking is totally absent among the females of this village and also it is not a popular habit among the females in the tribal areas of this region. The habit of chewing pan with *jarda* is found in one Muslim household.

63. The people of this village do not have the habit of taking bath regularly. The women generally have oil bath once in a week.

Chapter III

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

General

Dr. Pauline V. Young and Dr. Clarin F. Schrind defined that—

> "A culture group is a union of persons who have common material and social heritages, common beliefs, habits, activities and interest and who live in the social environment, whether urban or rural, foreign or native, civilised or primitive." 1

In this light, the social customs and the beliefs of the Kolams in particular and the other community people of the village in general, are studied in this Chapter. Though for centuries, these people are living in the midst of the Gonds — another Scheduled Tribe—predominating in this region, there seems to be very little impact of the latter on the former's social life. Though living in the same environment, the Kolams differ from Gonds very sharply in social customs and habits.

Birth

2. Pregnancy among women in this village is surmised from the stoppage of menstruation and vomiting sensation. The pregnant woman is served with the usual food and no special dishes are served. It is not a social binding or obligation on the part of her parents to take the pregnant woman to their house in some particular month during the first pregnancy. Of course, the people who can afford, do take their daughters and after delivery send them back in the third month presenting her with a new saree or blouse piece. No taboos as such are observed by any member of the family including the husband when a woman becomes pregnant. It is said that cohabitation between husband and wife is discontinued from the fifth month of pregnancy till the new born stops the suckling. The pregnant woman attends to her normal duties till such time as she develops labour pains. The same practice is found among the Gonds as well as among the other communities living in this village.

3. Delivery takes place in the same house and in a separate apartment. When acute labour pains are felt by the woman in pregnancy, she is made to lie down on a coarse cloth spread on the floor. Meanwhile the neighbouring elderly women gather and the *dai* known as *vodpeng sonegekath* (native midwife) of their own tribe is summoned to conduct the delivery. In case of difficult delivery, hot water is poured on the waist as well as on the hips and the people pray to some deity. Soon after delivery, the umbilical cord of the baby is cut by the *dai* with a thin bamboo blade which is known as *bogar* and then the baby is given bath inside the house where a pit is dug already. The mother is given bath outside the habitation and the place is known as *malabodi*. A spot in the south of the village is selected for use on such occasions where every household keeps some pots. This spot is used for bathing purposes by all the women of Kolam tribe during the days of monthly pollution. The placenta and the umbilical cord are taken in a bamboo basket and buried there. Pollution among this tribe lasts for eight days and on all these days she takes bath regularly at *malabodi*. The *dai* attends on her for four days and daily gives bath to the new born in the backyard of the house. The baby is fed on the mother's milk from the very day of the birth. The mother is served with the same usual food, *i.e.*, jowar gruel. In addition to this food, she is given for four days a special preparation rolled into spherical balls locally known as *yechhalu* prepared out of the following articles which are said to keep in better production of milk in the mother and also to keep the body warm. People who can afford give this for more than four days—

(1) Copra (2) Dried ginger (3) Garlic (4) Jaggery (5) Pepper (6) Cumin	All these articles are mixed and ground into powder. The powder thus prepared is soaked in groundnut oil and the balls are prepared. The minimum expenditure for this will be about Rs. 4.

4. On the eighth day the people of the community are entertained to a vegetarian meal. The minimum expenditure on this dinner will be about Rs. 25. The *dai* who attends on the delivery is paid Rs. 5 and two seers of jowar irrespective of the sex

1. Dr. Pauline V. Young and Clarin F. Schrind, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, p. 447

of the new born. Those who are of sound economy may give a saree too. Payment to the *dai* is made on the day of naming. Upto eighth day no function is held in the community. Ordinarily this custom is followed by all the Kolams except by the poor who may not celebrate it and yet it is not considered a taboo. A few households in the village reported that they have paid only Rs. 2 to *dai* and nothing else and they have not given any feast to the community people.

5. Same method is almost observed by the Gonds except that their women do not go for taking bath outside the habitation area. Delivery is conducted by *dai* of their tribe called *sonivothod*. The umbilical cord is cut by a country knife and is buried together with placenta keeping it in an old pot in the frontyard of the house. Generally a saree is given to the *dai* but those who cannot afford pay Rs. 2 on the day of the naming ceremony. All their community people are also fed on this day as in the case of the Kolams.

6. The custom observed by Muslims in this village is quite different. The delivery is attended to by an experienced old woman of their community who is known as *dai* and she is either paid in cash or a saree is given to her. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife and is kept in a pot along with placenta and is buried in the ground outside residential portion. Pollution in this community lasts for 40 days. During these days the mother is fed with the mixture of *badam*, *kishmish*, copra, *kurma* and *cheronji* which are ground together into powder and are mixed with ghee. The same Muslim *dai* attends to the delivery in Lohar household also and she is paid Rs. 1·25 P. and a saree is given to her. No food is served or any function is celebrated in Lohar community. Pollution lasts for 11 days and on the 12th day she is given bath. The umbilical cord and the placenta are buried in the ground.

Naming ceremony

7. The naming ceremony among the Kolams and Gonds is performed on the 8th day after delivery. No special function is arranged on this day. The payment to the *dai* is made after naming the new born. The elderly people select some name of one of their ancestors and the *dai* or an old lady announces it thrice loudly. A few typical names among the Kolams are Bheem, Laxman, Koddu and Mutha for males and Rjubai, Muthubai, Marubai and Rami for females.

8. Among the Muslims, this ceremony is performed on the 40th day and on the 12th day after birth among the Lohars. They entertain their communitymen to a vegetarian feast and the new born is named after some ancestor.

Tonsure ceremony

9. Tonsure ceremony is locally called *thalakireekath* in Kolami which is performed either on Thursday or Friday after the dropping of the remaining umbilical cord. Both male and female children are tonsured. Convention is that the maternal uncle is invited to shave the head of the baby. In his absence the classificatory uncle within the same tribe is invited. In both the cases the father of the baby has to pay Rs. 2 to the uncle for attending on this ceremony. But this custom is not rigidly followed by all households in the village and the deviation is not considered a taboo. Good number of people reported that the mother herself shaves the boy or the girl as the case may be though this deviation from the customary way does not result in social ostracization. Those who are in a position to pay Rs. 2 to the maternal uncle however favour the customary way of performing the ceremony. No community feasting is arranged on this day. Almost the same custom prevails among the Gonds except that the baby has to face east while conducting the ceremony. Among Kolams there is no particular observation regarding the direction.

10. Among the Muslims and also among Lohar caste, the tonsure ceremony is observed for both the males and females. Either the father or the mother shaves the head of the baby in the case of the Muslims while the maternal uncle in Lohar community performs the ceremony. No function as such is held. Those who can afford give vegetarian feast to a few relatives on a Friday.

11. Generally, the suckling of a child is continued upto a year or so. They do not use any methods for weaning away the child from suckling unlike in the case of plains people. No ceremonies at first feeding and initiation of the child to learning are performed either by tribals or by other communities in the village.

12. Barrenness is always attributed to one's own ill luck and no special methods are adopted in such cases for begetting children.

Puberty

13. Attainment of puberty is referred to by the Kolams in their language as *somurthayeddong*. On the appearance of the first menses the girl informs her mother or any elderly female member. Immediately a hut with branches of green leaves is erected by the *ailon* (brother-in-law) or by the maternal uncle, in his absence. Till the erection of this hut, the girl stands under a tree and is prohibited from showing her face to any male member. After the hut is erected she enters it and other women of the village visit her with a little quantity of jowar food and serve her in a green leaf plate. She is retained in that hut for one night and in the early hours of the following day she is brought to the house and is accommodated in a corner. While so returning, the girl dismantles the hut erected for the occasion. She is kept under pollution for about 8 days and on the ninth day she is given bath at *malabodi*. Even during the other days of pollution she goes to *malabodi* and takes bath. Both for eating and drinking she is given a leaf plate. Neither on the first day nor on the final day is arranged any special function. Women in monthly course observe pollution for 3 days and they also take their bath on the fourth day at *malabodi*.

14. Among the Gonds, pollution lasts for six days and on the seventh day the final bath is given. She is accommodated in the house only and the bath is also given in the same house. For normal menstruation, the period of pollution lasts for five days. No other special function is held.

15. No special function is held on this occasion among the Muslims as well as among Lohar castes. Pollution lasts for 9 days in the case of Lohar caste and the woman is accommodated in the same house and the final bath is given on the 10th day. Among the Muslims, there is no custom of segregating women under pollution.

Marriage

16. The social bond of marriage is recognised and regulated in various ways in different primitive societies. Many of the usages connected with marriage depend upon the fact that each of the two parties is a member of a distinct family group, through which they both possess a set of wider kinship bonds. The importance here lies in the fact that marriage links together not only two individuals but also their respective kinsfolk. While this is true in all societies, it is of paramount importance in primitive cultures.

Types of marriages

17. There are two types of marriages among the Kolams as in case of Gonds. Marriage by negotiation known as *kadiyam mudekath* and marriage by capture *i.e.*, *sumut korakath* are the prevailing ways of acquiring mates. Polygyny is allowed among all the communities in the village. Premarital sex relations are strictly prohibited. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she is called upon to disclose the name of her lover and he is forced to accept the girl as his wife. Sexual indiscretion with an outsider involves instant expulsion from the tribe. The Kolams celebrate the marriage of their daughters both before and after the attainment of puberty, but now-a-days the later is very common.

Age at first marriage

18. From Table 64 it can be seen that the usual marriageable age for the girls used to be between 10 and 14 years and for boys between 15 and 19 years. Of course a few *i.e.*, 9 marriages had been performed at an early age of 5–9 years covering 1 male and 8 females. There are 9 males and 39 females who are married in the age group of 10–14 years. This clearly proves that child marriages were very common in this area and that too among females. A comparative study of Tables 6 and 64 reveals that as against 57 child marriages in the age groups of 5–9 years and 10–14 years (Table 64) recorded at their first marriage, there are only at present 6 persons who are married and who are in the age group of 0–14 years (Table 6). It may therefore be concluded that child marriages are becoming rare. 31 males and 14 females were married in the age group of 15–19 years (Table 64) whereas there are only 10 people who are married and who are in the age group of 20–24 years and all of them are males. Only 2 males were married in the age group of 25–29 years. No marriages were performed in the age groups 30–34 years and above.

Permissible partners

19. The rule of exogamy is strictly followed; a man cannot thus marry a woman of his own sept. As already described in the previous pages, the Kolams, like the Gonds are divided into four exogamous sects called Dayyams (phratries) and the marriages are contracted according to phratry within their own tribe. Marrying mother's own brother's daughter and father's own sister's daughter is permitted. Marrying own sister's daughter is however a taboo. Marrying elder brother's wife is permitted while marrying the younger brother's widow is prohibited.

Consanguinity

20. Out of the 75 marriages investigated in the village, 47 alliances are within the consanguineous relationship and 28 are non-consanguineous (Table 62). Of the 47 consanguineous marriages, 32 are with mother's own brother's daughter and 14 are with father's own sister's daughter, while only one is with other blood relationship (Table 60). There are 61 monogamous marriages and 7 polygynous marriages (Table 62). Polygynous marriages are found in the two Scheduled Tribes. There are two cases of marrying elder brother's widow one in Gonds and the other in Kolams (Table 60).

Spatial distribution

21. Most of the marriage alliances are contracted within the village and within the taluk. Of the 75 marriages, 23 are contracted within the village, 33 outside the village but within the taluk, 14 outside the taluk but within the district and only 4 are contracted outside the State (Table 63). The particulars of one marriage in Kolams have not been reported.

Marriage by negotiation

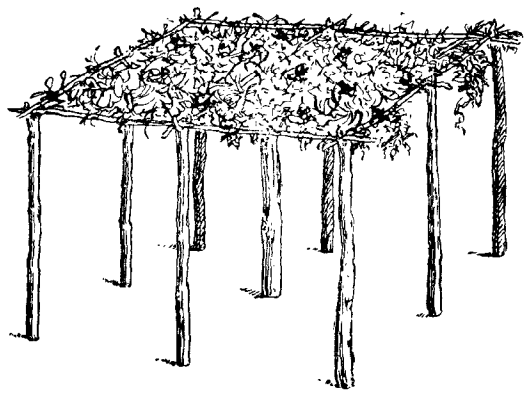
22. Marriage by negotiation is prevalent among all the castes and tribes in the village. The Kolams call it as *pendli* or *kadiyam mudekath* while the Gonds call it as *khaje kobra*. The proceedings of the marriage among Kolams are similar to a great extent, though not identical, to those of Gonds. The Muslims call it as *shadi*, while among the Lohar community it is known as *laggam*.

23. Payment of bride price is in existence among the tribes and castes of the village in one form or the other. The rate of bride price among the Kolams and Gonds is the same. Rs. 15·50 cash and 8 sarees and two upper clothes are given to parents of the bride. This is known as *voli* among the Kolams and *paring* among the Gonds. The cash and the sarees are given to the mother of the bride while the upper clothes to her father. The amount of the bride price paid among the Lohars and the Muslim community is not fixed. It depends on the economic condition of the particular person. Among Muslims it is called as *mahar* which is paid to the girl herself. The payment of bride price is not a custom among the Lohar community but the parents of the bride who are poor generally demand some money from the groom's people.

24. Initiation always starts from the groom's side. During formal discussions and meetings at *shandies*, the parents of the boy will come to know the whereabouts of girls of marriageable age in neighbouring villages. The Kolams do not consult the almanac or approach a Brahmin for an auspicious day. Generally the marriages are performed in the month of *Kartigam* (October–November). Delak, the village priest of their tribe is consulted about the time and the day for initiating the proceedings of the marriage. Thursdays, Fridays and Mondays are considered auspicious. All the ceremonial functions are usually arranged in the month of *Kartigam*. Marriage is performed at bridegroom's residence. Same is the case with the Gonds also.

25. After having known the information about the girl, five males of their tribe irrespective of phratry, start for the village of the girl on any day mentioned above to know the desire of her parents. On their way to girl's house, if they hear the roar of a tiger or the howl of a fox, they consider it a good omen and believe the match will be settled without any hindrance. If they come across a cat or hear the barking sound of a dog, it is considered as a bad omen and they believe the results of the negotiations would be disastrous and so naturally postpone the visit to a later date. On reaching the village, they directly visit the prospective bride's house. At the girl's house, they are made to sit and are offered either *beedis* or tobacco as the case may be. Later the party reveals the purpose of their visit to the girl's parents. If the girl's people give their consent to the match, they dine in the girl's house and invite the girl's paity to visit their village. This practice is known as *pillan velang cherekath*.

26. It is not binding as such on the part of the girl's parents to visit the village of the boy since all matters are decided upon at the time of first visit. After a lapse of a week or so, a few people including some women with some foodstuffs and a goat repair to the girl's village. Before so leaving, the marriage booth is erected with nine wooden pillars helped by the people of all Dayyams (phratries) as shown in the sketch.

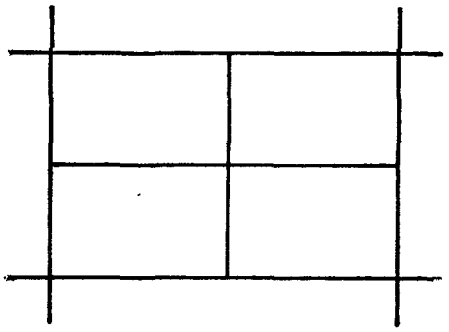


The boy's party directly go to the girl's house where the marriage booth is erected before performing any other ceremony. After this, arrangements for cooking are made and the goat brought by the boy's party is cut and cooked. Meanwhile the girl is given bath after applying turmeric. The girl is made to wear a new saree and is made to sit facing east on a wooden plank under the newly erected marriage booth. Their community people in the village are invited on this occasion. The Delak (village priest) and the Naikoon of the girl's village are also invited. Sacred rice is distributed to all the assembled and *bottu* (vermilion mark on the forehead) is applied to the prospective bride by a woman from the boy's party. Then *bottu* is also applied first to the Naikoon and later to all the assembled. After this, German silver bangles known as *kadiyalu* are worn to the wrist of the girl. All the assembled then throw the sacred rice over her as a mark of their blessings. This ceremony is known as *kadiyam kamme kayyor*. After these functions, all the people invited are served with non-vegetarian food. The groom's party returns to their village leaving two men and the cart in the bride's village start next day along with the girl.

27. The bride's party arrives at the groom's village accompanied by the two men left behind earlier. This party stops on the outskirts of the village and the two persons of the bridegroom's party who accompanied them are sent in advance to inform the groom's people of the arrival of the bride's party. After receiving the news, a few men and women are sent with some food to receive them. After finishing the vegetarian meals, tobacco or *beedis* are exchanged between the two parties. This ceremony is known as *yeduru dandi* which is similar to that of other Hindu castes.

28. After completing this ceremony the party starts from that place and stops at the entrance of the habitation area. Here the girl is made to sit on the feet of her maternal uncle facing east and groom's party presents another pair of German silver or silver bangles to the bride. After this, *ambali* (jowar gruel) with onions is served to all the members of the bride's party in green leaf cups called *doppolu*. This function is known as *sora java*. All the people of the bride are then accommodated in a separate house belonging to the people of the phratry of the bride which is called *jonosoraon*. In case there are no families of that phratry, a separate hut or a booth is erected nearer to the groom's residence. Meanwhile arrangements for the sitting are made and people belonging to bride and groom sit in opposite directions. Before the actual marriage proceedings are started the *voli* (bride price) is paid to the parents of the girl.

29. After completion of this, all the people including the bride and the groom proceed to Pochamma deity under the saree canopy. Devari or Delak (the village priest) propitiates the deity. Vermilion and turmeric marks are applied to the deity and then the Delak bedaubs a bit of earth in front of the deity with cow dung. Cross lines as shown in the sketch are drawn with *bukka* and *gulal*.

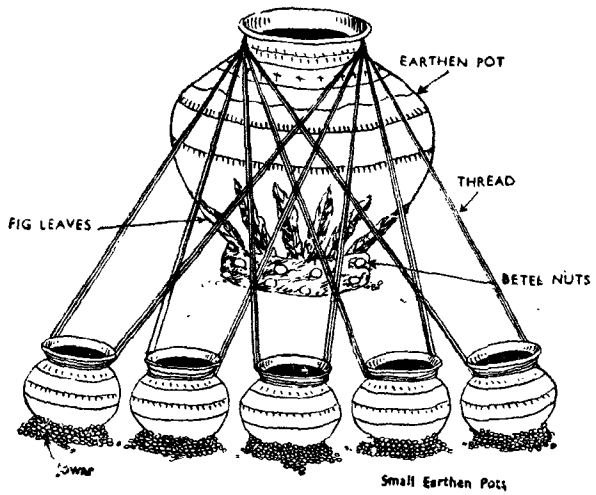


30. Some grains of jowar are placed in front of the deity and a chicken is left there to know whether it picks up the grain or not to ascertain the willingness of the deity. If the chicken picks up the grain, it is considered a good sign and granting of consent of the deity. If it fails to pick up, they bring another chicken and try with it. This goes on until they succeed in it. After thus knowing the consent, the fowl is sacrificed. Later a little quantity of all the dishes that are prepared are served in a green leaf plate and kept before the deity. Devari utters some words. This is called *naivejyam*. The food offered to the deity is partaken by the people gathered around. The new clothes which are to be given to the bride and the groom are kept before the deity and turmeric water is sprinkled on them. Two women carrying these clothes go round the deity three times while the drums are beaten. Thus ends the propitiation of the deity and all of them return home.

31. Soon after reaching the home, arrangements are made for giving bath to the bridegroom. No elaborate arrangements are made for the ceremonial bath of the couple as in the case of the Gonds. The clothes are dyed in turmeric water. The couple are given bath separately. Turmeric paste is applied to both of them before they are given bath. The girl is given bath in *jonosoraon* while the groom in his own house. Throughout this operation

women will be singing songs. Drums and trumpets are played at this time. Later, all the invitees are entertained with non-vegetarian food. No other function is held on this day and they pass their time in dancing and singing.

32. The second day starts with *kume* ceremony. This is almost similar to that of *kumikumal* ceremony among the Gonds or to that of *arivenikundalu* among the other Hindu castes of this area with some variation in the ceremony. Five small and one medium sized earthen pots with their concave lids are brought and are placed in the basket which is kept in the kitchen. But among the Gonds, these are kept in the house of the brother-in-law. The same number of pots are brought by all the people irrespective of phratry among Kolams. The medium sized pot duly filled with water is carried by the husband of the groom's paternal aunt to the place where the entire cattle of the village gather. At the time of carrying the pot, he is given one new upper-cloth known as *duppati* by the groom's parents. After reaching the place which is called *gordargottam* a small heap of dung is arranged and a few fig leaves are planted in it and betel nuts accord ing to their phratry are kept in it, *i.e.*, in case the groom belongs to Edo Dayyam (seven gods phratry) they keep seven betel nuts and the four gods phratry people keep four nuts and so on. Later the paternal aunt of the groom wearing new clothes presented by the father of the groom carries the small sized earthen pots in a basket under a saree canopy accompanied by drums and trumpets to *gordargottam* (cattle gathering place) where already her husband had kept the big sized earthenware. After cleaning the place and drawing *muggu* these small sized earthenware are placed facing the big pot as shown in the following figure and a thread is wound round these small pots connecting them to the bigger one.

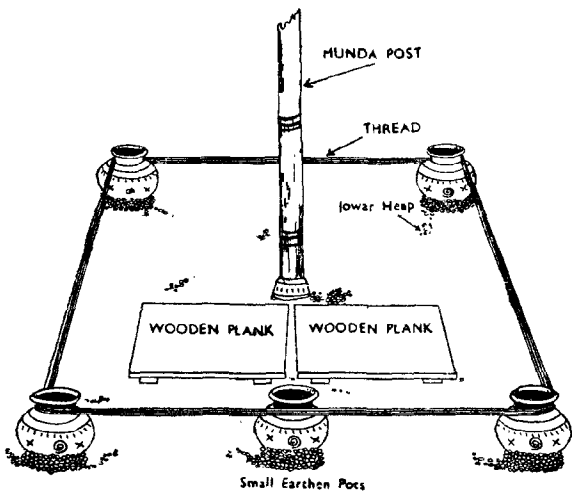


After this the thread wound is taken out one by one and the first one tied to the wrist of the bride's sister by giving the small sized pot (*kone kope*). In the same way the second one is given to the sister of the groom while the remaining three small earthenware are given to other women irrespective of their Dayyams (phratries). The procession then starts for the marriage booth. All these functions are directed by the Delak (the priest) and the Naikoon (the tribal elder of the village). The people however are not aware of the significance of this ceremony.

33. The small earthen pots brought from *gordargottam* by the women are placed on the heap of jowar arranged around the *munda* post under the marriage booth. Here on the earth, decorative lines with jowar flour and turmeric powder which are locally called *pattu* are drawn. Then the thread is wound around these posts for five times. The paternal aunt of the groom lits the candle in the concave lids of the small earthen pots. After this all the promised ornaments are carried in a basket to *jonosoraon* where it is handed over to the girl's party.

34. This basket contains in addition to the ornaments, a small earthen pot and a small quantity of oil, *bukka, gulal, katika*, clothes dyed in turmeric water and the *bashingam*. The bride is made to wear the turmeric clothes and the *bashingam* is tied to her forehead. In the same manner, the groom is also decorated at his house. The groom is then brought under the saree canopy accompanied by the musical instruments to *gordargottam* and is left there. A few members of the groom's party proceed to the bride's place and she is also brought to this place to the accompaniment of musical instruments. This procession is led by the groom's people and the bride's party follow them carrying water in four or five brass tumblers and also the sacred rice. After reaching the place, the groom and bride stand facing each other with a curtain in between. The groom first puts his right leg on the wooden plank already arranged and then the bride touches it with her right leg twice. The curtain in between is removed and the groom holds the hand of the bride and drags her to his left side. The Devari distributes the sacred rice over the heads of the bridal pair and this is followed by others. While throwing the sacred rice, they all say *sabodhanam*. Here it should be mentioned that the sister-in-law of the groom leads in all the functions till the marriage is concluded. After all the people have sprinkled the sacred rice, the sister-in-law ties in knot, the last end of the saree of the bride

with the upper cloth of the groom. After this the procession starts again from this place to the marriage booth under saree canopy. The sister-in-law leads the bridal pair holding the groom with her little finger and the groom in turn holds the bride taking her little finger. After reaching the booth, the Devari gives an earthen pot to the groom's sister-in-law who along with the bridal pair takes five rounds around the *munda* post keeping around the *munda* post one pot at the end of each round as shown in the sketch.



A circle is thus formed and in this a wooden plank is placed. The bridal pair is made to sit on the plank and the sister-in-law applies turmeric paste at three places on the body of the couple and takes them out of the circle. Then the groom and bride go inside the house and change their clothes and wear old clothes. Once again the couple are made to sit in that circle and the Delak holding the tumbler filled with water takes it twice round the couple and throws the water on the ground. This ceremony is called *harathi baladosi.* Later three tumblers full of water is poured over the couple and then the groom is taken to his house while the bride to *jonosoraon.* The groom and bride change their clothes and wear new clothes which they have changed prior to the above said ceremony. The couple once again are made to sit under the booth. The groom holding the marriage locket in his hand stands and show it to the assembled saying 'Ram, Ram' and invests it in the neck of the bride. Later the groom bends his head over that of the bride and all the assembled throw the sacred rice on them as a mark of their blessings. Hitherto, people belonging to groom and bride were sitting separately and now they all come together. The *parting* (bride price) of Rs. 15·50 P. is paid to the mother of the girl along with 8 sarees and an upper cloth to the bride's brother and a saree to her sister are given by the groom's people. This over, the groom and the bride holding a pot, accompanied by the members of both the parties go to *jonosoraon* where the people belonging to bride's party standing on the threshold do not allow them to enter while the groom's people try to over-power them and get into the house. Furious words are exchanged between the two parties. After a few moments, the fury subsides and they proceed with their further ceremonies. The groom and the bride are made to sit opposite each other and the pot which they have carried is kept in between and the bridal pair stretch their hands over the pot while the women around pour rice two times over their hands which fall in the pot. The rice that has thus fallen into the pot is measured and the same thing is repeated once again. There are thus now two small heaps of rice one representing the groom and the other the bride. In case the heap of the bride is more than that of the groom she is considered lucky and *vice versa.* This ceremony is known as *rasi.* Those who are willing to give presentations offer the same after this ceremony and all the gifts are taken by the parents of the girl only. The boy and the girl are then entertained together to a dinner. Thus ends the main ceremonies of the marriage celebrations. During these three days they entertain their relatives with non-vegetarian dishes.

35. The fourth day starts with the *kodikorru* ceremony. Two people belonging to groom's party go to the *gordargottam* (cattle gathering place) where a small fowl is given to them by the bride's elder sister and the couple is then brought to this place accompanied by men and women of both the parties to observe the Devadevi ceremony. The fowl which is offered to the groom's party is sacrificed to the Devadevi deity and is cooked. This food is partaken by all the people gathered around. After completion of this ceremony they return to the groom's house where the invitees are entertained to a non-vegetarian feast. Till evening there will be no functions except dancing and merry making.

36. In the evening *cheeti* ceremony is performed. Ten persons, males and females of both the parties sit facing each other on a *goni* or on a *kambali* as the case may be irrespective of the clan. Then the groom washes the feet of the people of the bride's party while the bride does the same to the people of the groom's party. After this a little bit

of jowar bread and meat kept in a green leaf are distributed by the bridal pair, with their *pranams* (respects) to the people gathered around.

37. On the following morning the concluding ceremony known as *adavabudha* is observed. After entertaining to a dinner, the grooms party see their relatives and the girl's party off by exchanging the customary words 'Ram, Ram'. The bride is left with the groom. Thus ends the marriage ceremony of the Kolam tribe. After about 10 days, ten to twelve members from the bride's party visit the groom's village where they are entertained to a non-vegetarian feast. Next day this party along with the bridal pair return to their village. After spending one or two days in the bride's village, the bridegroom returns to his own village.

38. There are a few similarities and differences between the marriage customs of the Kolams and those of Gonds. The subtle differences in the performance of marriages among the Gonds and Kolams are :—

(1) Pradhan, the ritual bard plays an important role in the Gond marriages; of late the wanton negligence of the Pradhan on the part of the Gonds is resulting in some sort of strained relations between these two tribes. But among the Kolams there is no ritual bard as such.

(2) Among Gonds, irrespective of phratry and clan, the *Panch*, the local elders consisting of Mahajan, Patel and Karobari of the bridegroom's village, accompany the bridegroom's party for marriage to the bride's village and they take active part in all the marriage proceedings. But this is not so among the Kolams. It is not obligatory on the part of the *Panch* of the bridegroom's village to accompany the bridegroom's party. The prevailing custom is that only their own clan people accompany them.

(3) Whereas among Gonds the maternal uncle or paternal aunt and in their absence any classificatory uncle or aunt take leading part in the marriage among the Kolams, only the sister-in-law of the bridegroom leads all the functions till the marriage is completed. Details of the marriage of the Gond tribe have not been dealt here since they have been described in detail in the Village Survey Monograph No. 40 of Bhurnur. The expenditure for the marriage varies between Rs. 100 and 300.

39. There is no special function for nuptial ceremony among the Kolams. Under any circumstances sexual intercourse is not permitted during the course of the marriage. But after the marriage ceremony is over, in case of lack of initiation on the part of the groom, the elderly women induce the bride. Cases where the husband is found impotent are also brought to the notice of the Caste Panchayat for decision. The wife need not hesitate in telling the weakness of her husband before the Caste Panchayat. In such families the general harmony is disturbed and it ultimately results in divorce.

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

Marriage by capture (*Sumut korakath*)

41. This type of marriage is generally resorted to by those Kolams who are too poor to pay the bride price or to bear the subsequent expenses of the marriage. Even to this day this custom is prevailing among this tribe. There are 17 marriages by capture among this tribe in this village.

42. Capturing of a girl or boy are permitted, and the latter type are not so common. Only those people who are not having male issues, capture the boys and get them married to their daughters and retain them in their houses. Four such cases of marriage are found among the Kolams and Gonds of the village. Of course capture of girls is common in both the tribes. Those who intend to perform such marriages first select the girl and watch her movements secretly with the help of the villagers. Then the parents or the guardians of the boy visit the village of the girl and inform their plan to the Naikoon of the village after paying his customary fee of Rs. 4 who generally gives his consent and also promises to send the girl to the forest on some pretext or the other.

43. On the day fixed, the parents of the boy entertain some people of their village and send them to the girl's village who hide themselves in the

nearby forest. The information about the arrival of this party is secretly conveyed to the Naiko on who under some pretext sends the chosen girl in the company of some other women to the spot, where the boy's people are hiding. Soon after the girl appears, the people rush and pounce upon her, lift her bodily on their shoulders and leave for their village. Great resistance to this capture is often offered by the women present and the men are chastised in right earnest. Stones and sticks etc., which are close at hand are freely hurled to set the girl free from the clutches of these kidnappers. The men should not touch other women though the later may hurt them, their only recourse being running away with the girl. On such occasions they throw Rs. 2 towards the customary fee of these women and manage to get a way with the girl who in her full tears is brought to the boy's house.

44. Immediately after reaching the village with the girl, the marriage proceedings start without waiting for an auspicious day and even before the arrival of the bride's party. All the proceedings of the marriage are performed in the same manner as regular marriage but in a hurry. In such cases they may even omit certain minor functions, such ommissions not being considered a taboo and there will not be big gathering of invitees. Parents of the bride arrive sooner or later and show their un-willingness which usually subsides with the consoling words of the village elders; the bride price is paid, (if the boy's parents can afford it then and there) and the bride's parents are entertained, in case the bride price cannot be paid during the marriage celebrations, it has to be paid at least later on to the parents of the bride, and if they fail it is considered a social disgrace and the bond of marriage is not considered legal. The expenditure on such marriages works between Rs. 30 and 100.

Widow remarriage

45. Widow remarriage called *pat* is permitted in this tribe. As per the custom among Kolams a widow can marry her husband's younger brother but it is not binding. A widow can marry an outsider without first seeking the hand of her late husband's younger brother. In such a case she has to leave the offspring born through her departed husband with her in-laws and she will not have any right on her late husband's property; all the ornaments including the marriage locket are taken out; baby at breast is allowed to be retained with her but only to be returned later.

46. The ceremony of widow remarriage is simple. The widow and her new partner are given bath together and new clothes are worn. He ties a string of black beads or a *pusthe* or *potti* (marriage locket) around her neck and gives ornaments promised to her in the presence of the community elders. The proceedings of the widow marriage come to an end with a non-vegetarian feast. In such type of marriages there is no payment of bride price.

Case study

One Sri Atram Gunda of Kolam tribe married a widow Bheembai who is also a distant relative. When Bheembai, in a widowed state, asked him to marry her, the fact was conveyed to the village elders who consulted her and gave their consent to their marriage. Next day Atram Gunda brought a new saree for her and a pair of new dhotis for himself. After bath, they wore them. He tied marriage locket in the presence of the community elders and gave them a non-vegetarian feast. He spent Rs. 66 over the marriage.

Divorce

47. Divorce is common and permitted among both Kolams and the Gonds. Both husband and wife enjoy equal rights. A woman who dislikes her husband generally elopes with the man of her choice and such elopements automatically result in divorce. Disputes of divorce are dealt by the Tribal Panchayat. The women generally divorce their husbands on getting interested in other men and in such cases, the paramour has to pay the bride price and the other expenses of the marriage as decided by the Panchayat, to her first husband. All her ornaments including the marriage locket are taken by her first husband and only the baby at breast is allowed to stay with her. In case the initiative comes from the husband, nothing is paid to her nor her belongings like ornaments, etc., are taken away. She is at liberty to marry any person of her choice within the tribe. The marriage of divorced women also called *pat* is performed observing the same ritual as followed in widow remarriage.

48. There are 20 marriages performed by negotiations, 21 by capture and 5 are *pat* (widow or divorce) marriages in the village. The following Statement gives the details of the community-wise figures of marriages.

STATEMENT IV

TYPES OF MARRIAGES BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

Name of Tribe/ Community	No. of house-holds	No. of marriages by		
		Negotiation	Capture	*Pat* (Widow or divorced woman)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1 Gond	8	4	4	1
2 Kammara	1	1	...	...
3 Kolam	27	11	17	4
4 Muslim	4	4	...	...
Total	40	20	21	5

Death

49. Though the marriage customs of the Kolams resemble to some extent those of Gonds, they differ distinctly in the funeral customs. The dead are both buried and cremated. The common practice is to bury as cremation involves more expenses than burial. Only those who can afford to meet such expenses cremate their dead. Persons, that died of smallpox and cholera, are invariably buried. The dead are buried in the forest far from the habitation and also in their fields and the grave is never again visited. Both males and females are allowed to follow the corpse to the burial ground. In case of cremation, the corpse cannot be disposed of till all the relatives of the deceased arrive and the obsequies (*muntha*) are to be performed within two days. In case of burial they need not wait for the arrival of the relatives and the obsequies can be postponed to a later date to be performed conviniently within a year. The widow is not allowed to re-marry till the *muntha* ceremony is performed.

50. On the death of a member of the tribe, his relatives and the villagers assemble at his house and console the members of the family. A sick person who is about to die is removed from the cot and placed on the floor. After he has breathed his last, four persons—two from the same clan of the deceased and two from any other clan carry the corpse on hands outside the house and bath is given either with hot or cold water. It is carried on the stretcher led by the people other than of his clan holding the sticks lighted with fire and the number of the sticks depends on the clan of the deceased *i.e.*, if he belongs to Edo Dayyam, seven sticks are held and so on. No musical instruments are played during the funeral procession. After reaching the outskirts of the village the corpse is rested on the floor for a while and a small quantity of jowar or rice is put near the head of the deceased by the people belonging to that clan. After reaching the burial ground, the corpse is placed in the grave or on the pyre as the case may be, keeping the head towards the east. Then the chief mourner first puts a small quantity of earth in the case of burial or lits the fire in case of cremation and the rest follow him. The wife of the deceased removes her marriage locket and throws it in the grave or in the pyre. Having completed this, all those who followed him return to the home after taking bath. Immediately after returning, they erect a wooden post (*munda*) in the name of the deceased in front of the shrine Ayak that forms the propitiation centre for their territorial group and this *munda* is held to symbolise the deceased. Whenever a new *munda* is put up, the blood of the sacrificial animal is sprinkled over all the posts in the row and also over the small stone slabs which in former days were erected in the place of wooden poles (*mundas*). Here on the occasion of festivals and agricultural rites, the deceased receive their share of prayers and offerings.

51. Pollution in this tribe lasts for 8 days. They do not visit the burial ground upto 8 days, and only on the 9th day the chief mourner visits and places a bit of tobacco and water and returns after taking the bath. The obsequies known as *muntha* are performed on the ninth day, if they can be postponed to a later date. If they have decided to perform the obsequies, the brother-in-law of the deceased, but not the son as in the case of Gonds has to perform all the rites. The brother-in-law of the deceased with a pot goes to a nearby stream and returns with a potful of water, sand, and a few *medi* leaves and *garika*. A small booth with four or five wooden pillars depending on the Dayyam (clan) of the deceased person is erected and in it the sand brought by the person is heaped. Over this heap, the pot with water covered by a lid is placed and on this lid the *medi* leaves and the *garika* (grass) are placed. Now the children are made to sit around the booth erected and each one drops the grains on to the ground as many times as that of the deceased's clan (Dayyam), The number of children that are made to sit around the booth depends upon the Dayyam (clan) of the deceased. If, for example, the deceased belongs to six Dayyam (clan), six children, 3 males and 3 females and so on. This over, a small pot filled with water and covered with lid is brought and is placed near the big one already arranged in the booth and a candle is lighted. A *pattu* with different colours as described elsewhere in the report is drawn in front of the

booth by the Delak and a goat is decapitated. The meat of this goat is cooked in five, six or four hearths as the case may be depending on the clan of the deceased. If the person who had died belongs to six Dayyam (clan) the meat is cooked in six hearths. Then the small pot on whose lid the candle is lighted is taken and kept at the God's corner and all the members of the household offer their salutations. Later the invitees are entertained to a non-vegetarian meal. Thus ends the obsequies. There is no practice of changing the residence if death occurs on any inauspicious day among this tribe.

Superstitious beliefs

52. The Kolams too believe in luck and superstitions as in the case of other people. Previously they used to desert the villages and settle in other places when any member of the family fell sick or some misfortune threatened the families. But now-a-days this practice is given up, because of their economic transition, due to the implementation of the forest conservancy laws and other welfare measures which had their own impact on the social outlook of the people.

53. They also believe in omens. The barking of a dog is considered unlucky and is taken to be a sign of some approaching calamity to the village. To hear the howling of a fox and the roar of a tiger is considered lucky. While going on some work, if they come across a cat or a snake it is considered a bad omen and in such cases they abandon the idea of travelling on that day. Contrary to this, if one comes across a fox or a *bothika*—it is considered a good omen. Similarly to see a woman in married status carrying food or a pot filled with water is considered lucky. Sneezing once is considered unlueky but thrice is considered lucky.

54. The adverse effects of the evil eye are also believed by the Kolams which is known as *dishti*. For protecting them from the possession of the evil eye, a little quantity of cooked jowar food is taken round the affected person three times and is thrown in the hearth. They also use mascots known as *bandi*, which they believe prevents a man from falling ill. The *bandi* is given by Delak. They have no permissible or prohibited days for haircutting. They have their hair cut at any time they desire. Generally Sundays are considered auspicious for undertaking journeys or some good work.

Chapter IV

ECONOMY

General

Until very recently Kolams subsisted on shifting (*podu*) cultivation and with the introduction of forest conservancy during the last ten decades, they had to give a go-by to that type of cultivation in favour of plough cultivation. They used to select a piece of land on the hill slopes and the underwood covering is cut during the spare time and the timber and leaves are left to dry. During the months of April and May these dried wood and leaves are burnt and the ashes serve the purpose of manure, whereas fire destroys agricultural pests. The seed of jowar, small millets, pulses are scattered over the land or sometimes the seeds are sowed into holes made by a dibble (digging stick). The spiked iron blade of the hoe is attached to a knee-shaped haft by means of a socket. Sometimes the same iron point may be affixed alternately to hoe and digging stick. Both instruments are also used for digging up wild roots and tubers. After sowing the seed into the hole, the soil is brushed over with a kind of bamboo broom with one end spliced into many ribs. After the seed has been sown the tillers sit down confidently to await the results. A soil fertilized with fresh ashes and receiving an abundant rainfall sometimes yields a rich return. After cultivating for about three years in succession, the land is left fallow. A new plot on the hill slope is selected and cleared. Thus the land where *podu* cultivation is done is changed once in three years. They arrange the cultivation of land in such a way that *knodapodu* is done every year to raise the required quantity of grain for their domestic consumption. To-day all the people of this tribe are found practising settled agriculture only and have given up their nomadic life.

Land

2. The occupation of all the inhabitants irrespective of tribe and community in this village is agriculture. The total area of the village is Ac. 2,693 and 38 *guntas** and is distributed in the following categories according to the Revenue Records.

STATEMENT V

LAND UTILISATION PARTICULARS

S. No. (1)	Type of land (2)	Extent (3) Acres-*guntas*
1	*Patta* land	381-30
2	*Kharijkhata*	59-19
3	Footpath	1-15
4	*Garuvu*	37-27
5	Village site	4-00
6	Streams	4-11
7	Roads	2- 5
8	*Poramboke*	2,203-11
	Total	2,693-38

3. Of the total land of Ac. 2,693-38 *guntas*, the area under cultivation is about Ac. 616-28 *guntas*. Again of this total cultivated area, Ac. 381-30 *guntas* is *patta* land and Ac. 47-23 *guntas* is from the *kharijkhata* land while the remaining area of acres 187-15 *guntas* is from *poramboke* land. Except 50 acres of land which can be brought under plough from the *poramboke* category the remaining land is occupied by hills and thick forests.

4. Except two households, one each of Kolam and Gond tribes, all the remaining 38 households in the village are possessing lands. Though legally, the non-tribals are not allowed to possess the land in the tribal areas there is a bulk of population especially Muslims having lands in these areas. So five non-tribal families (Muslims four and one Lohar) have recently migrated to this village and have occupied the cultivable lands of the Government. There are 10 households with a land of 3·1 to 5 acres each, 3 households with 8·1 to 11 acres each, 55 households with 14·1 to 17 acres each; and 4 households are having 17·1 to 20 acres each while there are 3 households with 20·1 to 30 acres each. Only one Gond household is owning 30·1 to 40 acres of land. Two households *i.e.*, one household each of Gond and Kolam Tribes are possessing 50·1 to 75 acres (Table 26).

Livestock

5. Milch cattle and the draught bullocks are the common livestock in the village. Rearing of

* 40 *guntas* = 1 acre.

pigs, sheep and fowl are not common in this village. Table 33 gives the details of livestock position. There are 50 milch cattle and 43 draught bullocks possessed by the inhabitants. There are 3 sheep, 4 pigs and 5 fowls in the village and these are distributed among the households of Gonds and Kolams. Majority of the cattle wealth is possessed by the Kolams. All the cattle are of local breed. Grazing facilities are abundantly available, since it is surrounded by forest.

Factors influencing the economic life of the village

6. The generous policy of the Government has considerably changed the economy of this tribe. After the introduction of the forest conservancy laws, shifting cultivation has almost been restricted. The Kolams of to-day are not so free as they were a few decades back to clear the forest for *podu* cultivation. Consequently the problem of rehabilitation arose. Many ameliorative measures have been adopted to better the conditions of this tribe. Under the Tribal Areas Regulation, 1359 Fasli, published in Jarida No. III of 1357 F., dated 31-10-1949, the tribal folk of this area have been given permanent *patta* rights over the lands they cultivated. Certain lands have been taken from the revenue forests and were allotted to these tribals. This is also one of the reasons for their permanent settlement. In initial stages, bullocks were also supplied free to them and were also financed through the Rural Credit Co-operative Societies, to carry out indigenous agricultural operations. This initial change has brought both good and evil effects among the tribals.

7. In addition their association with Gond (S. T.) and other plains' people has brought about many changes in both the methods of cultivation and the use of agricultural implements. With the result they have given up the use of the age old agricultural implements like the hoe and the stick. On the other hand, agricultural implements used by the plains' people are also being employed. This sort of change over brought many problems in its wake. The most important one is the problem of financing the various agricultural operations. Hitherto, agricultural implements were very simple and agriculture was less expensive. With the adoption of plough the cost of cultivation has gone beyond their capacity. For example, simple implements like the hoe and the stick were operated by human power and hence were very cheap. Now the plough requires a pair of bullocks to draw it which in its turn led the poor tribals to incur debts. Quite a good number of Kolams do not possess bullocks. They borrow money from money lenders of Asifabad town who demand either a big slice of the produce or charge exorbitant rate of interest, *i.e*, 25%. Even though the average size of the holding is 13 acres in this village, the Kolams have only a hand-to-mouth economy. The mystery of this lies in the fact that a lion's share of their produce is taken away by the unscrupuluous money lenders. The only way of improving the lot of Kolams is that of extending necessary wherewithal to enable the Kolams to finance their agricultural operations. An enquiry into the production pattern also reveals that what they derive from agriculture should be quite sufficient for a comfortable living. But the crux of the whole problem is securing finances for the agricultural operations, seeds and grain during famine and draught. Indebtedness stares into their faces. It eats into the vitals of their economy.

Land reforms

8. As already said, most of the tribals of this area have been granted permanent *patta* rights. According to the information collected, 22 persons in the village have reported that they have acquired lands under the reclamation scheme and 3 have reported that they have been benefited by the land assignment scheme. The remaining 15 persons are enjoying lands under the reclamation scheme granted to their forefathers. One household each of Kammara and Muslim has occupied the land without any allotment under any scheme. There has been no change in the ownership of land during last one generation.

Workers and non-workers

9. Of the 223 persons, 110 are males and the rest are females. In the total population, 114 are workers and 109 are non-workers. Of the 114 workers, 65 are males and 49 are females. Nearly 83·33% (95) of the workers are in the age groups of 15–34 and 35-59 years. There are only 11 male and 5 female workers in the age group of 0–14 years while 2 males and 1 female are workers in the age group of 60 years and above. Similarly 85·32% (93) of the non-workers fall in the age group of 0–14 years who are mostly children of school going age and the remaining 16 fall in other age groups who are all dependents (Table 14).

10. Table 15 gives the details of the workers by sex, age group and occupation. Of the 114 workers, 65 are males and the remaining 49 are females. As many as 106 workers are engaged in cultivation and the rest are in other occupations which are also

more or less connected with agriculture. About 95% of the workers who are in the age groups of 15–34 and 35–59 years are engaged in cultivation. Of the 8 persons, engaged in other occupations, 4 are working as herdsmen of whom one is a female and the remaining 4 persons, each one is engaged in blacksmithy, agricultural labour, casual labour and teaching. The above analysis goes to show that agriculture provides employment to the bulk of the village working force, except that there are no other opportunities to the people to engage themselves for maintaining their families. Having no other avenues for employment during the slack season, most of their time in that period is spent in non-gainful occupations.

11. Analysing the working population further according to age groups, it can be seen that there are 16 persons (11 males and 5 females) in the age group of 0–14 years and of them 13 are engaged in cultivation and the rest are employed in other services. There are 61 persons (28 males and 33 females) in the age group of 15–34 years. Of them 59 are working in cultivation, one is in industry and the other is in other services. Similarly, 34 persons (24 males and 10 females) are in the age group of 35–59 years, of them 31 are engaged in cultivation and the remaining 3 are in other services. In the age group of 60 years and above there are only 3 workers and all of them are engaged in cultivation (Table 16).

12. Of the 109 non-workers 45 are males and 64 are females. Again out of these 109 non-workers, 93 are dependents who are not engaged in any work and a majority of them are of tender age. Ten persons are engaged in household duties and all of them are females and the remaining 6 are full time students, of whom 4 are boys and 2 are girls. The bulk of the non-working population falls in the age group of 0–14 years (Table 17).

13. Table 18 gives the details of the households engaged in cultivation, industry and business belonging to the household. Of the 40 households, as many as 37 are engaged in cultivation run by the households. One is engaged in industry while the remaining 2 households are neither engaged in cultivation nor industry nor business. It goes without saying that the predominant occupation is agriculture in the village.

14. Except blacksmithy attended to by one Kammara household there are no other industries in the village nor is there any business establishment.

Communications

15. Modern communications are yet to percolate into this interior parts of tribal land. A metalled road is under construction connecting Utnur and Asifabad which passes almost through the heart of tribal area. Approach roads wherever possible are being laid. The village under study is about 2 miles from the newly formed road. The village can be reached by jeep during summer and winter seasons but in the rainy season the distance of two miles from the main road has to be covered by foot or *rengi* a peculiar low levelled cart of this region. For all the modern communications, people of this village depend upon Utnur, the taluk headquarters. Bullock carts are the only means of transport for the people in this area.

Economic activities and nature of change

Livelihood classes

16. According to 1951 Census, there were 29 households in the village with a population of 171 (89 males and 82 females) of whom 140 persons were cultivators and 2 were cultivating labourers. The status of the remaining population was not indicated. Similarly 1961 Census recorded 39 households with a population of 193 persons (100 males and 93 females) and all are Scheduled Tribes. There are 119 workers and 74 non-workers. Of the workers, 118 are engaged in cultivation and the remaining one in other services. A close examination of these figures shows that there is no change in the livelihood pattern of the tribals during the last one decade (Tables 12 & 13).

17. But according to the survey conducted during 1964, there are 40 households with a population of 223 (110 males and 113 females). Of the 40 households, 35 are Scheduled Tribes and 5 are other caste people. Out of the 223 persons, 205 are engaged in cultivation and the remaining 18 persons are equally distributed among such occupations as agricultural labour, casual labour and other services. Whatever may be the difference in figures, the main source of livelihood to the inhabitants of the village is agriculture (Table 12).

18. There were only seven literates during 1951 Census and 9 in 1961 Census. But the survey conducted in 1964 recorded 18 literates. No appreciable progress is achieved in the field of education during the last one decade.

Occupational pattern

19. There is no change in the ownership of land among the tribals of the village. Table 23 gives an idea of the occupational pattern among the tribals. It shows that agriculture is the only occupation pursued by the tribals in particular and other caste people in general for their subsistance and it is also clear that they do not combine any other occupation as a subsidiary one except agricultural labour.

20. The total land in the village under cultivation is 616 acres and 28 *guntas* and out of this an extent of 583 acres and 18 *guntas* is being cultivated by 33 tribal households (7 Gond and 26 Kolam) and the remaining land of 33 acres and 10 *guntas* is under the possession of 5 non-tribal households (4 Muslim and one Lohar) who have not acquired them legally. One each among Gonds and Kolams, the Scheduled Tribes are not owning land. The average size of holding among the tribals is 17 acres and 27 *guntas*.

21. About occupational pattern of the heads of 27 Kolam households, 26 are owner cultivators and the remaining one is an agricultural labourer. Of the heads of 8 Gond households, 7 are owning land and the remaining one is working as a teacher in the local primary school. The five other caste people are also depending on agriculture only.

22. The occupational pattern among the tribals is very simple. Combination of occupations, a general trend among the plains' people, is conspicuous by its absence in the case of the tribals of this village. Diversification of occupations is generally the nature of a complex economy.

Traditional occupation

23. Of the 40 households, 25 have reported agriculture, one blacksmithy and the remaining 14 *kondapodu*, as their traditional occupations. Though these 14 households have reported their traditional occupation as *kondapodu*, none is following it at present.

24. Table 23 gives the distribution of households by main occupation. Of the 40 households, agriculture is the main occupation for 37, while one each of the remaining three follow agricultural labour, blacksmithy and teaching as their main occupations. Further analysis of the data communitywise, shows that of the 8 Gond households, 7 are having agriculture as their main occupation while for one, teaching is the main occupation. The head of this household being a Government employee and the native of another village does not possess any land here. Similarly, out of the 27 Kolam households, 26 are engaged in cultivation and the remaining one is engaged in agricultural labour. Blacksmithy is the main occupation for one Lohar household, while agriculture is the main occupation for the 4 Muslim households.

25. The incidence of the combination of occupations by the people in the village is quite insignificant. This can well be seen from the fact that of the 37 households whose main occupation is cultivation, only 8 have subsidiary occupations. Again of these 8 households one each have, agricultural labour, basket making, herdsman, trade and priesthood as subsidiary occupations while the three have casual labour. Similarly, the one Lohar household whose main occupation is blacksmithy has cultivation as its subsidiary occupation. On the whole, 9 out of the 40 households in the village are having subsidiary occupations (Table 24). There are no other employment opportunities for the people to engage themselves either in the slack season or in normal working days.

Mobility of occupation

26. Occupational mobility is almost unknown in this village. No social dogma as such is attached for the change of occupation among the inhabitants of this village. The main factor for the total absence of the mobility of the occupations among the pepole of this village is due to lack of avenues and opportunities. Excepting agriculture, there are neither iudustries nor business organisations which may require manpower and which will provide better kind of employment to the people. Perhaps this might be the main reason for the people sticking on to agriculture. If at all there is any change in occupation, it is from shifting cultivation to settled cultivation. This is due to the impact of forest conservancy laws and other economic welfare activities that have been introduced by the State. This fact can be seen from the figures presented in Table 21. Only one Gond household whose traditional occupation is agriculture has switched over to teaching. As a matter of fact this household cannot be taken into consideration as it is an immigrant household. Even though teaching profession has been taken up, agriculture has not been totally

given up. The other members of this household are participating in agricultural operations. No Gond household in the village has changed its traditional occupation *i.e.*, agriculture. 13 Kolam households who reported *kondapodu* as their traditional occupation have changed over to settled agriculture and of them 5 households have expressed their discontentment over this change. One household has changed to agricultural labour from *kondapodu.*

Place of occupation

27. The inhabitants do not go outside the village for employment and they are content with what they are having now. As they are illiterate and untrained in other occupations, other avenues outside their village cannot provide them any occupations other than casual labour.

Aspirations

28. Their desires are limited and most of them want that their sons should also take up their own occupations. Of the 37 households whose main occupation is cultivation, 28 desire that their sons should continue in the same occupation; 2 aspire for Government service ; 1 wants to work as teacher and 6 have not reported anything. The head of one household following agricultural labour, desires that his son should take up to agriculture. Similarly, the head of the blacksmith household wants that his son should enter Government service. The head of another household whose main occupation is teaching, desires that his son should work as bus conductor (Table 22).

29. The nature of contentment among the tribal people is the most dominant factor which helps them to stick to their age-old occupations. The tribal likes his own surroundings and generally does not like any change. Added to this, ignorance and illiteracy are the secondary factors for this sort of stagnant outlook.

Agriculture

30. Agriculture is the main source of livelihood to the people of this village. Jowar, maize and other kinds of pulses and cotton are raised in this tract. There is no wet cultivation. Monsoon rains are the only source for raising crops. Often they suffer due to inundation of agricultural fields by excessive rains. Agricultural operations are started from June. There is no change in the *modus operandi* of various operations. The ways are primitive and the implements used do not differ much from those of plains and the yield is very low. There are two crops *viz, kharif* and *rabi.*

Kharif

31. The crops sown with the commencement of monsoon in June and harvested towards October are called *kharif* crops. These crops require plenty of water for their growth and therefore are grown as soon as the monsoon sets in. The principal *kharif* crops are rice, maize, chillies and vegetables etc.

STATEMENT VI

KHARIF CROPS GROWN IN 1964

S. No.	Name of crop	Area sown	Average yield in annas
(1)	(2)	(3) Acres-*guntas*	(4)
1	Paddy	42-30	8
2	Jowar	35-20	8
3	Maize	15-30	10
4	Samai	2-10	8
5	Redgram	3-20	6
6	Greengram	8-30	6
7	Blackgram	16-10	8
8	Chillies	1-30	6
9	Teli	15-00	6
10	Cotton	10-00	6

Rabi

32. The second crop season begins in autumn and is known as *rabi.* In the absence of rains, the crop matures with the help of moisture left in the soil by the monsoon, the heavy dew of winter and casual rain. These conditions bring the cultivators good luck.

STATEMENT VII

RABI CROPS GROWN IN 1964

S. No.	Name of crop	Area sown	Aveage yield in annas
(1)	(2)	(3) Acres-*guntas*	(4)
1	Wheat	8-10	8
2	White jowar	15-20	8
3	Bengalgram	12-20	8
4	Castor seeds	6-20	6

33. The crop pattern given above shows that paddy, jowar, cotton and the pulses are the major crops grown in the village. Paddy, jowar, cotton and maize are sown in the month of June and harvested in the month of November. Redgram is sown during October–November. Jowar and wheat are sown in the months of August/September and are harvested in February.

Farming practices

34. Before the monsoon sets in, the land is prepared. In the month of *Chaitra*, corresponding roughly to March-April, the ploughing of the fields and the burning of all dry stalks and rubbish is done. The agricultural year thus begins in earnest. The villagers rise betimes and take their bullocks and ploughs to the fields and clear the stubble and weeds etc., of the previous year. The Kolams use the *wakur* (the broad plough), to make trenches in the earth, a plough like instrument with a horizontal blade curved at the ends which is fastened between the two prongs set nearly two feet apart into a broad wooden board (Fig.13). The ploughman stands on this board to increase the pressure. He ploughs from dawn till nine or ten'O clock in the morning, and then returns home for the morning meal and rest, while the women after cooking go to the fields and gather the stubble and rubbish and burn it in heaps, which is evenly spread over the fields while doing so. They generally cover their head with a piece of cloth to protect them from the heat of the hot sun as shown in Fig. 12. No manures except burnt ashes of rubbish are applied to most of the fields by the Kolams and Gonds. Cow-dung is generally reserved for maize and garden plots near the village. Of course, on land newly cleared of forest, work begins with the *nagali* or *ser* (plough) and then the *wakur* (broad plough) is used. After clearing the field, they work with *ser* whose wooden share is reinforced by long thin iron rings (Fig. 14). With this, the fields are ploughed first in one direction and then again at right angles. It only stirs up the soil without turning it over. Generally during this period there will be no great pressure of work and the youg men in the house do most of the ploughing. Even boys of fifteen and sixteen years of age take part in the comparatively light work of riding the *wakur* across the fields. In the heat of the day, all the work is stopped. But preliminarily preparations for sowing are quite different among the other caste people in the village. They apply manure and plough the land systematically and regularly. This is the main reason why the yield per acre is more in the lands cultivated by the Muslims than in the lands cultivated by the tribals. To some extent the Gonds work harder in their agricultural fields than the Kolams.

35. After the preliminary ploughing, they anxiously and patiently wait for the rains. The plots of fields are already selected and kept ready for the different kinds of crops. Seeds are sown after they had comparatively good rains. The husband drives the plough, which seams the earth without turning it, and his wife walks two steps behind and drops the seeds straight into the furrows. She uses no seed drill, but carries the seeds in a fold of her saree; takes handful of seeds at a time and lets the grain dribble one by one through the fingers of her down stretched hand. Behind her comes a man or a young boy with a broad plough and covers the seeds with earth. Even men having only one pair of bullocks will try to arrange with his neighbour or a relative at the time of sowing for joint operations. Mutual help is extended among these people at the time of these agricultural operations.

36. The agricultural season starts with the sowing of maize. The maize plots sre usually very small and are located in the village and in between the houses. They are manured with dung. Vegetables seeds like beans, cucumbers, etc., are mixed with maize and broadcast while the crops are standing. They are protected by wooden posts and rail fences of wood and bamboo.

37. After the maize, paddy and cotton are sown. Paddy is raised particularly in the valleys where the soil is swampy due to heavy rains. The crop is entirely rain-fed and the seed is sown dry in the fields and is never grown in nurseries and transplanted as in the case of regularly irrigated areas. The same method is adopted by other community people living in this area. Paddy is always sown with a plough of narrow flank and attached with a seed drill. Sometimes the greengram is mixed with this crop.

38. Next comes the cotton crop which is sown in the black cotton soil. This is an important cash crop to the people of this area. Cotton is sown with broad plough attached with a seed drill. After every six or seven rows they often sow one row of small pulses.

39. After the sowing of small millets, maize, paddy and cotton, the staple food jowar crop is sowed. Jowa is invariably sown with the seed drill and it is of yellow variety. Generally, pulses like greengram, redgram, etc., are mixed with the jowar seed and are sown in the fields. *Teli* (sesamum indicum) is broadcast on a comparatively inferior quality of land. From this *teli* oil is extracted which is used for cooking purposes. Generally those who are having bigger holdings raise this crop. Sometimes, mixed with this crop, redgram is sown. The oil is extracted within the

village at home by employing an indigenous method. This implement is known as *noone vuli* or *gana* which is shown below.



40. A mortar is prepared with a lofty wooden slab and fixed in the earth and is known as *nichki*. A pestle fixed with a wooden log called *moddu* which acts as a handle as shown in the sketch is kept in the mortar. This is operated by two persons. One man will be rotating the pestle holding the handle while the other person, generally a woman, will be collecting the oil coming out. This instrument is manufactured locally. There is only one *gana* in the village owned by a Gond household who allows all the households in the village irrespective of tribe and caste to use it free of charge.

41. Chillies or red pepper are most commonly used in all the dishes prepared by the people. The people take much trouble in raising chillies which add taste to their food. At first, chillies and tobacco are raised in nurseries near their cattle sheds on very small plots of lands and then transplanted to special plots preferably in their backyards. It is transplanted in between the rows of maize crop.

42. Normally, the sowing of *kharif* (1st crop), crops are completed within two or three weeks from the starting of sowing but often consistent and heavy rains which are common in these parts may hold up the operations for many a week. While it is raining, it becomes wellnigh impossible to plough and sow as the soil of this area is of black cotton variety which becomes very heavy and sticky when wet. Of course, ploughing may be possible in the light soil, but the Kolams and Gonds never plough the lands during a rainy spell, and one may find them sitting in their houses, smoking and cursing the bad weather.

43. Weeding operations are not so exclusively carried out in the fields as in the plains. But whenever, there is fine day without showers, the men plough the field set aside for the *rabi* (second crop) crops and the women hurry to the maize plots and other millet fields which are already sown to free the young plants from the cloying embrace of weeds. It is hard to keep abreast with the rank growth of the weeds, and sometimes young men and boys join the women. Sometimes women of two or three households join together irrespective of clan and weed alternatively on each other's fields and this arrangement also provides enough women to form into two groups for the proper antiphonal singing of dance songs. But weeding is not solely woman's responsibility; sometimes men also participate in it. As soon as the young plants of cotton and jowar are about a foot high, men drive a special plough, the *daura*, in between the rows; this plough with its knife-like blades uproots the weeds that would otherwise sap the fertility of the soil and if left to grow would smother the crop. The *daura* is very much like the *wakur* but its horizontal blade is roughly about 8" to 10" long; thus it slides easily between the rows of jowar and cotton or pluses without causing damage to the young plants, while the bullocks walk in the adjoining rows, muzzled with string bags to their mouth lest they eat the crops.

44. As already mentioned above the tribals do not move in the fields while it is raining and the area is famous for its torrential rains. As a matter of fact weeding operations have to be carried out four or five times for the proper growth of the crops which these tribals seldom do. Being forest, the grass in the fields grow very extensively when compared to the fields in the plains. To a certain period the weeding operations have to be done continuously in the fields. Generally the tribals do the weeding operations once or twice which however is not sufficient. During the course of investigation it has been observed that the quantity of production is comparatively more among the lands held by the Muslim households when compared to the tribals though the holdings of latter are more extensive than those of the former. When questioned, the Muslim

cultivators said that the tribals did not properly perform the weeding operations in the fields. Heavy rains do not prevent the other caste people from attending to weeding operations in the agricultural fields. Further, the tribals seldom apply manure to their fields. These are some of the factors for the poor quality and quantity of grain produced by them. Proper manuring and the use of improved methods in agricultural operations would go a long way in improving productivity of the land of the tribals.

Harvesting

45. Harvesting operations mark a critical time in the agricultural operations of this region. Harvesting must be completed within a short period lest the fruits of their many months of toil may be destroyed by the unexpected rains. The ripe crop standing long in the field runs the risk of being destroyed by wild animals and pests. It is on account of these reasons that all the members of the family take part in harvesting. The harvesting operations of the first crop (*kharif*) are generally done in the month of September. Millets and samai crops are usually the first to ripen and most of the people have at least a small patch of land sown with these two crops. The harvesting of the small millets is generally done by women. They use neither knives nor sickles, but break the stalk just above the ear heads and store them in their saree fold. From time to time they transfer the lot into a basket. The harvested crop is commonly preserved in the house. Of course, now-a-days a few households having bigger holdings are erecting small huts and preserving in those huts, the harvested crop which is finally thrashed there itself. The ear heads are heaped on well swept ground in front of the house and the grain is separated from the ear heads. The millets are not grown in a large quantity and the thrashing is finished within no time and it is a comparatively lighter work and is often attended to by the young boys and girls. Winnowing of small millets is done by women in their houses or, if weather permits, in their courtyards tossing the grain with winnows.

46. The second crop season usually starts from September and October. The crops sown and grown during the cool and dry season attained their present importance in the tribal areas of Adilabad District because of the Kolams. The gradual transition from shifting cultivation to settled cultivation forced them to change their ways of production and they have incidentally taken up the cultivation of *rabi* crops which were formally the monopoly of plains. The main crops of this dry weather season are white jowar, wheat, pulses, and *chana* (Bengal gram). Castor is also grown in large quantities both for home consumption as lamp oil and as a cash crop. All the Kolams and Gonds realised the advantage of the rotation of crops, and as in the case of plains, they never grow oil seed in two consecutive years in the same field. Instead, they sow jowar and cotton in the dry season alternatively. The land cultivated during the rainy season is generally left fallow in the subsequent cold weather ; a field with black cotton soil where pulses have been grown as a *rabi* crop is often sown with paddy in the following season. However, only those households with ample land can afford to change their crops to the best advantage. And those households with average resources of land sow jowar year after year interspersed with a few lines of pulses, for jowar is the crop which provides their staple food.

47. The sowing operations during the second crop season are also done more or less in the same manner as were done during the previous season. The men guide the plough and the women sow with the help of the seed-drill. For sowing white jowar and wheat on heavy soil, some people use not the ordinary plough and seed-drill, but the *tipun*, a sowing plough with three coulters. The harvesting of the dry weather crops is done in the months of March and April.

Guarding of crops

48. As the crops shoot up, it is a problem to the cultivator to look after them and save them from destruction by the wild animals and birds. To guard the crops, platforms are built in the centre of the fields. This platform is called *manche* (Fig.15) and is found in the fields of every household. These platforms are thatched and often enclosed on three sides with bamboo wattle walls and here with their merry pipes the young men spend the nights, watching the fields, warmed by small fires burning in trays of mud, ever ready to chase off the wild pigs, monkeys, porcupines and deers which are a great menace to their crops. Later when the grain begins to ripen, swams of parrots and other birds ravage the grain; vigil has to be kept day and night men, women and children all taking turns during the day time on the fields to watch the crops. In the day time they even sit on the roof of the platform and drive away the birds by their hue and cry and also hurl stones at them with a sling. During the night when they hear the sound of wild pigs, etc., they shout *'hoo, ham'* to drive them away.

Organisation of manpower

49. There is no problem of shortage of manpower in this village and as a matter of fact they are underemployed. As narrated in the preceding paragraphs, agriculture is the only occupation which absorbs a good number of workers. It is not common in this village to hire labour for the various agricultural operations as in the case of plains. Most of the operations, from the preparation of land to the harvesting, are carried out by members of the household concerned. Only those who possess bigger holdings generally have their own attached agricultural labourers or engage casual labour sometimes at the time of ploughing, weeding and harvesting. Inter and intra-tribal co-operation is very common at the time of ploughing, weeding and harvesting. Four Kolam households have reported that they seek the assistance of their neighbours during the various agricultural operations. The yield from the fields being very low, no surplus would be left behind after payment of labour charges in case hired labour is engaged. The pattern of their expenditure reveals that they have hardly spent any amount on ploughing, sowing, weeding, and harvesting. A few households however spend a little on payment towards hired charges of bullocks, on payments to the carpenter, blacksmith and towards Land Revenue. There is thus no other major expenditure on agriculture.

Innovations in agricultural operations

50. No innovations have so far been introduced in the agricultural operations in the village. Use of chemical manures is almost unknown to them. The same age-old implements as described previously prepared by the carpenter of their own tribe are being used. None in the village knows about the improved seeds and pesticides. This village falls in the jurisdiction of Utnur Multipurpose Block which is functioning since 1956. So far the villagers have not been induced nor even explained regarding the necessity of improving the yield by introducing the innovations and scientific methods replacing their age-old agricultural methods.

Implements

51. The agricultural implements are the same age-old indigenous products, that are being used by the cultivators of this area and the detailed description of their usage is given in the previous pages. The timber required for their implements is procured from the local forest. Every cultivator pays annually Re. 1, a fowl and a little quantity of the produce according to his status to the petty forest official for the timber whenever it is required both for agricultural as well as household consumption. No receipt is passed by the petty forest official for such collection as it goes to his personal purse which is popularly known as *mamool*. He collects more money *i.e.*, Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 if the tribal cuts a tree for his house construction. This sort of exploitation by the forest officials has to be eradicated lest the tribals may lose their confidence in Government.

52. The implements are manufactured locally by their tribesman to whom one *irsa* (16 seers) of jowar is paid annually by each household who engages his services. They avail themselves of the services of blacksmith at Jainur (2 miles) and at Daboli (2 miles). He is also paid one *irsa* (16 seers) of jowar annually. A few households are also availing themselves of the services of blacksmith of their village who came here 40 years back and settled in the village.

53. All the cultivators of this village do not possess bullocks of their own. Generally the poor agriculturists who cannot afford to purchase their own bullocks get them on hire basis which is the common practice in this area. They hire the bullocks either from their own tribesman or from any other caste men within or outside the village. The money lenders (*sowcars*) at Asifabad also supply the bullocks to the tribals on hire basis. The charges that are paid to the owner of the bullocks is one *gone* of grain valued at Rs. 80. About 5% of the cultivators in the village procure the bullocks on hire basis.

Source of finance

54. Very little amount of money is required by the cultivator for his agricultural operations. Most of the activities are carried out by the family labour and hence he does not require money as in the case of plainsmen. Seeds, etc., are preserved by him from the produce of the previous year. The cotton seeds are brought from Adilabad town by the merchants and the value of the seeds is paid at the time of marketing the produce. Though the agricultural operations may not require money, yet they require grain and a little amount of cash for their household expenditure during the season and for which most of the agriculturists depend upon the Asifabad money lenders to whom they repay at the time of harvest.

Animal husbandry

55. As said carlier the livestock in the village consists of milch cattle, draught bullocks, goats and fowls, etc. Ample facilities are available for grazing in the local forest. Oil cakes, salt, bran grains, etc., are not given either to milch cattle or to draught animals. The milk and milk products, if any, are used by the households. The sale and purchase of bullocks are done at Adilabad market.

Industries

56. There are no industries in the village except blacksmithy, a traditional occupation that is being followed by a Lohar caste household. He attends to the manufacture or repairs of the agricultural implements *viz.* manufacture of iron blades for plough, etc. He invested Rs. 42·50 P. for the purchase of the instruments like hammer and *patkar* (forceps), etc. He is not using any improved implements. The household earns an income of Rs. 70 through this industry.

Commerce

57. Except one Muslim household, a recent migrant to the village who runs a petty *kirana* shop as a subsidiary occupation, there are no other commercial establishments in the village. This household sells *beedis,* kerosene oil and other condiments. The owner visits regularly Sirpur and Kerimerri *shandies* during winter and summer seasons for selling his articles. He gets the articles from the big *kirana* shop owners at Jainur on credit. He stores them in tins and gunny bags. He also accepts grains and other pulses in addition to money.

Agricultural labour

58. It has been said elsewhere that the households who have bigger holdings generally engage hired labour during the agricultural season for ploughing, weeding and harvesting. A few members of the poor households whose holdings are comparatively smaller and where all the family labour may not be intensively useful engage themselves as hired labourers in the agricultural fields of others to supplement the income of their families. In this village there are five tribal households; one or two members of each of these households are working as agricultural labourers. Payment of wages differ from one operation to another. For ploughing, a person is paid one seer of jowar (the money value is about Re. 0·50 P.) and is served with one-time meal. Similarly, at the time of weeding, a worker gets about Re. 0·50 P. to Re. 1 per day. Generally a group of people take a plot of land on a lumpsum amount and divide the amount of contract equally among themselves. Hired labour is engaged for the harvest of jowar and cotton crops. During the harvest of jowar crop, each worker is given two small baskets full of corn worth Re. 1 and one basketful of cotton worth Re. 0·50 P., in case of picking of the cotton.

Forestry

59. No forest produce, unlike in the case of tribals of Andhra Agency, is a source of income to the tribals of this village. These people collect *gulmohwa* flowers in the month of *Chait* (March–April) purely for household consumption. All the tribes collect and eat these flowers. In fact it forms the food to many a poor family. This flower is boiled and eaten. During these months, women, girls, and often smaller boys of both the tribes busy themselves in collecting the berries of *cherongi* or *charapappu* (buchnania latifolia). They pluck the fruits or beat them down from the branches, partly for the sake of sweet pulp, but mainly for the nut-like kernels (*cherongi*). The women extract these nuts in great quantities both for home consumption and for sale to itinerant traders or at *shandies* at Re. 1 per seer. These trees are found in their fields also. They never fell these trees, though they may clear all other trees of the forest for cultivation or for other use.

Income and family type

60. Table 25 gives the main occupation, per capita annual household income and family type. Of the 40 households, 10 fall in the per capita annual income group of Rs. 1–50, 22 fall in the per capita annual income group of Rs. 51–100 and 7 in the income group of Rs. 101–200 while there is only one household whose annual per capita income range is Rs. 301–500. More than 50% (22) of the households are in the annual per capita income group of Rs. 51–100. The main occupation of the 37 households is agriculture while the remaining 3 are having other occupations. Analysing further according to the occupations, it is seen there are 10 households in the per capita annual income group of Rs. 1–50 and of these 9 have agriculture as their main occupation. Again of these 10 households, 4 each are simple and joint type of families while only one is of other type. The remaining one household which falls in the same category, *i.e.*, Rs. 1–50 income group is having agricultural labour as main occupation and it is a simple type of family.

61. Similarly out of the 22 households with annual per capita income of Rs. 51–100, 21 households are having agriculture as their main occupation. Of these 21 households, 15 are simple type of families, 4 joint, and one each are intermediate and other type. Blacksmithy is the main occupation for one household which comes under the other type of family. Of the 7 households that fall in the per capita annual income group of Rs. 101–200, 5 are simple type of families and the main occupation of 4 out of these 5 households is agriculture and the remaining one is teaching. The only household coming in the per capita annual income group of Rs. 301–500 falls under the simple type of family and its main occupation is agriculture.

62. Table 42 gives the details of the budgetary position of the village by main occupation. The total income of the village is Rs. 15,119·84 P. and the expenditure is Rs. 20,383·14 P. There is thus a deficit of Rs. 5,263·30 P. which might have been met by way of raising loans etc. Analysing this further, occupationwise, it is seen that all the 37 households with 205 members whose main occupation is agriculture, earned a total income of Rs. 13,802·84 P. against an expenditure of Rs. 18,887 95 P. Again of these, 3 households are having a total surplus budget of Rs. 45·90 P., 2 are having balanced budgets and 32 are with a total deficit budget to the tune of Rs. 5,131·01 P. The average annual income per household of these 37 agricultural households is Rs. 373·05 P., while the average expenditure works out to Rs. 510·49 P. There is one household following agricultural labour as main occupation and earned an income of Rs. 200 as against the expenditure of Rs. 225. Thus there is a deficit of Rs. 25 in this household. Similarly, one Lohar caste household whose main occupation is blacksmithy and subsidiary occupation is agriculture, has earned an income of Rs. 385·00 while an expenditure of Rs. 623·25 P. is incurred. It had a deficit of Rs. 238·25 P. which it met by way of raising a debt. There is only one Gond household whose main occupation is Government service with a surplus of Rs. 85·06. The income of this household is Rs. 732·00 and the expenditure is Rs. 646·94 P. Of all the households of different occupations, both the income and expenditure of this household are more.

63. For the proper understanding of the income and expenditure pattern among the different income groups, a few case studies of the family budgets are presented here.

Case study 1

64. The family budget of Sri Atram Bheema s/o Mutha, a Kolam aged 35 years with agriculture as main occupation, within the income group of Rs. 601–900 for the year 1962–63 and whose type of family is simple is given below. The head of the household is the only chief worker in the family while his wives assist him in the agricultural operations. He is having 20 acres and 35 *guntas* of land which is inherited from his father and all this is brought under the plough.

STATEMENT VIII

BUDGET OF A SIMPLE KOLAM FAMILY ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION

Sources of income	Rs.	Items of expenditure	Rs.
1 Cultivation	585·00	1 Food	300·00
2 Borrowing	40·00	2 Toddy	24·00
		3 Smoking	4·00
		4 Fuel (Payment to forest official)	5·00
		5 Lighting	10·00
		6 Clothing	98·00
		7 Bedding	10·00
		8 Ornaments	3·00
		9 Barber charges	12·00
		10 Washing soap	1·00
		11 Utensils	31·00
		12 Festivals	50·00
		13 Land Revenue	40·00
		14 Payments to the carpenter and blacksmith	16·00
		15 Purchase of salt to the bullocks	2·00
Total	625·00		606·00

It can be seen from the above budget that 50% of the income is spent on food and the remaining on other items. About 10% is spent on production, *i.e.*, on agriculture which is the only source of income. It includes Land Revenue, payments to the carpenter and blacksmith and purchase of salt to the bullocks. As a matter of fact he derived an income of Rs. 585 as against the expenditure of Rs. 606. The deficit of Rs. 19 is met by raising a loan of Rs. 40 to balance the budget. Though the head of the household is not a literate, he is to some extent enlightened due to his frequent visits to Adilabad and Utnur and consequent mingling with the people of the plains.

In this, he was influenced by other people and had a desire to wear good dress. He engages the barber and uses washing soap, etc.

Case study 2

65. Sri Atram Gunda s/o Bheema, a Kolam aged 40 years having a simple type of family is living on agricultural labour and service. With family of six members, he and his wife are the earning members in the family. Though he is having 15 acres of *patta* land, he is not cultivating it for want of plough bullocks. He gave his land on lease only to meet the payment of Land Revenue. Thus he does not get any income from the land. The income and expenditure of this household is given below. Because he works as havildar in the village, he is given one *kuncham* of jowar and a little quantity of pulses by every household in the village.

STATEMENT IX

BUDGET OF A TYPICAL KOLAM HOUSEHOLD ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL LABOUR AND SERVICE

Sources of income	Rs.	Items of expenditure	Rs.
1 Wages	60·00	1 Food	150·00
2 Service	140·00	2 Drinks	1·00
		3 Fuel (Payment to forest official)	1·00
		4 Clothing	63·00
		5 Festivals	10·00
Total	200·00		225·00

It is evident from the above figures that there is a deficit of Rs. 25. The head of household could not explain how the deficit had been met. It is represented that for some time, the household lived on roots and *gulmohwa* flowers. He could not make both ends meet with his present income. His economy is one of living from hand to mouth.

Case study 3

66. Sri Sedam Tulli s/o Pamga, a Kolam, aged 65 years with a joint family, is having agriculture as main occupation. The household has 7 members and agriculture is the only source of income. Of course one woman member of the family contributed a little amount by working as casual labourer during the agricultural season and occasionally the women collected *cherongi* which they sold in the local *shandies*. Almost all the elderly members of his family assist him in the agricultural operations. The annual income and expenditure of the household are given below:

STATEMENT X

BUDGET OF A TYPICAL KOLAM JOINT FAMILY ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION

Sources of income	Rs.	Items of expenditure	Rs.
1 Cultivation	422·00	1 Food	200·00
2 Wages	8·00	2 Fuel	1·00
3 Sale of *cherongi*	4·00	3 Lighting	12·00
		4 Clothing	117·50
		5 Bedding	12·00
		6 Maternity expenses	18·00
		7 Land Revenue	11·00
		8 Hire charges for bullocks	80·00
		9 Carpentry charges	8·00
		10 Payment to blacksmith	8·00
Total	434·00		467·50

The household had a deficit of Rs. 33·50 P. and the head of the household could not explain how this is met. About 50% of the income is spent on food while the remaining is spent on agriculture, clothing, etc.

Case study 4

67. Sri Mesram Nagu s/o Denu, a Gond, aged 40 years with a joint family is having agriculture as main occupation. He is possessing 32 acres of *patta* land, but only 27 acres have been brought under plough. Except agriculture, there is no other source of income for him. All his family members assist him in the various agricultural operations. The size of the family is 8. The income and expenditure of the household are given below:

STATEMENT XI

BUDGET OF A TYPICAL GOND JOINT FAMILY ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION

Sources of income	Rs.	Items of expenditure	Rs.
1 Cultivation	342·00	1 Food	300·00
2 Borrowing	440·00	2 Drinks	20·00
		3 Fuel and lighting	7·00
		4 Utensils	24·00
		5 Clothing	113·00
		6 Soaps	12·00
		7 Barber	8·00
		8 Festivals	70·00
		9 Hire charges for bullocks	80·00
		10 Land Revenue	70·00
		11 Payment to blacksmith	8·00
		12 Salt for bullocks	7·00
		13 Hired labour charges	100·00
Total	782·00		819.00

There is a wide gap between the income from agriculture and the expenditure of the household which he made up by borrowing. The head of the household raised loans with ease because of his credit worthiness. According to him, since last two years, he is not getting sufficient produce from his lands because of excessive rains. Even though he could not get sufficient income from his land, he cannot stop his pattern of expenditure which has become habitual.

Case study 5

68. Sri Atram Dharmu s/o Raju, aged 70 years depending on agriculture is having a simple type of family made up of himself and his wife. He cultivates the land by hiring the bullocks. His wife assists him in the various agricultural operations. He is having 5 acres of land. The income and expenditure pattern are given below :

STATEMENT XII

FAMILY BUDGET OF A SIMPLE GOND FAMILY ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION

Sources of income		Items of expenditure	
	Rs. P.		Rs. P.
1 Cultivation	204·00	1 Food	100·00
		2 Fuel	1·00
		3 Clothing	34·50
		4 Hire charges for bullocks	80·00
		5 Land Revenue	11·00
		6 Payments to the blacksmith	8·00
Total	204·00		234·50

He is having a deficit of Rs. 30·50 P. and he met this by taking a hand loan from his son who is at Jainur with his father-in-law.

Case study 6

69. Sri Sheik Hyder s/o Mohammed Hyder, a Muslim, aged 35 years, who has migrated to this village a year back is living on agriculture and business. He possesses 15 acres of land out of which an extent of only 2½ acres has been brought under plough. The major source of his income is business. The size of the household is 8. The pattern of income and expenditure is given below:

STATEMET XIII

FAMILY BUDGET OF A MUSLIM FAMILY ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION AND BUSINESS

Sources of income		Items of expenditure	
	Rs. P.		Rs. P.
1 Cultivation	59·50	1 Food	1,080·00
2 Business	1,200·00	2 Drinks (Tea)	68·00
3 Borrowings	350·00	3 Lighting	24·00
		4 Construction of house	96·75

—Contd.

STATEMENT XIII—*Concld.*

FAMILY BUDGET OF A MUSLIM FAMILY ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION AND BUSINESS

Sources of income		Items of expenditure	
			Rs. P.
		5 Pan	48·00
		6 Smoking	78·75
		7 Barber services and soaps	30·00
		8 Maternity expenses	27·00
		9 Land Revenue	6·75
		10 Purchase of assets	200.00
Total	1,609·50		1,659·25

There is a deficit of Rs. 50 in this case. There is great variation in income and expenditure pattern of this household when compared to that of the tribal households.

70. The income and expenditure pattern presented in the above case studies reveals that the major source of income among the tribals is agriculture while it is *kirana* business for one Muslim household. The other Muslim households live purely on agriculture. The expenditure pattern also differs from household to household based upon their economic condition. The expenditure pattern further reveals that a big slice of their income is being spent on food and comparatively less money is spent on clothing. Most of their expenditure is on their necessities. Not even one household spent any amount on items like recreation and education of the children, etc. Again, a considerable amount is also spent by the tribals on fairs and festivals which take place round the year. The tribals may even fast during the other days, but they will never fail to observe the rites and rituals of their community. They will never hesitate to raise a loan for festive occasions.

Marketing

71. Adilabad and Asifabad are marketing centres for these villagers though most of them visit Adilabad only. Of all the agricultural produce, cotton is the most important cash crop which is marketed at Adilabad and Asifabad. Every household in the village invariably produces cotton which brings them some cash. A few households now and then sell jowar and Bengalgram. During the year 1963-64, the villagers had sold jowar worth Rs. 600 and cotton worth Rs. 4,000. The production during the last agricultural season however was low to some extent due to heavy rains and therefore this cannot

be taken as normal. They had also sold Bengalgram worth Rs. 300 and the *cherongi* to the tune of Rs. 100.

72. The villagers have the following local units for measuring produce.

STATEMENT XIV

LOCAL MEASUREMENTS

4 *chittis*	=	1 *thavva*	
(1 *thavva*	=	1 standard seer)	
4 *thavvas*	=	1 *adda*	
2 *addas*	=	1 *kuncham*	
2 *kunchams*	=	1 *irsa*	
5 *irsas*	=	1 *palla*	
(1 *palla*	=	20 Kilograms)	
2 *pallas*	=	1 *gone*	

Indebtedness

73. Table 44 gives the details of the households burdened with indebtedness. Of the 40 households, 16 (40%) households are indebted to the tune of Rs. 1,845. The average indebtedness of the household is about Rs. 115·31 P. Analysing further, based on the income of the 18 households, in the income group of Rs. 300 or less, there are 5 (27·78%) households who raised a loan of Rs. 340 and the average indebtedness per household in this category is about Rs. 68. Similarly 8 households out of 18 in the income group of Rs. 301–600 raised a total loan of Rs. 915. The average indebtedness per household in this group is about Rs. 114·37. In the income group of Rs. 601–900, 2 out of 3 households have raised a total loan of Rs. 240. The one household in the income group of Rs. 1,201 and above has taken a loan of Rs. 350.

74. The reasons for raising the loans are mainly to meet their daily necessities. Fourteen households (62·6%) have raised loans only for meeting their ordinary wants ; one each has taken for repairs to houses and for celebrating marriages while the remaining two households have spent on cultivation (Table 45). If it is further analysed according to community, it can be seen that of these 18 debtors, 6 are Gonds, 8 are Kolams, 1 Kammara and 3 Muslims.

75. The source of borrowing for all the households is private money lender. Twelve households have raised loans on 25% interest, 4 households on 50% interest while one household has taken loan free of interest (Table 47). One very interesting point that engages attention is that the agency that advances loans is the same *viz*, a private money lender in respect of all the households. This makes it very clear that the private money lender or *sowkar* is the only credit giving agency for these tribals and the co-operative credit societies have yet to spread their activities to these tribal pockets. The rate of interest that the tribals are paying at present is exorbitant and ruining the tribals. Co-operatives can enter the field and save the tribals from the clutches of the money lenders.

76. Another form of borrowing is to borrow on the security of standing crop. The repayment is usually made in kind, that is to say, a proportion of the crop—a very undue proportion—is given to the money lender in liquidation of the loan. Loans of this type are contracted by the cultivator during the leanest periods of year when he is about to sow his crop and wants money to purchase seeds or just before the harvest when his own food supply has run short. There are cases of this kind in which the repayment of loan in kind to the lender is three or four times the original loan taken by the tribal. Such loans are always paid off in full at the stipulated time as the money lender sends a man to take away his share of the produce as soon as the crop is cut. Short term loans of this nature are not included in the statements of indebtedness and no accurate estimate of their amount can be given. It is probable that one cultivator in five or one in ten contracts them and that in the total the sum borrowed does not involve an addition of more than 5 percent the indebtedness of the agricultural classes. Any comprehensive compaign against indebtedness in the interests of the tribals as a whole would necessarily have three distinct phases, of which the first and the most important would be the reduction of interest, the second would be the repayment of principal, and the third would be the avoidance of incurring of fresh debts by the inculcation of the habit of thrift.

Sale and purchase of assets

77. One household sold livestock worth Rs. 200 during the last 30 years and two households have sold livestock and house during the year 1963–64. Similarly, 12 households have purchased bullocks,

agricultural implements and jewellery during the last 30 years. Only 3 households have reported purchasing of the assets like bullocks and implements worth of Rs. 650 during 1963–64 (Table 48).

Capital formation

78. The incidence of capital formation is not much in the village. Of the 40 households only 15 households have acquired some assets or other. Analysing further according to community, it can be seen that only 10 Kolam households out of 27 have made assets to a total worth of Rs. 1,460 like livestock, tools and implements and jewellery. Two Gond households purchased the assets worth about Rs. 180 while only one Kammara household had assets worth of Rs. 300. Of the 4 Muslim households, 2 have purchased assets worth Rs. 300 (Table 49).

Prosperity index

79. That only 4 households have liquidated the old debt of Rs. 185 of the last 10 years and 13 households have acquired property worth Rs. 2, 240, shows that the prosperity index of the inhabitants is not encouraging (Table 50).

Chapter V

CULTURAL LIFE AND VILLAGE ORGANISATION

Language

The predominant tribe in the village is Kolam. Most of the Kolams speak a dialect of their own called Kolami but some groups in the west of Adilabad district have exchanged this for Marathi while in the east there are many Kolams who speak Telugu only. Prof. Haimendorf remarks,

> "Their tribal language known as Kolami is a Dravidian tongue and belongs, like Gondi, to the intermediate group of Dravidian languages, agreeing in some points with Telugu and in others with Tamil and connected forms of speech." 1

2. According to Grierson,

> ".. the Kolams must, from a philogical point of view, be considered as the remnants of an old Dravidian tribe who have not been involved in the development of the principal Dravidian languages, or of a tribe who have not originally spoken a Dravidian form of speech." 2

3. The limited word list of Kolami, at least so it seems in vocabulary, has closer affinity to Telugu than to Gondi (word list is given below). Haimendorf further observes,

> "Kolams, and particularly their women speak with an attractive singing intonation, which, curiously enough, always reminded me of Hungarian, though obviously entirely fortuitous, this association struck me whenever I visited a Kolam village." 3

The following are some of the Kolami words and their equivalents in Telugu and English.

STATEMENT XV

KOLAMI AND TELUGU WORDS AND ENGLISH MEANING

Kolami (1)	Telugu (2)	English (3)
Nivu	*Neevu*	You
Theer	*Ventruka*	Hair
Thal	*Thala*	Head
Kevvu	*Chevvu*	Ear
Khan	*Kandlu*	Eyes
Mukku	*Mukku*	Nose
Enni	*Yenni*	How many
Lopa	*Lopala*	In

—Contd.

STATEMENT XV—*Concld.*

KOLAMI AND TELUGU WORDS AND ENGLISH MEANING

Kolami (1)	Telugu (2)	English (3)
Venaka	*Venaka*	Behind
Mees	*Meesalu*	Mustache
Moothi	*Moothi*	Mouth
Palku	*Pandlu*	Teeth
Varam	*Varamu*	Week
Venda	*Veilu*	Finger
Kayyi	*Cheyyi*	Hand
Sakk	*Sthanamu*	Breast
Bonka	*Meda*	Neck
Kadupu	*Kadupu*	Stomach
Bogor	*Boddu*	Navel
Thikane	*Nadumu*	Waist
Peddadi	*Pedavi*	Lip
Gunday	*Gunde*	Heart

4. Kolams when talking to Gonds and Pradhans generally speak in Gondi. Many of them are also familiar with Telugu and a few can speak Urdu also. The women are however not familiar with all these languages excepting Gondi. Kolami is the mother tongue for all the 141 Kolams of the village. In addition to their mother tongue 5 persons speak Marathi, 25 persons Telugu, 11 people Urdu and 80 persons Gondi. It can be seen that of the 80 persons who know Gondi, there are 37 women. Except this the women of this tribe do not know, as already said, other languages. Gondi is the mother tongue for 52 persons of the Gond tribe. Except 3 Gond males none of them know the Kolami language even though people of this language predominate in this village. Marathi, Telugu and Urdu are spoken by 6, 2 and 6 persons of Gond tribe respectively. The number of women knowing a secondary language is very insignificant. Urdu is the mother tongue of all the Muslims in the village. In addition to their own language, nearly half of the persons comprising men and women of this community know Marathi, one woman knows Telugu while 4 males can speak Marathi. Marathi is the mother

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1 C. v. F. Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 32

2 *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IV, P. 561 quoted by C.v.F. Haimendorf *op. cit.*, p. 32

3 Quoted by C.v.F. Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 32

tongue of the Lohar household. Except one female member of this caste who knows Gondi none knows other languages. As a good number of males can speak more than one language (Table 52), they often meet and discuss with each other over a pipe of tobacco. But it is not common among the womenfolk of different communities and this probably is due to the language difficulty. While addressing one another either within the tribe or outside, they call with the classificatory relationship *viz, anna, mamma, dada,* etc.

Family type

5. The general conception among the plains people is that the tribals favour the joint type of families. Of course this might have been true some two or three decades back. However, now-a-days, when a son marries, he usually tries to break away from the parental house and sets up a separate family. This sort of tendency is very common among the tribals of this area. The reasons are varied *i.e.,* the economic transition, contacts with the plains people etc., are the major factors. Table 51 gives the details of the family types in the village. They have been classified into four categories, *viz,* simple, intermediate, joint and others. A simple type of family consists of husband, wife and married children whereas an intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brother/sister and one of the parents. Joint family is defined as a family consisting of married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters. 'Others' refer to families which do not fall under any of the above three types. Of the 40 households, as many as 26 are of simple type, 9 are of joint type, 1 intermediate and 4 of other type of families. If it is further analysed according to community, of the 27 Kolam households, 18 are simple, one intermediate, 6 joint and 2 are others. Similarly of the 8 Gond households, 6 are simple type of families and 2 are joint. The one Kammara household comes under the category of other type of family. Of the four Muslim households, 2 are simple type and one each joint and other type.

Leisure and recreation

6. Clubs and cinemas are almost unknown to the people of the village. Leisure and recreation in the true sense are not for the people living in the remote corners who toil for their livelihood from dawn to dusk. Generally a few months of the summer season are the leisure months and their dances and the festivals are the only occasions for their joy and recreation. The Kolams are so closely associated with earth, their thoughts and daily life are so much ruled by their manifold works in field and forest and the changing seasons, that before proceeding to a discussion of their cultural life, we must watch their activities throughout the cycle of the year. It is the tillage of the soil which sustains the life of the tribe and of the individual and the whole structure of their culture, as of any peasant culture, rests ultimately on the successful raising of crops. The different activities of the people during the agricultural season have been extensively covered in the Chapter on Economy. To the Kolam himself, life appears as a consistent whole; just as he does not distinguish between a natural and a supernatural world, spirits and Gods having for him as much reality as persons of flesh and blood, so he does not place the technical acts of ploughing and sowing in a category different from that of the ritual observance which assure the sprouting of the crops and protection of the ripening grain. For in the slack season, when the Kolam, freed for a while from daily toil in the fields, abandons himself to festivities and celebrations, he is laying the basis for the success of the coming years' harvest and the fertility of the seed grain is reinforced by the blessing of Gods and the sprinkled blood of immolated animals.

7. Even in the slack season, the Kolam is seldom at a loss what to do. He will twine new ropes of home-grown hemp, carve a plough or a new cot, or he will bring in a young pair of bullocks to the yoke using a wooden sledge instead of plough or cart. He will go and visit relatives in the neighbourhood or in the far off villages or go on a pilgrimage to any deity to sacrifice an animal promised in times of illness or other emergency. Thus the Kolam seldom feels bored and if he has nothing particular on hand, there are always friends to gossip with over a leaf pipe of the newly harvested tobacco. During this season they go to forest and cut grass for thatching or cut poles from the trees for building houses.

8. The daily routine of the the people is very simple. Every one including man and woman gets up in the early hours of the day. After attending to calls of nature, men and grown-up children go to the fields while the womenfolk attend to the household duties. The men work in their fields upto 10 or 11 a.m. and break for lunch. They generlly do not work in the hot sun or while it is raining. Again they set out on work from 3 p.m. or so. During the winter

season one can see the people sitting round the fire here and there in the village. In this way the life of these people goes on year by year. Their dances are the only recreations to them.

9. Kolams are known for their skill in divination and the propitiation of local deities. Professor Haimendorf observes,

> "This reputation, so similar to that which the Baigas enjoy among the Gonds of the Maikal Hills, has led many Gond communities to entrust the cult of certain deities, and particularly of the Gonds holding sway over forests and hills, to the priest of nearby Kolam villages, and the name Pujari by which Kolams are known to the Gonds refers evidently to their traditional function as priests of the local gods." [1]

Worship of deities

10. The Kolams live in a world of spirits and deities which are believed to possess supernatural powers with which they are credited direct and controlling the course of nature and events in human life. Of these spirits and deities, a few are distinctly benign, some are indifferent or neutral but many are generally malign. The Kolams, therefore, devote a great part of their time, energy and money to propitiate or appease all of them. They worship the benign with a sense of gratitude, they attempt to appease the wrath of the indignant and malignant spirits and to keep them in good temper with the customary offerings and sacrifices, and they occasionally worship the indifferent or neutral spirits. To avert or get relief from the evil of the malignant spirits, the Kolams have recourse to spells, incantations and their rites are of a magical nature. It is not possible to distinguish the religious and magical character of the beliefs and practices of Kolams, because when they worship a spirit or attempt to ward off an evil they combine both religious and magical methods in such a manner that they cannot be easily bifurcated into two distinct parts.

11. The principal deity of Kolams is Ayak. When speaking any language other than their own, they refer to this deity as Bheemana or Bheem Deo and it is admitted by both the Gonds and Kolams that he is identical with Bheemana *pen* worshipped by Gonds. It seems in the olden days each territorial group had its own sanctuary and shrine for Ayak where the memorials for their dead were erected and all the members assembled there on festive days. Even today these sanctuaries still serve as main cult-centres, and though dispersed, the members of old groups make every effort to attend occasionally the annual rites in honour of Ayak of their ancestral clan-land. Apart from the ancient ones, we also find one or two shrines–small shrines on the outskirts of the Kolam villages containing the symbols of Ayak, a carved wooden mace (*gada*) usually crowned with a bunch of peacock feathers, a pot containing *pher* or belt of bells and *nawar* or anklets. Besides, there would be small dolls made of mud by the side of the deities (Fig. 16). The relics of this deity are kept in a thatched shed specially raised for the purpose. This shrine in the Laindiguda village is located in the south-eastern direction of the village. Once in a year in addition to special worships, they sacrifice goats in the month of *Denali Nela* (September–October) on Vijaya Dasami day. All the Kolams of the village including women gather on the Vijayadasami day near the deity. One or two goats are purchased with the funds raised by subscriptions and sacrificed before the deity and the meat is cooked. All enjoy the food and return to their homes in the evening. The Kolams do not have separate clan deities as in the case of Gonds. Among the Gonds each clan has got its own big God (Persa *pen*) but among the Kolams the Ayak is worshipped irrespective of clan. They do not worship nor participate in the Persa *pen* festival of Gonds. These people also once in a year worship their principal deity in the month of *Satti* (December).

12. During the month of *Satti*, after consulting the village elders, subscriptions are collected from all the households of their tribe in the village. On Thursday the relics of the Bheemana deity are brought into the village and are kept in the heart of the village in a green leaf booth. On the first day, a fowl or a goat is sacrificed. Next day, the relics of the deity are carried to Modamloddy, a hill stream, 12 miles away from the village for washing which is known as 'Ganga'. Most of the villagers follow the deity. Only next day evening they return from that place and the deity is again placed in the booth, and a he-buffalo which is purchased collectively is sacrificed by the villagers. Later individual sacrifices are also offered by those who are in oath. The meat of the sacrificed animal is cooked and enjoyed by all the people of the tribe. Before it is served to all, the priest holding the jowar food mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal visits all the corner stones of the village where he places

1. C. v. F. Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 86

little quantity of food and returns. The next day the deity is taken to its original place and kept. Thus the worship of this deity lasts for three days. They do not allow other community people to be present at the time of the sacrifice.

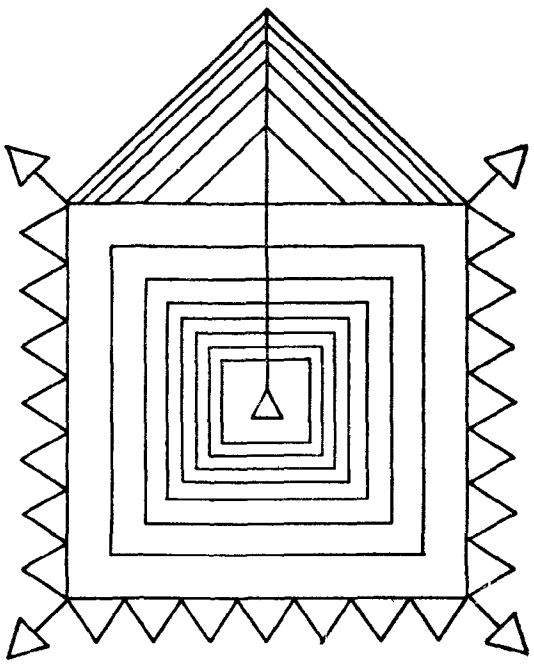
13. Besides Ayak, Kolams worship Polakamma the village Mother, who is identified as Anwal among the Gonds. It is mostly to her that the Kolams turn in times of sickness with the promise of a sacrifice. One incident recorded by the Investigators during the survey can very well illustrate the devotion of the Kolams towards the village Mother or Polakamma.

14. When a Kolam falls ill and is bed-ridden it is taken as a problem facing the entire tribe. It is a happy feature of these tribals that such difficulties are not only problems of the family concerned but they are generally treated as problems of the entire tribe and village and hence the entire village and tribe express their anxiety about the recovery of the ailing person. On such occasions, Karobari who is the principal adviser of the village calls the headman and other prominent members of the other villages into a session and apprises them of the situation and suggests some course of action to be taken for the speedy recovery of the bed-ridden person. It is their belief that if they propitiate the village Mother they can save the ailing person from sickness. At this sitting, they decide that if the patient recovers in about a week by the kindness of the Mother, they should celebrate Polakamma Devara. The incident that is narrated in the following paragraphs is a point in illustration of such an oath. It is an invocation made to the village Mother who, they believe can save the bed-ridden from serious illness. As a matter of fact they worship the deity every year in the month of *Bhave* (May) whether someone is sick or not.

15. During the period of field investigation of this village, one Kolam fell seriously ill. On a Tuesday (because Tuesdays and Thursdays are auspicious for such Devaras) they started the celebrations.

16. At about 10 O' clock in the morning the entire village (Gonds and Kolams only) moved out to a place fixed for the Devara which is at a distance of one mile from their dwellings. Women with their kids and utensils started for that place. Some men had already gone there in advance and pitched up three tents with blankets and *kumblis* (Fig. 17). Women began preparing their lunch. It mainly consisted of *garelu* (prepared with greengram syrup cooked in oil) and *boorelu* (a sweet dish) and jowar food.

17. A few others, along with the Devari went to a place where there was a stone slab symbolising Polakamma and started the propitiation of the village Mother. A piece of land was cleaned and plastered with cow dung on which lines of *pasupu* (turmeric) and *kumkuma* (vermilion) were drawn and a handful of grain was placed. Then a chicken was brought and left there to touch the grain. If it touched, it was considered that the deity was pleased with their offerings and if the chicken was not inclined to touch the rice it was considered that the deity was not happy with their offerings. Fortunately it touched the grain and every one felt happy and they sacrificed the same chicken. After the sacrifice was over they all marched towards their temporary encampment where the women were preparing lunch and children were playing under the shade of a tree. For a stranger the whole village would appear to be a deserted one. People left the village leaving behind not even a dog. Then the Devari started preparing the place for worship. First a bit of land was cleared and was smeared with cow dung, on which the lines as shown below were drawn. This worship is also called *jathara*. The sketch which is drawn is known as Polakamma *pattu*. In drawing this sketch, they used jowar flour, turmeric powder, vermilion and coal powder.



POLAKAMMA PATTU

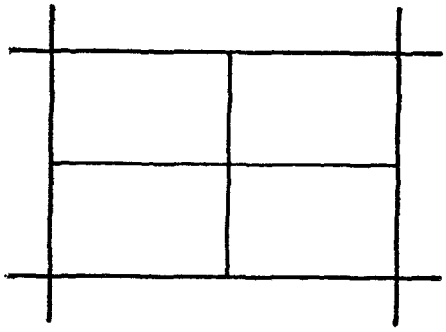
18. The Kolams could not explain the significance of this drawing. After the drawing was over, a fowl was sacrificed and a small portion of its dishes was offered to the Mother Goddess symbolised in the small heap of white flour. Later all the male members stood with folded hands in semi-circle facing the sketch while the Devari moving lips and making some gestures completed the ceremony. With this the whole ceremony of propitiation came to an end. The two fowls sacrificed at different places of worship were distributed among all the families. Each family in its tent or under the shade of a tree took their lunch, some in aluminium plates brought from their houses, some in leaf plates This is how the entire village takes upon itself the responsibility of celebrating this *Devara*. This is an instance of co-operative life the tribals have been leading from times immemorial without any change.

19. In the same month they also worship the boundary deity known as Shinam in every year. There is no symbol of this deity as such. It is worshipped to keep them away from illness and to guard the village from evil spirits. The place of worship is towards the last tip of the eastern boundary under the *ravichettu* (ficus religiosa). This deity is worshipped collectively by the Gonds and Kolams; even here only males participate in propitiation.

20. Generally this deity is worshipped a day earlier than the Polakamma Jathara or sometimes it is postponed to a later date. If it is decided that the worship of these two deities is to be performed simultaneously the worship starts on Tuesday and ends on Wednesday. In such a case, the worship of the Polakamma deity can be performed on Wednesday also. Due to some reason or the other if it is postponed it will be observed necessarily on Tuesday. The worship of this boundary deity as observed by the Investigators is narrated below :

21. On a Tuesday at about 9 a. m., almost all the male members of Kolam and Gond tribes gathered at the eastern boundary under a tree. They had already collected Re.1 from each household to meet the expenses during the worship of this deity and the Kolams had purchased a pig and the Gonds a fowl for the sacrifice. In addition to this they had also brought the required jowar and other condiments. Cooking of food was started by both the tribes separately. A few were engaged in this, while the others were stitching the green leaf plates (Fig. 18). The fowl and the pig were duly washed and kept ready for the sacrifice.

22. The Delak (priest) was busy in making arrangements for the propitiation of the deity. Under the *ravi* (ficus religiosa) tree, he cleaned a piece of land and smeared with cow dung and lines were drawn from east to west as shown below with turmeric powder and vermilion.



In each square, a small heap of jowar flour was placed and nine people stood in a semi-circle facing the sketch as shown in the photo while the Devari distributed a bit of jowar flour to all (Fig. 19). All of them with jowar flour in their hands recited a few words uttered by the Delak (priest). After this, a small chicken was brought to test whether the deity was satisfied with their offering or not (Fig. 20). The Delak holding the small chicken put it before the heap of the jowar flour. If the chicken touches the jowar flour it was considered that the deity was satisfied with their prayers and in case it did not touch, it was considered to be inauspicious. Fortunately the chicken touched the flour and all the people there were delighted. Next they kept two green leaf cups with cooked jowar food in front of the sketch which was known as *pattu*. The Kolams sacrificed the pig which can be seen in the photo while the Gonds sacrificed the fowl (Fig. 21). With this the ceremony ended. The pig was cooked by the Kolams and the chicken by the Gonds. All of them enjoyed the food and returned to the village, by about 3 O' clock in the evening.

23. Another village deity known as Burri Devara is worshipped in the same month by the Kolams. There are no shrines for this deity in the village. A few dolls prepared with mud are arranged under a small green leaf booth erected in the heart of the village as shown in the photo (Fig. 22). Worship of this deity is performed collectively to ward off the effects of the evil spirits. At this time they also invite their relatives and friends of their community from the neighbouring villages. Every

household in the village contributed jowar and other pulses for community feast according to their capacity. A pig and a fowl for the sacrifice are purchased from the balance of the amount which they have already collected for the worship of Vayu deity. The worship as witnessed during field investigation is presented in the following paragraphs.

24. The worship of this deity was started with the sacrifice of a pig at midnight. A *pattu* sketch as shown at page 52 was drawn in the heart of the village under a small green leaf booth erected specially for this occasion. In the middle of this, a mud-doll was kept and *garelu* (a hot dish) were hung in the four corners of the leaf booth. All their musical instruments were kept aside. First a pig was sacrificed and the blood of the sacrificed animal was mixed in the jowar food and four balls were prepared with it. The Delak (priest) carrying these balls accopanied by three or four elderly persons visited the four corner stones in four directions of the habitation area and placed a ball of food near each stone after sacrificing a small chicken. By the time these rituals were over, it was morning. While a few were busy in the propitiation of the Goddess, others were busy in cooking the food. The chicken that were sacrificed at the corner stones were cooked there itself and partaken by the elderly male members.

25. In the morning, all the people started eating in the green leaf-plates. By the time they finished their meals it was about 11 a. m. After the meals, a few young men after offering their salutations to the deity started beating drums rythmically. Both men and women who were in a relaxing mood after the meal, on hearing the sound of the drums formed into a circle and began to dance which is known as *yenda*. The inner circle was of the women while the outer was of men. Everyone entering into the dancing circle came and bowed to the deity. The dance was a very erotic one with their systematic steps combined with rythmic drumming very pleasing to the eye. While dancing they also sing songs and occasionally they howl perhaps for excitement. Immediately a few women appeared with tumblers full of turmeric water and poured on the men holding their hands and offering them *pranams*. Likewise they enjoyed upto 2 p. m., and then returned to their houses. During the festival and community dances, the individual is prepared to sacrifice anything for the welfare of the tribe and the village. Another feature of the tribalfolk is that they do not show any superiority or inferiority complex. Everyone whether rich or poor eat the same food at the same place and sit beside one other. Wealth and position do not have any importance in their community life.

26. The Kolams ascribe every disease, every unhappiness or adversity in life and every case of death to one or the other of various evil spirits that may work either of their own accord or under the influence and direction of sorcerers. And probably this might be the reason why they worship the various deities. The deities described above are worshipped by the Kolams. One or two of these deities are also propitiated by the Gonds. The Muslim and the Lohar caste households in the village do not participate in the propitiation of these deities.

Festivals

27. The Kolams like their fellow tribals, the Gonds, have their own annual calendar with one festival or the other in each month. Generally they observe the same festivals as observed by Gonds with some additions or omissions. All these festivals have been exhaustively dealt with in the monograph of Bhurnur* on Gonds. At present, only a few significant features are presented in short to avoid the monotony of repetition.

28. Their calendar starts with the month *Chait* or *Chaitra* the corresponding Telugu month (March—April). This month is marked by the Polakamma Devara narration of which has already been given in the preceding paragraphs. Next comes the month of *Bhave* (April—May). Two days before *Amavasya* or the new moon day, at about midnight, all the people of the tribe gather at *nadigundu* or a place which is in the heart of the village with the seed grain. Every worshipping ceremony which is performed in the village is held near the *nadigundu* only. They place their grain at the feet of the sanctuary and sacrifice one pig and one fowl. It may be pointed out here that whatever may be the animals they sacrifice, they are purchased by the funds raised by way of subscriptions. Everyone subscribes ungrudgingly for the fund. The Delak (priest) officiates. Then starts the invocation with a silent prayer addressed to the presiding deity seeking her to bless them with good harvest and to bestow upon them

* *A Monograph on Bhurnur*, Census of India 1961, Vol. II—Andhra Pradesh, Part VI, Serial No. 40.

wealth and prosperity in the ensuing year. They generally spend the rest of the night in dancing and at the cock's crow they return to their dwellings. This celebration heralds the sowing season. *Muhurtham* or formal inauguration of sowing starts on the following day. Delak leads the entire village in this regard. The Delak has to feed all the members in the field before he starts sowing the first seed. Afterwards all the villagers start sowing which is invariably accompanied by similar feeding.

29. The month *Bud-Bhave* (May–June) follows *Bhave* in close succession which is a season for weeding and other agricultural operations. No festival is celebrated in this month. Generally the people would be very busy with sowing and weeding operations. The fourth month in their calendar is *Akadi* (June–July) in which *Pasula Dayyam Panduga* is celebrated. They collect seven kinds of brooms which are divided into two heaps and a fowl is sacrificed at each heap. Two persons stand facing the heaps holding the brooms in their hands at their back while the others try to take them away from their hands. At this the former howl out 'udth,' 'udth,' signifying the scaring away of a tiger or a snake or any other wild animal. It is their belief that by so doing they can save their cattle from tigers, etc., and also themselves from the snakes, etc., at the time of weeding operations. Immediately after the festival, the Kolams start their weeding operations. They do not work on this day. Gonds do not celebrate this festival. In addition to this, the Kolams play on their musical instruments on the full moon day as the Gonds do. From this day onwards, they daily dance during the nights.

30. *Dora* (July–August) the fifth month in the Kolams' calendar, is marked by a festival of bullocks. The celebration of this festival is the same as in the case of Gonds. Bullocks are decked with gaily coloured trappings and with a *bottu* on their heads. They prepare vegetarian dishes like *garelu*, etc., and offer them to their bullocks with the sanguine belief that they would serve them well in the coming months. Cocoanuts are offered to the Hanuman deity and the bullocks are taken round the deity. The people observe fast on this festival day.

31. Next comes the month of *Pithu* (August–September) which is important for all Kolams because, during this month, annual offerings are made in the form of non-vegetarian dishes to the departed souls by every household in the north eastern corner of their house.

32. The seventh month is *Divanela* (September–October). During this month a new religious flag is hoisted at the Bheem Dev (Ayak) shrine and with this starts the *dandari* dance. (For details of the dance the reader may kindly refer to the Monograph on Gonds of Bhurnur*).

33. *Konkadinanela* (October–November) is the month which synchronises with the crop gathering or harvesting season and the important ritual associated with this is sprinkling of sacrificial blood of a fowl on the standing crops before they are harvested.

34. *Sattinela* (November–December) is undoubtedly the most important month for Kolams. It is important because during this month they celebrate the Bheema Devara festival, their clan deity. Three days before the full moon day, the Delak brings the idols of Bheema (Pher and Nevari) to the village and keeps them at the *nadigundu*. During these three days the villagers pay their homage to the deity Bheemana and offer their preparations. A community feast is specially arranged at the shrine.

35. *Pushi Nela* (December–January) is marked by an important Gond festival, the Keslapur Jathara. Kolams also attend the Jathara, but do not participate in the rites and rituals. It also serves them as an occasion to purchase some articles like utensils and ornaments, clothes, etc. Other than this, no special significance is attached to this month.

36. The eleventh month in their calendar is *Bheemarasi Nela* (January—February) which is considered auspicious for marriage celebrations. Kolams spend their time in this month by either attending marriages in the houses of relatives or celebrating marriages in their own houses, if any. Moreover, from this month they start harvesting their winter crops. No festivals are celebrated in this month.

37. *Duradi* (February—March) the twelth month is almost a dry month for them. They celebrate a festival called *Mundus Panduga* individually. Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes are enjoyed by them according to their will and pleasure. As they consider this month as inauspicious, no important events take place. Thus the wheel of time completes on rotation in twelve months.

38. Among the Muslims, Ramzan, Bakrid, Moharrum are the important festivals. It is rather

* *A Monograph on Bhurnur*, Census of India 1961, Vol. II–Andhra Pradesh, Part VI, Serial No. 40

strange to note that the Gonds in this village also participate in Moharrum festival and assist the Muslims in erecting the *peers*, *i.e.*, alams. They also jump and howl as the Muslims do.

Dances

39. The dances of Kolams and Gonds are one and the same. They are *dandari* and *dimsa* dances. The latter can be performed at any time they please but the former *dandari* dance is performed only in the month of *Akadi*. The musical instruments called *akara* drums are possessed separately by a single person from each clan who is generally an influential and well-to-do Kolam, as he has to feed the *dandari* dancers who come from other villages during that month. In this village, there are people belonging to two Dayyams (phratries) and so naturally they have two sets of drums. The Kolam women dancing can be seen in the photos (Figs. 23 & 24). When the dance is in progress, two or three persons called *ghusaris* or clowns with huge exaggerated steps take rounds with the dancers. Huge head gear of peacock feathers lend them superhuman height and false beards and mustaches conceal their features. Their eyes are painted with white colour and, their naked bodies, but for a narrow *langoti*, are painted with black and white colours and multiple strings of shells, and various dried wild roots are tied to their necks. They wear a belt of bells to their waist and add a medium sized cylindrical stick called *rokal dhando* to their waist. They move round the dancers in a jocular way to the rythm of a drum beat (Figs. 25 & 26).—(For greater details, the reader is advised to refer the monograph on Gonds of Bhurnur village, Monograph No. 40).

40. The following are the musical instruments which are played during their dances. Except for the change of the names they are the same as those of the Gonds.

(1) *Flute* :— The Kolam is adept in playing on flute. It is manufactured by them only and is decorated with peacock feathers at the end. He sings over it many romantic songs. This is possessed only by Kolams.

(2) *Dhapda*:—It is similar to *dappu* possessed by Gonds. It is a shallow drum with a circular wooden frame which is prepared by themselves.

(3) *Suldi* or *Vanch*:— A saucer shaped single membrane drum.

(4) *Jalar* or *Thalsick* or *Thalalu* :—These are purchased at Keslapur fair and may cost Rs. 1 to 2.

(5) *Dhomsa* or *Dhor* :— It is a wooden cylindrical drum with hide membrane and is prepared by themselves.

(6) *Thudum*:— It is the same as that of *nagara* of the Gonds. It is an iron kettle drum with the hide membrane.

(7) *Mooge* :— These are jingling bells purchased at Keslapur fair and are tied to the legs of *ghusari*.

Witchcraft

41. The Kolams are staunch believers in witchcraft. Both men and women indulge in this activity. Witch-finders are employed to detect the miscreants and are brought to the notice of the religious Panchayat. Fines are imposed along with beatings. Men or women who are adamant in practising the witchcraft against the decisions of panchayat are excommunicated.

Village organisation

42. The political structure of the society is another fundamental trait. This has also been affected by the imposition of the Government of the civilised people over the tribal people in general. The different tribal groups all over the world have got different types of political organisations. There is a difference between the political organisation of the Gonds and Kolams. Generally it has a chief, hereditary or elected, from specified clans or families for life or for a particular term. He is assisted by a council of elders. The position of this official and his council has undergone a considerable change due to the interference of the Government. The village chiefs and their councils have lost the basis of their power and position. They are no longer the protectors of their own people. The task now devolves upon the Governmental authority as a result of which the chief has degenerated into a Government employee. In the absence of a proper authority, litigation has increased. The villagers now prefer to go to Law Courts than to subject themselves to the decision of their elders, though visit to the Law Courts involves huge expenditure ruinous to both parties. Party

strife and general indiscipline are the fruits that the villagers reap. And to a great extent, it is also true in the case of the Kolams where there is a great change in their political organisation. Even though they have got their political organisation, it is not so strong and effective as it used to be once.

43. Tribal organisation of the Kolams is quite simple. It consists of Delak and the Naikoon and havildar. Though all the caste disputes like separation, divorce, etc., are decided by the council of elders, yet the word of the community heads carries considerable weight.

44. The first settler in the village will invariably be the Delak (priest). Generally the posts of Naikoon and Delak are held by separate persons of the same clan though sometimes both these are held by the same person. All the religious functions including the worship of deities, etc., are attended to by the Delak in addition to presiding over meetings of the Caste Panchayat. The Naikoon is the assistant and he is the person who receives complaints and also takes leading part in the arrangements for the various festivals and worship of deities. Marriage, death and other social functions are almost directed by these people. In a word their presence is necessary in the social and religious functions. In this village, these posts are held by the household belonging to *Arodayyam* clan. Though these posts are hereditary, they can also be removed by a majority vote and the posts assigned to other person belonging to the same clan. It is said that previously they used to deal with political, social and economic problems of their village but the tide of the time has reduced their powers and now their functions are restricted only to social disputes and other functions. Land disputes and other criminal disputes are attended to by the Governmental organisations.

45. In addition to these people, there are two more persons known as Tharmakan and havildar. The former attends to cooking in social functions while the latter to calling the people and announcing the dates, etc., for the functions as decided by the elders. The posts are not hereditary. They are appointed by the villagers themselves and are paid in kind at the time of harvest. A divorce case decided by the caste panchayat is described below.

Case study

46. One Sri S. R., divorced his wife as she was found indulging in adultery. The case was brought before the Caste Panchayat by the wife. She reported the matter to the Naikoon who arranged the sitting of the Panchayat. The elders were also invited. The husband, when asked why he has deserted her, said that he does not like her as she is indulging in adultery. Caste Panchayat decided that he can divorce her and she need not pay any fine and can also retain the ornaments, etc., given to her. The decision was accepted by both the parties and both were set free to re-marry.

Formation of tribal panchayats

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

48. The name of Professor Haimendorf is always remembered whenever the question of rehabilitation of tribes of this area is taken up. The Professor, during the course of his anthropological studies lived with the Gonds for years and suggested methods to the then Government of Hyderabad for taking up rehabilitation work among the tribal people of this area. Various suggestions for their development in economic, social and educational fields were also made by him and the implementation of the same under his own guidance resulted in the birth of a separate Department called the Department of Social Service under the then Hyderabad Government.

Social welfare programmes

49. Special Rules called 'Tribal Areas Rules and Regulations (1949)' were formulated and the areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals were notified under this Act. The areas thus notified were kept under special officers with necessary field staff for intensive development of the tribalfolk. These officers were vested with wide powers by designating them as Assistant Agents to Government, the District Collectors being the Agents. Under these Regulations, lands were allotted to these tribes and loans advanced through the Agricultural Credit Co-operative Societies which are now defunct, and draught bullocks supplied free of cost.

50. In order to safeguard the interests of the tribals and prevent exploitation by outsiders and to make the administration of justice easily accessible to the tribals, areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals were notified under 'The Tribal Areas

Regulation 1359 Fasli (No. III of 1359 F.)'* of the erstwhile Hyderabad Government which undertook the administration of criminal, civil and revenue jurisdiction through an Agent (District Collector) and an Assistant Agent (District Social Welfare Officer) and Tribal Panchayats. As a result of this all the cases in their areas were and are being decided according to the prevalent customs, without undue delay and expense to the parties. These Panchayats are vested with the powers of dealing with petty civil and criminal cases and fining upto Rs. 50. Aggrieved parties have a right of appeal to the Assistant Agent or the Agent, who after examining the decision given by the Panchayat may either confirm or revoke it. In case of doubt, the cases are referred to arbitration. All the proceedings of the Tribal Panchayats are verbal.

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

52. The Kolams were also guided by the same Tribal Areas Regulation Act and were given the same facilities as were given to Gonds. This village was under the Marlavai Tribal Panchayat.

Formation of new panchayats

53. This village falls in the Daboli group of panchayats. This is constituted under the new set up of democratic decentralisation during February, 1960. Following are the villages included in this panchayat.

(1) Daboli

(2) Laindiguda

(3) Jainur

(4) Polasa

54. All the members of the panchayat are elected unanimously. There are six members for this panchayat and where as the President is from the Gond tribe while Vice-President is from Kolam tribe. Except the collection of taxes, the panchayat has not taken up any welfare programmes in the villages. None in the village including the members knows the functions of the panchayat. No cases have been referred to the panchayat so far. The list of the panchayat members is given below.

STATEMENT XVI

PANCHAYAT MEMBERS

S. No.	Name of the member	Community	Age	Educational standard
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Kanaka Lingu (Daboli village) President.	Gond	58 years	Illiterate
2	Atram Gangu (Laindiguda village) Vice-President.	Kolam	60 do	do
3	Sedam Chinnu (Daboli village)	Gond	35 do	do
4	Sedam Lingu (Daboli village)	Gond	32 do	do
5	Medavi Koddu (Jainur village)	Gond	36 do	do
6	Kuring Govindarao (Polasa village)	Gond	35 do	do

55. It can be seen from the above particulars, that all the members are above 30 years of age and are all illiterate. It is also said that not even a single meeting has been convened during the term of the panchayats. There is no co-operation among the members.

56. The accounts of the panchayat are not properly maintained (the yearwise figures of previous years could not be obtained). They have levied house tax, cart tax, and also collected taxes on the sale of cattle. The tamarind trees in the village are auctioned by the panchayat. Government paid a grant of Re. 0·25 P. per head from the land revenue to the panchayat. The approximate annual income of the panchayat is about Rs. 500. The panchayat maintains a clerk and a peon on monthly salary of Rs. 15 and Rs. 10 respectively. The annual expenditure is about Rs. 300.

57. The Gonds have got their own tribal organisation as described in the Monograph on Bhurnur. The other community people *viz*, Muslim and Lohar are not having their own community organisations.

* For detailed study of the regulations refer *Tribal Areas Regulation and Rules* reproduced in Appendix II to *A Monograph on Bhurnur*, Census of India 1961, Vol. II–Andhra Pradesh, Part VI, Serial No. 40.

58. The collection of the land revenue and the maintenance of Law and Order are looked after by the village officer locally known as Patwari and Police Patel. These officials are appointed by the Government. The Patwari maintains the land records of the village and also collects revenue from the villagers. The Police Patel is responsible for looking after Law and Order. It is almost a common feature for the Patwaris of this area to collect more Land Revenue than what has been fixed by the Government. It is a case of exploiting the poor illiterate tribals by taking advantage of their ignorance. During the course of investigation a good number of receipts passed by the Patwari were verified and in many a case he has collected double the amount from the ryots. Where he has collected Rs. 10 he has passed on the receipt only for Rs. 5. He never discloses to the ryots the actual amount of revenue the ryot has to pay to the Government.

59. Majority of the Patwaris in this area belong to the tribal community; yet they do not have sympathy towards their own people.

Educational institutions

60. Except one Primary School being run by the Social Welfare Department, there are no other voluntary or Governmental organisations in the village. This School is functioning from 1-7-1950 and yet the progress in literacy is not encouraging. The same facilities as are provided to the Gonds are extended to the Kolams also. The children are provided with scholarships and other materials required for their education free of cost. There are 15 students on the rolls and out of them 2 are girls and the remaining are boys. Again of the 15 students, 9 are Gonds, 4 are Kolams, one a Muslim and One a Lohar. Except one Muslim boy who is studying 3rd standard, all are in 1st standard. The two girls are from tribal community.

61. Though Kolams predominate in the village, the strength of the school-going Kolam children is very low when compared to that of Gonds. They do not evince much interest in the education of their children. Previously they were taught in Gondi but now the medium is switched over to Telugu.

Chapter VI

AWARENESS AND ATTITUDE

General

The preceding pages might help to throw some light on the outlook of the tribe on the outside world. These people are interested in the things which give them immediate benefit. The standard of literacy among the inhabitants is very poor and they neither read newspapers nor do they have a community radio set in the village to know about the day-to-day changes that are taking place in the country. The villagers are not aware of the various legislations enacted by the Government. This village falls in the Panchayat Samithi, Utnur. The Village Level Workers and the Social Education Organisers of the Samithi are expected to move among these people and apprise them of the various enactments and other social reforms. But they hardly visit the village and stay with the people.

Inheritance

2. The patrilineal society that exists among all the tribes in this area prevails among the Kolams too. After the death of the father, the property is inherited by the sons equally. However in case there are no male issues, the property is inherited by the daughters. Among all the communities in the village, the prevalent practice is that the sons inherit the property. None in the village are aware of the existence of the Hindu Laws of Succession and Adoption. Knowing the changes therein does not therefore arise. Adoption is permitted.

3. It is not that they do not like to give a share to their daughters but a few people when asked about their opinion on this subject, remarked that it is the duty of the parents to get her married and that the husband has to look after her, and marrying her itself is the amount of her share. That is why they do not wish to give equal share to the daughter. Only 12 heads of households out of 40 expressed in favour of giving equal share in their property to their daughters. Of the 12 household heads, 2 are in the age group of above 50 years; one is aged between 41–50 years and 8 are in the age group of 21–30 years (Table 75).

Functions of the different organs of the Democratic Decentralisation

4. Of the 40 household heads, only 31 are aware of the existence of the Panchayat and the remaining are not aware. None in the village including the Vice-President who hails from this place knows the functions of the Panchayat. Only two Kolam household heads know about the Panchayat Samithi. Zilla Parishad is known only to one Kolam household head. None in the village is satisfied with the functioning of these organs. District and Taluk headquarters are known to 36 and 38 household heads respectively. Again of the 40 household heads, 26 (19 Kolams and 7 Gonds) expressed the opinion that their community Panchayats should not be displaced even though statutory Panchayats are established. These people are not satisfied with the working of the Panchayats. The remaining 14 household heads are in favour of abolition of their Caste Panchayats. Further, those who are in favour of continuing their Community Panchayat have reported that their social disputes like divorce, separation, etc., should be decided in the council of their caste elders. Some say that they have not yet developed any confidence in the Statutory Panchayat where according to them favouritism plays an important role. Added to this, the caste elders have no voice in the deliberations of the Statutory Panchayat.

5. As they have no acquiantance with the Village Level Worker, the question of expressing their opinion on his functions does not arise. All the 40 household heads in the village have reported that they do not know the functions of the Village Level Worker. The activities of Community Development Programme have not yet percolated into this interior village.

Family planning

6. None in the village are aware of the existence of a family planning clinic. Only three household heads have reported that they are aware of the methods of family planning and two household heads each of Kolam and Gond approved controlling

the birth of children deliberately. The other household head who is a Muslim disagreed as his religion does not permit such things. After explaining the advantages of birth control, 31 heads of households have approved and are willling to adopt the methods of family planning provided they are given facilities. In all, 33 persons are in favour of birth control. None of these persons are in favour of adopting surgical methods as they have got a wrong apprehension that they will become impotent after the operation.

7. Again of these 33 persons, 2 want to adopt birth control after 3 children; 11 after 4 children; 14 after 5 children; 4 after 6 children and only 2 after 7 children. The above picture clearly gives an idea that the tribals are in favour of family planning and it can be popularised and can be put into practice by providing facilities and by means of effective propaganda.

8. Table 69 gives the attitude of the persons towards the family planning with reference to age. One household head each in the age group of 31–40 years and 21–30 years desires to adopt family planning after 3 children. Of the 11 persons who desire to adopt birth control after 4 children, 4 are in the age group of 21–30 years, 3 are in the age group of 31–40 years, one in the age group of 41–50 years and three in the age group of 50 years and above. 14 household heads out of 33 desire to adopt family planning after the birth of 5 children. Of these 3, 7, 2, 2 household heads fall in the age groups of 21–30, 31–40, 41–50 and above 50 respectively.

9. There are 4 household heads who desire to adopt family planning after six children. Of these three are in the age group of 31–40 years and one is in the age group of 21–30 years. The remaining two heads of the households who desire to adopt birth control after 7 children are in the age group of 31–49 years. The general tendency among these people is to have more number of children so that the latter would be of help to them in their agricultural operations.

10. Table 70 gives the details of the attitude towards family planning with reference to the age of the child-bearing women. The reference to the attitude of the family planning of the child-bearing women is not direct but ascertained from the opinion of their husbands. Two such Gond women who are in the age group of 26–30 years are willing to adopt family planning after having 3 children. There are 11 women who intend to restrict their families after four children. Again of these 11 women two each are in the age group of above 40 years and 16–20 years; one each in the age group of 31–35 years, 21–25 years and 36–40 years while the remaining 4 are between 26 to 30 years. Similarly, there are 14 women of child-bearing age who desire to adopt the methods of family planning after five issues. Five such women are in the age groups of 31–35 years and 21–25 years while there is one each in the age group of 36–40 years and 16–20 years. There are 3 women of this category in the age group of 40 years and above. The husbands of 4 women of child-bearing age reported that they want to adopt family planning after the birth of six children by deliberate means. In this category falls one woman each in the age group of 30–40 years and 21–25 years while there are 2 women in the age group of 20–30 years. The opinion of the husbands of two child-bearing women is that they want to adopt the family planning after seven children and these two women fall in the age groups of 31–36 years and 26–30 years.

11. All the heads of the households in the village are not having the same attitude towards family planning. It differs from person to person depending on the duration of marriage. Table 71 gives the attitude towards the family planning with reference to duration of marriage. There are 7 heads of the households who desire more children. Of them, 2 each have been married for 20 years and above, 16–20 years and 6–10 years and the remaining one household head for 11–15 years. 32 heads of the households do not desire to have more children. In this category, 13 heads of households have been married for 20 years and above, 7 for 16–20 years, 5 for 11–15 years and 4 for 6–10 years while the remaining 3 household heads have been married for only 6 or less years.

12. Income is also one of the factors which creates desire among the people to restrict the growth of the families. The 7 heads of the households who intend to have more children fall in the income groups of Rs. 1,201 and above (1 household), Rs. 601–900 (1 household), Rs. 301–600 (2 households) and Rs. 300 and less (3 households). Similarly the 32 household heads who do not want more children fall in the income groups of Rs. 601–900, Rs. 301–600 and Rs. 300 and less in the order of 1, 16 and 15 households respectively.

Untouchability Offences Act, 1956

13. Untouchability is observed by the tribals also. They do not allow the Scheduled Caste people *viz*, Mala, Madiga, etc., inside their houses nor do they touch them. The drinking water well which is used by tribals is not open to the untouchables. Similarly they also do not give equal status to the Pradhans. As a matter of fact, no Mala or Madiga can pass through a Kolam village sitting in a cart. He had to get down and walk. This is prevalent even to this day. Except one Muslim household, none in the village have heard about the existence of the abolition of Untouchability statutorily.

Dowry Payments Act

14. There is no system of dowry payment among tribals as well as in other castes in the village. None in the village like the payment of dowry. The tribals have got their own codes for marriage and divorce etc. Only one Kolam household reported knowledge of Hindu Marriage Act. None in the village know about the Act.

Inter-tribal and inter-caste relationship

15. The social life of a village is to a large extent influenced by the ethnic composition of the village, because the caste or tribe plays an important role in the social relationship between the various sections of the village population. In this village, there are two tribes and one household of Hindu caste and one of Muslim community. Kolams are numerically predominant while the Gonds, another dominating tribe of this area is however, numerically less in number than the former. The latter are to some extent economically sound. Yet none feel superior to any other simply because of their birth in that particular tribe. Unlike in the case of plains villages where the caste hierarchy is a common feature. Live and let live is the policy of the tribalfolk.

16. People call on one another, mix freely and take part in common religious festivals though there are separate habitations for each community. To sum up, they are living very cordially without much differentiation of caste and creed.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

The preceding Chapters have set out the socio-economic conditions of the people living in the forest clad village of Laindiguda in general and the Kolams or the Kolavars, a Scheduled tribe in particular. The shifting cultivation, once a major economic activity of the Kolams, has become almost a legend now. The various ameliorative measures initiated by the Government for the uplift of the different tribal populations of this area, have brought about many a change in the inherent set up of this tribe. Today, every Kolam household is owning a piece of land and is pursuing settled agriculture. But their agricultural practices are still primitive and they do not try to improve the fertility of the land by way of applying manures. Undoubtedly, the Kolams are economically backward when compared to the Gonds who are the dominating tribe. It is often complained by the Kolams that they are getting step motherly treatment from the Government in the solution of their economic problems.

2. The problem of indebtedness is alarming. The source of credit for these people is provided by the private money lenders who charge abnormal rates of interest. The poor tribals must be provided with easy credit facilities by the Government so that they may not fall an easy prey into the hands of unscrupulous money lenders.

3. The percentage of literacy is almost negligible. The villagers are almost ignorant about the various scientific and technological developments that are taking place in the country.

4. The eroding influences of modern civilisation are clearly perceptible on their tribal organisation. Their Community Panchayats are not so effective as they once were. Today the hereditary tribal elder does not have the same voice and command as he used to in the past.

5. Though there are no radical changes in the socio-economic set up of the tribe, the wheels of acculturation have started moving. Today they are not so rigid in their outlook as they were a decade ago. Their coming into contact with the plains people in the weekly *shandies* and fairs undoubtedly had its own impact on the culture of Kolams. The younger generation is very much inclined to copy the habits and the ways of the plains people. Though Kolams and Gonds are living in the same belt, Kolams are more conservative in their outlook and economically more backward than Gonds. Kolams need much attention from the Government. No Village Level Worker has ever visited this village to enquire about the welfare of the people. Such gross indifference on the part of the Samithi Officials creates a kind of antagonism against the Goverment and its activities among the tribals.

6. In under-developed areas, specially among tribal communities, it is necessary that the basic needs of the people, are first to be realised for the successful implementation of the welfare measures. Any programme designed for the welfare can be effective or can have its impact only when such problems which agitate the minds of the larger section of the community are resolved. These grievances are not very complex in nature; there are only small problems of settling land disputes, demarcating pasture, grazing and forest lands, providing irrigational facilities, ensuring an uninterrupted supply of essential requisites for agricultural production and credit. These and such other problems have to be settled on the spot. Sometimes it is more important to settle them than the production programmes or construction of a school or organising youth clubs and so on; as long as their local problems agitate the minds of the large number of the community, its members are not likely to respond to other programmes that are designed for the betterment. A large majority of the population always desires to get their grievances redressed at the earliest from the nearest possible authority with less expenditure. Probably this might be one of the causes for the slow progress of Community Development Programmes in Tribal Areas.

7. To sum up, for the administration of Social Services, it is necessary that human approach takes precedence over exercise of power. It is the approach of persuasion rather than exercise of regulatory powers that will bring about ultimate success. Workers engaged in the execution of welfare programmes whether officials or non-officials having the technical expertise must acquire and develop a

human approach to establish an identity of interests with the community in which they work. There has to be judicious adjustment of activity to meet the basic needs of the people as distinguished from programmes or activities of their social and economic improvement. As stated earlier, to create a psychological receptivity, it is necessary to meet promptly the basic needs. Specialisation should be subordinated to coordination to achieve the desired results without creating conflicts and confusion in the minds of the people. All laws, particularly social laws which we are producing rather too fast and in a rather complex way should fit in with the genius of the people they are meant to serve. Designed as they are to satisfy the requirements of perfect legislation, they tend to become un-intelligible to the common man who finds it difficult to digest them and to avail of the benefits they confer.

APPENDIX

TABLES

The Tables presented herein are based on the data collected in respect of 40 households inhabiting Laindiguda village at the time of survey done in May 1964.

TABLE 1

Area, Houses and Population

Year	Name of village/hamlet	Area		Density per Sq. mile	Number of houses	Number of house-holds	Population		
		Acres	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1961	...	1836·80	7·44	64	39	39	193	100	93

SOURCE : *Primary Census Abstract, 1961*

TABLE 2

Size and Composition of Households

Total No. of house-holds	Single member			Two or three members			Four to six members			Seven to nine members			Ten members and above		
	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
40	...	...	...	6	6	9	24	61	61	9	37	33	1	6	10

TABLE 3

Households and Population by Religion, Sect and Caste/Tribe/Community

Religion	Sect	Not belonging to any sect or sub-sect	Total number of households	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
HINDU						
1 Gond (S.T.)	...	8	8	52	27	25
2 Kammara	Khati	...	1	6	1	5
3 Kolam (S.T.)	...	27	27	141	70	71
ISLAM						
1 Muslim	Sunni	...	4	24	12	12
Total	...	35	40	223	110	113

S.T. : Scheduled Tribe

TABLE 4

Phratry and Clan by Tribe and Households

Tribe	Phratry						Clan						
	Sewen Saga	Sarwen Saga	Edwen Saga	Nalugo Dayyam	Aro Dayyam	Edo Dayyam	Ada	Mesram	Royi Sedam	Atram	Pusnak	Doram	Madavi
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS												
1 Gond	1	4	3	...	...	...	1	3	1	2	1	...	...
2 Kolam	...	...	...	11	12	4	...	...	...	12	...	11	4
Total	1	4	3	11	12	4	1	3	1	14	1	11	4

TABLE 5

Population by Age Group and Sex

Age group (in years)	Total		Gond		Kammara		Kolam		Muslim	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
0-14	54	55	14	15	...	1	34	34	6	7
15-24	13	16	4	1	...	1	9	10	...	4
25-59	40	38	7	9	1	2	26	26	6	1
60 & above	3	4	2	2	...	1	1	1	...	...
Total	110	113	27	25	1	5	70	71	12	12

TABLE 6

Population by Age Group and Marital Status

Age group (in years)	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced/Separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
0-14	109	54	55	52	51	2	4	...	...	...	...
15-24	29	13	16	5	...	8	16	...	...	...	...
25-59	78	40	38	...	1	39	34	1	2	...	1
60 & above	7	3	4	...	...	3	3	...	1	...	...
Total	223	110	113	57	52	52	57	1	3	...	1

TABLE 7

Population by Age Group, Sex, Education and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Age group (in years)	Total			Illiterate			Primary or Junior Basic		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Gond	0-14	27	14	13	24	12	12	3	2	1
	15-24	5	4	1	5	4	1	...	...	...
	25-59	16	7	9	14	5	9	2	2	...
	60 & above	4	2	2	4	2	2	...	...	...
2 Kammara	0-14	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...
	15-24	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...
	25-59	3	1	2	3	1	2	...	...	...
	60 & above	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...
3 Kolam	0-14	68	34	34	66	33	33	2	1	1
	15-24	19	9	10	14	6	8	5	3	2
	25-59	52	26	26	51	25	26	1	1	...
	60 & above	2	1	1	2	1	1	...	...	...
4 Muslim	0-14	13	6	7	9	2	7	4	4	...
	15-24	4	...	4	4	...	4	...	...	...
	25-59	7	6	1	6	5	1	1	1	...
	60 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 8

Population by Age Group, Sex and Education

Age group (in years)	Total			Illiterate			Primary or Junior Basic		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
0-14	109	54	55	100	47	53	9	7	2
15-24	29	13	16	24	10	14	5	3	2
25-59	78	40	38	74	36	38	4	4	...
60 & above	7	3	4	7	3	4	...	...	...
Total	223	110	113	205	96	109	18	14	4

TABLE 9

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

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Particulars	Age group (in years) 0–14 Males	0–14 Females	15–24 Males	15–24 Females	25–59 Males	25–59 Females	60 & above Males	60 & above Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1 Gond	Literate	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
	Illiterate	...	...	...	...	3	1	2	...
	Total	...	...	...	...	5	1	2	...
2 Kammara	Literate	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Illiterate	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Total	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
3 Kolam	Literate	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
	Illiterate	...	...	...	...	24	...	1	...
	Total	...	...	1	...	25	...	1	...
4 Muslim	Literate	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Illiterate	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
	Total	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Total of all Communities	Literate	...	...	1	...	4	...	...	...
	Illiterate	...	...	...	...	31	1	3	-
	Total	...	...	1	...	35	1	3	...

TABLE 10

Deaths by Tribe/Community, Marital Status, Sex and Age Group during the last Five Years

Tribe/ Community	Marital status	Males: Age group (in years) 0–14	15–24	25–59	60 & above	Females: Age group (in years) 0–14	15–24	25–59	60 & above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1 Gond	Never Married	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Married	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
2 Kolam	Never Married	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Married	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
3 Muslim	Married	...	...	...	...	...	..	1	...

TABLE 11

Deaths by Tribe/Community, Cause, Sex and Age Group during last Five Years

Tribe/ Community	Cause of death	Males: Age group (in years) 0–14	15–24	25–59	60 & above	Females: Age group (in years) 0–14	15–24	25–59	60 & above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1 Gond	Smallpox	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Cough and fever	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Typhoid	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
2 Kolam	Fever	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	At the time of delivery	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
3 Muslim	At the time of delivery	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Total		3	...	1	...	1	...	2	...

TABLE 12

Livelihood Classes

Location code number and name of village	Area in square miles	Occupied houses: Number of houses	Occupied houses: Number of households	Total number of persons enumerated (including inmates of institutions and houseless persons): P	M	F	Inmates of institutions and houseless persons: M	F	Literates: M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
				1951 CENSUS*						
129 Laindiguda	2·87	29	29	171	89	82	...	...	7	...
				1964 SURVEY						
102 Laindiguda	2·87	38	40	223	110	113	...	...	14	4

—Contd.

TABLE 12—*Contd.*

Livelihood Classes

Location code number and name of village	Agricultural classes: I–Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents: P	M	F	II–Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents: P	M	F	III–Cultivating labourers and their dependents: P	M	F	IV–Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents: P	M	F
(1)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)
					1951 CENSUS*—*Contd.*							
129 Laindiguda	140	†	†	...	...	...	2	†	†	...	...	...
					1964 SURVEY—*Contd.*							
102 Laindiguda	205	103	102	...	...	...	6	3	3	...	...	...

—Contd.

TABLE 12—*Concld.*

Livelihood Classes

Location code number and name of village	Non-agricultural classes: Persons (including dependents), who derive their principal means of livelihood from: V–Production other than cultivation: P	M	F	VI–Commerce: P	M	F	VII–Transport: P	M	F	VIII–Other services and miscellaneous sources: P	M	F
(1)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)
					1951 CENSUS—*Concld.*							
129 Laindiguda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
					1964 SURVEY—*Concld.*							
102 Laindiguda	6	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	3	3

*SOURCE:—*1951 District Census Handbook, Adilabad*

† Sexwise figures are not available

P: Persons M: Males F: Females

TABLE 13

1961 Primary Census Abstract

Location Code No.	Name of village	Area of village (in Sq. miles)	Occupied residential houses		Total No. of persons enumerated (including inmates of institutions and houseless persons)			Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Houseless population	
			No. of houses	No. of house-holds	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
102	Laindiguda	2·87	39	39	193	100	93	...	...	100	93	...	...

—Contd.

TABLE 13—*Contd.*

1961 Primary Census Abstract

Location Code No.	Name of village	Institutional population		Literate & educated persons		Total workers (I-IX)		Workers: I As cultivator		II As agricultural labourer		III In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting & plantations, orchards and allied activities		IV At household industry	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)
102	Laindiguda	...	...	9	...	59	60	58	60	...	...	...	...	...	...

—Contd.

TABLE 13—*Concld.*

1961 Primary Census Abstract

Location Code No.	Name of village	Workers—*Concld.* V In manufacturing other than household industry		VI In construction		VII In trade and commerce		VIII In transport, storage and communications		IX In other services		X Non-workers	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)
102	Laindiguda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	41	33

P : Persons M : Males F : Females

TABLE 14

Workers and Non-workers by Age Group and Sex

Age group (in years)	Total			Total workers			Total non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
0-14	109	54	55	16	11	5	93	43	50
15-34	67	28	39	61	28	33	6	...	6
35-59	40	25	15	34	24	10	6	1	5
60 & above	7	3	4	3	2	1	4	1	3
Total	223	110	113	114	65	49	109	45	64

TABLE 15

Workers by Occupation, Age Group and Sex

Occupation	Age group (in years)												Total		
	0-14			15-34			35-59			60 & above					
	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
1 Teacher	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
2 Cultivator	13	9	4	59	26	33	31	22	9	3	2	1	106	59	47
3 Herdsman	3	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	1
4 Agricultural labourer	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
5 Blacksmith	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
6 Casual labourer	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1
Total	16	11	5	61	28	33	34	24	10	3	2	1	114	65	49

TABLE 16

Workers engaged in Cultivation, Industry or Business and other Services belonging to the Household by Age Group and Sex

Age group (in years)	Total			Working in cultivation belonging to the household			Working in industry belonging to the household			Working in business belonging to the household			Other services		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
0-14	16	11	5	13	9	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	1
15-34	61	28	33	59	26	33	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
35-59	34	24	10	31	22	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	1
60 & above	3	2	1	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	114	65	49	106	59	47	1	1	...	...	...	...	7	5	2

TABLE 17

Non-workers by Age Group, Sex and Nature of Activity

Age group (in years)	Total No. of non-workers			Dependents			Persons engaged in household duties only			Full time students or children attending school		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
0-14	93	43	50	86	39	47	1	...	1	6	4	2
15-34	6	...	6	3	...	3	3	...	3	..	...	...
35-59	6	1	5	3	1	2	3	...	3	...	...	...
60 & above	4	1	3	1	1	...	3	...	3	...	...	...
Total	109	45	64	93	41	52	10	...	10	6	4	2

TABLE 18

Households engaged in Cultivation, Industry or Business belonging to the Household

Total No. of households	Households engaged in cultivation run by the household	Households engaged in industry run by the household	Households engaged in business run by the household	Households not running cultivation, industry or business
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
40	37	1	...	2

TABLE 19

Traditional Occupation by Households

Traditional occupation	Number of households
(1)	(2)
1 Cultivator	25
2 Cultivator (*Podu* lands)	14
3 Balcksmith	1
Total	40

TABLE 20

Place of Occupation

Place of occupation	Distance from village	Teacher		Cultivator		Herdsman		Agricultural labourer		Blacksmith		Casual labourer	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Laindiguda	...	1	...	59	47	3	1	1	...	1	...	...	1

TABLE 21

Occupational Mobility, Cause of Change and Contentment during 1963-64 by Tribe

Tribe	From traditional occupation	No. of households changing over	To contemporary main occupation	No. of households changing traditional occupation			No. of informants who are not content with present occupation
				Voluntarily	Forced by circumstances	Other reasons (unspecified)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1 Gond	Cultivator	1	Teacher	1	...	...	1
2 Kolam	Cultivator (*Podu* lands)	13	Cultivator	13	...	...	5
		1	Agricultural labourer	...	...	1	1

TABLE 22

Occupational Mobility—Nature of Aspiration

Main occupation	No. of persons in the occupation	Number of persons who want their sons to be: In the same occupation as in col. (1) (*i.e.*, his own)	Teacher	Government service	Bus conductor	Cultivator	Unspecified
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1 Teacher	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
2 Cultivator	37	28	1	2	...	...	6
3 Agricultural labourer	1	...	...	...	...	1	...
4 Blacksmith	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total	40	28	1	3	1	1	6

TABLE 23

Distribution of Households by Main occupation and Caste/Tribe/Community

Main occupation	Number of households among: GOND	KAMMARA	KOLAM	MUSLIM
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1 Teacher	1	...	...	...
2 Cultivator	7	...	26	4
3 Agricultural labourer	...	...	1	...
4 Blacksmith	...	1	...	...
Total	8	1	27	4

TABLE 24

Combination of Occupations

Main occupation	Total No. of households	Subsidiary occupation group: Priest	Trader (*kirana* shop)	Cultivator	Herdsman	Agricultural labourer	Basket maker	Casual labourer
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
		NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS						
1 Teacher	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Cultivator	37	1	1	...	1	1	1	3
3 Agricultural labourer	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Blacksmith	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Total	40	1	1	1	1	1	1	3

TABLE 25

Main Occupation, per capita Annual Household Income and Family Type

Per capita annual household income range (in Rs.)	Main occupation: Teacher S	Teacher I	Teacher J	Teacher O	Cultivator S	Cultivator I	Cultivator J	Cultivator O
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS							
1- 50	...	...	...	...	4	...	4	1
51-100	...	...	...	...	15	1	4	1
101-200	1	...	...	...	4	...	1	1
201-300	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
301-500	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
501 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	1	...	...	...	24	1	9	

—Contd.

TABLE 25—*Concld.*

Main Occupation, per capita Annual Household Income and Family Type

Per capita annual household income range (in Rs.)	Main occupation: Agricultural labourer S	Agricultural labourer I	Agricultural labourer J	Agricultural labourer O	Blacksmith S	Blacksmith I	Blacksmith J	Blacksmith O	Total
(1)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS								
1- 50	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
51-100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	22
101-200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
201-300	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
301-500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
501 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	40

S=Simple family (Husband, wife and unmarried children), if any

I=Intermediate family (Married couple and un-married brother/sister and one of the parents)

J=Joint family (Married couple with married sons/Daughters or with married brothers/sisters)

O=Other family types

TABLE 26

Households owning or possessing Land for Cultivation

	Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of households and extent of land (in acres)										
		3 & below	3·1 to 5	5·1 to 8	8·1 to 11	11·1 to 14	14·1 to 17	17·1 to 20	20·1 to 30	30·1 to 40	40·1 to 50	50·1 to 75
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1	Gond	...	2	...	1	...	2	...	...	1	...	1
2	Kammara	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
3	Kolam	...	6	...	2	...	10	4	3	...	...	1
4	Muslim	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	...	10	...	3	...	15	4	3	1	...	2

TABLE 27

Agricultural Produce and Disposal, 1963–64

	Name of agricultural produce	Quantity produced	Quantity consumed by producing households	Quantity available for sale	Quantity sold	Sale amount realised
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		G P K	G P K	G P K	G P K	Rs. P.
1	Jowar	5 1 5	2 1 5	3 0 0	3 0 0	600·00
2	Maize	1 1 8	1 1 8	...	...	...
3	Italian millet	0 0 1	0 0 1	...	...	...
4	Wheat	0 0 6	0 0 6	...	...	...
5	Redgram	0 0 8	0 0 8	...	...	...
6	Blackgram	0 0 8	0 0 8	...	...	...
7	*Anumulu* (field bean)	0 0 1	0 0 1	...	...	...
8	Bengalgram	0 1 4	0 1 4	...	...	...
9	Greengram	0 0 1	0 0 1	...	...	...
10	Castor	0 0 5	0 0 5	...	...	...
11	Cotton	1 0 0	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	485·00
12	Tobacco	4 *Thakkedlu*	4 *Thakkedlu*	...	...	...
13	Chillies	1 Maund	1 Maund	...	...	...

Note :— G=*Gone*
P=*Palla*
K=*Kuncham*

10 *Kunchams* =1 *Palla*
4 *Pallas* =1 *Gone*

TABLE 28

Reciprocal Aid and Improvement in Agricultural Practices

Tribe/ Community	Gross annual household income (in Rs.)	Using improved seeds	Using Manures		Using improved agricultural implements	Adopting improved methods of cultivation	Using pesticides	Borrowing agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation	Taking help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting	Assisting neighbours and receiving help at the time of cultivation (not including sowing and harvesting operations) in the shape of manual labour	Benefited from land assignment scheme
			Organic	Chemical fertilizers							
		Number of agricultural households									
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1 Kolam	300 & below	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	301- 600	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	2
2 Muslim	601- 900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	901-1200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1,201 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 29

Number of Pattadars by Size of Holdings and Caste/Tribe/Community

Extent of land (in acres)	Number of Pattadars			
	GOND	KAMMARA	KOLAM	MUSLIM
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
3 & below	...	...	...	...
3·1- 5	2	...	6	2
5·1- 8	...	...	...	...
8·1- 11	1	...	2	...
11·1- 14	...	...	...	...
14·1- 17	2	1	10	2
17·1- 20	...	...	4	...
20·1- 30	...	...	3	...
30·1- 40	1	...	...	...
40·1- 50	...	...	...	...
50·1- 75	1	...	1	...
75·1-100	...	...	...	...
101 & above	...	...	...	...
Total	7	1	26	4

TABLE 30

Area under Cultivation by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Extent of land (in acres)	Number of households among			
	GOND	KAMMARA	KOLAM	MUSLIM
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
3 & below	...	...	...	1
3·1- 5	2	...	6	2
5·1- 8	1	...	2	...
8·1- 11	1	...	4	...
11·1- 14	...	...	2	...
14·1- 17	1	1	4	1
17·1- 20	1	...	4	...
20·1- 30	1	...	3	...
30·1- 40	...	...	...	...
40·1- 50	...	...	...	...
50·1- 75	...		1	...
75·1-100	...	...	...	...
100 & above	...	...	...	...
Total	7	1	26	4

TABLE 31

Cultivating Households and Increase in Irrigated Area during last Five Years

Extent of land newly brought under irrigation (in acres)	Number of house-holds	Total *wet* area	Total *dry* area	Number of households with holdings (in acres) of							
				Below 1	1-2	2·1-5	5·1-8	8·1–11	11.1-15	15.1-20	20.1 & above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		Ac.	Ac.								
Below 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1- 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2·1- 5	2	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
5·1- 8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8.1–11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11·1 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	2	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...

TABLE 32

Land Reforms and its Effects by Households and Caste/Tribe/Community

Brief indication of the manner of benefit or effect	Number of households			
	GOND	KAMMARA	KOLAM	MUSLIM
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Land reclamation and development scheme				
(a) They have been benefited by getting land from the government	5	1	15	1
Land assignment				
(b) They have been benefited by gettting land from the government	...	...	3	...
Assignment or acquisition of house sites				
(a) Inherited	...	...	6	...
(b) Got from the panchayat	...	...	...	1
(c) Occupied	8	1	19	3
(d) Acquired from father-in-law	...	...	2	...

TABLE 33

Livestock Statistics by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Milch cattle		Draught bullock		Cow/ calf		Bull/ calf		Goat/ sheep		Pig		Fowl	
	No. of house-holds owning	Total num-ber	No. of house-holds owning	Total num-ber	No. of house-holds owning	Total num-ber	No. of house-holds owning	Total num-ber	No. of house-holds owning	Total num-ber	No. of house-holds owning	Total num-ber	No. of house-holds owning	Total num-ber
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1 Gond	2	5	2	4	1	4	...	...	1	1	1	4	1	1
2 Kammara	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.
3 Kolam	11	43	11	31	4	9	5	8	1	2	...	...	2	4
4 Muslim	1	2	2	6	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	14	50	16	43	6	16	5	8	2	3	1	4	3	5

TABLE 34

Types of Industry run by Households

Name of Industry	Number of households
(1)	(2)
Blacksmithy	1

TABLE 35

Traditional Industry by Households

Name of traditional industry	Number of households
(1)	(2)
Blacksmithy	1

TABLE 36

Village Industries—Products by Caste

	Blacksmithy	
Caste	Number of households	Name of products
(1)	(2)	(3)
Kammara	1	1 *Guntaka* 2 Ploughshare 3 *Goruva*

TABLE 37

Household Industry by Caste, Households and Amount of Investment, 1963–64

	Household Industry	
	Blacksmithy	
Caste	Number of households	Amount of investment
(1)	(2)	(3)
		Rs. P.
Kammara	1	42. 50

TABLE 38

Material Culture—Possession of Bedding Material and Furniture by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

	Number of households possessing among				
Particulars	GOND	KAMMARA	KOLAM	MUSLIM	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
I Bedding Material					
1 Cot	8	1	22	4	35
2 Mat	1	...	5	1	7
3 Quilt	...	1	4	1	6
4 Blankets	4	...	8	2	14
5 Carpet	1	...	5	...	6
6 Bed	...	...	2	...	2
7 Bedsheets	2	...	6	4	12
8 Pillows	...	1	...	2	3
II Furniture					
1 Chair	...	...	1	...	1
2 *Gadamanchi*	2	1	...	...	3
3 Bench	1	1	...	...	2
4 *Bhoshanam*	...	1	...	...	1
5 Stool	...	1	...	...	1
6 Trunk box	2	...	1	2	5
7 Wooden box	4	1	5	1	11
8 Wall shelf	...	1	...	...	1
9 Mirror	1	1	13	3	18
Total	26	10	72	20	128

TABLE 39

Material Culture — Furniture and Consumer Goods acquired in last Five Years by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Caste/Tribe/Community	Number of households which have acquired in last five years		
	Wooden box	Trunk box	Hurricane lantern
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1 Gond	1	...	...
2 Kammara	1	...	1
3 Kolam	1	1	...
4 Muslim	...	...	..
Total	3	1	1

TABLE 40

Material Culture — Possession and Use of Consumer Goods by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Particulars	Number of households consuming among			
	GOND	KAMMARA	KOLAM	MUSLIM
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I Fuel and lighting				
1 Firewood	8	1	27	4
2 Kerosene *buddi*	7	1	24	3
3 Castor oil lamp	1	...	4	...
4 Hurricane lantern	...	1	...	1
II Domestic utensils				
1 Earthen	7	1	27	4
2 Brass	8	1	24	3
3 Bronze	5	...	2	...
4 German silver	5	1	19	4
III Other consumer goods and services				
Toilet soap/ Washing soap	2	1	10	2

TABLE 41

Material Culture—Consumption Habits by Annual Household Income and Households by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Income range (in Rs.)	No. of households that use mosquito curtain	No. of households that do not use mosquito curtain	No. of households that use toilet soap/ washing soap	No. of households that do not use toilet/ washing soap	No. of households that send clothes to washerman	No. of households that do not send clothes to washerman
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1 Gond	1,201 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...
	901—1,200	...	...	...	...	...	...
	601— 900	...	1	1	...	...	1
	301— 600	...	3	1	2	...	3
	300 & below	...	4	...	4	...	4
2 Kammara	1,201 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...
	901—1,200	...	...	...	...	...	...
	601— 900	...	...	...	...	...	...
	301— 600	...	1	1	...	...	1
	300 & below	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	1,201 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...
	901—1,200	...	...	...	...	...	...
	601— 900	...	2	...	2	...	2
	301— 600	...	12	7	5	...	12
	300 & below	...	13	3	10	...	13
4 Muslim	1,201 & above	...	1	1	...	...	1
	901—1,200	...	...	...	...	...	...
	601— 900	...	...	...	...	...	...
	301— 600	...	2	...	2	...	2
	300 & below	...	1	1	...	...	1
Total	1,201 & above	...	1	1	...	...	1
	901—1,200	...	...	...	...	...	...
	601— 900	...	3	1	2	...	3
	301— 600	...	18	9	9	...	18
	300 & below	...	18	4	14	...	18

TABLE 42

Budgetary Position by Main Occupation

Main Occupation	No. of households	No. of persons	Income	Expenditure	Households with surplus budget	Amount of surplus	Households with deficit budget	Amount of deficit	Households with balanced budget	Sale value of assets during current year	Purchase value of assets during current year	Occupational household average income	Occupational household average expenditure
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
			Rs. P.	Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.	Rs. P.
1 Teacher	1	6	732 00	646·94	1	85·06	...	...	...	...	...	732·00	646·94
2 Cultivator	37	205	13,802·84	18,887·95	3	45·90	32	5,131·01	2	300·00	650 00	373·05	510·49
3 Agricultural labourer	1	6	200·00	225·00	...	...	1	25·00	...	...	...	200·00	225·00
4 Blacksmith	1	6	385·00	623·25	...	...	1	238·25	...	...	...	385·00	623·25
Total	40	223	15,119·84	20,383·14	4	130·96	34	5,394·26	2	300·00	650 00		

TABLE 43

Gross and Net Annual Income from Household Industry by Households, 1963-64

Name of industry	Gross annual income	No. of households	Net annual income	No. of households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Rs. P.		Rs. P.	
Blacksmithy	70·00	1	70·00	1

TABLE 44

Indebtedness by Annual Household Income and Households

Annual income group (in rupees)	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt and total amount of debt		Percentage of col. (3) to col. (2)	Average indebtedness per household in debt
		No. of households	Total debt		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
			Rs. P.		Rs. P.
300 & below	18	5	340·00	27·78	68·00
301-600	18	8	915·00	44·44	114·37
601- 900	3	2	240·00	66·66	120·00
901-1,200	...	...	...	...	...
1 201 & above	1	1	350·00	100·00	350·00
Total	40	16	1,845·00	40·00	115·31

TABLE 45

Indebtedness by Cause, Amount and Households

Cause	Amount of debt	No. of households in debt	Percentage of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Rs. P.		
1 Ordinary wants	1,145·00	14	62·06
2 Household cultivation	350·00	2	18·97
3 Marriages	300·00	1	16·20
4 Repairs to existing building	50·00	1	2·71
Total	1,845·00	18	100·00

TABLE 46

Number of Money Lenders and Debtors by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Period	Money lenders		Debtors	
		Number	Amount lent	Number	Amount borrowed
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
					Rs. P.
1 Gond	1962-63	...	...	3	220.00
	1963-64	...	...	3	290·00
2 Kammara	1963-64	...	...	1	25·00
3 Kolam	1961-62	...	...	1	200·00
	1963-64	...	...	7	660.00
4 Muslim	1963-64	...	...	2	450·00
Total		...	...	17	1,845.00

TABLE 47

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

Period	Agency	Interest free		Rate of interest 25%		Rate of interest 50%	
		No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
			Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs.P.
1961-62	Private money lender	...	...	1	200.00	...	...
1962-63	Private money lender	...	...	3	220.00	...	...
1963-64	Private money lender	1	350.00	8	875.00	4	200·00

TABLE 48

Sale and Purchase Value of Assets during 1934–64

Particulars	Sale value of assets				Purchase value of assets			
	During 29 years (1934-63)		During currrent year (1963-64)		During 29 years (1934–63)		During current year (1963-64)	
	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.
1 Livestock	1	200·00	1	200·00	2	450·00	2	500·00
2 Tools & equipment	...	...	...	...	9	960·00	1	150·00
3 Buildings	...	...	1	100·00	...	...	...	...
4 Jewellery & valuables	...	...	...	...	1	180·00	...	...
Total	1	200.00	2	300·00	12	1,590· 0	3	650·00

TABLE 49

Capital Formation during last 30 years (1934–64) by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Particulars of capital formation	GOND		KAMMARA		KOLAM		MUSLIM	
	Value of capital formation	No. of house-holds	Value of capital formation	No. of house-holds	Value of capital formation	No. of house-holds	Value of capital formation	No. of house-holds
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rs·P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.	
1 Livestock	...	...	3 0 00	1	450 00	2	200·00	1
2 Tools & equipment	180·00	2	...	...	830·00	7	100·00	1
3 Jewellery & valuables	...	...	...	...	180 00	1	...	...
Total	180·00	2	300·00	1	1,460·00	10	300 00	2

TABLE 50

Prosperity Index during the last Ten Years

1	Number of households which have cleared debts which existed prior to 10 years from the income of the household	4
2	Total extent of debts cleared under item 1 by all the households together	Rs. 185·00
3	Number of households which have during the last 10 years—	
	(a) acquired any property and/or	13
	(b) made any savings in cash and/or	...
	(c) invested capital in any new undertaking or building except where it is wholly from any debt incurred for the purpose and/for the proceeds of any sale of property	...
4	The approximate total money value of items 3(a) to 3(c) of all the households together deducting the portion covered by debts and/or the proceeds of the sale of any property	Rs. 2,240·00

TABLE 51

Caste/Tribe/Community and Nature of Family

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of households	Types of families living in the households			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1 Gond	8	6	...	2	...
2 Kammara	1	...	...	...	1
3 Kolam	27	18	1	6	2
4 Muslim	4	2	...	1	1
Total	40	26	1	9	4

Simple family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children, if any
Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brother/sister and one of the parents
Joint family consists of married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/ sisters
Other type of family consists of families which are not mentioned above

TABLE 52

Mother Tongue and other Languages Spoken

Mother tongue	No. of persons			Other languages spoken									
				Marathi		Telugu		Urdu		Tribal languages: Gondi		Tribal languages: Kolami	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Marathi	6	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Urdu	24	12	12	8	5	1	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Gondi	52	27	25	5	1	2	...	5	1	...	...	3	...
Kolami	141	70	71	5	...	25	...	11	...	43	37	...	...
Total	223	110	113	18	6	28	...	16	1	47	38	5	...

P: Persons M: Males F: Females

TABLE 53

Association of Deity/Special Object of Worship by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/Community	Nagoba(Keslapur shrine)
(1)	(2)
1 Gond	1
2 Kammara	...
3 Kolam	12
4 Muslim	...
Total	13

TABLE 54

Cultural Life of the Village

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of households	Number of households participating in/associating with		
		Bhajana mandali	Reading newspaper	Folk dances and songs
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1 Gond	8	5	1	8
2 Kammara	1	1	...	1
3 Kolam	27	19	...	26
4 Muslim	4	...	...	...
Total	40	25	1	35

TABLE 55

Dietary Habit by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total number of households	Households taking			
		Two time meals	Breakfast, midday meal and supper with coffee or tea alone at any time or times	Breakfast, midday meal and supper	Two time meals with coffee or tea at any time or times
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1 Gond	8	1	2	4	1
2 Kammara	1	...	...	...	1
3 Kolam	27	13	...	14	...
4 Muslim	4	1	3	...	...
Total	40	15	5	18	2

TABLE 56

Staple Food and Dietary Habits by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of households taking				Total number of households
	Rice	Wheat	Coarcer grain, like bajra, millet, jowar or maize	Roots	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1 Gond	...	...	8	...	8
2 Kammara	...	...	1	...	1
3 Kolam	...	...	27	...	27
4 Muslim	...	...	4	...	4
Total	...	...	40	...	40

TABLE 57

Habit of taking Tea and Coffee by Household Income, Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of households taking tea/coffee with annual income (in Rs.) of					Number of households not taking tea/coffee with annual income (in Rs.) of				
	1,201 & above	901-1,200	601-900	301-600	300 & below	1,201 & above	901-1,200	601-900	301-600	300 & below
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Gond	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	2	3
2 Kammara	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	..
3 Kolam	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	11	13
4 Muslim	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total	1	...	2	5	1	...	...	1	13	17

TABLE 58

Prohibited Foods and Drinks by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of households reporting as prohibited							
	Animals							
	Bear	Beef	Cheetah	Donkey	Horse	Monkey	Pig	Tiger
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1 Gond	1	8	...	1	2	...	8	3
2 Kammara	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1
3 Kolam	5	11	...	15	14	7	2	15
4 Muslim	...	1	2	2	1	2	4	...
Total	7	21	2	19	18	9	15	19

—Contd.

TABLE 58—*Concld.*

Prohibited Foods and Drinks by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Caste/Tribe/Community	Number of households reporting as prohibited									
	Birds							Eggs	Drinks	
	Bat	Crane	Crow	Eagle	Kite	Owl	Parrot	Peacock	All except toddy	All drinks (names of drinks unspecified)
(1)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
1 Gond	2	...	8	5	2	3	...	...	3	5
2 Kammara	1	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	...
3 Kolam	3	5	19	20	10	12	...	17	13	14
4 Muslim	...	...	3	2	2	1	1	2	...	4
Total	6	5	31	28	15	17	1	19	17	23

TABLE 59

Smoking and other Habits by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/Community	Particulars of habit	Every day habit		
		Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1 Gond	*Tobacco smoking*			
	Beedi	1	1	...
	Cheroot	11	11	...
	Leaf pipe	3	3	...
	Chewing			
	Tobacco	1	...	1
2 Kammara	*Chewing*			
	Tobacco	4	1	3
3 Kolam	*Tobacco smoking*			
	Beedi	6	6	...
	Cheroot	20	20	...
	Leaf pipe	16	16	...
4 Muslim	*Tobacco smoking*			
	Beedi	6	6	...
	Cheroot	2	2	...
	Leaf pipe	3	3	...
	Chewing			
	Pan with *jarda*	2	1	1

TABLE 60

Marriages by Consanguinity and other Relationship by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of marriages with			
	Mother's own brother's daughter (*menarikam*)	Father's own sister's daughter (*eduru menarikam*)	Other blood relationship	Elder brother's widow
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1 Gond	4	6	1	1
2 Kammara	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	27	8	...	1
4 Muslim	1	...	...	...
Total	32	14	1	2

TABLE 61

Attitude towards Marriage with Persons of different Caste/Tribe/Community but of the same Socio-Economic Status

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of persons interviewed	No. having no objection to marriage with the Caste/Tribe/Community shown in col (4)	Caste/Tribe/Community in order of preference
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1 Gond	8	...	...
2 Kammara	1	...	...
3 Kolam	27	...	...
4 Muslim	4	1	He has no objection to contract marriages with any other religion provided the other party converts into Islam
Total	40	1	

TABLE 62

Marriages by Relationship and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of house-holds	Total No. of marri-ages	Consanguineous		Non-consanguineous		Monogamous		Polygynous	
			No. of house-holds	No. of marri-ages	No. of house-holds	No. of marri-ages	No. of house-holds	No. of marri-ages	No. of house-holds	No. of marri-ages
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Gond	8	17	7	11	3	6	8	15	1	1
2 Kammara	1	3	...	...	1	3	1	3	...	...
3 Kolam	27	48	25	35	10	13	25	36	6	6
4 Muslim	4	7	1	1	4	6	4	7	...	...
Total	40	75	34	47	17	28	38	61	7	7

TABLE 63

Marriages by Spatial Distribution and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of marriages contracted within the village	Number of marriages contracted outside the village and within the Taluk				Nnmber of marriages contracted outside the Taluk and within the District			
		10 miles & below	11-25 miles	26 to 100 miles	101 & above miles	10 miles & below	11-25 miles	26 to 100 miles	101 & above miles
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1 Gond	1	9	3	1	...	...	...	2	...
2 Kammara	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	19	9	6	...	...	3	8	...	...
4 Muslim	2	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total	23	22	10	1	...	4	8	2	...

—Contd.

TABLE 63—*Concld.*

Marriages by Spatial Distribution and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of marriages contracted outside the District and within the State				Number of marriages contracted outside the State			
	10 miles & below	11-25 miles	26 to 100 miles	101 & above miles	10 miles & below	11-25 miles	26 to 100 miles	101 & above miles
(1)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1 Gond	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
3 Kammara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
4 Muslim	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2

Note :- The details for one marriage in Kolam caste are not reported

TABLE 64

Persons by Age at First Marriage and Caste/Tribe/Community

Age group (in years)	Caste/Tribe/Community								Total of all communities	
	GOND		KAMMARA		KOLAM		MUSLIM			
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
0— 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5— 9	...	6	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	8
10—14	7	7	...	2	2	28	...	2	9	39
15—19	4	1	...	1	27	9	...	3	31	14
20—24	1	...	1	...	4	...	4	..	10	...
25—29	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...
30—34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	12	14	1	3	34	39	6	5	53	61

TABLE 65

Marriage Payments

Items of payment	GOND		KAMMARA		KOLAM		MUSLIM	
	No. of households making payment	No. of households receiving payment	No. of households making payment	No. of households receiving payment	No. of households making payment	No. of households receiving payment	No. of households making payment	No. of households receiving payment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Cash								
Making payment Rs. 684·50	2	...	1	...	4	2	1	2
Receiving payment Rs. 526·00	(Rs. 75·50)		(Rs. 50·00)		(Rs. 59·00)	(Rs. 31·00)	(Rs. 500·00)	(Rs. 495·00)
Property								
Goat	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ornaments								
Silver *patta*	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Silver *sakari*	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	...
Kante	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Kadiyalu	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Mohar	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2
Bead chain	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...

TABLE 66

Dowry Payments and Knowledge of Hindu Marriage Act by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/Community	No. of households		No. of households aware of legislation prohibiting dowry	With reference to col. (4) No. of households with an attitude of		No. of informants who know that there have been changes in the recent years in Hindu Marriage Act	Informants' views about the salient features of the Hindu Marriage Act
	Giving dowry	Amount of dowry		Approval	Disapproval		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1 Gond	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Kammara	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	...	...	...	...	...	1	It prevents early marriages for boys and girls
4 Muslim	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 67

Separation/Divorce by Causes, Agency, Conditions and Tribe/Community

Tribe/Community	Reasons for separation/divorce	No. of households reporting		Agency settling the dispute and a brief note on its composition	Amount of compensation, if any, paid	A note on condition of separation/divorce
		Separation	Divorce			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
					Rs. P.	
1 Gond	At will	...	1	Kulapanchayat	...	She can marry anybody whomsoever she likes
2 Kolam	Adultery	1	...	...	...	...
	Impotency	...	1	...	...	...
3 Muslim	Maltreatment of husband	...	1	Kazi	250·00	After 3 months of separation she is allowed to marry anybody

TABLE 68

Information and Attitude towards Family Planning by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/Community	No. aware of family planning centre	No. aware of family planning	No. approving family planning	No. approving family planning after being explained	Total	No. liking to adopt family planning methods after				
						3 children	4 children	5 children	6 children	7 children
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Gond	...	1	1	4	5	2	...	3	...	...
2 Kammara	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...
3 Kolam	...	1	1	24	25	...	9	10	4	2
4 Muslim	...	1	...	2	2	...	2	...	...	...
Total	...	3	2	31	33	2	11	14	4	2

TABLE 69

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Age of Head of Household by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/Community	Age of head of household (in years)	Number that like to adopt family planning after					
		2 children	3 children	4 children	5 children	6 children	7 children
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1 Gond	20 & below	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21—30	...	1	...	..	...	...
	31—40	...	1	...	2	...	...
	41—50	...	...	...	1	...	...
	51 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Kammara	20 & below	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21—30	...	...	...	1	...	...
	31—40	...	...	...	...	...	...
	41—50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	51 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	20 & below	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21—30	...	...	3	2	1	...
	31—40	...	...	3	5	3	2
	41—50	...	...	1	1	...	...
	51 & above	...	...	2	2	...	...
4 Muslim	20 & below	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21—30	...	...	1	...	...	...
	31—40	...	...	...	...	...	...
	41—50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	51 & above	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total	20 & below	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21—30	...	...	4	3	1	...
	31—40	...	1	3	7	3	2
	41—50	...	1	1	2	...	...
	51 & above	...	...	3	2	...	...

TABLE 70

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Age of Child bearing Woman by Caste/Tribe/ Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Age of child bearing woman (in years)	Number that like to adopt family planning at				
		3 children	4 children	5 children	6 children	7 children
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1 Gond	15 & below	...	...	...	...	...
	16—20	...	...	...	...	...
	21—25	...	...	...	...	...
	26—30	2	...	1	...	...
	31—35	...	...	1	...	...
	36—40	...	...	...	...	...
	41 & above	...	...	1	...	...
2 Kammara	15 & below	...	...	...	...	...
	16—20	...	...	1	...	...
	21—25	...	...	...	...	...
	26—30	...	...	...	...	...
	31—35	...	...	...	...	..
	36—40	...	...	...	...	...
	41 & above	...	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	15 & below	...	...	...	...	...
	16—20	...	1	...	...	...
	21—25	...	1	2	1	...
	26—30	...	3	4	2	1
	31—35	...	1	1	...	1
	36—40	...	1	1	1	...
	41 & above	...	2	2	...	...
4 Muslim	15 & below	...	...	...	...	...
	16—20	...	1	...	...	...
	21—25	...	...	...	...	...
	26—30	..	1	...	...	...
	31—35	...	...	...	...	...
	36—40	...	...	...	...	...
	41 & above	...	...	...	...	...
Total	15 & below	...	...	...	...	...
	16—20	...	2	1	...	...
	21—25	...	1	2	1	...
	26—30	2	4	5	2	1
	31—35	...	1	2	...	1
	36—40	...	1	1	1	...
	41 & above	...	2	3	...	...

TABLE 71

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Duration of Marriage by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number wanting more children, duration of marriage being (in years)					Number wanting no more children, duration of marriage being (in years)				
	21 & above	16-20	11-15	6-10	5 or below	21 & above	16-20	11-15	6-10	5 or below
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Gond	2	1	...	...	...	3	1	1	...	...
2 Kammara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	1
3 Kolam	...	...	...	2	...	10	6	4	4	1
4 Muslim	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total	2	2	1	2	...	13	7	5	4	3

Note :- Though the head of the household of Muslim community approved family planning, he cannot be shown under items "Number wanting no more chidern" as he is a widower

TABLE 72

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Annual Income by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number wanting more children, having annual income (in Rs.)					Number wanting no more children, having annual income (in Rs.)				
	1,201 & above	901-1,200	601-900	301-600	3 0 & below	1,201 & above	901-1,200	601-900	301-600	300 & below
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Gond	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	2	2
2 Kammara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
3 Kolam	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	12	12
4 Muslim	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1
Total	1	...	1	2	3	...	...	2	16	15

TABLE 73

Inheritance of Property in Practice by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of persons interviewed	Number indicating that sons inherit property in their respective Caste/Tribe/Community
(1)	(2)	(3)
1 Gond	8	8
2 Kammara	1	1
3 Kolam	27	27
4 Muslim	4	4
Total	40	40

TABLE 74

Share of Property between Sons and Daughters by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of persons interviewed	Number indicating that sons and daughters inherit property in the following manner	
		All sons get equal share	Daughters inherit only in the absence of sons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1 Gond	8	8	8
2 Kammara	1	1	1
3 Kolam	27	27	27
4 Muslim	4	4	...
Total	40	40	36

Note :- The 4 Muslim households could not give any opinion about the share of property by daughters

TABLE 75

Attitude about Inheritance of Property by Daughters equally with Sons by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of persons interviewed	Number of persons who agreed that daughters should inherit equally with sons				
		Aged 51 & above	Aged 41-50	Aged 31-40	Aged 21-30	Aged 20 & below
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1 Gond	8	1	...	2	...	...
2 Kammara	1	...	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	27	1	1	5	1	...
4 Muslim	4	...	...	1	...	...
Total	40	2	1	8	1	...

TABLE 76

Medical Care

Total No. of households	Number of households in which maternity cases are attended		Number of households following			
	By calling an unqualified midwife	Without any assistance from outside	Allopathic system of treatment	Combination of different systems of treatment	Location of Hospital	Distance
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
40	22	1	13	1	Utnur	20 miles

TABLE 77

General Knowledge of Household Heads by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total Number of households	Number of household heads who know the name of: Zilla Parishad head-quarters	Panchayat Samithi headquar-ters	Panchayat headquar-ters	Taluk head-quarters	District headquar-ters	Principal lakes and rivers of the district
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1 Gond	8	...	5	7	8	7	Godavari
2 Kammara	1	...	...	1	1	1	...
3 Kolam	27	1	3	25	25	24	...
4 Muslim	4	1	1	3	4	4	...
Total	40	2	9	36	38	36	...

TABLE 78

Awareness of Untouchability Offences Act

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of persons interviewed	Number of persons aware of untouchability under law
(1)	(2)	(3)
1 Gond	8	...
2 Kammara	1	...
3 Kolam	27	...
4 Muslim	4	1
Total	40	1

TABLE 79

Period of Existence of Households Migrated during Present Generation by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of households migrated: 3 years & below	4 to 10 years	11 to 20 years	21 to 50 years	51 years & above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1 Gond	1	2	4	...	...
2 Kammara	1	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	...	2	7	4	...
4 Muslim	2	2	...	...	...
Total	4	6	11	4	...

TABLE 80

Settlement History of Households by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of households	Number of households settled			
		In present generation	One generation ago	Between 2 & 3 generations	Earlier than 5 generations
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1 Gond	8	7	..	1	...
2 Kammara	1	1	...	...	...
3 Kolam	27	13	10	4	...
4 Muslim	4	4	...	...	...
Total	40	25	10	5	...

TABLE 81

Place of Birth

Place of Birth	Number of persons		Number of births in the village during				
	First Birth	Subsequent births	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
In the same village (Laindiguda)							
In the same household	3	34	4	7	9	5	12
Mother's parent's house	1	2	...	1	...	1	1

TABLE 82

Immigrant Households by Place, Reasons and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of households immigrating from							
	Outside the state		Outside the district but within the state		Outside the taluk but within the district		Within the taluk	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1 Gond	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
2 Kammara	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
2 Kolam	1	...	...	...	2	...	10	...
4 Muslim	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...
Total	1	...	...	...	2	...	21	...

—Contd.

TABLE 82—*Concld.*

Immigrant Households by Place, Reasons and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community (1)	Occupation before immigration								Reasons for immigration			
	Unspecified (10)	Trader (*kirana*) (11)	Cultivator (12)	Herdsman (13)	Agricultural labourer (14)	Attached agricultural labourer (15)	Blacksmith (16)	Unspecified (17)	To eke out livelihood (18)	As it is the birth place (19)	As he has been appointed as teacher (20)	Marriage alliance (21)
1 Gond	1	1	5	...	...	...	...	1	5	1	1	...
2 Kammara	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
3 Kolam	...	...	10	1	1	1	...	...	10	1	...	2
4 Muslim	...	1	2	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Total	1	2	17	1	2	1	1	1	20	2	1	2

TABLE 83

Emigration by Number of Members, Place and Reasons

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of members emigrating						Occupation before emigration	Reasons for emigration	
	Outside Andhra Pradesh		Outside the District		Within the District				
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Agriculture	To acquire lands	To eke out livelihood
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1 Gond	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Kammara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	1	1
4 Muslim	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	1	1

TABLE 84

Houses by Number of Rooms and Number of Persons Occupying and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of houses	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of household members	Houses with no regular room		Houses with one room		Houses with two rooms		Houses with three rooms		Houses with four or more rooms	
				No. of houses	Total No. of household members	No. of houses	Total No. of household members	No. of houses	Total No. of household members	No. of houses	Total No. of household members	No. of houses	Total No. of household members
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1 Gond	8	16	52	...	...	3	14	2	13	3	25	...	...
2 Kammara	1	3	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	...	...
3 Kolam	27	56	141	2	13	5	24	10	47	9	53	1	4
4 Muslim	4	7	24	...	...	1	3	3	21	...	...	...	...
Total	40	82	223	2	13	9	41	15	81	13	84	1	4

TABLE 85

House Type—Roof Material by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Name of house type		Number of houses with grass roof
	Name	Number	4 sloped
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1 Gond	Thatched house	8	8
2 Kammara	Thatched house	1	1
3 Kolam	Thatched house	27	27
4 Muslim	Thatched house	4	4
Total		40	40

TABLE 86

Houses by Wall Material and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Number of houses with	
	Bamboo wattled wall	Wall of twigs and branches plastered with mud
(1)	(2)	(3)
1 Gond	1	7
2 Kammara	...	1
3 Kolam	2	25
4 Muslim	1	3
Total	4	36

TABLE 87

Houses and Use

Residence	Number of households used for			
	Residence-*cum*-workshop	Residence-*cum*-cattle shed	Cattle shed	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
36	1	3	20	60

TABLE 88

Information about Main Functions of Panchayat by Households and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/Community	No. of households	No. that could tell the period of existence of panchayat correctly	Remarks including note on the amenities provided by the panchayat from its inception
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1 Gond	8	7	The panchayat has provided one well
2 Kammara	1	...	...
3 Kolam	27	22	The panchayat has provided one well
4 Muslim	4	2	...
Total	40	31	

TABLE 89

Opinion on Functioning of Panchayat, Panchayat Samithi and Zilla Parishad

Caste/Tribe/Community	Total No. of households	Number of persons according to whom			Number of persons according to whom			Number of persons who could not express any opinion		
		Panchayat	Panchayat Samithi	Zilla Parishad	Panchayat	Panchayat Samithi	Zilla Parishad	Panchayat	Panchayat Samithi	Zilla Parishad
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
		Functioning satisfactorily			*Not functioning satisfactorily*					
1 Gond	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8	8
2 Kammara	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1
3 Kolam	27	...	...	...	3	2	1	24	25	26
4 Muslim	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	4
Total	40	...	...	...	3	2	1	37	38	39

TABLE 90

Tribal Panchayat—Existence and Attitude by Number of Household Heads

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of households	No. according to whom Tribal Panchayat exist for		No. according to whom Tribal Panchayat should continue	Remarks including a note on the reasons for the continuance of Tribal Panchayat
		GOND	KOLAM		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1 Gond	8	8	...	7	The disputes can be settled by the community elders
2 Kammara	1	...	...	...	...
3 Kolam	27	...	19	19	The disputes can be settled by the community elders
4 Muslim	4	...	...	...	...
Total	40	8	19	26	...

TABLE 91

Marketing Facility

Nature of commodities transacted	No. of households who sell			Name of marketing centre, if any, within the village	Distance from village, if the marketing centre is situated outside the village	Name of co-operative society, if any, within the village	Distance from village if the co-operative society is located outside the village
	Direct in open market	Through commission agents	To co-operative marketing society				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Consumer goods	40	...	...	...	Adilabad 40 miles Utnur 20 ,, Asifabad 38 ,, Sirpur *shandy* 3 ,,	...	...

GLOSSARY

Adavabudha . . Concluding ceremony of marriage celebrations among the Kolams

Ailon . . Brother-in-law

Ambali . . A gruel prepared with *chodi* (finger millet) flour

Arugu . . Verandah

Ayak . . The principal deity of Kolams (Bheema)

Bandi . . Mascot

Beedi . . A cigar prepared with tobacco powder wrapped in *moduga* (butea monosperma) leaves

Burelu . . A sweet dish prepared with wheat flour and jaggery

Bogar . . A bamboo blade used for cutting the umbilical cord of the newly born baby

Bottu . . Vermilion mark on the forehead

Burri Devara . . A deity worshipped by Kolams

Cheeti . . A ceremony performed on the fourth day of the marriage celebrations among the Kolams

Dayyam . . Phratry

Daravai . . West

Dayyalamoola . . North-east corner of the house

Daura . . A special plough used for driving in between the rows of standing crops

Dandari . . A ritual dance of Kolams

Devara . . Deity

Delak or Devari . . Kolam priest

Dhutha . . An earthen pot used for fetching water

Danda kadiya . . Ornament worn to the elbow by the Kolam woman

Disthi . . Effects of an evil eye

Doolalu . . Wooden beams

Doppolu . . Green leaf cups which are used for serving food on ceremonial occasions

Garelu . . A savoury prepared with green gram dal

Gana . . Instrument used for extracting oil from *teli* seeds

Gochi . . A piece of cloth used for covering the nudity of the man

Gone . . A bag prepared with jute

Gondi . . Kitchen

Gordargottam . . A place where all the cattle of the village gather

Gotra . . An exogamous division

Gowripur . . Boundary deity of Kolams

Gudisa yella . . House type among Kolams

Hasilankagada . . A mace weighing 10 lakhs of maunds

Irsa . . A local measure

Jarda . . Tobacco used for chewing

Jathara . . Worship of Polakamma deity

Jonosoraon . . The rest-house where the bride's party is accommodated during marriage celebrations

Juwa or Judam . . Chess

Kadiyam mudekath . Marriage by negotiation among Kolams

Kante . . A silver necklace

Kalan . . North

Karobari . . Principal adviser of Kolams

Kalla kadiyalu . . Anklets

Khaje kobra . . Marriage by negotiation among Gonds

Koli . . A room

Kodikorru . . A ceremony performed on the fourth day of the marriage celebrations among Kolams

Kondapodu . . Hill slope cultivation

Kudtha . . Shirt

Kume . . A ceremony performed during the marriage among Kolams

Manche . . A platform erected in the midst of the fields for guarding the crops

Malamoola . . Western corner of the verandah

Manduva . . Front verandah of a house

Malabodi . . A place outside the habitation area where women under pollution bathe

Mahar . . Bride-price among Muslims

Moddu . . A wooden log

Mamool . . Customary payment made to the petty forest official and to other Government employees annually

Muntha . . Obsequies

Muggu . . Decorative lines drawn with *chodi* flour

Munda . . Wooden pole raised in memory of the dead

Nagali . . Plough

Naivejyam . . Food offerings made to a deity

Nitrallu . . Two small pillars fixed on the wooden beams of the house

Noonevuli . . Instrument used for extracting oil from *teli* seeds

Pade . . Raising of 10 pillars during the house construction

Pat . . Saree; Widow remarriage

Palamvai . . East

Paring . . Bride price

Pattu . . Lines drawn with *chodi* flour during the marriage ceremony

Pari . . Clan

Palang . . Cot

Pranams . . Respects

Pilla patti . . Silver belt

Potti . . Marriage badge

Polka . . Blouse

Pothi . . String of beads

Pujari . . Priest

Pusthe . . Marriage locket

Rasi . . A ceremony performed during the marriage celebrations among Kolams

Rengi . . A small low bullock cart peculiar to the region

Revika . . Blouse

Rumal . . Head gear

Sagas . . Exogamous divisions among Gonds

Shandy . . Market

Sorajava . . Serving *chodi* gruel in green leaf plates during marriage celebrations

Sonivothod . . Midwife among Gonds

Somurthayeddong . . Attainment of puberty

Sumut korakath . . Marriage by capture

Telaganam . . South (The Telangana, *i.e.*, the erstwhile Hyderabad State being in the South)

Thapa . . Brass ornament worn to the nose

Tipun . . Sowing plough

Vasara . . Living room

Vasalu . . Small bamboo beams

Veda . . The backyard of the house where all the rubbish is dumped

Voli . . Bride price

Wakur . . A wooden plough